

ISSN: 2306-1669 (Online), 2310-4686 (Print)

Journal of Pro Poor Growth

An International Perspective http://www.escijournals.net/JPPG



NORMATIVE AND COGNITIVE INFLUENCES ON FEMALE ENTREPRENEURIAL RELUCTANCE AT THE BASE OF THE PYRAMID – AN EXPLORATIVE STUDY OF CLEANING LADIES IN ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

Previous research has considered entrepreneurship as a way out of poverty and as a chance to foster economic growth. Moreover, specifically start-ups headed by women have played an important role in the economic development and it has been argued that gender-related issues, amongst others, are relevant determinants for the performance of a country or region. Against this background, this qualitative study explores desires, reluctances and constraints toward entrepreneurial activities of a comparably homogenous group of potential (poor) entrepreneurs in an emerging economy—cleaning ladies in Istanbul. We focus on this particular context as still rather little is known on reasons why women do *not* start a business (in Turkey). We believe exploring the reasons why certain individuals choose not to become entrepreneurs is at least as telling as investigating why they do so. We draw upon the social dimensions of entrepreneurship by Shapero and Sokol (1982) alongside Institutional Theory and posit that normative and cognitive forces may shape individual decisions on entrepreneurship. We identified two basic clusters of women and discuss possible hindrance factors undermining entrepreneurial desires and limitations for entrepreneurship as well as possible avenues for policy makers (and MNCs) to foster entrepreneurship in the given community.

Keywords: Base (bottom) of the pyramid, entrepreneurial reluctance, desirability, feasibility, Turkey, entrepreneurship, poor.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, research on conducting business with and for the poor population in developing countries has increased significantly. Beginning with the seminal work of Prahalad and Hart (2002), a sound stream of literature has emerged on the so-called "Base of the Pyramid" (BoP) segments of societies, i.e. on those people living in extreme and moderate poverty at the bottom-tier of the world income pyramid (Hahn, 2009). In this environment, entrepreneurship and microentrepreneurship have been considered as a way out of poverty and as a chance to foster competition and economic growth (Djankov, La Porta, Lopez-de-Silanes, & Shleifer, 2002). Previous research points to the importance of entrepreneurial activities in advancing

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the economic development of countries or regions (e.g., Bruton, Ahlstrom, & Obloj, 2008). Specifically, successful entrepreneurial ventures may help narrowing the gap between advanced and less-developed countries and thus help improving the livelihood of many people. At the BoP, a (potential) boost of prosperity would be particularly valuable for improving the often dire economic situation of many people and also for empowering disregarded parts of the population (Bal & Iudge, 2010).

Start-ups headed by women have also played an important role in the economic development of countries (e.g., Mroczkowski, 1997 and various articles in Butler, 2003). In addition to the (quantitative) economic contribution female entrepreneurs make, it has been argued that gender-related, ethnical and educational diversity in entrepreneurship also plays a significant role for the performance of a country or

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region (Verheul & van Stel, 2010). Nevertheless, men are still twice as likely as women to be engaged in entrepreneurial activities (Minniti, Allen, & Langowitz, 2005) and in some countries women represent a largely untapped pool of entrepreneurial talent (Carter & Marlow, 2003).

Against this background, this study aims at exploring desires and reluctances toward entrepreneurial activities of a comparably homogenous group of potential (poor) entrepreneurs in an emerging economy—cleaning ladies in Istanbul—and at discussing possible constraints. With this we address several gaps in the literature.

First, we study the phenomenon of female entrepreneurship (or the lack thereof) at the base of the income pyramid in Turkey. We focus on this particular context as most of the existing models and theories about women-owned and operated businesses have been established in the industrialized nations of the West (Dechant & Lamky, 2005). Among developing countries, Turkey offers a unique perspective on the issue of women's entrepreneurship, as in spite of women having played an active role in Turkish social and political life, they have only recently become active in Turkish business and commerce (Ufuk & Özgen, 2001). Little is known about reasons on why women do not start a business in Turkey. While some studies have been conducted on female entrepreneurship in developing and transition economies in other parts of the world, empirical research on entrepreneurship in BoP markets is still scarce (see, e.g., Webb, Kistruck, Ireland, & Ketchen, 2010) and even less attention has been paid to those regions with a predominantly Muslim population. Second, whereas countries with a large share of people living in poverty have been well researched from a macro perspective covering fields such as economic growth and development (UNCTAD, 2007), research on female entrepreneurship in the poor communities is still scarce (for notable examples see, e.g., Amine & Staub, 2009; Yunus & Jolis, 2003). We attempt to address this gap by adding a micro-perspective on entrepreneurship in these markets.

