

**The role of family factors in shaping the entrepreneurial intentions of women:
a case study of women entrepreneurs from Peshawar, Pakistan**

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ROLE OF FAMILY FACTORS ON WOMEN ENTREPRENEURIAL INTENTIONS: A CASE STUDY OF WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS FROM PESHAWAR, PAKISTAN

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Introduction

Probing into the complexities of the antecedents and the significance of any meaningful behavior needs an in-depth understanding of the intentions towards that behavior (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980), as intentions are thought to be the best predictor of planned behavior. Entrepreneurial intentions (EI) – one’s desire to be one’s own boss, or to create a venture is conceptualized as the strongest determinant of entrepreneurial behavior (Bagozzi, 1992). Entrepreneurial behavior is defined as process of creating new ventures (Gartner, 1988). Entrepreneurial behavior is defined as process of creating new ventures (Gartner, 1988) hence, stronger the EI, the greater chances of venture creation (Ajzen 1991, Krueger, Reilly, and Carsrud, 2000). Recent literature emphasizes the contextual nature of entrepreneurial process, consequently, research on EI and its antecedents too is relocated to context-bound perspective (Shahid, Imran and Shehryar, 2018). The recognition that ‘intentions’ are formed in a ‘context’, brings contextuality to the fore, showing that intentions are dynamic; they vary across cultures hence, “...the quest to capture the diversity of entrepreneurial activity demands greater care and creativity in contextualizing entrepreneurship studies” (Ibid: 4). There is a strong need to explore the role of context in the formation of EI. However, how the contextual factors in the form the social, economic, institutional and political forces and the embeddedness in the network influence the intention formation largely remains unexplored.

The issue becomes more glaring when ‘gender’ and ‘context’ are taken together to explore the antecedents of EI in developing countries like Pakistan. The enduring debate of ‘gender’ making a difference in the EI has resulted in mixed empirical findings (Wilson, Kickul and Marlino., 2007). Zhao, Seibert, and Hills, (2005) and Buttner and Moore (1997) have found gender-based differences in EI, while Gupta et al., (2009) did not document any such differences. We, taking sides with Welter (2011) posit that to understand entrepreneurship, it is important to consider when, why, and how people become entrepreneurs, and in the process, context is of great significance. It helps explain variations in the rate of entrepreneurial activity linking it to the contextual construction of gender roles and responsibilities. Societies with traditional gender roles legitimize women as homemakers and do not consider women’s entrepreneurship as desirable (Amadi & Adim, 2020; Yukongdi & Cañete, 2020), reducing their likelihood of entrepreneurship.

Intentions-based research has highlighted personality traits, socialization experiences, role model, family support, entrepreneurship education, family business background, and culture and institutions (c.f Liñán & Fayolle; 2015) as antecedents of EI. In this paper, we aim to understand the role of the family in the formation of EI of women in Peshawar, Pakistan. This will help us to unearth how family-related factors shape the perceptions of desirability and feasibility for women and what determines their propensity to act. Our contributions are manifold. This study highlights the importance of the family context when the embedded nature of entrepreneurial processes is studied (Anderson and Jack, 2002; Carter, Kuhl, Marlow & Mwaura, 2017) by bringing forth complexity of the process in a patriarchal culture. We contribute to the enrichment of the family embeddedness perspective on EI (Criaco et al., 2017) of women and extend it beyond the financial support using an integrated model of EI (Iakovleva and Kolvereid, 2009) for a thorough understanding. Current research adds to the stream of research on gender and EI, which so far has inconclusive results. Further, our analysis is focused on the EI of women once they become entrepreneurs, about which less is known (Diáñez-González, Camelo-Ordaz and Ruiz-Navarro, 2016).

Entrepreneurial Intentions: Background Research

Venture creation is a planned behavior that can be predicted by exploring the intentions behind it (Castro, Moraes, Cod and Berne, 2018). Intentions are significant predictors of behavior (Ajzen, 1991), this is what entrepreneurship is built on (Krueger, 2007). The enactment of entrepreneurial behavior represents the dynamic interplay of individual and the environment; hence, it is imperative to understand the environmental/contextual factors that shape the EI. Social environment is highly significant in shaping the cognition and actions of the social actors (De

Carolis and Saporito, 2006). Fayolle, Basso and Bouchard (2010) highlight the importance of interplay between various levels of social influence while explicating the EI. Social influence can be observed at macro- and micro-levels. Micro level represents the close environment i.e family, friends, and strong ties (Santos, Roomi & Liñán, 2016) providing advice, support and legitimacy (Hindle et al. 2009). If the closer environment perceives entrepreneurship as socially legitimate and valuable, individuals will develop positive attitude towards it (Scherer, Brodzinsky and Wiebe 1991). On the other hand, Macro environment is more complex and represent social values that are shared by the community (Thornton, Ribeiro-Soriano, and Urbano, 2011). Social perception of entrepreneurship will determine the chances of becoming entrepreneur. It is assumed that social actors know the social perception of entrepreneurship as career option and their intentions are shaped accordingly (Santos, Roomi & Liñán, 2016).

