An Ethnographic Study on Female Entrepreneurship in Patriarchal Structure: Motivation and Challenges

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Abstract

The present study aims to investigate women entrepreneurship prevailing in patriarchal structure. It further attempts to explore motivations and challenges in lieu of women entrepreneurs have to face in the patriarchal society. It is important to note that most of the time, the added contribution of women is marginalized due to male supremacy in society. This study has been designed to explore motivational and challenging factors supporting or restraining female entrepreneurship in our society through constructive interpretive approach. The participants of this study belong to a sub-urban area with traditional culture of male dominance and were purposefully selected for the study. Data has been collected through participant observation and semi-structured interview guide and has been analyzed through thematic analysis technique. This study has concluded the following themes which provide motivations for females to be an entrepreneur; personal motivation, financial stability, social support, flexible timings, and empowerment through business. In terms of challenges following themes are identified: role conflicts, effect on personal lives, financial issues, public harassment, lack of education, and perception of people.

Keywords: Patriarchal Structure, Female Entrepreneurship, Motivation, Challenges, Ethnographic Study.

Introduction

The present study focused on women entrepreneurship prevailing in patriarchal structures. This study aims to cover motivational aspects for women in this very society and also purposes to explore the societal challenges that are being faced by women entrepreneurs while running their enterprises in this apparent patriarchal society.

Chauhan (2014) added that patriarchal culture is found established across Pakistan. Women are playing an imperative role to produce an entrepreneurship. They pursue it to add an extra value to their own, their family and so on to the GDP (Kelley, Bosma, & Amor, 2010). But owing the influence of patriarchal structures in our society their efforts and output couldn't make any difference to their roles instead of only creating a mess for them in their personal, familial and social life. Their all contribution become prey of the existing gender biases in our patriarchal society (Brush, Carter, Gatewood, Greene, & Hart, 2001).

With a predominant patriarchal structure, it is in actual a challenging situation for women to have their own entrepreneurship (Nawaz, 2017). From the very start to successful run of entrepreneurship all the existing problems, challenges, and circumstances are close to her personal, social, and marital life (Nawaz, 2017).

Gambhir (2018) explained that there are varying reasons women face to run an entrepreneurship. These might be their personal belongings to their selves, their very families, the social circle, they respond to or the economic stances (Gambhir, 2018; Bui, 2017). Distinct mobility restrictions for women prove to be a hinder against their contribution in economic activities (Roomi, Rehman & Hennary, 2018). Whereas, women are provided a support from religious descriptions as means to justify their entrepreneurship (Roomi et al., 2018).

It is also explored the very efforts and challenges women are facing while managing the transformed five "M's" of money, market, management of resources, motherhood and micro/meso environment i.e. environmental relativity between Individual and the structural elements of the society (Dopher et.al., 2004) (Brush, Bruin, & Welter, 2009). Often women roles and societal expectations become prey to stereotypical (masculine and feminine) role associations often serve to benefit men and

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supports hierarchy in society (Marlow & Patton, 2005). Women are fewer entrepreneurs and less proficient and skilled to run a business (Baker, Aldrich, & Liou, 1997) because of the belief that women are less qualified, less powerful and less able to be business owners (Rahimian, 2011).

Patriarchal society is mainly characterized by male dominance and women subordination (Chauhan, 2014). Men not only possess more physical power but also utilize it against women to control their sexuality and behavior. Men are responsible to fulfill all financial needs of a household. He is the breadwinner of his family (Ulukoy & Bayraktaroglu, 2014). This situation kept women dependent and in control. They are only thought to be responsible for domestic chores and take care of children and old family members (Bui, 2017). They are supposed to remain at home and do not involve in any incomegenerating activity as it challenges men's strength and abilities (Ulukoy & Bavraktaroglu, 2014). In recent years, an increase in the number of women entrepreneurs is witnessed. The very reasons of this change are thought to be the increased participation of women in education and economy (Soysal, 2010).

Being an entrepreneur in a patriarchal system a woman has to face many social and economic challenges. These challenges may be faced in form of less education, lack of job training, lack of finance, lack of family support, social pressure, gender inequalities, domestic responsibilities, harassment and prejudices (Ozkaya, 2009). Onder (2013) discussed the decision-making dilemma of women that is bonded to men's will and decisions (Onder, 2013; Shimlin, 2017). Due to the subordinate position of women, they have less respect as compared to men and their work is not seen as valuable as of men in patriarchal society (Ulukoy & Bayraktaroglu, 2014).

