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Women Enterprise's Growth in Household Institutional context: The Case of Women Entrepreneurs in Peshawar, Pakistan`

Abstract:

Current paper is part of the ongoing PhD study, which aims to explore the lived experiences of women entrepreneurship in the institutional context of household. Entrepreneurial population comprises of one third of women entrepreneurs and almost 80% of entrepreneurs establishes home-based businesses (Capowski 1992). In entrepreneurial processes, enterprises develop as a result of interaction with institutions or institutional environment (Scott 2001). Entrepreneurs play main role in the entrepreneurial process by discovering and pursuing opportunities (Shane) and creating the venture (Gartner 1985). Entrepreneurial process and entrepreneurs are influenced by the institutions in which they are embedded. Institutional approach to the study of women entrepreneurs in household suggests that household is embedded in the social, local, regional and environmental networks. Women owned enterprises are source of change but their context determines the circumstances under which they make entrepreneurial choices/ exercise agency (Jamali 2009). Women being a central part, being the home makers in Pathan society are hugely affected by the institutional forces at play within the household and wider society which has strong influences on the growth strategies of these entrepreneurs. Cultural cognitive pillar establish the reality or the shared beliefs of what does it mean to be a woman in a particular context, while the normative pillar is salient in defining women by their role and in shaping what is considered desirable attitude for that sex (Neville 1995). These institutional pillars in relation to the wider institutional structure can act as liability or asset in the growth of women owned businesses.

Approach/Methods: With a poststructuralist stance, ethnographic case study analysis was conducted.

Results/Insights: The paper concludes that socially constructed household institutions have significant impact on the entrepreneurial process of female entrepreneurs. Women entrepreneurs are guided by norms of the household not only at start-up but they made their growth decisions according to the situations they find themselves in. The household played a dynamic role and it is not possible to say if it was a constraint in the growth of women owned businesses.

Implications to Community/Industry: This paper offer insights into the issue of women owned enterprises and their growth from under developed community, Pakistan. The study not only offers insights in the understanding of the household institution but through an institutional theory lens it deepens the understanding of the concept of embeddedness of women entrepreneurship.

Keywords: Household institution, Women entrepreneurs, growth strategies, institutional embeddedness,

Introduction

Entrepreneurship literature has established gender based differences among business owners at personal, professional and social levels across the world. Such gender based differences become quite obvious in patriarchal societies where women are subject to discriminatory socio-cultural norms and miss interpreted religious prescriptions. Pakistan is among such societies where women are often subjugated due to socio-cultural values and religion. The existence of such forces challenges the entrepreneurial spirit of women in Pakistan.

Women entrepreneurs are present in all societies with undeniable importance (Bygrave and Minniti 2000), they are playing important role in poverty reduction and well being of household. In developing countries 80% of their businesses are in informal sector and home based. When the situatedness of these businesses in informal sector is coupled with discriminatory gender based norms and miss interpreted religious prescriptions (Roomi), it present a unique challenge to the entrepreneurship scholars to understand women's entrepreneurial process. As most of the entrepreneurship theories have been emerged from research works in developed countries (Ibid) which has different values regarding the economic productivity of women. Such theories are less suitable to explore and understand the phenomenon of being a woman entrepreneur in Islamic countries and Pukhtoon culture (in this case), which prefer housebound role of women.

Studies about women entrepreneurship in Pakistan are sparse and fragmented, and very few if any (except, Azam Roomi) have considered the forces that effect the growth of women owned home based enterprises. This study aims to bridge the gap and explore

- Women owned enterprises in the household context
- Factors affecting the growth of women owned business in the household institutional context

This paper, as part of wider literature on female entrepreneurship, aims to explore the subject matter within the context of household. The rest of the paper will progress in following manner. First a brief discussion of women entrepreneurship in relation to gendered context is provided, to see how gender has been portrayed in existing researches within entrepreneurship domain. Doing so sets grounds for discussing household institution as a context for female (gender based) entrepreneurship, affecting the growth aspiration of women. The section followed by it discusses the landscape of field research. The final section describes the research method and data analysis techniques employed and the empirical results that emerged.

'Gender' in Entrepreneurship Research

Feminist's scholars are of the view that gender is present in all interactions and in every social structure/arrangements. Gender is the only common principle that organizes societies in two poles; male and female (Swartz 1997 as seen in Elam 2008), and that being female is less valued in almost all societies. In entrepreneurship field gender has long been ignored but with the pioneering article of Schurtz, gender made its way in entrepreneurship research. Since then gender has been studied across the board to understand the differences and similarities in male and female's entrepreneurship within and across societies. Elam (2008) cited strong gender based differences in the rate of venture creation across countries. In order to understand these differences it is important to shed some light on the concept of "gender", its various connotations in diverse social and economic milieus.

By definition gender is a variable concept (Coltrane and Adams 2008) it refers to what does it mean to be a man or woman in specific context and in a period of time, while sex refers to the biological structure of the social actors. Gender represents the masculinity and femininity associated to one's sex. Gender is not a state of being it is a practice that people 'do' in a relational context. Hence

'femaleness' in one context does not carry same interpretations of being 'female' in other, rather their construction differs across societies. This construction of gender refers to the comprehensive and dynamic roles assigned to biological sexes by a society and/or culture (Birley, 1985; 1989, Goffee, R. and R. Scase 1985) based on the normative structure. The expression of gender is contextual, but early researchers failed to recognize the contextualization of expression.