Entrepreneurs and their enterprises are embedded in a network of relations, which plays a crucial role in entrepreneurial process by helping in resource acquisition (Boyd, 1989), stipulating legitimacy (Aldrich and Fiol, 1994), help in avoiding failure (Miner et al., 1992) and offering emotional and practical support (Ostgaard and Birley, 1996). Klyver & Schøtt (2011) called for an embedded perspective of EI by immersing intention formation in the network of the entrepreneur(s) to understand the impact of relations on EI. Relational impact on EI has been studied through ‘role model’ (Krueger et al., 2000; Kirkwood, 2007) and belongingness to family business background (Carr & Sequeira, 2007; Wang, Wang & Chen, 2018) leading to Sieger & Minola (2017) who explored the family embeddedness of EI. They proposed that family embeddedness perspective provides a lens to conceptualize actors who “are embedded in ongoing systems of social relations and are thus not ‘atomized decision-makers’ who can make decisions independently” (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003: 577). Family embeddedness of the entrepreneur can stimulate the EI (Sieger & Minola, 2017) and that family can enable and/or constraint the venture formation. However, their study could not encompass the phenomenon in its entirety because their focus was on the financial support from the family and its impact on EI. The purpose of the current research is to understand whether and how family embeddedness acts as an antecedent of intention formation of women entrepreneurs.

Gender based difference in EI is one of the most frequent single research topics (Liñán & Fayolle, 2015). However, the impact of gender on the formation of EI has not

been studied directly (Díaz-García, & Jiménez-Moreno, 2010; Yordanova & Tarrazon, 2010). Due to gender stereotyping of the behavioral enactments and career paths women perceive entrepreneurship as less favorable for them as compared to men (Allen et al., 2007). Gupta et al, (2009) suggest, entrepreneurship when associated with masculine stereotypes reduce the likelihood of women to start a venture and vice versa. Due to gendered socialization experiences and social interpretation of entrepreneurship, women develop a different perception of the opportunities (DeTienne and Chandler, 2007) and barriers to entrepreneurship (Shinnar, Giacomini & Janssen, 2012). Subjective social norms as one of the most important antecedents of EI have a stronger influence on women's decisions to start or not to start a venture, further it also helps to determine the sector women can opt for, the place of venture and the type of business (Gohar & Abrar, 2016). Various other antecedents like self-efficacy, risk-taking, and entrepreneurship education, and family background has also been explored in relation to the gender of the entrepreneur. Haus et al. (2013) in their Meta-analysis conclude that few women as compared to men convert their intentions into actions. While others like (Díaz-García and Jiménez-Moreno, 2009; Buttner and Moore, 1997) emphasized gender-based similarities than differences, leading to inconclusive findings.

For an exploration of EI of women, familial context becomes particularly important because “women view their businesses as interconnected systems of relationships instead of separate economic units in a social world” (Brush, 1992: 28). Research on women entrepreneurship portrays a synergy in work and family life; their work life cannot be understood without analyzing their family domain (Jennings and McDougald, 2007). Family as a resource base is more critical for women-owned ventures (Powell and Eddleston, 2013). Yukongdi and Cañete (2020) concluded positive and negative influences of the family on women's startup decisions in terms of the provision of monetary and childcare support. Evidence from extant research are sufficient to reflect a stronger embeddedness of women entrepreneurs in their family; however, the impact of family factors on the formation of EI of women has not been explored in its totality yet. Similarly, studies that established the relationship of gender and EI are

quantitative, hence overlooked an in-depth view of the processes of gender construction and its influence on EI.

Context of The Study

Current research is taking place in the context of Peshawar, Pakistan. Pakistan presents a unique context stratified in various social classes, cast and tribes, with regional and cultural variations shaping the lives of the individual actors. Women are almost 49.6 percent of the total population, with a labor market participation well below that of most similar economies (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics 2017). In comparison with 82 percent of men, labor force participation by women was reported as 22 percent (World Bank 2020). The reduced presence of women in the mainstream economy is attributed to gender discrimination; Pakistan is ranked 151 out of 153 countries for gender disparities (Global Gender Gap Report 2020) and has deep-rooted cultural beliefs confining women to the household, coupled with a low level of investment in human capital (Hassan 2020). Owing to gender discrimination in the education system and the male-dominated cultural norms, educating female children is considered more of a liability, hence, they are given less priority. Women, if allowed to work, usually do not find well-paid opportunities, hence they find self-employment a better option. The Asian Development Bank (Field and Vyborny 2016) reports that only one-quarter of women work outside the home after graduating from university. According to the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, Pakistan ranks 49 out of 50 countries in respect of the total early-stage entrepreneurial activity. The early-stage entrepreneurial activity rate for women is 1.7 percent and 5.5 percent for men (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor 2020). Further, only 34 percent of women perceive themselves as capable of starting a business (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor 2012), reflecting a weak, poor entrepreneurial ecosystem.

When women are entrepreneurial, their activities are not visible, as most of the ventures are micro and small, home-based and invisible. Furthermore, in Pakistan there is no formal database of women-owned businesses (Roomi et al. 2018) owing to the strong presence of the informal sector and, in order to avoid paying taxes, people prefer not to register their ventures. Hence, most of the time the businesses that are performing better

in the informal sector are absent in the national income accounting. Although the scenario is changing, women's entrepreneurship and empowerment are at the core of national policies, however, there is a long way to go as "implementation requires rigorous integration into the public sector, private sector, organizations, and departments" (Khan et al. 2019, p. 98).

Pakistan in general and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) in particular is strongly patriarchal, and women face visible gender-discrimination. Pukhtoon culture experienced several changes as a result of global influences, however, to a greater extent their customs and traditions remain the same. The life of Pukhtoos is governed by the code of Pukhtoonwali or Pashtunwali (Taper, 1983, Quddus 1987) that vest family's honor in women. Woman in the Pukhtoon culture is respected as mother, daughter, sister, and wife; beyond these, carrying any other identity results in tension.