Hence, if women work as entrepreneurs in patriarchal structures, they face a number of problems. They have less control over resources and less mobility, have less opportunities to avail equal rights, and have to face unfair competition in economic sector. Entrepreneurship has been approved as a changing factor of economic sector. It has become a source of employment for a number of unemployed men and women and provides industrial development. Due to practice of entrepreneurship per capita income has increased and consequently people's living standard has been improved (Ahmad & Naimat, 2011). It strengthens them economically as well as politically (Hearn, 2017; Kevehazi, 2016).

Economic factor is the major obstacle for female entrepreneurship (Shimlin, 2017). Females don't have access to funding institute because females are considered as less confident and credible rather than the males (Shimlin, 2017). According to welter (2007), women do not have access to higher market as compare to men. It is noted that usually women have little opportunities for appropriate training for planning any entrepreneurship (Klapper, & Parker, 2011). It then becomes a reason of low capacity and confidence of decision making. That leads their low self-confidence than men (Diochon, Menzies, & Gasse, 2004).

The inadequate growth of women entrepreneurship, the masculine roles and actors do not let the women to ever start an entrepreneurship by their own (Basit, 2017). Cultures among the societies cast an important impact over the formation of norms, values, beliefs and atmosphere around the society (Laeticia, 2016). Cultural practices most of the time destabilize women empowerment and cause particular barriers to enhance their skills (Laeticia, 2016).

In Pakistan there is another issue of "pardah" (Veil) for women lies in the cultural and religious context. Traditionally, the Pakistani female is supposed to stay within the "*chardeewari*" (four walls) of the house that she considers a 'den where she rules' but which is also guarded by 'protective Pakistani males' (Basit, 2017). Along with cultural context, marketing is also an issue for women entrepreneurship. Women have less resources of networking than the men. Market boundaries are fixed for females which they are not allowed cross (Burni, Gherardi, & Poggio, 2005).

In Pakistani society the values and customary practices are so patriarchal that the whole life of women is controlled by patriarchy, and fear of violence. These harmful practices which subjugate women are considered the cultural and social values, hence are expected to be followed (Hadi, 2017). Due to which it become very difficult for women to do their own business independently.

Getting economically strong is the most powerful motivational cause for females. Lee & Tai (2010) added that additional earning from entrepreneurship is the motivational aspect for women to support their families. The perception of moral support may influence rather than the actual support in materialist form like capital and funds (Pollard, 2006). Unemployment is also the growing factor in

Pakistan which damages the individual's abilities (Ahmad & Naimat, 2011). Unemployment could be both the motivational or challenging perspective for women but most of the time it ascertains to be motivational factor for female entrepreneur (Moore & Mueller 2010).

According to a study, women are more inclined towards starting up their own business that enables them to do work according to their feasibility (Pollard, 2006). Women also work to contribute to their family income (Lee & Tai, 2010). Some females do not want to work under the instructions and restriction of a specific person, organization or institutions (Shimlin, 2017). While having their personal entrepreneurship the sense of freedom, authority, use of their power and independent decision making, are some of the basic reasons of doing work on their own (Shimlin, 2017). According to pollard (2006) the personal entrepreneurship also provide an opportunity and chance to being empowered and satisfy them for being safe financially and capable of tackling the problems.

The present study has explored the different schemes of women entrepreneurship involved in transforming their challenges to motivation and utilizing both factors to stand up and survive in the society.

As a result of dynamic effort and involvement of women for their entrepreneurship, it has been noted that there is an embryonic trend towards the women entrepreneurship. Owing to the certain trend of women entrepreneurship, it has gained an attention of theoretical debates and applied researches, development sectors, practitioners and policy agitators among development circles of worldwide developing communities (Moses, Olokundun, Falola, Ibidunni, Amaihian & Inelo, 2016).

Therefore, as women's entrepreneurship is concerned in countries like Pakistan, it is an utmost need to understand and explore the different factors by which women are restricted to make headway. These influences also come across their entrepreneurship from the complex interplay of socio–cultural, religious, and family structures to their efforts (Roomi & Parrott, 2008; Roomi, 2013). Such factors, in turn, are likely to affect women's choices within their given institutional constraints (Ituma & Simpson, 2007).