As for as entrepreneurship research is concerned from era of 90s women business ownership has been researched from gendered lens (Shaw, Marlow et al. 2009) but early scholarship in this regard is highly descriptive and least critical to the prevailing mannish discourse. Recent researches are based on the critical evaluation of gender's effects on women entrepreneurial process not only from policy perspective but also for practical purposes. The relationship of gender and entrepreneurship is much more complex than explained by early literature. Recent scholars have proposed that rather than taking it as variable, gender needs to be studied and explored in relation to '*structures, institutional and cultural practices and discourses, not simply as something which emanates from certain individual beings*', (Hall 1990, cited in Lewis 2004: 632 but I borrowed from Lewis 2006). This multidimensional construct of gender has broaden the scope of 'femaleness' in economic sphere, such construct shapes and is shaped by social context.

Entrepreneurial activity depends on individual skills, education and access to resources but the importance of social environment cannot be undermined in entrepreneurial process. Entrepreneurship is not a simple task to be performed; rather it is a totality of life and is spread over a life span of entrepreneur. Being a social phenomenon it is strongly influenced by social and family level factors. The emergence of women entrepreneurs and the type of businesses they can venture out depends on the social, cultural, religious and economic environment which has both positive and negative impact on women (Tiwari and Tiwari 2007). If society legitimizes women in strong connection with family, her role inside the family is highly celebrated (Ufuk and Özgen 2001) and women becoming entrepreneurs are considered as going against the social norms (Teal and Carroll 1999) and highly discouraged.

Dilemma of Growth: Can women be modelled like men

Small firms drive economic growth in terms of wealth and job creation 'Women-owned businesses are one of the fastest growing entrepreneurial populations in the world. They make significant contributions to innovations, employment and wealth creation in all economies' (De Bruin, Brush et al. 2006; 1). Women have always been enterprising but it is only recently that attention has been diverted to them and their ventures (Nilsson et al 2010 as seen in *Haugum. M et al 2011*). Women owned enterprises are important drivers of growth (de Bruin and Brush 2010), not only in terms of wealth but also job creation. Enterprise growth is a multifarious phenomenon, which is affected by several personal, social and cultural factors (Bridge, O'Neill et al. 2003). Despite of being so important "notably absent was an understanding of factors affecting growth" and a dearth of knowledge and understanding to adequately conceptualise and build explanatory theories on the growth process of women-owned enterprises (De Bruin, Brush et al. 2006: 4).

It is argued that women are more likely than men to run a small business but their growth intension is low as compared to men (*Haugum. M et al 2011*). This slower growth has been associated with the intensions, behaviour and attitudes towards growth based on gender. The rates at which people grow their businesses vary depending on personal, social and institutional context where entrepreneurs find themselves. Brush et al (2006) developed a framework for growth of women owned businesses where they stress the need to incorporate the contextual factors along with individual, venture concept and resource paradigm. As growth is not only affected by the personal factors, venture concept, but the

strong influencing factors are seen other than this, which comes from the context of venture creation. Thus it is important to take care of the contextual factors while studying the venture growth.

At personal level, age, marital status, human capital and prior experience are seen as major factors influencing the growth of women owned enterprises. But on the top it, it is 'the gender', which determines other factors which has largely been ignored. Due to gender based socialization women entrepreneurs have different type of educational and social experiences/capital as compared to men. Women entrepreneurs on average are elder, married and with children at the start-up time ((Morris, Miyasaki et al. 2006)). They are highly educated than their male counter parts but their degrees are not in business, management, engineering or any other technical field which limit them to low growth service sector. Women tend to have no or little managerial experience and as small if any have taken any formal course before starting the venture.

The start-up motivation of the entrepreneurs exerts significant influence on the growth aspiration of women, (Delmar and Wiklund 2008; de Bruin 2010). Motivation for business start-up varies widely across gender. Some women entrepreneurs will start a business with the purpose to meet the ends (Hisrich and Brush 1986) while some others are motivated by independence and control (Buttner and Moore 1997). The purpose of business start-up is directly related to the growth orientation of the business. If profit, money and building an empire are motivations of the entrepreneurs, they have high growth motivations. Women are mainly motivated by family well being, self fulfilment motive or to keep themselves busy, (Hisrich and Brush 1985; Brush, Carter et al. 2001).

Dalborg et al in ICSB (2011) proposed Growth Platforms and Motivation in a Hierarchical Model of Maslow (1943). They proposed that women defined growth on the basis of where they are in the business cycle and what their growth motivations are. Their idea of growth is based on business platform, which can be intrinsic or extrinsic. Those who are at the basic level on the growth platform of survival they have extrinsic motivations towards growth and they measure growth in terms of profitability of company. While those who are up there in hierarchy they measure growth in terms of social contribution and gaining fame (Dalborg. C et al 2011).

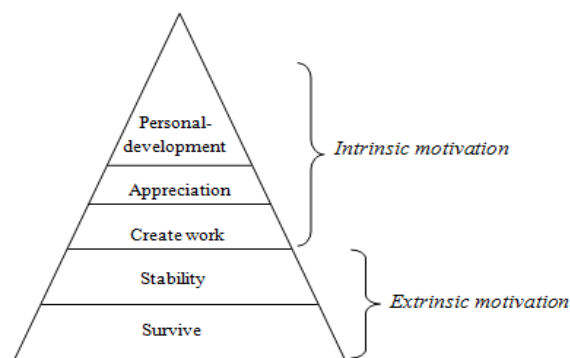


Figure I, Growth Platforms and Motivation in a Hierarchical Model- Source: Dalborg. C et al 2011

Entrepreneurship and growth is risky business. Attitudes towards risk also determine the growth pattern of the enterprise and shape the growth process (Dalborg. C et al 2011). Women are conceptualized as risk averse; they prefer to take calculated risk, which in turn minimize the chances of business growth.