Women have a meager role in the social life, family is the epicenter of their activities. They carry no obligation to provide for the family needs (Junaid et al., 2015). Mostly, they are economically dependent and weak but those who have an understanding of the religion and some education, they know that it is not the religion that has kept them secluded but culture deprived them to be economically independent. However, it does not mean that women are completely isolated and do not participate in any income generating activity, rather in Asian countries some restrictions are levied on women participating in certain activities, it is safe to say that they are allowed to participate in various spheres of life but under certain conditions (Alam, 2012). Although the cultural conditions are changing and have become flexible to a greater extent but still women in KP are required to make their choices under the guidance and supervision of the male family members whose perceptions are shaped within the patriarchal setup. It would be interesting to know that living and growing up in such culture what factors shapes the EI of women. We will particularly focus on factors that are related to family because for women, family is foremost priority and their choices are shaped by family circumstances (Gohar et al, 2018, Roomi et al., 2018).

Theoretical Framework

For current study we take an integrated model of EI Iakovleva and Kolvereid (2009). They have combined the Entrepreneurial Event model (SEE) (1982) and Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) (1991). SEE believes that EIs are affected by individual's perceptions of desirability and perceived feasibility and both of these determine the propensity to act. On the other hand, TPB suggests that subjective norms and perceived behavioral control shape intentions, which then result in the enactment of behavior. TPB believes that human behavior is contextual, and personality traits, values, and attitudes have no direct impact on behavior.

The integrated model assumes that attitude towards a behavior shapes the desire of the social actors towards it (Bagozzi, 1992) i.e. it influences the perceptions of desirability. Attitude represents the personal preference towards the behavior i.e., "the degree to which a person has a favorable or unfavorable evaluation or appraisal of the behavior in question" (Ajzen, 1991, p. 188) largely shaped by the consequences of the behavior. If the chances of the desired consequences are greater, the attitude towards the enactment of the behavior will be positive, hence, the formation of intentions towards that behavior.

Subjective social norms represent "the perceived social pressure to perform or not to perform the behavior" (Ajzen 1991; p. 188). In other words, it is the opinion of significant others about the performance of behavior, if they disapprove, the performance becomes difficult. By closely looking at this we propose that personal attitude towards a behavior is largely affected by subjective norms, and this is particularly true in case of women in Peshawar. Their choices (life and career) are shaped by their significant others. Subjective norms are conceptualized as contextual forces that shape the landscape for individuals in which certain actions are rendered appropriate while others are not. Research has established the impact of these contextual forces on the prospect of forming domain-specific intentions (Kirrane et al., 2008). Subjective social norms influence the perception of desirability and feasibility of the behavior. Perception of feasibility reflects the available support in performing a behavior, if a particular context does not appropriate the performance of a behavior, its enactment will not be facilitated.

Perceived behavioral control is “the perceived ease or difficulty of performing the behavior” (Ajzen, 1991: 188). It refers to the resources that are required in enacting the behavior, and also the opportunities encountered for performance. Perception of the individual regarding the available opportunities and resources has a stronger impact on the likelihood of performing a behavior (Ajzen, 1998). In other words, the perceived behavioral control will influence the perceptions of feasibility for that individual.

The integrated model developed by Iakovleva and Kolvereid (2009) provides an appropriate lens to understand how significant the role a family plays in the formation of entrepreneurial intentions of women in KP.

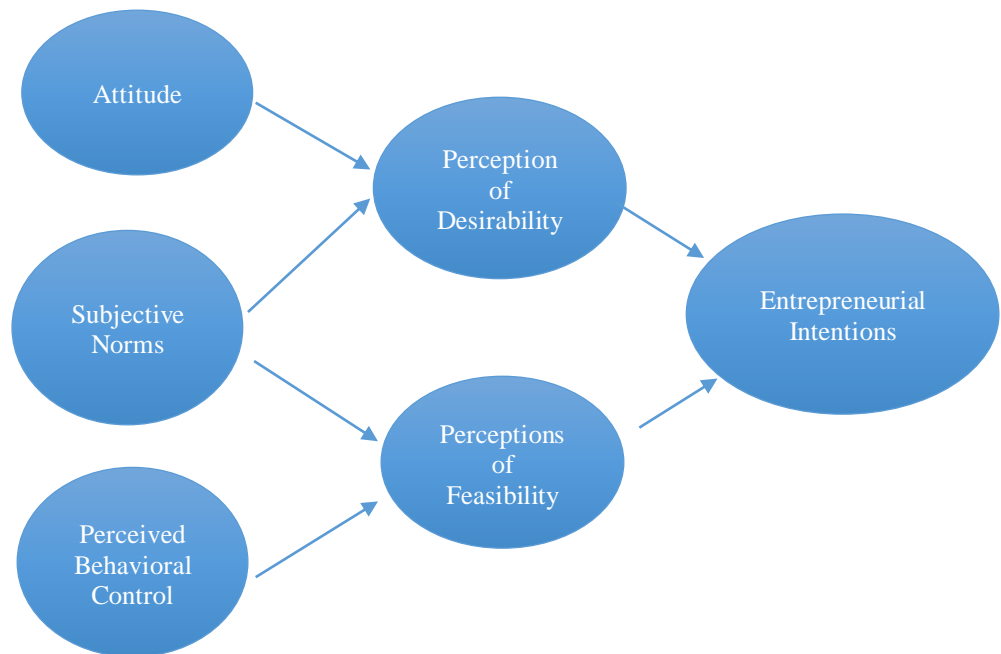


Figure 01- Theoretical framework

Source: Iakovleva and Kolvereid, (2009)

Approach and Methods

Epistemologically, this study is rooted in interpretivism, that emphasizes the centrality of intentions in the formation of human behavior. Moreover, this approach

assumes that the intentional actions and interactions within the social context shape the social order including the entrepreneurial process and the forces that work around it (Packard, 2017). Adopting this lens facilitated us to trace the role of intentions in the venture startup process that unfolds progressively, and the resultant outcomes may not be the ones predicted by the entrepreneurs. Hence, interpretive approach provides room for understanding the forces that shape the startup intentions as a “chosen course of action towards the subjective ends of the entrepreneur” (Packard, 2017: P. 537).