Third, we focus on the constraints potential female entrepreneurs are facing in the BoP context. While entrepreneurship in general may be a way to establish a decent living and escape the problems associated with unsecured employment in many countries (Basu, 2004), especially people living in poverty often face significant

entrepreneurial constraints in terms of a lack of capital and finance opportunities (Roy & Wheeler, 2006), poor education (Todaro & Smith, 2012), or missing property rights (Soto, 2000). When turning to female entrepreneurship, some of these issues seem to be even more pronounced. Previous research, however, mostly sought to explain intentions of entrepreneurship (e.g., Gartner, 1988) while still often neglecting the question of why individuals choose *not* to become entrepreneurs. Prior studies have shown motivational factors play a major role in business creation (Jones-Evans, 1995; Lerner, Brush, & Hisrich, 1997) and that, for example, individuals with higher entrepreneurial self-efficacy display stronger entrepreneurial intentions (Chen, Greene, & Crick, 1998; Krueger, Reilly, & Carsrud, 2000) but it is less clear, which reasons may lead to entrepreneurial reluctance. Recently, a number of studies tried to fill this gap and explain why females abstain from establishing their own businesses. The explanations focus on preferences shaped by women's assigned position within family structures, on the overarching influence of societal patterns or on other constraints such as a lacking access to finance (e.g., Acs, Bardasi, Estrin, & Svejnar, 2011; McElwee & Al-Riyami, 2003; Roomi & Parrott, 2008). In spite of these first attempts, however, researchers so far have had a tendency to "underestimate the influence of external factors and overestimate the influence of internal or personal factors when making judgements about the behaviour of other individuals" (Gartner, 1995, p. 70). There is thus a need for studies investigating institutional and societal influences on entrepreneurship decisions. We therefore investigate the reasons why women at the BoP in Turkey refrain from establishing their own businesses.

The originality of this paper thus lies in its different viewpoint of entrepreneurial intentions. Instead of assessing the factors that influence intentions which then lead to the establishment of entrepreneurial ventures, we propose a model to assess the influences that prevent females at the BoP from pursuing entrepreneurial ventures. We believe that exploring the reasons why certain individuals choose not to become entrepreneurs is at least as telling as investigating why they do so. By determining the factors that lead to attitudes of entrepreneurial reluctance, practical implications can be derived to foster female entrepreneurship at the BoP. To achieve this, we draw

upon the social dimensions of entrepreneurship by Shapero and Sokol (1982). We build upon the assumption that if desirability, feasibility and propensity to act can explain entrepreneurial intentions, they may also help to explain entrepreneurship reluctance. We further use Institutional Theory and posit that normative and cognitive forces may shape individual decisions on entrepreneurship.

The study unfolds as follows: First, we review the literature on BoP, entrepreneurship in general and female entrepreneurship in particular before developing our analytic framework from extant literature focusing on aspects of entrepreneurial reluctance and institutional theory. Then, we illuminate the exploratory multiple-case study design applied. Thereafter, we present the most relevant findings of the data analysis and subsequently discuss them against the background of the literature on entrepreneurial desires and constraints and on the BoP before coming to a conclusion that also highlights the limitations of our study.

LITERATURE BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT OF ANALYTICAL CATEGORIES

Relevance of Female Entrepreneurship at the BoP: A major force for development within an economy is entrepreneurship. Policy makers and academics acknowledge the importance of entrepreneurship for regional performance (e.g., Beugelsdijk & Noorderhaven, 2004; Carree & Thurik, 2010). Developing economies, in particular, count on small business enterprise to stimulate economic growth, replace state-owned organizations and create job opportunities (Mazzarol, Volery, Doss, & Thein, 1999). Through innovative potential, entrepreneurial ability may boost developing economies (Ali, Topping, & Tariq, 2011). New venture creation affects regional development both directly and indirectly. Directly, new firms lead to new "capacities" in the economic environment and thereby contribute to the local economy (Zwan, Thurik, & Grilo, 2010). Indirectly, new business formation affects the competitiveness and welfare of regions. From this perspective it is important to preserve a large pool of potential and aspiring entrepreneurs especially when looking at the BoP.