Objectives of the Study

- 1. To explore motivational factors boosting female entrepreneurship in patriarchal society.
- 2. To explore the challenges faced by female entrepreneurs in a patriarchal society.

Research Methodology

This research has been conducted through the philosophical domain of constructivism (Creswell, 2003). It is based on the interpretive worldview centered on the cultural and societal observations, views, and experiences of individuals lying in the observed culture. Qualitative research frame has been followed to carry out this research. This study was performed through an ethnographic research design as it has been including the cultural contexts of society (Pole & Morrison, 2003). Following the ethnographic research design, Patriarchal culture was observed through an emic view to exploring motivational aspects as well as challenges. Patriarchal culture has been observed to explore the motivational aspects as well as challenges. The purposive sampling technique has been used to reach the purposeful participants who were running their enterprise. The study has been conducted through an emic viewpoint that enables its researchers to be from the same culture and setting. So, purposive sampling was a suitable way to perform this research. The semi structured-interview guide has been the most suitable tool referred for the qualitative studies (Creswell, 2003). Following the exploratory nature of the study, semi structure interview guide tool has been used in this study.

The present study has been conducted in a sub-urban area called "Tench Bhatta" of Rawalpindi city. This area has been chosen due to its richness in women entrepreneurship and purposefully as one of the researchers has been living in the said culture and society for more than ten years which provided the researcher an insight of the cultural norms and values of the area.

Patriarchy has an influence on the overall structure of the area. The folks believe that males being the bread winners of the household, should be privileged and women should be at subservient position. Women should obey their husbands and in-laws in any case and should take care of the family by living inside the house. Regulating the data collection and field process all the ethical considerations regarding the research were followed as they are obligatory element of the study (Neuman, 2014). While observing the selected area the women entrepreneurs were found through a field process of approaching gate keepers (Creswell, 2003). In-depth interviews were conducted to explore about their experiences of motivations and challenges women entrepreneurs face while running an entrepreneurship in patriarchal society. The participants were interviewed to collect the required data to meet the saturated limit of views and opinions provided by the participants to well explore the purpose and attain the empirical evidences from field (Pole & Morrison, 2003). Following the ethical considerations of research process suitable time have been spent with participants to build rapport.

The tool for the research has been semi structured and flexibility have been kept involved for probing questions and fluctuating questions for interview according to the field situations and interviewee's answers as also suggested by Creswell (2003). The interviews were recorded using Audio recording and field notes. In data collection those participants have been chosen only who have been running their own business from at least one year.

The data for the present study has been collected by taking key informant interviews from the respondents. A semi-structured interview guide has been used to conduct the interviews from the participants. Eleven participants who have been running their businesses successfully were interviewed. After this the responses have been in repetition to the data gathered earlier from the participants. Sample size has been based on the data saturation point. There has been no time limitation, interviews have lasted as per leisure of the participants. All interviews were conducted in Urdu and then transcribed in English to meet the requirement of academic medium.

Results and Discussion

In Rawalpindi, a number of women are running small-scale businesses that do not require much capital but are enough to fulfill their household needs. These small-scale businesses which are headed by women are beauty polar, cosmetic shops, grocery shops, selling and purchasing of clothes, and sewing centers. To start such businesses some of the women were motivated to become economically independent and to support their family and some decided to take initiative when their family was passing through an economic crisis. These businesses do not require much education and professional training but can be run with good experience and understanding.

Table 1. Socio-demographic Characteristics of Participants	
(Pseudonyms of participants are used to maintain confidentiality)	

No.	Qualification	Marital	No. of Child	Family	Type of entrepreneurship
		status		type	
1	Matric	Widow	1	Nuclear	Beauty parlor
2	Middle	Widow	4	Nuclear	Grocery shop
3	Uneducated	Divorced	2	Nuclear	Grocery shop
4	Matric	Married	3	Extended	Sewing center
5	Intermediate	Married	2	Extended	Running a cosmetic shop
6	Matric	Married	3	Nuclear	General store
7	Uneducated	Married	5	Extended	Grocery shop
8	Intermediate	Widow	4	Nuclear	Boutique
9	Middle	Widow	3	Nuclear	Embroidery shop
10	Intermediate	Divorced	2	Nuclear	Beauty Parlor
11	Matric	Divorced	5	Extended	Cloth shop

The participants of study suffered a lot in the beginning of their business as either their husbands or in-laws were not in favor of allowing them to do business.