Qualitative research was adopted to accommodate diversities and individualities. It allowed us to study the ventures created by women entrepreneurs with the view that their unique intentions are shaped within the familial framework of expected behaviors and they manage their ventures while remaining within the boundaries of their own circumstances. In order to understand the role of family factors in women entrepreneurial intentions a sample of 25 women entrepreneurs running their ventures for past 01 year were selected for in-depth interview. The qualitative interview techniques, through the subjective narratives of the respondents allowed us to attain insights in the subject matter at hand and gave us understanding from participant perspectives (Olarenwaju & Olabisi, 2012). Digitally recorded in-depth interviews were 60 to 90 minutes long and were conducted on the business place of the entrepreneurs.

	Name	Age	Qualification	Marital status	Business
1	FE-1	35+	BA	Married with children	Homebased kitchen since 04 years
2	FE-2	40+	Primary	Married with children	Wrought Iron furniture
3	FE-3	40+	Masters	Married with children	Dress designer 8 years
4	FE-4	35+	BA	Divorced with children	Beauty Salon
5	FE-5	35+	FA	Married with children	Customized cakes and cupcakes
6	FE-6	45+	FA	Married with children	Dress designer
7	FE-7	30+	Masters	Married with children	Beauty Salon and SPA
8	FE-8	40+	Masters	Married with children	Event Management
9	FE-9	45+	Uneducated	Married with children	Sewing
10	FE-10	40+	Uneducated	Widow	Traditional hand embroider
11	FE-11	30+	FA	Married with children	Interior decoration
12	FE-12	25+	BA	Unmarried	Homebased shop since 06 years
13	FE-13	40+	FA	Married with children	Jew Designer
14	FE-14	45+	Masters	Divorced with children	Beauty Salon and Gym
15	FE-15	25+	BA	Married with children	Dress designer
16	FE-16	35+	Masters	Married with children	Female and household items shop
17	FE-17	30+	Uneducated	Widow with children	Readymade garments shop
18	FE-18	40+	Masters	Married with children	Furniture business since 20 years
19	FE-19	20+	BA	Unmarried	Hena Artist
20	FE-20	45+	FA	Married with children	Beauty salon

21	FE-21	35+	Masters	Divorced with children	Vocational center 10 years
22	FE-22	25+	Masters	Married with children	Dress designer
23	FE-23	35+	Masters	Unmarried	Homebased kitchen since 03 years
24	FE-24	40+	Masters	Married with children	Educational institute
25	FE-25	50+	Primary	Widow with children	Hand embroidery

Table01- Sample composition

Data Analysis

To attain the objective of this research, a thematic analysis of the interview data was carried out to classify and present themes relating to the data, using steps suggested by Barun and Clarck (2006). Data analysis comprised of the following 06 steps.

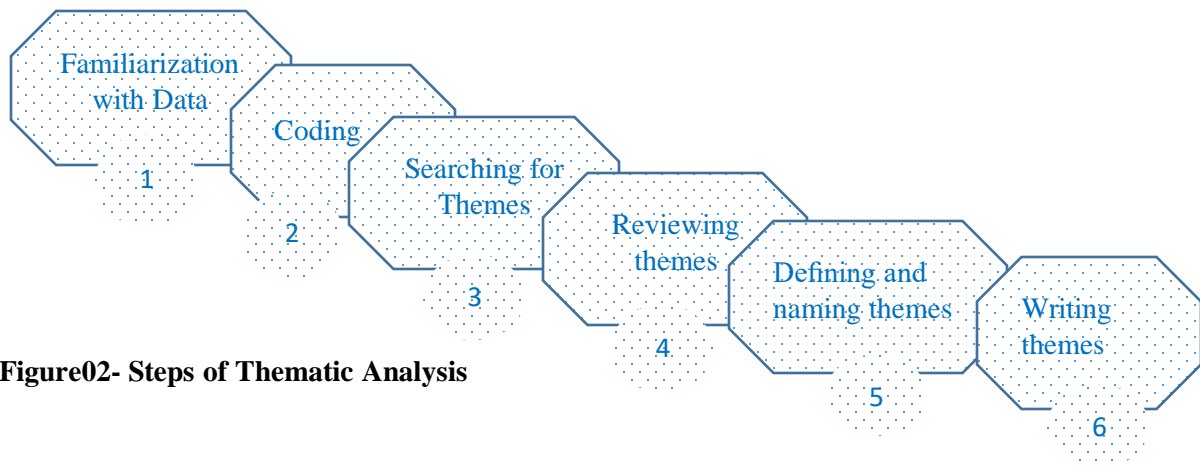


Figure02- Steps of Thematic Analysis

Table 02 shows the categories, themes/subthemes and initial codes resulted from the process of thematic analysis explained above.