There exists a dynamic relationship between gender and entrepreneurial finance which has strong implication for the enterprise, in particular at later stages of development. (Carter and Allen 1997) found that access to financial resources and other financial aspects of business had stronger effects on business rather than choice or intention. Access to resources is seen as the most crucial factor affecting women's choices and chances of growth. Women face problems due to discrimination by

financial institutions in sanctioning loans (Harrison and Mason 2007). Women have small access to equity market which acts as high structural barrier to women enterprise growth (Carter, Brush et al. 2003). Equity capital smooth the progress and growth of new industries, fosters the development make innovations possible (Brush, Carter et al. 2002).

Women are primarily responsible for household and childcare which leads to work-role conflicts. Due to all these factors women prefer to venture into a sector which is easy to enter, do not require vast managerial experience and can be flexibly managed with family obligations (Welter 2004). It is believed that women if best manage the work-life balance tend to have high venture growth (Shelton 2006). Women normally prefer to venture in to informal sector and in businesses like beauty salon, arts, fashion and dress designing which are already highly replicated endeavours and have small scope for growth. They chose their businesses to be small as growth demands may conflict their lifestyle (Dalborg. C et al 2011). However family and household have not been significantly incorporated in studies that measure growth of women enterprises.

In case of women owned enterprises growth seems to be their personal choice or one chosen by their household. The growth aspiration and motivation of the entrepreneurs are framed in context over a period of time (Clark, Berkeley et al. 2001). It is imperative to have an understanding of the context in which they are embedded to unfold their growth process. Women are primarily embedded in the household hence their behaviours and perspective are shaped by and within the household context. Household itself is embedded in the wider society and its livelihood strategies are influenced by the economic restructuring of the society (Wheelock and Oughton 1996). These layers of embeddedness have a continuous impact over the life cycle of venture. This suggest that growth should be studied as a process not as an event and the focus should be n 'how' firms grow than on 'how much' firms grow?

Growth of Women Entrepreneur(ship) in household institutional context

The 'household' is an important familial structure, but familial institutions extend beyond specific households. Household forms the basic socio-economic unit (Wilk and Rathje 1982) and a complex permeable social sphere with no defined boundaries (Wilk and Netting 1984) . Factors adding to the complexity of definition of household are cross-cultural differences and the temporal permeability of the concept, rules of membership; forms of household, emphasised the contextuality of household, family and household may mean different or same. In context of this research family and household are used interchangeably, as in an Islamic society only those can live together (household) who are related through blood or marriage (family) exceptions are student hostel etc. These institutions prove remarkably resilient as people continue to rediscover and/or redefine and politicise their ethnicity and cultures in the face of powerful (and global) social and economic forces (Bingen 2000). The institution of household consists of symbolic elements, social activities, and material resources. The socialization process within the household develops the mental schema of its members. It provides stability to the wider structure by performing a number of social activities over the centuries nearly on the same pattern and it is the main place for pooling the resources. This construct of the household is well aligned with the definition of institutions proposed by Scott (2001, 2008).

Scott (2001, 2008) defined institutions as social structures, '.....comprised of regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life' (p. 48). It draws attention towards the legal, normative and cognitive dimensions influencing social actors and their symbolic and material facets. Entrepreneurial capacity of individuals is not only determined by the normative structure of the institutions but also by the availability of resources that enable them carry out entrepreneurial activities. Household in this study is conceptualised as an institution because of its micro setup that presents an interesting mix of three institutional pillars and forms the basic social structure symbolizing the cultural organization of the family life in a particular context.

The cognitive cultural institutions at social level put the primary responsibility of family and child care on women, they spent most of their life time in performing these function. The cognitive construction on social level is visible at the household level. Due to the performance of these functions women may develop mental schema, where they think of themselves less suitable for high growth businesses. The direct and indirect influences of the household can manifests itself in several forms. Norms, values and traditions of the family will determine their role of women in household and in wider economy. The normative construct and the socio-economic standing of the household determine her chances, type and level of entrepreneurship. For women, family well being is among one of strong motive to get into self employment, as it not only offers flexibility to strike work life balance but also a source of supplemental income. Under these circumstances household forms the micro context of women entrepreneurship which has been represented through the metaphor of motherhood by de-Burin et al 2009. It plays critical role in formation and operation of businesses, family is seen as one of the most exhausted source of financial, social and human capital (Anthias and Mehta 2003; Cramton 1993). The socio-economic status of the household, occupational background of the family and husband's education also influences women choices to pursue self-employment.