One often untapped source of entrepreneurial energy is female entrepreneurship. Female business owners are instrumental in modernizing developing economies (Lerner *et al.*, 1997). Although women have significantly increased their participation in business start-up

activities, they still lag behind men regarding business ownership (Bruin, Brush, & Welter, 2006; Minniti et al., 2005). Triggering women to engage in entrepreneurship can thus be an important instrument to foster the entrepreneurial climate (Baughn, Chua, & Neupert, 2006). Encouragement of female entrepreneurship in BoP markets is expected to lead to significantly increased employment and greater economic activity (Amine & Staub, 2009). Encouraging women to become entrepreneurs can have significant societal impact. Studies show that especially among the poor, men have a higher propensity to spend earned income on clothing, entertainment (including alcohol) or food themselves, whereas women rather invest their earnings in the food, clothing and education of their children (Baklien, 2004; Downing, 1990). Female entrepreneurs therefore can add incrementally to a developing nation's economy and increasing prosperity.

Women start businesses for a variety of reasons. Some are "pushed" by negative environmental circumstances; others are "pulled" by positive opportunity (Hisrich & Öztürk, 1999; Stokes, Riger, & Sullivan, 1995). Prior studies show that women entrepreneurs in developed countries are driven by pull factors; whereas, women entrepreneurs in developing countries are driven by a combination of push and pull factors (Orhan & Scott, 2001; Holmén, Min, & Saarelainen, 2011). In poorer countries, women often resort to entrepreneurship as a way to generate income and escape poverty (Minniti, 2010; Holmén et al., 2011). There are, however, many other motivating factors for women when deciding to found a venture. For example, Hisrich and Öztürk (1999) indicate that independence and achievement are the motivations for Turkish strongest women entrepreneurs; and that boredom from being a housewife is a crucial reason for many starting their own businesses whereas Gray and Finley-Hervey (2005) claim that the primary entrepreneurial motivations for Moroccan women entrepreneurs is the desire for achievement and independence. Furthermore, studies on women entrepreneurs in Afghanistan, Ghana, and Pakistan indicate that they are mainly driven by economic necessity to support themselves and their families (Holmén et al., 2011; Dzisi, 2009; Shabbir & Di Gregorio, 1996).

In addition, variables such as marital status and the number of children were found to be important in explaining the entrepreneurial engagement of women (e.g., Edwards & Field-Hendrey, 2002; Kirkwood & Tootell, 2008; Parker, 2009). Also household income and partner's work status may be important in developing and sustaining the venture. Caputo and Dolinsky (1998), for example, find that the self-employment status of the husband exerts an influence on the decision of women to enter self-employment (similar Bruce, 1999; Devine, 1994). In the same sense, a woman's knowledge of another entrepreneur is a strong predictor of her involvement in starting a new business (Minniti *et al.*, 2005).

Thus, in sum, it is evident that entrepreneurship may bear opportunities for women at the BoP in developing countries, especially in comparison to being employed in the uninsured wage-and-salary sector (Devine, 1994). However, studies also show that women tend to have a lower probability of preferring self-employment over wage employment (Blanchflower, Oswald, & Stutzer, 2001; Grilo & Irigoyen, 2006; Zwan *et al.*, 2010). It is therefore crucial to understand and address female reasons for undesirability and infeasibility of establishing ventures in order to leverage their impact on economic development and poverty alleviation (Kreide, 2003).

Categories of Entrepreneurial Reluctance of Women at the BoP: There are several reasons why women abstain from entrepreneurship. Financial problems may cause difficulties for female entrepreneurs and access to capital is often noted as the largest hurdle encountered by female entrepreneurs—or those that aspire to become one—in both developed and developing countries (Coleman, 2000; Muravyev, Talavera, & Schäfer, 2009; Maysami & Goby, 1999). It is common in developing countries to use sources other than bank loans. Internal finance encompasses the majority of funding for small and medium enterprises (Goheer, 2003; Lingelbach, La Vina, & Asel, 2005). In these countries, also female entrepreneurs tend to finance their businesses with personal savings or loans from family and friends (Coleman, 2000). However, especially at the BoP such internal financing options are seldom available due to lack of capital or securities in general. Apart from these facts, the entrepreneurial role is often considered to be more masculine than feminine. Entrepreneurs are frequently described as bold, aggressive and risk taking (Marlow, 2002). This stereotyping of entrepreneurship masculine may discourage women from attempting to found new