Category	Themes and Subthemes	Merged Initial Codes	
<i>The influence of childhood socialization experiences and personality traits on career choice</i>	<i>Gender in making</i>	<i>Doing gender</i>	<i>Parenting gender differences and cognitive development of children</i>
		<i>Development of intent</i>	<i>Childhood motivation</i> <i>Childhood goal</i>
	<i>Gender differences in educational attainment</i>	<i>Educating a female child</i>	<i>No trend of educating girls</i>
			<i>Female child as a liability</i>
		<i>Parent's support in education</i>	<i>Fathers' as pillar of support</i>
			<i>Father gave us a liberal background</i> <i>Mother taking stand for girls</i>

	<i>Gender and power relations in household</i>	<i>Compliance and fitting in to the family culture</i>	<i>Status of women in household</i>
			<i>Financially dependent woman</i>
			<i>Restricted mobility</i>
	<i>Venture creation: A dream or a survival strategy</i>	<i>Entrepreneurship by force</i>	
		<i>Entrepreneurship by choice</i>	
		<i>Entrepreneurship as status symbol</i>	

Table02- From codes to themes

Thematic Findings

From the thematic analysis of the interview data, 03 categories were developed, unfolding the role of familial context in shaping the EI of women in Peshawar, Pakistan. The important point reflected through our findings is the immersion of businesses and women’s entrepreneurial intention within their familial context, which had both a positive and negative impact on their enterprising ability and venture growth. The following themes and sub-themes highlight the dynamics of family factors in the entrepreneurial journey.

The Influence of Childhood Socialization Experiences And Personality Traits on Career Choice

In Peshawar, women’s intentions to enterprise are closely associated with gender-based cognitive and behavioral patterns that are developed in a culturally shaped socialization environment. Boys and girls receive different signals from their elders and peers during socialization resulting in different attitudes and identities. The gender-based socialization processes in Pukhtoon culture prioritize male child over female in provision of basic necessities of life such as education and health facilities, etc., due to the fact that he is the future earner of the family. Educating a female child, in several households, is taken as rebelling cultural norms

“.... educating a female child was not allowed in our family, their concept was that when girls go out of home and men look at them, this is sin. As we belong to the Sadati family so this was more difficult for us” (FE10).

Above quote reveals how development of the cognitive patterns of female child is affected by the head of the household’s convictions (options of personal development opportunity, including education) and the hierarchy of power relations (obedience and a fixed gender role) within the household. They construct self-identities and their roles by aligning

themselves to similar others. Women entrepreneurs in this study have internalized feminine models of behavior in childhood. Their world is populated with people who prefer enactment of their traditional identity of mother and wife. Such socialization processes make women more obedient and nurturing, where they see themselves through the eyes of significant others i-e mainly the head of the household. It can be seen through the narratives of the entrepreneurs that ‘our father’ wants us to be.

“... you know someone has a dream of something so my father instilled all his dreams in me, he wanted me to be educated to the highest degree, and here I am. He wanted me to be independent and here I am. So, I think the credit for this goes to my father”, (FE03).

There are several other instances where entrepreneurs mention the role of their parents in shaping their lives and their career choices (FE8, 16, 18, 19, 21 and 24). Interestingly, we could not find any instance where the respondents mentioned that their father/parents wanted them to be an entrepreneur. Rather what they wanted for their girls was mainly be educated, not thinking in terms of career choice per se. And implicitly if this was intended, even then the options were always those of socially accepted and legitimate professions for women i-e being a teacher or doctor. There are two major reasons behind employment as first preference of Pakistani parents. First, smaller but assured income (salary) is preferred over larger but uncertain income reflecting their risk averse behavior. Second, acceptability of various occupation variates depending upon both masculinity/femininity as well as social legitimacy. In Pakistan in general and in KP presence women business-owners in the main-stream market has meager social legitimacy and they are appreciated in their house-bound roles. However, at micro level every household has their own value-system due to social class, occupational or educational attainment of the parents/father and the rural/urban dynamics which nurtures women with different cognitive-schema and behavioral patterns.

“.... I grew up in Karachi so riding, horseback riding I used to do these types of activities but my father was very good, very supportive very open minded person, very progressive you can say, because he was in Army¹ and he never imposed any restrictions which are typical that you are a girl do not do this and that” (FE03).

Variations in cognitive and behavioral patterns are associated with a number of factors; however, the most important can be traced to the attitude of male members of the household

¹ this points to the educational and environmental differences, where the father himself was socializing since years which in turn has an impact on children

toward their females. In traditional families, strong gender-based socialization creates hurdles for women to think of themselves in any role other than the traditional. Whereas, in households with less-gendered socialization patterns, girls are given equal chances to be educated and to participate in the labor market.

“When I completed my degree and I wanted to opt for a job, my father said we don’t need you to earn for us. We have enough bread and butter... Then my aunt convinced him and he allowed me, so I started my own Montessori.” (FE24)

The subjective perception of ‘gender and entrepreneurship’ and the immediate family context shapes entrepreneurial motivation. Women in Peshawar become attuned to the opinion of the family by being raised as submissive and obedient; however, they have their own desires which grow with them from childhood.

“In fact before my marriage I had little, not little but I had the craze for it. I used to go and make brides for people as we say God-gifted, or something inbuilt in you, like putting hena, hair styling and doing the makeover though I haven’t had any course by that time. I have an artistic mind. So if I had opted for any other field I guess I would have not done justice with that. And in this field (makeup artist) I am doing much, much better work”, (FE20).

The above narrative depicts that their aspirations are also feminine.

To conclude, women in Peshawar develop a self-perception where they would like to see themselves being socially legitimate. Their understanding of appropriate roles for them is developed through the subjective social norms which define ‘gendered roles’ and expectations of significant others from them. Such self-conceptualizations strongly influence the perceptions of desirability and feasibility of career choice, and in that case, if some women opt for entrepreneurship in order to get family support and be socially acceptable they opt for home-based and traditional businesses.