Change in the structure and compositions or life cycle transitions of the individuals within the household also has consequences for entrepreneurship, "for individual and household movement through the life cycle of marriage, birth of children, and their leaving home, introduce a dynamic element into the family work strategies and household behaviour", (Wheelock and Oughton 1996, pg 8). This reinforces the point that household is "a locus of number of sets of relations; family, conjugal and economic" (p 3). Out of relations with in the household roles emerge which bring with it resources that can be used directly or indirectly in business. Family relations can assume multiple roles and can be a source of diverse set of resources, women entrepreneurs depends on the supportive environment created by family members through scarifies, help, support either physically or monetarily by subsidizing and investing in these enterprises, (Rowe and Hong 2000) family members provide great emotional strength and encouragement to the entrepreneurs, (Firkin, Dupuis et al. 2003). Parents and other senior members of the household who may not be active in the daily operations economically but can exert a normative influence over entrepreneurs either through family codes of conduct, or through selection and provision of resources if they hold ownership of household resources.

Above all, the normative construct of household shapes the process of gender, everyday life and home. Changing socio-cultural attitudes towards the family relations and family formations are of high significance to the formation of household. While discussing the role of the household in structuring women's employment, (Bencivenga and Smith 1997) stresses that "policies aimed at combating unemployment and the effects of social exclusion should be similarly orientated towards the household as well as the individual" (p. 1173). The gender based division of labour is important but rather important and influencing is the normative and cognitive systems of the household institution.

Household itself is embedded in the wider social framework and is under the influence of wider normative structure of the society. The social values will represent the value that a society attaches to women self-employment. The social construction of gender will determine the role of women in larger society and household, which in turn will shape the choices of women while entering into self employment. The normative structure will embedded the choice of women within the household and social framework.

Family/household is rarely researched from entrepreneurial perspective (Aldrich and Cliff 2003). According to Cramton (1993) researchers have not yet explored how family relations give rise to new venture creation. There is a need of extension of the concept 'social embeddedness' beyond social networks, because family itself has a significant impact on the new venture creation and development

(Welter and Smallbone 2008). On several instances the conflict between work and family life has been cited among the few major forces that influence women entrepreneur growth aspiration, but unfortunately it is something that has not been explored in its entirety. It is not only that the work-life balance or the primary responsibility of child care will impact women's growth aspiration, rather the entire family or household system is important to understand the growth dynamics of women owned enterprises.

Women make their career choices within the context of household and are prone to household contextual factors, which has significantly stronger influence on entrepreneurial process of women as compared to men (Brush, de Bruin et al. 2009). Family and household affects women entrepreneurship directly by exercising their powers either to allow women to start a business, influence their access to resources, time to manage the business, providing or withdrawing non-monetary support and several others. Changing socio-cultural attitudes towards the family relations and family formations are of high significance to the formation of household.

The household context can be both facilitating and inhabiting by limiting not only access to resources which limits the chances of opportunity exploitation, and also time needed to exploit the opportunities (de Bruin 2010). It is not only about starting and running of a business but also the growth of business depends on more personal factors (sprout out from household and are non-monetary in nature) than on the factors proposed in economic models. Business growth is seemed as personal choice, which depends on entrepreneur's preferences which are shaped by and strongly related to other external factors (household and social level). The economic measures of growth have ignored these non-monetary factors when it account for growth.

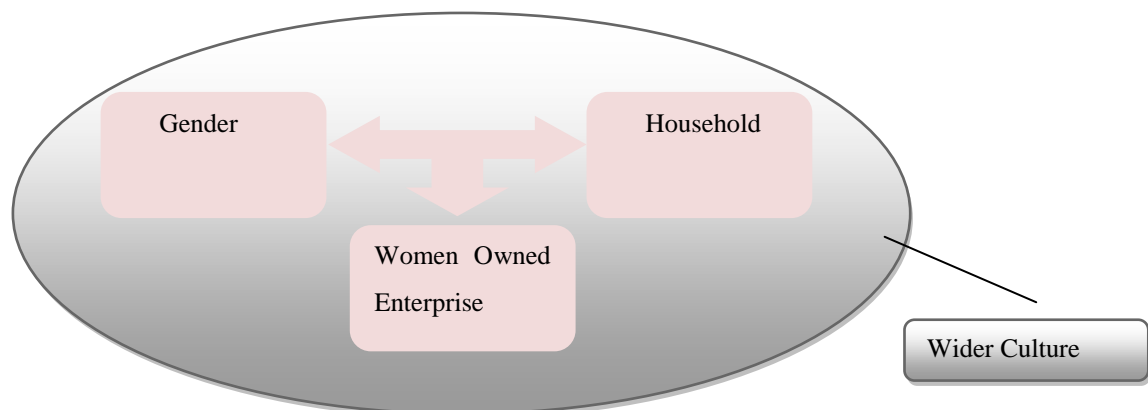


Figure II, Frame work of the study- Source: Author

Context/ of the Study

This research is based in Peshawar, the capital of province Khyber Pukhtoonkhawa (KPK), Pakistan. Peshawar city is a metropolitan area and at best it is the repository of Pukhtoon culture and traditions of Pathans living here. Pukhtoon cultural is strongly patriarchal and women live in a world built around the household and family. Women normally stay in veil, but in rural areas they can be seen in fields helping men, however, urban women from well off families stay at home, raise their children and take care of family matters (Akbar 2010). The cultural norms of Purdah (veil) and the notion of honour (izzat) particularly influence women's occupational choices (Roomi and Parrott 2008). *Pardah* segregate and seclude men and women based on gender and create spatial boundaries, which confine women to the household and shoulder the outside work to men. *Izzat* is the notion that vest

family's honour in women, which means that to protect family's honour and good reputation, they must be guarded (Shaheed 1990).