ventures (Bird & Brush, 2002) and it may also affect the business community with whom women entrepreneurs interact (Langowitz & Morgan, 2003). While the evidence for open discrimination against female entrepreneurs is mixed (Carter & Brush, 2004), women in a number of countries have listed lack of respect or not being taken seriously as among the barriers that they faced in their ventures (Bliss, Polutnik, & Lisowska, 2003; Woldie & Adersua, 2004). Woldie and Adersua (2004) report that aspiring female entrepreneurs often suffer from negative social attitudes. Many societies continue to define women primarily through roles associated with family and household responsibilities. In these countries, female entrepreneurship may be inhibited because the traditional role of women as caretaker in the household is emphasized. Female individuals may thus be missing normative support, referring to the extent to which new business start-ups are acceptable for women and there is discouragement for women to be self-employed (Baughn et al., 2006; Holmén et al., 2011).

Not only normative, but also cognitive institutions may influence entrepreneurial aspirations of females. Cognitive institutions build from the culture of the society. Countries may differ in terms of value placed on entrepreneurs (Bruton, Fried, & Manigart, 2005). Female entrepreneurship may be devalued in a country not only because of sex-role stereotyping or gender discrimination, but because entrepreneurship itself is generally not held in high regard. Differences in the social acceptability of an entrepreneurial career have been noted by a number of researchers examining national differences in entrepreneurship (Luthans, Stajkovic, & Ibrayeva, 2000; Mueller & Thomas, 2001). In sum, cultural norms (including family, friends, mentors, role models etc.) may act as a moderating variable between an individual's background and knowledge and his/her feelings or perceptions of undesirability, infeasibility and lack of propensity to act in relation to entrepreneurial reluctance. In their well-cited article, Shapero and Sokol (1982) characterize desirability as the personal attractiveness of starting a business, including both intrapersonal and extrapersonal impacts. Perceived feasibility is the degree to which one feels personally capable of starting a business (Krueger et al., 2000). Shapero and Sokol (1982) define propensity to act as the personal disposition to act on one's decisions, thus reflecting volitional aspects of intentions ("I will do it"). A person who is capable and willing to make a decision and act on it has the propensity to act. Previous research has shown that perceptions of feasibility highly correlate to intentions of entrepreneurship (Rasheed, 2004). If an individual perceives an action or situation as infeasible or undesirable, he or she will be reluctant to pursue such an action. And finally, if an individual lacks or does not desire the propensity to act, in relation to entrepreneurship in particular, he or she will be reluctant to make the decision to take part in the

activity. Each of these antecedents refers to the reluctance to take part in an entrepreneurial venture. All aspects together form the general model of entrepreneurial constraints as depicted in Figure 1. For our analysis we chose not to further refine this model (i.e. not breaking down the categories into further subissues) since we did not want to narrow our explorative study on specific issues, but rather aimed at getting an overall picture of the subjects perception of entrepreneurial activities.

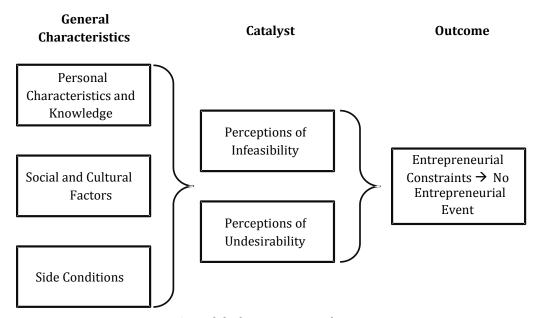


Figure 1: Model of entrepreneurial constraints.

DATA AND METHODS

We chose an interpretive case study approach since such case tend to yield rich insights into context and experience of an understudied phenomenon (Yin, 2009). We aim at developing an overview of the reasons why Turkish women at the BoP (namely cleaning ladies in Istanbul) refrain from establishing entrepreneurial enterprises as well as the social, cultural and economic factors that influence this decision. Interpretive case studies provide rich, thick descriptions that can be used to support, challenge or illustrate assumptions held prior to data collection (Dechant & Lamky, 2005). Thus, if there is a lack of theory or existing theory doesn't adequately explain a phenomenon interpretive case studies can be helpful in identifying new categories or elements that move beyond existing findings and models (Merriam, 1991). The following five-stage research process (Stuart, McCutcheon, Handfield, McLachlin, & Samson, 2002) gives an overview over the different steps of our explorative study:

1. Theory-based definition of the research objective: The present study looks at desires, reluctances and constraints toward entrepreneurship through the lens of a theoretical model of entrepreneurial reluctance and constraints derived from literature. Instead of looking at established entrepreneurs, we focus on a group of people which might have a desire to become entrepreneurs, for example, out of necessity. The women in our study earn their living mostly by relying on daily work with no or little security such as insurance or otherwise. However, these women have decided not to take the step into self-employment, so far. The objective of our study is to explore why this is the case, whether or not these women have the desire to become entrepreneurs and which specific constraints they face. As indicated, our main starting points were Institutional Theory and the social dimensions of entrepreneurship as outlined by Shapero and Sokol (1982).