Transition in The Life Cycle of the Women and Entrepreneurial Intentions

Interviews with women entrepreneurs highlighted that the EI or perceptions of desirability and feasibility are very much linked to major transitions (marriage, motherhood, being widowed and/or divorced, and losing the bread-winner of the family) in their lives. Although, no financial contributions are expected of women in Pukhtoon culture, however, change in the life cycle at certain times acts as catalyst in the shapes of EI of women, i.e. venture creation is triggered either by necessity or opportunity.

“...after I got married I got some liberty and my inner feelings to do something were sprouting out and my husband supported me because maybe he knew that if he did not take care of my wishes it might destroy me, it will hurt me and my desire (*of starting my own business*) would die inside me”, (FE13).

Another entrepreneur (FE08) shared a unique insight, that she started her venture after 25 years of marriage after the death of her parents’ in-law as she felt like she has some extra/free time now (as she had the time which was previously utilized in taking care of elderly). However, this was not a commonly found pattern, rather when necessity arises and having own business seems to be the only solution, then elders at home are an important support structure. Pukhtoon culture gives authority to the elderly members of the household, so if they are not convinced, women will either try to convince them without being rebellious or they will have to wait for the appropriate time.

Some entrepreneurs experience the transition in life due to some calamities that act as an antecedent towards entrepreneurship.

“... we had a shop; my husband was a photographer. His shop was in Kabli Bazaar, but somehow the shop was destroyed and then things started getting worst; he started looking for a job but could not find one, for seven years he was at home, unemployed, we became very, very poor and those were terrible times, so I thought to utilize my sewing skills to earn from home for survival” (FE09).

Pukhtoon does not legitimize mingling of women with men which makes it little difficult for them to consider ‘job’ as an option. The conflict among religious and social values and job markets, force them to think ‘something of their own’ or ‘being their own boss’ by finding innovative ways to please the household, gain social legitimacy and fulfil their dreams.

Women narrated the impact of motherhood on their approach towards entrepreneurship. The desirability and feasibility of starting venture is directly linked to the wellbeing of the children.

“when I was blessed with a boy and then a girl, I felt like we should have some more income now, as long as kids are small things are manageable but once they start growing so their expenses. And I feel women should be equally contributing to their household income for the better future of their children. As my children were not school going and taking care of them is my priority, so I thought I should add to family income in a way that will not disturb my mothering responsibilities. I started this venture of my own. So unless

I did not bear children I have not even thought of the business, but for my children I will do anything” (FE11)

After studying the life cycle transition of the respondents, it is apparent that women primarily start venture after marriage. The motivational triggers lay both at the personal and household level. From a personal perspective female child has been instilled with the thought that her husband’s home will be her home and with the consent and willingness of her husband she can realize all of her dreams. While childbirth and death of husband or divorce are seen as household-level factors affecting the desirability of a venture startup.

Venture Startup and Growth in Relation to Power Structure and Economic Conditions of the Household

In Peshawar, women’s EI is subjected to the power structure and economic conditions of household. In Pukhtoon culture women have limited and ‘gendered’ authority in their household, they do not have a say in all matters of the household particularly finances. Major decisions and major purchases are regulated by males. The exercise of power within the household presents interesting dynamics for the entrepreneurial intentions of women.

“.....the first dominating person in the male dominant society is your husband or your brother(s) who can stop you from things”, (FE17).

So in that case if women want to start their own venture they have to negotiate within household first. FE(22) owns a home-based boutique, her desire to expand to the commercial area was turned down by her husband.

The status and power of women varies with the life cycle stage. As newly-wed bride, she has a low status and power. After having children, her status and position in the household changes gradually. Her footprints become stronger and she gets access to family’s resources that develop the ability to negotiate. Access to resources and her perception of her own status in the household influences her perceptions of behavioral control hence, perceptions of feasibility. From the interview data it is evident that women do not start their business soon after their wedding, which can be interpreted in terms of low status and limited access to family resources:

“When I had two children and when I felt that they are going school and they are no more keeping me at home, then I started my business, almost six years ago” (FE05).

The study presents an interesting mix of choice and forced entrepreneurs, but it also introduces a new dimension of venture creation as “status” or “symbol of prestige”. To be known as ‘owner’ is a matter of pride and status in a particular class, which increases desirability to be an entrepreneur:

“...in this, the most important reason is that I belong to a financially established family; we are very well-known. So it does not suit me, like, people might say that his wife or the daughter-in-law of ‘that’ family is working as an employee, so this does not suit my family status” (FE07).

The perceptions of desirability and feasibility has to be in accordance with wider normative culture as well. Women entrepreneurs if want familial support, are required to opt a business that has some social legitimacy. As in this society where norms are highly practiced every occupation does not hold the same legitimacy. The subjective norms shaping household’s perception of various occupations act as an added barrier towards women’s venture creation. Entrepreneurs not only have to negotiate venture creation but also the business sector they aspire to.

“So as told you I am running my beauty salon, which was an issue for my family. They equate it with ‘naiyi’ (barber shop) which isn’t considered as respectable. So they would often say why the daughter of Sahibzada Family would become a hair dresser?” (FE14).

The perception of desirability and feasibility of venture growth is also embedded within the household. Women’s desire to grow her venture and family’s perception needs to be in harmony.

“Though I want to scale-up my business, I am not allowed to run my own studio somewhere in the market...homebased setup was the only thing which I could do independently. I am not allowed at the moment to do it commercially. Whenever I will be doing it on a larger scale, I’ll be doing it from home.” (FE22).

Along with that women entrepreneurs due to gender-based socialization have developed ‘an identity’ or ‘subjective-self’ where they prefer their housebound role over any other which influences their perceptions of desirability for business growth.