I. Motivation for Women Entrepreneurs

Women entrepreneurship is increasing worldwide. To participate in economic sector and establish a business, motivation may be different for different women. Some women inspired by the success of other women that are doing their own business and have a stronger position in society. Some women want to become economically independent and others want to support their families. The participants of present study also had some motivation for doing business. The main factor behind doing the business was their personal motivation to do something productive. Almost all the respondents told that they wanted to generate some income and be productive members of the household. They wanted to help their husbands by doing any income-generating activity, as one of the respondents revealed that,

"My husband's monthly salary was low and was not enough to run a household sufficiently. My children's education was also affected by it. It was most difficult time for us. Although I had less education but thought to do something to support my family".

From the above statement it is clear that women have urge to support their family economically but due to their domestic role and household activities they remain silent but when they see their family in economic crisis and has need to financial support then they perform double role. They not only perform their domestic responsibilities but also run businesses. Another participant shared that,

"I always desire to do something productive, then obviously our expenses increased as my children started growing up, therefore I thought that I should help my husband in earning and started to sew the clothes of people in my neighborhood and then gradually established my own sewing center. Now many girls get training here and I am getting sufficient profit".

She is one of those women who do not confined their abilities to running household only rather they desire to do something productive. Such women not only become financially independent but also become the source of motivation for other women. Apart from their domestic responsibilities these women challenge the gender stereotype and prove that women can also be bread winner and work outside the home successfully. It is also supported by Kevehazi (2016) that women role is mainly transformed during the last century and they started to work outside along with household chores. But the male role did not change and they are still considered the main head of economic sector and breadwinner. Generally, it is men's duty to fulfill his household needs and women are not expected like them rather have secondary expectation in case of need.

Discussing the social support phenomenon, the women entrepreneur found support from the neighborhood, friends, and from customers, played an important role in motivating these women to do business. One of the participant said,

"I had great support from the people of muhallah, as my husband was died and I did not have anything to eat. The neighbors arranged food for me and my children, and also gave loan for my business; if people around me would not help me then I would not have the courage to start my own business".

Another participant said, "I was so disappointed because of the attitude of my husband and inlaws that I thought of quitting the business many times. But it was the moral support of my friends and women in the neighborhood that I continued my business".

Getting empowered through business has been one of the strongest motivation for the participants of the study, as participants revealed that due to the business they were running, now they were able to fulfill their needs, and were not forced to ask for money to the husbands or any other member of the family. Although they spent major share of their earnings on the children and household needs but this has been a sort of blessing for them that they were now able to spend as much money as they wanted on different things. As this autonomic liberty has also been added by the participants that "*this work (entrepreneurship) has enabled them to spend their earnings with best of their interests in children and their own future*".

It has been also observed that despite having different issues while doing business, the participant was motivated to continue the work as this business was providing them the opportunity to get economically, and socially empowered. They were able to build their social network by communicating with different people and were able to get out of the problems of house and think of something else.

While talking about women empowerment through their businesses Kevehazi (2016) describes that women entrepreneurship gives them power and autonomy. As it has been also narrated by a participant, "when I have started to work and manage my all matters and bearing my expenses it became more encouraging for me to work hard" It makes them independent economically and they can better

take care of their children, their family and home. They can take decisions about their work and children. They can stand up for themselves and their family.

II. Challenges Faced by Women Entrepreneurs

In a patriarchal society, there is a clear distinction between men and women roles and generally, women are not encouraged to participate in economic activities. They face many challenges while starting their own business.

Discussing the marketing procedures, social mobility has been a major issue for the participants of the study. Almost all of these have faced this issue in some or the other way at a certain point. As one of the participants said, "I have the problem of going to the market to buy goods for my shop; men use to stare at me". Another participant has the view that "It is very difficult for me to go outside, leaving my children at home with their grandmother".

It has also been argued by Khan (2021) that the sociocultural factors have been a prominent constraint in terms to provide opportunities for women to work in Pakistani society. In line of same argument, majority of participants were of view that it is more difficult for women to market their product, as women is not able to go in the market to tell others about what she is doing. Therefore, respondents were trying to market their products indirectly. As one respondent told, "I market my products by asking my customers to tell others about my shop".