- 2. Instrument development: Case studies are a particularly suitable tool for scientific exploration (Yin, 2009). They are appropriate for our purpose of looking at entrepreneurial issues of women at the BoP, since empirical work covering this domain is scant. Our interview partners promised to be a rich source of information on desires and constraints toward entrepreneurship due to their personal characteristics as well as due to societal and cultural factors which will be outlined throughout our study.
- 3. Data gathering: A sample of 15 cleaning ladies in Istanbul who had not had started their own business so far was selected. The sample size in this study is comparable with the samples in studies mentioned by Eisenhardt (1989). Face-to-face interviews were conducted in early 2012 by our research group using a semi-structured interview guide covering a broad range of facets from personal situation to issues of employment and entrepreneurship. In the course of the interviews, the respondents were asked to describe their main and secondary factors that made them reluctant to establish an own business in spite of a possibly more attractive life. Turkish researchers conducted the interviews to avoid cultural barriers, which could affect the interview results, and to ensure better data capture. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed in English.
- **4.** Data analysis: We analysed data by means of qualitative content analysis (Duriau, Reger, & Pfarrer, 2007) based on the pattern of analytic categories that had been deductively developed from the literature beforehand (see again figure 1). This approach was our response to Siggelkow (2007) call for a strong theoretical background (in our case a model of entrepreneurial reluctance and constraints) in case study research that consistently filters data according to conceptual arguments and thus reduces data to the most relevant information.
- **5.** Quality of overall research process: Transparency and replicability is ensured by a detailed documentation of the research process. Construct validity is enhanced by relying on an analytic pattern derived from entrepreneurship literature. Careful transcription and multi-coder analysis contribute to high levels of reliability and internal validity. Different judgments between the coders were assessed case by case and resolved through discussions to align the mental schemes of the coders (Seuring & Gold, 2012). A certain

degree of generalization of the findings and hence external validity can be claimed due to our research procedure that de-contextualizes the excavated pieces of knowledge and raises them to a level of broader application through theory-led abstraction (Avenier, 2010).

FINDINGS

All of the 15 women were married with kids and most of the women's husbands were low-pay workers. The women worked as cleaning ladies for an average of roughly nine years (anything between two and 20 years). Only three women had an education higher than elementary school and a few did not even finish primary school which is typical for women coming originally from poor rural areas.

In terms of the women's desirability to be entrepreneurs, we identified two basic clusters: First, a comparably large group of women was generally willing to open their own business (e.g., a small restaurant, shop, day care, tailoring or else that would suite their abilities). These women usually had a clear vision of how such a business would look like and how they would pursue it. In most cases, they wanted to open their businesses with their husbands, which is in line with the observations of Cetindamar, Gupta, Karadeniz, and Egrican (2012), who claim that family members are generally considered to be more trustworthy in matters involving sensitive transactions where the risk of opportunism and malfeasance is high, such as in new businesses. However, these women also voiced a number of obstacles which made them refrain from becoming entrepreneurs although some had tried it before. Some of the interviewees pointed out that they did not believe they possessed the knowledge or qualifications to start any business at all; or they emphasized the need to take up bank loans to start an own business. Thus the main reason for their current reluctance did not lie in their personality but rather in the long-term (e.g., education) and short-term (e.g., insufficient funding) circumstances and a general perception of infeasibility. This was also one of the outcomes of Cetindamar et al's study (2012), who found that educated women were more likely to engage in entrepreneurship. The infeasibility of the women in our study was perceived in different strength. Some women were quite willing to give it a try while other saw greater barriers. Table 1 summarizes some exemplary quotes from women in the first cluster.

Table 1: Quotes from the first cluster with women generally willing to be entrepreneurs.