“I don’t want to take it to a very large scale; if I want I can take it to that level as well because I am in contact with some fashion magazines and they want me to display some of my stuff in their magazines but with this the work-load increases immensely while my

priorities are my husband, my children, my home and my family so they will get neglected then” (FE15).

Women in Peshawar being dependent on their families face issues with the availability of resources (affecting the perceptions of feasibility), and their ventures are financed by their family members. Now if they are opting for expansion of their ventures, a lack of resources inhibits them because due to small-scale operations, they are unable to generate enough surplus to be reinvested.

“I have a good creative mind and want to do many things, but you are always short of something and for me, it is the finances. I am short of finances. This is a big problem” (FE25).

Accessibility and access to resources shape entrepreneurs’ growth options and choices. Resources do not only mean monetary resources, but rather support, encouragement, and help of the family members, too, are counted as the resource base of the entrepreneurs that significantly influence their perceptions of desirability and feasibility.

Households’ embeddedness of women and their connection to the wider culture not only influence their propensity and ability to the enterprise but also their growth aspirations and strategies, which in many cases, act as barriers. However, there are instances where women entrepreneurs aspire for growth but are bounded by familial norms. In several cases, women are granted permission to be enterprising on the condition that they will run only a home-based business. Moreover, the lack of capital restricts women to expand the venture beyond a breakeven point.

Discussion

The perceptions of desirability and feasibility of entrepreneurial behavior are dynamic and ‘learned’, (Krueger et al., 2000), through interaction with cultural and social factors that, in turn, influence the individual’s value system (Shapiro and Sokol, 1982) and social norms towards a behavior formation and enactment reflected through the household value system. Various researches have explored the impact of perceptual and demographical factors to understand the difference in EI within and across countries (Turker and Selcuk, 2009; Fitzsimmons and Douglas, 2011). However, explicitly the role of family in the formation of EI remained neglected.

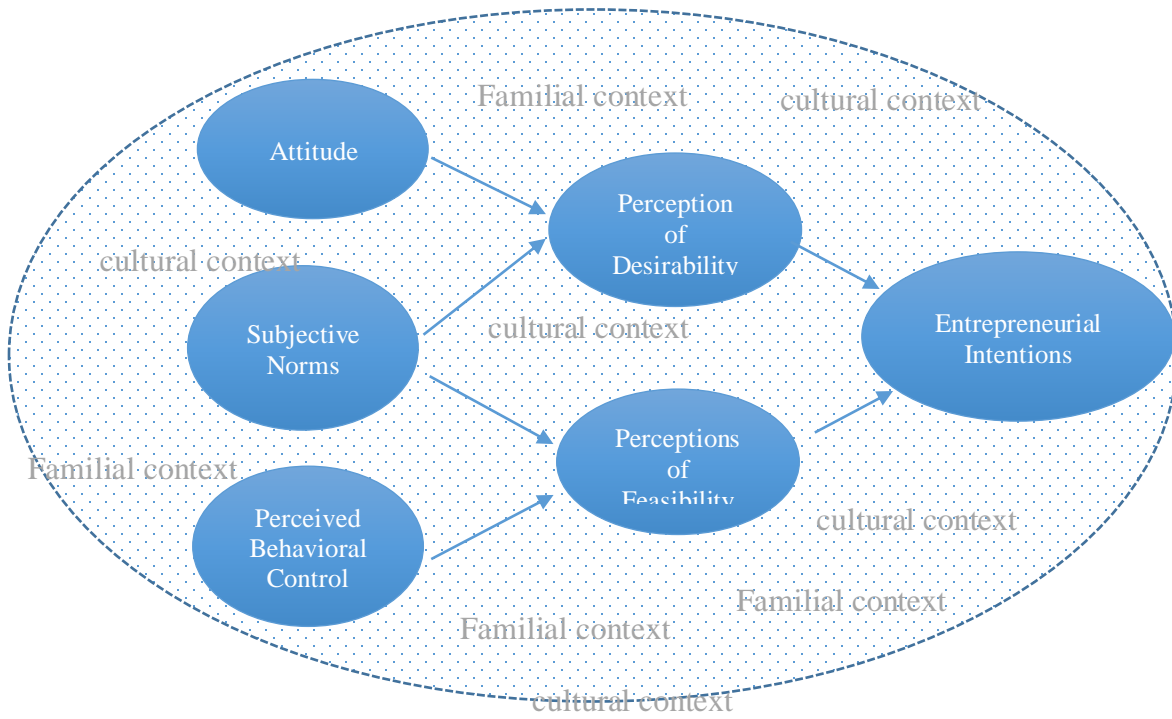
Current research adds to the family embeddedness perspective on EI (Sieger & Minola, 2017) of women and further extends it beyond the financial support using an integrated model of EI. It also adds to general research on the formation of EI (Schlaegel & Koenig, 2014) and gender (Kirkwood, 2007) in a unique context. It highlights the importance of the family context when the embedded nature of entrepreneurial processes is studied (Carter, Kuhl, Marlow & Mwaura, 2017; Yukongdi and Cañete, 2020).

Women of Pukhtoon culture are stereotyped and not appreciated to take the leadership roles. In their gender specific socialization, they are taught to be obedient to the wider cultural and familial values. They are trained to be the care-givers (Sweida & Sherman, 2020) and not to grumble when treated as second-class citizen. This embeddedness shapes their career dispositions in a way where family remains utmost priority. Woman in such circumstances when think of venturing out she fears a tension in family and marital life (Amadi & Adim, 2020). However, instances were found in gender-neutral socialization which can be related to the family system of the entrepreneurs. Extant research conceptualizes the socialization in reference to the presence of ‘entrepreneur’ in the family either parents or relative and individuals’ connection to them leading to a positive impact on EI (Carr and Sequeira, 2007), however, current study consider at it as gender specific brought-up pattern and its impact of perceptions of desirability and feasibility adding to our understanding of role of gender in formation of early life experiences and its traces later on in career choice.

