Entrepreneurship on the public-private divide: Businesswomen of Turkish and Moroccan descent playing family ties

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Introduction

Traditional literature on entrepreneurship strongly emphasizes particular psychological traits of entrepreneurs, such as being innovative and creative, urging for achievement and autonomy, exhibiting risk-taking behavior and individualism (Thomas and Mueller, 2000). Thomas and Mueller (2000) state that a culture of individualism and achievement has dominated the world view of entrepreneurship. Yet, Aldrich and Cliff (2003) note that the dependence of entrepreneurial success on such traits has had little empirical support and that entrepreneurship is a much more collectivistic activity, since it predominantly depends on families' involvement and support. Families and small businesses are often inextricably intertwined: norms, attitudes and values within families affect entrepreneurial behavior, and financial and human resources are often provided through 'strong ties' with family members (Aldrich and Cliff 2003: 577; Anderson et al., 2005). Particularly the literature on ethnic minority entrepreneurship emphasizes the
significance of family as a provider of resources. This literature however focuses on either the positive or negative consequences of family reliance among migrant entrepreneurs, and is less concerned with the identity constructions that stem from the interaction between the entrepreneur and his/her family members. Moreover, most studies on migrant entrepreneurship focus on male entrepreneurs and ignore the roles that female relatives and gender issues play in these businesses (Westwood and Bhachu, 1987). Similarly, it disregards female migrant entrepreneurs and the relations with their family members, despite the fact that for instance 17% of the Turkish entrepreneurs and 12% of the Moroccans in the Netherlands are female (EIM, 2004) Consequently, little is known about the ways these businesswomen are influenced by their families ¹ and the family norms that pertain to gender and ethnicity.

Earlier findings (Essers and Benschop, 2007; Essers et al., forthcoming) have demonstrated that families play an important role in the simultaneous construction of the gender and ethnic identities of businesswomen of Turkish and Moroccan descent. Based on these findings, this paper aims at providing a better understanding of the relationship between these women's gender and ethnic identities and their perceptions of their family members’ norms on gender and ethnicity. This paper focuses on the way these women perceive such norms among their family members, as only female entrepreneurs of Turkish and Moroccan were interviewed, and not their relatives. The relation between these perceptions and their gender and ethnic identities are illustrated by four astounding stories. The analysis of these stories shows how these migrant businesswomen claim agency. They do this by manoeuvring around the norms and values on gender and ethnicity that they perceive as restrictive, and by deploying the norms and values on gender and ethnicity that they consider to be supportive.

The societal discourse on Turkish and Moroccan women in the Netherlands

The Turks and Moroccans are an important group of migrants in the Netherlands. Their labor and migration history in the Netherlands starts in the 1960's, when Turkish and

¹ In this paper, family can be defined in its widest sense: parents, siblings, brothers/sisters-in-law, nephews, cousins, uncles, aunts, husbands/wives and fathers/mothers-in-law.
Moroccan men were recruited by the Dutch government from rural, poor areas to perform low educated labor in Dutch industries. The term 'guest workers' implies their stay was intended to be temporary until there were no longer shortages on the Dutch labor market. However, it turned out their stay needed to be prolonged, and hence family reunification was supported by the Dutch government from the early 1970's onwards (Lutz, 1996). The women who came here to join their husbands stayed at home and took care of the household and their families as they were used to fulfill a traditional role in their homelands and barely spoke Dutch. Therefore, the first generation of Turkish and Moroccan women hardly participated on the labor market. Their daughters, women of the second and third generation, nowadays participate much more on the labor market. Nevertheless, compared to women from other migrant groups and Dutch women, their participation rate continues to be rather low (although the participation rate among Moroccan women doubled between 1995-2004 to 28% and for Turkish women it increased from 17 to 33%)².

Until a few years ago the public opinion on migration used to be rather neutral in the Netherlands and many politicians even emphasized the virtues of the multicultural society. However, this vision changed dramatically because of politicians (such as Bolkestein and Fortuin) who openly questioned Islamic culture and the desirability of immigration, political occurrences (such as '9/11' and the constant fear of Al-Qaeda), and socio-economical developments (high unemployment and the forming of 'ghettos' in the larger towns). Hence, a debate was initiated under the heading of 'the multicultural drama', calling attention to the isolated and disadvantaged position of ethnic minorities in Dutch society. In today's discourse on migration, the term multiculturalism has been replaced by integration or even assimilation. The new adage is that ethnic minorities should incorporate 'the norms and values of Dutch society'. White Dutch people are represented as a homogeneous group (called 'autochtonen') in opposition to 'others' (called 'allochtonen'), who are non-whites and/or Muslims. Consequently, migrants have become the cultural, ethnic and religious 'others' (Lutz, 1996).