In Pakistan, different norms confined women to their home. Two main concepts Pardah and izzat are in more practice. It is considered against the family honor if a woman goes outside and do business or work in the market. To protect the izzat a woman must stay at home and if she goes outside she must insure her modesty and chastity (Khan, 2013). Women possess enterprises in Pakistan are for the most part in the casual segment with low turnover rates, which makes it hard to achieve new markets. Besides, the capacity to venture into new markets requires involvement, proficient abilities and market-arranged contacts. Issues identified with sexual orientation are likewise an obstruction in setting up new contacts (Syed, 2010).

It has been a difficult situation for women entrepreneurs to manage their familial roles and responsibilities while managing their own businesses. They have to face a lot of familial issues, as living in a patriarchal family structure and managing to do business has not been an easy task for them as it has also been in line to the induced discussion by Khan (2021) who provided the notion of socio-cultural factors which cause a fierce challenge to women entrepreneurs among which patriarchal structure has been a major cultural factor among others. One participant told that her mother-in-law was so strict that she did not allow her to stitch the clothes, therefore she used to do household chores during daytime and stitch clothes at night. She said,

"There were many challenges when I started stitching, I started by sewing the clothes of females in neighborhood on payment, and my husband had issues of reputation because he always used to say that what people will say, I can afford the expenses so don't do this work. My mother-in-law started saying that I waste my time stitching the clothes and don't give attention to the household chores, and the burden of household chores is getting shifted onto her and the wife of my brother-in-law. Then I started sewing clothes at night and in the day I used to do all work for which I was considered responsible. After one year when I realized that now I have a good reputation in my street for being a good sewing expert. Then I decided to start my own sewing center, and some women agreed to send their daughters to my center".

In socioeconomic activities, women are not as free as men. They are trapped in many obligations which demand their full attention and time. In this scenario women participation in business or employment becomes difficult. A woman who is running these two things may have to sacrifice her rest, leisure, and enjoyment (Kevehazi, 2016).

Among the very serious challenges, the support or behavior from the spouse is the great one to motivate or demotivate the women to run their own enterprise. Among the participants, few of them reported having the issue of husband's non-cooperative behavior. One of the participants said,

"My husband had many issues when I started my business. He said my(his) rapport will be spoiled if you will work. He pressurized me to remain at home and not do any

work outside the home, but the problem was that his income was not enough to bear household expenses. Therefore, I despite all the conflicts started this business".

Ulukoy (2014) stated that in a patriarchal culture, men are not in favor of women's involvement in socio-political and economic activities. Rather they want to see them to remain at home and serve the whole family. For this purpose, men put pressure on them to stay at home as they and their families have been influenced by socio-cultural factors which cast an influence over women who even have an active determination and confidence to work and achieve but they get the unfortunate constraints by society (Khan, 2021).

While observing the daily routine and household responsibilities women entrepreneurs have a surge of responsibility to manage their schedule to manage their household. For them, managing household and entrepreneurship responsibilities at the same time have been a big issue. Most of the participants were having children that often appeared to be a big hurdle for them to manage both family and business responsibilities. In patriarchal structure the biggest issue for a woman is, that if she starts doing any income-generating activity even then nobody is willing to share her burden, not even the husband. Because it is considered the primary duty of female to manage the home therefore her role in generating income is always taken for granted.

Women having their own business or running small enterprises face challenge of the smooth running of both their domestic role and economic activities. They have to manage their time is such a way that none of the task remain incomplete. Although they want to keep a balance between domestic chores and economic activities but due to shortage of time, their enterprises generally do not reach their highest position as they can. In addition to it, female entrepreneurs also need a supportive atmosphere to manage and improve that has not been provided to then for decades due to which there has been a clear difference among the development caused by women (shakeel.et.al., 2020)

On the other hand, men are free from such double responsibility. They are only expected as breadwinner. All the respondents of the study had this issue, as they were expected to do household chores as well as the business at the same time. The time management often became so difficult. As one of the respondent said "I always face issue of time management as my husband thinks that I am doing a useless activity and my main responsibility is to manage the household, I should not do business. He often says that women can never do as good as men can therefore they should not engage themselves in any sort of business".