It cannot be concluded that women’s EI are purely shaped by early dispositions. Entrepreneurial intentions and career choices are temporal, situational and circumstantial too, women in different phases of life might find it obligatory to opt for a career not of their choice (Halim et al., 2018) for example the presence of children (Molina, 2020). Transitions in the life cycle have been labeled as triggering events by Krueger (2007) with significant influence on perceptions of desirability and feasibility, however, the events identified in the current study in the form of marriage, child birth, elders’ or husband’s death and divorce displays a contextual portrayal of triggering events in the life a Pukhtoon woman.

Women have limited access to resources and most of the ventures are financed by the male members of the household (Yukongdi and Cañete, 2020; Mitra & Basit, 2019). This also has a unique impact on the startup intentions as well as choice of sector, as women if want to start, first will have to look at their ‘own’ resource bank. If the available resources are not sufficient and they have to generate the investments from the family (Yukongdi and Cañete, 2020) then they have to opt for a venture which is not only desirable but also feasible from the investor’s

perspective. Family provide both monetary and non-monetary support (ibid) if the entrepreneur’s perception of desirability is not in harmony, the non-availability of familial support will negatively affect the feasibility of the start-up. Hence, the normative construct of the household is of significant importance for the development of EI of women throughout the life span. It has all the potential to make or break ‘women’ entrepreneurs.



Modified model of Entrepreneurial Intentions of Women in Peshawar Pakistan

Source: Authors

Conclusions

To sum up, family plays an important role in shaping women's perceptions of desirability and the feasibility of entrepreneurial behavior. Data suggest that the entrepreneurial activity of women in Muslim cultures is more of a family concern that is driven by family situations and circumstances. Women's propensity towards enterprise does not depend on personal attractiveness alone. The religious identity of Muslim women, the social construction of gender roles, and familial preferences explain what is desirable for women in Peshawar. Women's view of something being 'attractive' has to be in harmony with the familial and social view of 'desirable behavior' for a woman of a particular age, from a particular family background (Noor et al, 2019). The study brings new insights by broadening the concept of the desirability of entrepreneurial behavior for women. It suggests that an individual-centered perception of desirability in existing frameworks does not apply to certain research contexts, e.g. a Pukhtoon society in this case.

Implications

Theoretical Significance

The study highlights the variations in familial conditions influencing EI of women entrepreneurs deeply embedded in the familial and wider context. By illustrating the antecedents of women's EI in Peshawar, an all-encompassing and holistic approach is important to represent the family structure, this study adds to Iakovleva and Kolvereid's (2009) existing research model of EI, a contextual (family and culture) perspective. Specifically, this study has added valuable knowledge to the literature by highlighting that familial context and social level form the attitude, subjective norms, and perceptions of behavioral control, hence affecting the way EI is formed and transformed into a venture. This study has added relevant factors that motivate women's EI and represent a significant addition to knowledge related to antecedents of women's EI.

This research further contributes to the existing literature on EI and argues in favor of a family's perceptions of the desirability and feasibility of entrepreneurship as a career choice playing an important role in shaping women's EI. Unlike previous research that emphasizes an individualistic perspective of desirability and feasibility, our findings support collectivist cultures, as it is more important for the entrepreneur to bring the immediate and significant family members on board in order to turn their intentions into action. Further, in a collectivist culture, the perceptions of desirability, whether emanating from the family's situation or internal feelings, once turned down by the family members are difficult to carry on with. This study contributes to

EI research by bringing new insights via broadening the concept of desirability based on collectivist culture rather than an individualistic culture of entrepreneurial behavior for women.

Significance for Policy:

Research results depict that women entrepreneurs significantly contribute to the household-wellbeing and economic development. Government support in the form of policies or promotion for female entrepreneurship development is required, both physically and intangibly to inspire women to take action. A gender-sensitive entrepreneurial ecosystem should be created. In order to promote women's aspirations for choosing entrepreneurship as a career option, policies and programs, such as gender-neutral financing mechanisms, provisions for childcare support, and special training programs, can be designed with the help of academia to technically uplift women entrepreneurs in Peshawar.

It is imperative to consider the antecedents shaping women's EI. Policies for women's entrepreneurship development should be devised with due diligence, bearing in mind the social, contextual, attitudinal, and familial dynamics. A conducive normative environment is required for the promotion of entrepreneurship development, and awareness of the importance of women's entrepreneurship helps change the mindset about gender roles. The participants in this research revealed their childhood aspirations toward business, so the government can develop programs to promote youth entrepreneurship at schools and colleges.

Limitations and future research directions

Our research is confined to Peshawar, KP only, although this city is a good reflection for the scope of this study, being one where family systems are stronger and perhaps difficult to surmount due to the strictness of cultural norms, we acknowledge that incorporation of other cities/provinces will add to the richness and diversity of findings. Future research might take a comparative study from various provinces to understand the role of the family in shaping the entrepreneurial intentions of women.

Now that it has been established that gender plays a significant role in the shaping of EI, the same line of inquiry can be extended further to understand the role of family on the EI of males. This will deepen our understanding of the extent to which familial norms influence the perceptions of feasibility and desirability for male entrepreneurs.

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¹ Term also used for the descendants of Holy Prophet Muhammad through Imam Ali and Bibi Fatima progeny