General desire to "Of course I would like to own a business of my own." Tenzile S. open a business "I would like to own a business like a restaurant or a kindergarten. ... In spite of everything I would jump in this work. There's nothing better to do! ... It's very good to be your own boss." Gülcan A. "Yes, I would like to establish my own firm. I would like to do something with glassware. It would be easy to sell cheap products and I would not have to invest much money." Aysegül Y. "Of course I would like to have my own business, who won't? ... if we had capital we would immediately open our shop. I already know the name of our restaurant, it should be written in capital letters or in gold. It would be the best to write it in capital letters "IRMAK EV YEMEKLERI" ("RIVERHOME MEALS") isn't it nice? In short time we would grow and become a chain called "IRMAK EV YEMEKLERI DUKKANLARI" ("RIVERHOME MEALS RESTAURANTS"). Wouldn't it be great?" Zeynep B. "Yes, I would like to open my own shop. I had a dream of opening a restaurant or a cafe. Apart from it, I would gladly sell gifts." Dilek H. Inhibiting personal "I don't have any special skills except housework." Tenzile S. characteristics "I have no skills. I got married very early and got children very early. I had not time to learn anything." Zeynep B. "I didn't learn some skills." Dilek H. Inhibiting side "Without money you can't build any business. ... I think it's hard to take a bank loan." Tenzile S. conditions "If you have nothing to invest in your dreams can't bring them to live. You have to fulfill some conditions. This has to do with money, if you have money you can do anything, open a restaurant or a restaurant chain. Unfortunately we don't have these conditions. ... The bank would not give us credit because paying the credit back is not easy." Zeynep B. If the state would give us credit for opening a new business it would be possible. Otherwise I would not have the motivation. ... I would not want to take out a credit. Only in case of not reaching enough money I would get a credit. Until this day I never thought about getting a credit, because the bad experience of my husband with the credit." Fatma S. "You are struggling to live in minimum conditions, so how can you set up a business. ... Nowadays nobody is lending money to anyone. ... Who would give a credit to someone who is unemployed? The banks have rules. They don't give credits to everyone. ... For example in India there is a special situation: There are banks which give microcredits like 1000 dollar, 500 dollar to unemployed people and they get very low interest rates. ... There is no such thing in

Turkey. If there was I would get without thinking." Dilek H.

Second, another cluster of women was not willing to be active entrepreneurs right from the beginning. Here, we found fundamentally different reasons for their entrepreneurial reluctance. Instead of a perception of infeasibility it was rather a generally perceived undesirability of entrepreneurial activities (which was sometimes also coined by a perceived infeasibility). Studies of entrepreneurship have determined that culture is a major situational variable in understanding entrepreneurship across countries (Cornwall, 1999). The types of ideas and the way in which entrepreneurs come up with them are also context driven; so too is the nature of the obstacles faced and the manner in which entrepreneurs address these obstacles (Mitchell et al., 2002). In general, a culture is less conducive to new business creation the lower it scores in individualism and masculinity and the higher it is in uncertainty avoidance and power distance (Hayton, George, & Zahra,

2002). Since entrepreneurship is embedded in a complex network of social relationships, the divisions and barriers experienced by women versus men in terms of accessing resources or opportunities also vary by culture and can significantly impact the success of women's ventures (Lerner et al., 1997). With respect to both of these points, Turkish society tends to be high in collectivism as well as power distance and low in gender equity and future orientation (Kabasakal & Bodur, 2002).

Furthermore, these women did not want to be entrepreneurs (although they might distantly dream of it), for example, since they perceive their current job as more secure with a predictable, albeit very low, income. They felt that they did not want to risk the well-being of their families for an entrepreneurial activity and were in general quite risk averse. In some cases, the respondents did not see any possibility to combine their family and

household responsibilities with owning and running an own business. In other cases, previous experiences (such as bankruptcy in the family or immediate environment) were mentioned as reasons for abstaining from entrepreneurial activity. Table 2 illustrates different aspects from interviews with these women.

Table 2: Quotes from the second cluster with women generally unwilling to be entrepreneurs.

Inhibiting personal characteristics

"Honestly, I don't have the ambition to do something and to get rich." Zeliha A.

"I have no courage to take money [or credit] from someone or somewhere" Güllü A.

"We don't have money for such plans. We pay our bills and the rent with almost all of the money we earn." Elif K.

"Actually, three years ago we opened a patisserie, but because of some problems we gave up and closed it." Zeliha A.

"It requires having capital. I cannot provide money in these circumstances. Because I have to prioritize my kids and my family. I am afraid of credits and I want to be involved in debt to neither family nor banks, not right for me." Serpil C.