Women are empowered in the household domain but politically, socially and economically disadvantaged, particularly in terms of ownership of the resources. There are many women who run traditional businesses from home. Only a few women can be seen in the mainstream business (Harper and Arora 2005). According to Federal Bureau of Statistics report (2009-10), 2.41% of total female population in Khyber Phukhtunkhawa, Pakistan is self-employed. This shows strict adherence of the society to the traditional customs and values to keep women veiled and away from economic sphere.

Despite all these socio-cultural barriers, women are not homogeneous. In KPK, many women are able to manage being a part of economic activities. Moral support from immediate family members, actual perception of Islamic values regarding women's participation in economic activities, their mobility and access to transport, and their interaction with opposite gender for business can help them growing their businesses (Roomi and Parrott, 2008; Roomi and Harrison, 2008; Roomi, 2009).

Methodology

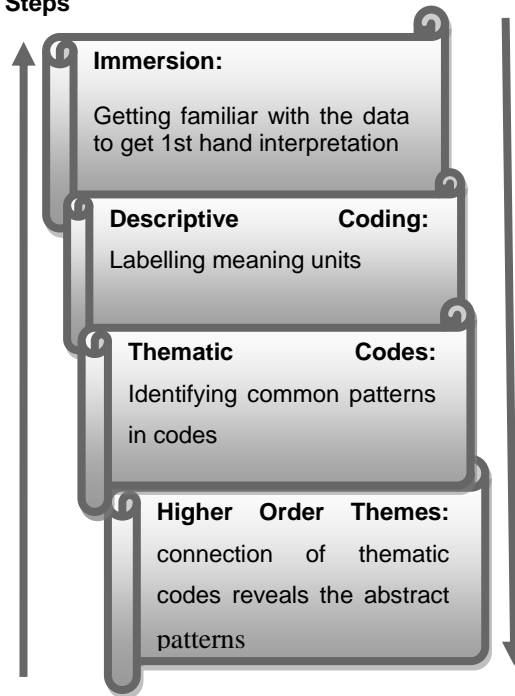
Purpose of this study is to explore the embeddedness of women entrepreneurship in household context and to gain understanding of the factors that affects growth of women owned enterprises in the normative context of a Pukhtoon society. To achieve this objective I adopted qualitative research approach because it is well suited to "the problems that need to be explored to obtain a deep understanding" (Creswell 2005) 54). The interpretive stance adopted, assumes the existence of multiple realities influencing our understanding and response to the objective world.

Data was collected through a qualitative ethnographic approach (Morgan and Smircich 1980). Respondents were selected using purposive, criterion and snowball sampling (Patton 1990). In-depth, face to face interviews with 40 entrepreneurs were conducted at their business sites. Interviews were conducted in two phases over a period of six months during the fieldwork for doctoral studies in 2010. In first phase data was collected and analysed to develop themes to guide the next stage of data gathering whereas, second phase interviews were aimed at enriching the results.

Interview data was analysed using thematic analysis to capture the emergent themes. Thematic analysis is one of the widely used qualitative data analysis tools (Miles and Huberman 1994) that is used in this study. It provides researchers an opportunity to reflect on the lived experiences of the participants and to understand the phenomenon within its cultural context, through the emergent themes (Munhall 1994). Use of this analytical tool for current study helped revealing the insightful patterns of the phenomenon under study. The analysis of the data was carried out using constant comparison method (Silverman 2000) and the analytic induction (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Using these methodological techniques allow the heavy and messy data to speak for itself and make a meaningful analysis possible of women's entrepreneurial process with in context of household institution to understand the factors affecting the growth of their enterprises. Quotes from the data are used as valuable supplements that represent the voice of the participants to help categorise the data (Wolcott 1990). There is no agreed upon method of carrying out thematic analysis. However there is a consensus that coding is the essential part of thematic analysis (Huberman and Miles 2002); Patton, 2002; (Creswell 2009).

Figure III, given below, describes the step by step thematic analysis procedures adopted for this study

Figure III, Thematic Analysis Steps



First step of the analysis was familiarisation of data, referred to ‘immersion’ in the above figure, followed by developing first hand codes, refining and clustering them to generate themes and sub-themes. Patterns developed from themes were compared to generate conceptual relations of which gave rise to theoretical themes. Following table shows the themes;

Table I – Themes from Empirical Data

Over arching theme	Thematic codes	Initial codes
Household Embeddedness of the Enterprise	Impact of family on business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business and family • Children and family obligations • Family’s negative response
	Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family and personal relations • Professional relations with competitors or colleagues
	Support system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family support • Support from others
	Household of the entrepreneur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work life balance • Household value system • Entrepreneur’s financial contribution to household

Source: Author – from empirical data analysis

The answers to a number of open ended questions about future plans, opportunities for near and immediate future of the business were thoroughly studied and sifted. Within and across the categories participants’ comments about the forces (related to business and family), that inhabits or accelerates business growth were examined.

Above table shows the final result of thematic data analysis procedure. Next section discusses the study results in detail.

Thematic Description Women Entrepreneurship in Household Institutional Context

The informal household institution proved to be the lucrative foundation of women entrepreneurship in Peshawar. The entrepreneurial activities of women entrepreneurs evolved from larger social-cultural circumstances, household environment and personal interest.

Profile of a Pathan Woman Entrepreneur

A typical Pukhtoon woman entrepreneur falls in the group of early 30s to late 50s, married, living in nuclear or joint family and running business for minimum of 4-5 years in service sector. Majority of women entrepreneurs are educated while few of the entrepreneurs are either illiterate or have elementary education.