This discourse on ethnic minorities is not only expressed by dichotomies, such as 'they' and 'we', but it is also shifting towards a discussion about the alleged

² The participation grade of Dutch, native women was 56% in 2004 (Merens, 2006).
contradiction between Islamic and Western values. The public debate often focuses on
the position of women because they are seen as the bearers of cultural and religious
values (Prins, 2002). This position is predominantly uttered by the Dutch media who
often disputes practices such as honor-revenge, female circumcision and arranged
marriages. This discourse has huge implications for the position of these women. For
instance, wearing a head-scarf seems to underline the oppression of these women as it is
regarded to be incompatible with the Dutch self-image as an emancipated society (Van
Nieuwkerk, 2003). Ergo, 'being different' is understood in terms of the opposition of two
groups of women: the Dutch woman, and the 'other' Islamic woman (Lutz, 1996). Muslim
women, who in the Netherlands are particularly Turkish and Moroccan, are categorized
as either un-emancipated, or 'Dutch' or 'integrated'. In this view, the Islamic woman is
considered to be the prototype of the female migrant, captured in her own culture without
equal rights and social equality. The Dutch expect her to take up traditional gender roles,
which often coincide with the positioning of these women by their ethnic community and
families. Within this context women are primarily regarded as mothers, wives, daughters
or sisters, and judged accordingly. Women's activities are carefully watched and
restricted as they might damage the honor and bring shame to the family. Consequently,
many migrant women experience they need to prove themselves to the Dutch that they
are not repressed by their families and to migrant people they are not too licentious as a
woman (Buitelaar, 2006).

Social identity

Desired identity and discourse

The construction of identity can be seen as a discursive process that is dependent on time,
place and context (Haraway, 1991). Identities can be conceived as multiple, since they
are crafted through diverse identity categories such as gender and ethnicity (Ghorashi,
2001). Depending on the concrete situations in which they find themselves, people
dialogically construct their selves in relation to their ‘relevant others’. Accordingly,
elaborating on who they are and want to be, often in reaction to the ideas on how they
should be, is frequently done by story-telling.
Hence, identity construction involves dialogues with relevant others on the social categories of gender and ethnicity. Gender can be seen as a process that is embedded in power relations and particular historical material conditions. This process entails practices of masculinity and femininity within public and private spheres, and dominant discourses on gendered labour and identities which are informed by the intersections of gender, race, class, sexuality and other categories of social repression (Calás and Smircich, 2006). Ethnicity can be conceived of as an ideological construct dividing people into different exclusionary and inclusionary discourses of collectivities or communities (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983); this divides people into ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Such boundaries are often built upon myths of common origin and/or common destiny (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 201). Hence, both gender and ethnicity are discursive constructs, and relate to discourses on how we ought to do and be. Accordingly, these discourses have a normative effect. They constitute norms on gender and ethnic appropriate behaviour, and desired identities. As a result, people construct their gender identity, or ‘the ways that masculinity and femininity are socially constructed’ (Ghorashi, 2001: 7), in relation to these discourses revolving gender appropriate behaviour and desired gender identities. Similarly, when constructing their ethnic identity, or the way they choose and identify with symbolic elements of ethnicity, such as cultural practices, language and religious affiliation (Ashcroft et al., 1998), they do this in relation to the discourses revolving ethnic appropriate behaviour and desired ethnic identities.

Because gender and ethnicity mutually and concurrently influence each other, this paper draws on the concept of intersectionality. Intersectionality implies that everyone is always simultaneously positioned at multiple ‘axes’ of categories of identity and it provides a theoretical guideline to understand the interconnection of these social categories which have various power implications (Crenshaw, 1997; Adib and Guerrier, 2003). In this paper, intersectionality is used to disclose how the norms on gender and ethnic appropriate behaviour are intrinsically connected.

*Socialization and patriarchic mechanisms affecting gender identity*
As this paper investigates how these women craft their identities in relation to the way they perceive their relatives’ norms regarding gender and ethnicity, we first need to theorize how the family plays a structural role in the formation of these separate identity categories, as well as in their mutual combinations. The roles and expectations regarding appropriate gender behaviour are often assumed to come into being through patriarchal mechanisms. Feminists such as Millet (1970), Firestone (1979), and Smith (1988) claim there is a universal experience of oppression in which all women are subjugated by men, which is referred to the Grand theory of patriarchy. This system of social structures and practices (Grant, 1993) shapes labour market positions and influences family relations so that traditional gender roles and the subordination of women to men are reproduced. Patriarchy, however, is a premise, and there is no materialist explanation for the universal existence of patriarchy (Grant, 1993). Therefore, it can only be explained materially and situationally in each of its specific manifestations as it is linked expressly to modes of production (Walby, 1992). In other words, we need to gather localized and situated knowledges on the mechanisms and effects of patriarchy. Accordingly, this paper studies how these businesswomen adhere to, resist or reproduce patriarchy while constructing their identities.