"I didn't want to have my own job because it has its special problems. It is so risky to open an office and it is necessary to have lots of money. I don't have enough money. Even I had, I can't take that risk. I'm getting my daily wages and that is enough for me for now. Approximately I know how much I can earn. ... I'm married and have kids. I have to think my family before everything. I don't have any right to push my kids into bad conditions. ... It is so easy to lose. Losing money may cause big disaster. You may get in depression. ... I wanted to work for a less risky job. ... Banks are merciless. If you couldn't pay back, it is going to be worse. Doing nothing is better than receiving loan from a bank". Naime T.

Table 3: Quotes on social factors regarding female entrepreneurship.

Inhibiting social and cultural characteristics

"According to my husband's family tradition, women are not working outside after marriage. ... My husband can oppose me. ... He is afraid of my independence." Güllü A.

"This is not well regarded in our society. ... My husband didn't allow me to work at first." Aysegül Y.

"My husband doesn't want me to work. ... He often repeated that I don't have to work." Zeynep B.

"My husband doesn't want me to work." Fatma S.

"Actually, it can't be said that girls can go to school much in our hometowns. ... Probably my husband wouldn't let me do that [open a business]. ... Generally, men work for our traditions and women do housework." Naime T.

"There will be people who will try to overwhelm you because you're a woman. There will be people who will try to hinder your business, too. ... You will be all alone as a woman." Mürvet C.

"About 20 years ago there was a belief that girls better not study and my father did not permit me to study." Gülcan A.

"My mother's family don't let women to work." Nermir C.

Supporting social and cultural characteristics

"If I would found a company and ask my family for support, they would help me." Zeliha A.

"I think women can do this, there are many who are successful." Tenzile S.

"I think that women are able to build their own business and be successful." Gülcan A.

"Everybody encourages me to start a business." Nermir C.

"Women can found a business like men. It is normal." Serpil C.

"I think my husband would agree with this. I think he would support me." Nergis K.

"My husband would support me, besides he always does." Fatma A.

"My family would support me." Dilek H.

"My husband is supporting me on this matter. My kids, too. ... My family will support me, too." Mürvet C.

However, the two clusters are not always perfectly separable and sometimes arguments get mixed as can exemplarily be seen from the statement of Fatma A. On the one hand she argues briskly in favor of being an entrepreneur. "Of course I would like that [to have an own business]. In the end it's yours. ... If it's my own business I

would come and go as I please. And I can make my own decisions." On the other hand, she seems to be quite risk averse. "It's a bit risky to get all the money from bank as a credit. ... I mean I won't take that risk, never take bank risk. ...Besides we are not using credit cart either. People get loans by over using credit cards. If you don't have money you should not spend it, it's that simple. ... It's a lot of risk; I mean it's like walking into the fire openly. I will work for monthly pay and be at ease. Why would I struggle with those?"

Mürvet C. offers another example of such opposing thoughts. While she is already engaged in some limited entrepreneurial activities such as selling Avon and Tupperware she is still a cleaning lady. Despite wanting to open an own business ("Of course I want to [open an own business], why wouldn't I? No one wants to work under these conditions ever.") she also has a great solidarity toward her employers which apparently hinders her from being more ambitious ("My working places are secure, I know them for years. … No way, my conscience won't let me [quit my job] anyway. The people for whom I clean helped me a lot. …God bless them, they helped us a lot since we came to Istanbul.").

Finally, previous studies showed that in patriarchal societies it is not socially accepted for women to run their own business (Roomi & Parrott, 2008). Some women from our sample indeed mentioned that such inhibiting social circumstances were existent now or in the past. Other, however, voiced the exact opposite which indicates the ambiguous current state of affairs. Table 3 summarizes illustrative quotes on these societal and cultural issues.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