Women Entrepreneurship in Household's Normative Context

A traditional Pakistani society circles around family and kin. Family is the basic social organization that provides the members' identity and protection. Norms and values of the household are an important consideration for the entrepreneurial activity. From motivation of being an entrepreneur, to running, managing and growth stage of the business, entrepreneurs and enterprises are dependent on the household in one way or another.

Economic and entrepreneurship literature measures growth in economic terms and normally they tend to ignore the non-economic factors affecting growth enterprises. In case of women entrepreneurship it seems as if growth was personal choice or preference, they could have grown their businesses but they did not want to do so at the cost of their household and children. So it could be said that family obligation and the responsibility of motherhood acted as hindrance to growth of business for those entrepreneurs.

Contributing Factors to Growth in Women Enterprises

Factors that affect growth of women owned business can be divided into!

Personal Constraints

At personal level women felt that lack of experience, in dealing with clients and with workers, were not easy for them. But that was a skill that women learnt with the passage of time and lack of experience was not more a constraining factor after several years of business experience.

Women were not independent in their decision making rather their decisions were guided by their family concerns and their status within the household. Entrepreneurs were to seek permission of the family members prior to any decision about business; mainly husband was the first influential person for women entrepreneurs.

Start-up motivation

Motivation of the entrepreneurs to start a business is the outcome of economic needs, livelihood necessities and need for autonomy. One of the respondents shared;

"we had crises and it was really bad, it [business] was [is] the only source of income and when you are left with nothing so....then for 7-8 years he [husband] was at home [unemployed] and children were very young so this was the only way to do something while being at home" (Respondent 16).

It shows that transition in life course (positive or negative) result in creation of enterprise where enterprise serves as a livelihood earning strategy.

Along with lack of finances was considered as one of the strongest barrier to growth by these entrepreneurs. Women are financially dependent on males of their household, and this dependence acted as a constraint in their growth process. It went same for entrepreneurs from upper or middle class, as in both cases women were working on family's income with which they can go up to a certain extent. The problem was severe for entrepreneurs who did not have strong financial background; that is they belong to the lower social strata.

I know everything but I don't have any diploma. [.....]. So I have a good creative minded. I want to do many things but you are always short of something and for me this is the finances. I am short of finances. This is a big problem you know (Res24. 165-172)

Another entrepreneur mentioned that she has nice plan for the expansion of her business but what she lacks is financial and human resource. She was a mother of 5 living in nuclear family household with her husband and 5 very naughty children. She used to work home-base she wanted to grow the business to the level of boutique but was short of financial and human capital.

I have planned the growth that I will work for a boutique, I have talk to one lady that I will stitch suits for you and you will sell it for me in your boutique. If it sells you take your commission out of it. But it will take some time..... not now. I want to expand the business and employ ladies with me I think of buying a peeko machine as well. I would like to buy one but with my own money I don't have enough income to buy the loose cloths for making a suit with it....., and if I can prepare other women to come forward and put your efforts, utilize your skills. But I need some personal help. I don't like borrowing money from others. So I would love to expand my work if I get both some financial and human resources. I am very enthusiastic about my work (Respondent 28)

Familial Constraints on Growth

Belonging to households that had different value systems have produced different entrepreneurial personalities, which defiantly had a strong impact on the vision, and attitude towards life of women which is manifested in their business choice, location, and scale of operation and growth aspiration.

I was interested to go to the teaching line which was rejected by my husband that you may not go for a job as our women are not allowed to work, this is an old story recently everyone is on job but (smile) for us the environment was relatively strict. Now for everyone corridors are open and all are doing (Respondent 10).

In other interviews where women were the sole earners talked about the discouraging attitudes of their life partner and the norm of not letting women go out of home acted as hindrance to these women owned business. Below are few extracts of family related issues that acted as hindrance to growth.

My discouragement! My husband, he never encouraged me, rather he is too much discouraging he says what have you done? Nothing. And sometimes he is so good like an angel, at his extreme but he does not say it from heart, in the 15 years, on 13 of April I will complete 15 years of my marriage so this is a long time to know someone and I know him he does not admit what I have done and he does not appreciate it at all (Respondent 17)

*If not from husband I don't think family will [family will not allow me to commercialise my business and to operate in any market area], whenever I will be doing larger setup I will be doing it from home. If I can like I can have something proper at my home right now I don't have big showroom I do it in home but commercially like if I set in a plaza so I know **I will not be allowed for that** (Respondent 13)*

The social and economic status also acted as a growth determining factor. Entrepreneurs from various social classes have different living standard and mode of reference to fall back on. This belongingness to various backgrounds was visible in their business management and strategies.

Women from higher social classes, have their business spread in various major cities of the country, as they did not face financial constraints, they were not struck by work life balance and they have no mobility issues.

*I normally travel a lot I have other SPAs I have to look after. If you would have come here two weeks ago I would have not been here I would have been in Dubai, and if you would have come 4 weeks then I would have been in America, now I am actually there is another, like you never know about me I am always on the move
(Respondent 25)*

As the empirical narrative reads that respondent in this case was not from a confirmative household, she was from a political influential family, so she had no issues in travelling, and her businesses are not only spread within the country rather she has branches in USA and UAE.

For entrepreneurs growth was a personal choice tied with several other factors. Entrepreneurs preferred to have a business that they can easily manage along with their household and family responsibilities. Another entrepreneur mentioned that due to uncertain conditions of Peshawar and her husband's attitude she does not grow her businesses. She was working on a small scale, so that it can be easy for her to wind up if she is supposed to.