However, due to the female life cycle and roles different from the male ones, compliance with family obligations is especially emphatic for women in certain life phases, which adversely affects their paid work-performance, their chances to acquire earnings. The female life strategies offered by society belong essentially to three well-separable groups in terms of participating in the world of labor: - dependent existence: performing the domestic tasks, lasting absence from the labor market combination strategy: restricted presence on the labor market, subordinated to the obligations of private life - career strategy: its goal is durable presence on the labor market, exploiting the skills, earnings acquired on one's own right (Bernhardt, 2000).

Although we are living in the era of expertise where modernity is taking place of customary rituals but social traditions and basic rational about women is as deep-rooted as they belong to the dark ages. We still place women into subordinate positions and want to see them as weak and dependent. Among such families, if a woman tries to establish her own business, her family not only criticizes her but does not give any financial or moral support. As one of the respondents revealed,

"I used to stay at home, as I was a housewife. But then because of my husband's health issues (heart problem and sugar, his business was closed, then I first started doing a job in a parlor to support him. Which was criticized by my family, especially my in-laws. But after his death, I started my own business. The death of my husband was a shock, and now it became a compulsion to do business therefore, after his death my family started accepting my business role".

Women internalize gender-based stereotypes; they determine their choice of career, career ideas, expectations of earnings, and requirements for financial independence at a lower level compared with men, subordinated to family life. Their self-assessment is largely influenced by the social expectations attached to female roles, physical looks, and the existence of a couple. As their familial responsibilities and attitude of family do not support their work outside the home, therefore they often do not put an effort to do so.

Table 2 has shown the motivations of female entrepreneurs whiles starting and running their businesses.

Themes	Sub themes		
Personal motivation	Internal strength/personal instinct		
	Personal freedom		
	Being own boss		
	Unhappy with the status of being housewife		
	Achieve my goals + determined goals		
Financial Stability	Financial support for husband		
	Able to fulfill the needs of children + Financial independence		
	Able to contribute to family income		
	Able to save money for future		
Social support	Support from neighbors, friends etc.		
	More Socially connected		
	Have more friends + personal social circle		
	Have more people to be heard/ recognition by others		
	Gained my own identity		
Flexible Timings	Can manage work at any time		
	No restrictions		
Empowerment through	Have more respect in the family		
business	Financially independent		
	Have a part in all major decisions of household		

Table 2. Motivation for Female Entrepreneurs

Table 3 has shown the challenges women entrepreneurs have been facing while starting and running their businesses.

Table 3. Challenges for female entrepreneurs

Themes	Sub Themes
	Role of mother, wife, and daughter in law
Role Conflict	Role of entrepreneur
	Management of Work-life balance
	Taught to listen and obey, therefore are not able to speak up / limitations to
	participate in familial decisions
	Lack of decision-making power / freedom to decision making
	Identity crisis
Effect on personal	Stress of work, no personal entertainment, sacrificing self to support others
lives	Tension in relationships + lack of time for reconciliation with family and
	relatives
	Lack of time for children
	Lack of time to relax + Loan stress+ financial stress
Financial issues	Lack of finances to start the business
	Taking a loan and later consequences of loan from relatives /neighbors/any
	other body
	Started at small scale due to lack of expenditures
Facing Harassment	Harassment from male counterparts
	Harassment from customers
	Harassment from the people in the market
Lack of education	Lack of professional education +know how about entrepreneurship+ lack
	of experience to deal with work, labor helping or hired body
Perception of people	Perceived being unorganized + not fulfilling familial duties+ less care for
	family, children + feel or face nothing (bold etc.)

Perceived to be best suited as housewife Perceived as not being made for the public place

Conclusion

From the foregoing analysis, it can be concluded that although living in a patriarchal society and doing business at the same time is not an easy task still participants of the research managed to do it. The evidence suggests that they faced many challenges while starting and running their business and most of the issues were because of the mindset that women should live in the household and men should do the work outside. Therefore, this mindset needs to be changed.

The findings also show that majority of participants in the research wanted to do business because of the needs of their children. Their personal interest to do something productive was the motivation behind starting a business. Analysis reveals that the personal motivation of women has been so strong that they, despite facing all the challenges, were able to run their businesses successfully. Therefore, it can be concluded that if women would be given a conducive environment and supportive structure then they can be as good business persons as men, and they can contribute to the economy of the nation, by becoming productive members of society.

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