By opening up entrepreneurial opportunities to women, entrepreneurship may contribute to empowerment and welfare (Fafchamps & Quisumbing, 2005). Anderson and Eswaran (2009) note, that by empowering women and improving their autonomy, entrepreneurship may contribute towards better economic and social conditions, health and educational outcomes at the BoP. Our study contributes to BoPliterature by focusing on a so far understudied phenomenon of entrepreneurial reluctance in this part of the world population. To allow for meaningful insights we concentrated on a specific sub-group, namely cleaning women in Istanbul, Turkey. With this study design, also contribute literature we entrepreneurial constraints (and desires) in a homogeneous group. We identified entrepreneurial desires as well as BoP-specific entrepreneurial constraints which are accompanied by constraints stemming from the specific background of our interview subjects (i.e. poor cleaning ladies from Istanbul). Thus, we found possible hindrance factors undermining limitations entrepreneurial desires and entrepreneurship as well as possible avenues for policy makers (and MNCs) to foster entrepreneurship in the given community. The two groups of women we identified raise fundamentally different theoretical and practical implications. From a theoretical point of view, the findings show that reasons for reluctance to establish an own business might differ in the case of male and female non-entrepreneurs; and this picture might be further different in the case of nonentrepreneurs at the BoP. An overarching framework needs to be established combining the separate fields of female entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial intentions and reluctance at the BoP.

There also some practical implications of this study. When fostering entrepreneurial activity, governments should be aware of the importance of women because they are a valuable and often untapped source of entrepreneurial diversity. In addition, they can function as role models for other women to engage in entrepreneurship. Our study indicates that the women face different barriers to taking steps to start a business ("thinking" to "taking steps"). One of our findings demonstrates, for example, the important role of in facilitating entry education women's entrepreneurship. Although compulsory education between the ages of 6 and 15 has been introduced in Turkey (Hancioglu, Koç, & Dayioglu, 2001), there are still numerous girls that do not go beyond primary education (Aycan, 2004). Turkish policy-makers should encourage Turkish women (and their families) to pursue education, possibly through providing scholarships and other forms of financial assistance. Furthermore, our study shows a large impact of (lacking) financial capital on entry into entrepreneurship. Governmental initiatives to increase entrepreneurship could focus on providing financial soft loans, grants and subsidies to help people gain access to necessary financial capital they would not have otherwise.

The perceived undesirability by some women to engage in entrepreneurial activities might also be influenced by social stereotypes prevailing in society (see again table 3). Changing such stereotypes, however, is a long-lasting process which indeed seems to have started already since a number of interviewees mentioned ongoing and past changes in this regard in the Turkish society. A more mid- to short-term oriented policy focus could thus rather be on reducing perceived infeasibility.

Family duties, for example, were stated as some of the most important factors for reluctance to start a business. Policy makers could provide institutional arrangements such as day care centres if female entrepreneurship is to be encouraged. Day care centres are provided in developed country contexts and for female entrepreneurs with higher income levels; however similar solutions could be an option for potential female entrepreneurs at the BoP. According to Orloff (2002), an increasing number of female entrepreneurs would create demand for care services, which in turn would be a source of demand for further female entrepreneurs. Additionally (and more mid-term oriented), creating educational opportunities for potential entrepreneurs would improve women's human capital potential and assure entrepreneurial growth among women. Also private enterprises and large companies, especially multinationals, may be of support by creating day care centres and education possibilities, so that current nonentrepreneurs may establish their own business. This may also be in the interest of these companies themselves, if the newly established businesses become their suppliers. These results highlight the challenge in subsistence-level female-owned getting microenterprises to grow and suggest that the binding constraints on their growth may lie outside the realm of capital and skills. One option is more intensive (and expensive) one-on-one personalized mentoring and consulting, which Valdivia (2011) finds to be an effective measure. Another is addressing constraints to female participation in wage work, as these labour market failures are potentially the reason that many women are operating businesses in the first place (Emran, Morshed, & Stiglitz, 2007).

Finally, we have to note that our study is of course not without limitations which at the same time open up opportunities for future research. Due to the relatively limited number of interviews, our findings are not generalizable but should rather be used in an exploratory way to shed some light on entrepreneurial constraints for a specific group of the BoP. With the analytical model depicted in Figure 1 we aimed at

getting a bird's eye view of the women's perception of entrepreneurial activities. Admittedly, this only allowed us to gain rather rough estimates of the reasons for perceived undesirability or infeasibility. Further research could delve deeper into single constructs to achieve more detailed insight into constraining and enabling factors of BoP entrepreneurship of women in Turkey. As suggested by Frederking (2004), especially context factors such as prevailing family arrangements, entrepreneurship level in the immediate surroundings of these females, local norms and culture as well as networks that help reducing (or lead to increase in) transaction costs for entrepreneurs need to be considered. Furthermore, we concentrated on a specific setting in Istanbul (Turkey) which may be coined by specific environmental moderators (such as social and cultural influences) which might not be present in other settings. The same applies to the concentration of cleaning ladies as subjects in our study.

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