I never did marketing I did not distribute any pamphlet nothing neither had I advertised on the TV channels I have not done anything. Because I started with a very small budget with the intention either I will be able to continue it or not because of the environment of our Peshawar and some family commitments like maybe my husband permit me now but did not allow me in the future to continue it so I should not suffer with much losses so I started it and thanks to Allah that it is still running (Respondent 23)

Another entrepreneur mentioned that, due to her health issues and work life balance she is happy in her home based set-up and she does not want to extend her business any further.

*Yeah it has grown and at a faster rate. It is getting better day-by-day. No, no, this is more convenient for me as I am within my home and working from my home and now I get orders from abroad and if I make it ready it is enough for me It is satisfying my thrust and it is a good channel of income, but I don't want to go out of home
(Respondent 4).*

It cannot be deduced that family is always a constraining factor, it constrains but at the same time enables women to get into entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs were vocal about the pivotal role played by household members in the entrepreneurial process. They were explicitly attributing their success to their household. Family members were helpful in childcare and household chores, which made it possible for women to carry their business.

The most important thing is that I live with my mother so she takes care of all these issues, she manages it for me. I spent most of my time in school and she manages my kids and household (Respondent 29)

Childcare was mostly the responsibility of my husband, he helped me and take care of children you know if they don't get attention of mother and father, they can't study. So their father had a strict check on them that's why they have got quality education (Respondent 6)

Growth of women enterprises in social context

Household is embedded in the wider structure and derives its structural and functional legitimacy from the wider social structure. The normative structure of the household, which establishes the foundation stone of the cognitive development of family members, was in accordance with the meta-social structure. That is every household to a particular extent was following the norms and codes of Pukhtoonwali, but the intensity of fellowship varied based on the class structure and the geographical placement of the household. All households were formed on the Islamic prescriptions and were performing the basic organizing functions. The division of labour in the household is traditional and women are preferred in

their house bound role. Though women do not carry homogenous identities and women in Pakistan can be seen in various roles, performing various jobs in different sectors.

Being social actors, members of the household follow the social script which is in accordance with the social norms. It is very difficult to pronounce clearly if the impact of household is strong or of society, but one thing is for sure, if women had the support of their household, they can meet the social challenges.

At social level the factors that affect the growth of women enterprises are mainly the cultural constraints faced by women entrepreneurs. Mainly the social construction of gender and norms of Pukhtoowali does not value market place for women. In Peshawar women are deprived of normative support at social level which discourages them to climb the high stairs of success.

So we face these things and always when I face any such thing and I draw myself back that I don't want to do this thing. If it is project and at the same time I am about to receive the benefits, I will leave that and several times I have incurred losses due to that. At the end after all my working at the time of achievement I will face any such attitude from males and then obviously we have to close it (Respondent 8)

Due to construction of gender and problems faced by women and due to discouraging social attitude they enter into businesses they are slow to grow and have limited growth prospects.

Well the culture of this place specially males here so working with them in a place where there is much interaction with males so it is still a problem for girls and women..... though we are in a business we have no interaction with males at all. So the thing you were asking na so mostly women prefer to go into these business, the reason being that we should interact with males as less as possible (Respondent 3)

.....parlour [beauty salon] is something that women can start and they can run it there is no role of males in that I guess (Respondent 17)

Along with family the other factor that impact women businesses at social level is the concept of Purdah, in Islamic societies women are secluded and they are not admired in public sphere. The notion that honour of family is vested in the conduct of women limits women and their development to home. Women if venture they have to meet the minimum required standard of Purdah which in some cases may have negative impact on their business

The lack of institutional and governmental support is further discouraging for these women. Where rather than getting support and training women complained that public institutions create nasty issues for them, which not affect their business negatively but also give them stress,

*Yes it is, we don't have any plane to buy this place because of this cantonment problem because every year when there is a **new chairman in cantt head quarter** so this is **new tension for us**, [.....] like any time we can be asked to wind it up so where should we go? Well that we don't no but leave this place. They don't. As in university you know everyone is doing business so how many will wind it up and the other is already in commercial, places for clinics na and our is also on the name of health clinic (Respondent 3)*

Then the government people, the men they are very against. Instead of supporting us, let me give you an example of our government, [.....]. We had the UN recognition award for work in 2005 so means that we are doing something, [.....] I feel sorry that I belong to Frontier so the men from Frontier who are in the government they should appreciate me (Respondent 11)

Issue of sex segregation affects the businesses of female entrepreneurs by confiscating the choices of suppliers, customers and business associates. Being restricted to gendered network female entrepreneurs may lose their growth aspirations.

'though we are in a business we have no interaction with males at all. Mostly women prefer to go into this business, the reason being that we should interact with males as less as possible (Respondent 3).

Besides all that women did mention that they are given respect, subject to their actions within wider normative code.

No matter how liberal somebody from Peshawar becomes we have certain conservations and limitation about different things..... as per my experience our Pathans are – even Urdu speaking community and for that matter hindko speaking community- give more regard to a women as compared to a Punjabi or Sindhi. There are certain limits where they stop where a Punjabi or Sindhi will not stop... So I don't think it is difficult at all you just have to carry yourself properly (Respondent 14)

They have well planned their future business strategies and were making their ways successfully towards their goals.

I want to have a branch in every city and make a chain I have idea this is a dream and now it is in Allah's hands everything (Respondent 1)

Future plans I told you in first statement that I am trying in our NWFP, in Peshawar we should have some small places and want to be in business so they should do it from their area and they while giving their orders should be the nearest place, (Respondent 8)

Though women had dreams and goals and they were trying to achieve it, but mainly due to the lack of awareness they were constrained.

Nearly all of the entrepreneurs were content and satisfied with themselves and their businesses, while admiring at the same time complaining about the keeping of various identities and performance of diverse set of roles.

Conclusions and Limitations:

The study presented us with the holistic picture of factors affecting women enterprise growth in the household context in Putkhtoon culture. The journey of 'housewife' to 'entrepreneur' is marked with struggles to conduct and grow socially legitimate business in a context with less normative support from society but courage (in some instances) from the household.

It is clear that personal ambitions and household help have shaped, who these women and their enterprises have become. (Nieva and Gutek 1981) indicated that women often make career choices and decisions based on economics, survival, or obligation, but in my study entrepreneurs' career choices were subject to several other factors (as shown through empirical data largely family based). In Pakistani society family lies at the core of social framework and play a major role in each sphere of life, either it is political, social, economic or religious. People are mindful about each other's family and family back ground, which reflects the identities and the social class the family belongs to. Family is used as source to get linked to various institutions and government services (Gerard et al 2003). Being the central pillar of the household woman has to make a career choice accordingly. In the entrepreneurial process household acted as a node and influenced the process either positively or negatively. During entrepreneurial process, family and household are used as a source of monetary and non monetary support by women entrepreneurs (Bird and Brush 2002); (Anna, Chandler et al. 2000).

The normative and cognitive forces within the household acted as growth enablers as well as a liability to entrepreneurs. In conformists households women came across several barrier at the start-up phase of the business and growing business was further cumbersome (Ellis, Kirkwood et al. 2010). The gender construction in such household was strongly patriarchal and women were given minimum

choice of self expression. Environment for girls was not friendly in such households and women were socialized under strict environment, where they were unable to get education and develop a strong mental schema. While in less confirmative household, women has a liberal and friendly childhood environment which help them building a strong and confident personality, ready to meet the future challenges. The risk taking capacity and attitude to business manifests the childhood environmental differences for these entrepreneurs.

Household in embedded in the wider structure, and it was more of rigid nature; women were housebound and were preferred to stay home. Women were allowed to venture but in certain conditions and in certain occupations. The overall environment for women entrepreneurship was not encouraging though there are some strong positive instances as well. Lack of institutional and financial support further deepened the issue.

Pathan women entrepreneurs draw legitimacy from the larger institutional framework. Women do not always live with hegemonic ideologies that restrict their roles and behaviours; though a traditional Pukhtoon woman is less visible in the social milieu due to socio-cultural norms and conventional gender beliefs. Women entrepreneurs are concentrated in the informal sector due to the strong segregation of genders which not only limits their labour market participation but constrain business choices. And this unique normative context has bearing not only on her motivation to start a business but on their business strategies, but in many cases they are able to strategize within the given set of constraints (Al-Dajani and Marlow 2010).

The social construction of gender acted as hurdle in entry to mainstream economy. In the male dominant society women were not convinced to run a business on their own therefore, they need help of male members of family. On the positive note the gender segregation in the Muslim context has infact opened several avenues for women, there are many services that only women can offer to other women. But in this case it is limited to those businesses that can be performed by women, for women with the minimum interaction of males. But even in this scenario, women owned business result in women empowerment (Orhan and Scott 2001), (Mirchandani 1999) and change in status of women in the household (Tambunan 2008) and overall household wellbeing.

Looking at the growth of women owned enterprises women entrepreneurs can be categorized according to the typology developed by Wheelock (1997). She typified micro businesses on the bases of their growth intension as 'growth rejects', 'growth ambivalent', 'growth enthusiastic' and 'growth without employers'. Though she studied growth in terms of increase in number of workers, but entrepreneurs in this study have come up with multiple conceptualizations of growth. For some growth means expansion of business, either in terms of opening more branches or in terms of diversifying portfolio. Some others measure their growth in terms of increase in number of employees while few others have other very subjective measures of self fulfilment and goal attainment etc (Carter and Jones-Evans 2006). Study participants mentioned success factors or growth of business in terms of better life style, changed status in the household, being able to have a house of their own, and being in control of their future. Household and family related factors were important in determining the scale and sector of women entrepreneurship which in turn impact the chances of growth. The socio-economic standing of the household and availability and access to resources, was other contributing factors. Women mentioned that financial dependence on males of the household has significantly curtailed the chances of growth.

Methodologically the study is limited to a small number of women and in particular socio-cultural context. The method used does not allow the generalization of the results. However the value of the research cannot be undermined on these bases, the value of any qualitative research is in the insights that they produce and in its rich and thick descriptions.

Theoretically the study has used a unique combination, for the first time household has been conceptualized using any specific theory from new institutional paradigm. The research context is unique where family and household represent same dwelling and socializing unit. The use of institutional theory no doubt gave some great insights in the black box of household, but the regulative pillar cannot be properly established in the working of the household. The application or manifestation of the cognitive pillar was also difficult to establish, while the normative pillar was apparent in the household value system. However theoretically the framework can be further improved when applied in context other than Islamic where the regulative pillar can be apparently seen in the working of co-habiting household.

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