Gender identities are affected by discourses and practices among people’s families, which are transferred through socialization processes. Socialization refers to the idea that families play a key role in the decision on the appropriateness of behaviors and actions of the two sexes (Mischell, 171; Raffaelli and Ontai, 2004). Children are rewarded and/or punished for proper gender behavior and inclined to copy this behavior from their parents and peers. Socialization can only be understood in relation to localized, specific processes of patriarchy. The result of such processes is that gender appropriate behaviour which refers to male and female behavior, become a central feature of adult personality (Raffaelli and Ontai, 2004). Yet, people are not fully determined by socialization processes, nor do they always occur in a universal way. Hence, in line with Stanley and Wise (1983), this paper moves away from the universalized conception of 'the family' within mainstream socialization theory, as this view suggests that children are obliged to internalize these norms and values through their families (mainly their mothers) which are largely defined by society. Even worse, this view also suggests a
dichotomy of 'properly gender stereotyped'/not properly gender-stereotyped', or mal-socialization.

Contrary to this perception, this paper argues that people do not passively identify with gender stereotypes. People may develop and construct deviating identities in relation to gender appropriate behaviours and desired identities, by actively responding to these norms their ‘relevant others’ have on gender.

_Patriarchy and socialization affecting desired gender identity in migrant, Muslim communities_

Several references are made as to the highly patriarchal character of the Turkish and Moroccan migrant communities (Phalet and Schönpfug, 2001; Lutz, 2002; Saharso, 2002). The literature on migrant, Muslim communities moreover particularly elaborates on the discourses that prevail in these societies and which affect identification. One of the dominant discourses concerns the public/private-divide, or the division between the public sphere and the private sphere which is allegedly universally gendered (Arneil, 2001). The private sphere pertains to family life, and the public sphere refers to work life. The public/private-divide is being perpetuated through a gendered division of labour: ‘domestic/female work’ versus 'man's work' (Arneil, 2001). Particularly in migrant Muslim communities, the public/private-divide concerns a dualism, which is strongly connected with the notion of honour and shame. Men's honour in families depends on the maintenance of this public/private-divide. Woman's sexuality is a threat to men's identity and the gendered power relations, especially when she enters the public without a guarding male. Sadiqi and Ennaji (2006: 2004) expressively illustrate this process of trespassing the gendered public/private space dichotomy by their Arabic linguistic analysis of the verb _xarjat_ (she went out), which marks the 'going out' of a woman as a movement from the private/interior to the public/ exterior. Women have to 'watch how they behave'. When transgressing the public-private divide, wearing a head-scarf in the public space helps them to remain symbolically in the private space (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2006). The preservation of women's chastity contributes to the separation of women and men in public spheres and is an important mechanism to prevent shame.
This safeguarding of the gendered public/private-divide is related to 'the ideology of motherhood'. This ideology refers to the idea that motherhood constitutes an important element in the construction of the female identity. Female bodies are inscribed with the ideal of motherhood and therefore charged with the reproduction and continuity of Turkish (Strüder, 2001) or Moroccan culture. The male body is inscribed with authority, stability and charged with the reproduction of the economy (Strüder, 2001). Accordingly, women are often encouraged to internalize specific feminine positions, such as mother, (house)wife, sister or daughter (Salih, 2001).

Hence, when gender norms are not met, the honour (*nafs* in Moroccan and *namus* in Turkish) of the family is often at stake (Pels 2000: 77). To perpetuate the requested norms and values revolving gender identity, parents in these collective Muslim societies often stress conformity goals such as obedience or respect among both sexes (Phalet and Schönplug, 2001). The way these values are being socialized often differs between sons and daughters (Phalet and Schönplug, 2001). In line with the ideology of motherhood, mothers generally play a much larger role in socialization processes than fathers, as raising children is generally conceived to be confined to the private sphere and femininity. When it comes to autonomy and achievement, mothers seem to be less aspiring for their daughters than for their sons (idem: 197). Moreover, there seems to be a double standard regarding their children's socialization: although Moroccan and Turkish parents often encourage their daughters to obtain education and to seek employment, they often strongly retain the ideal of the man as the sole breadwinner (Pels 2000: 88). Although this depends on the generation to which they belong (Afshar and Maynard, 1994), the extent to which their parents adhere to orthodox gender opinions and the contacts they have with other ethnic or professional groups (Anthias, 2001), motherhood, virginity and the separation of the sexes remain important values among migrant women. Hence, even successful women in the social and political arena carefully portray themselves in order to avoid the suggestion they radically challenge traditional gender norms (Pels 2000: 80).

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3 A lot of studies are devoted to the study of honour and shame in Morocco and Turkey, as this discourse plays a central role in many people’s lives (see for instance Delaney, 1987; Van Eck, 2001).
Agency

The above has elaborated on the norms on gender and ethnicity, which result in specific requirements and demands regarding gender and ethnic appropriate behaviour, and which lead to the formation of a desired female Muslim migrant identity. Economically active women of Turkish and Moroccan descent face a dilemma when crossing the public/private-divide, and when constructing a deviating female migrant identity. This is confirmed by Ufuk and Özgen, who note with regards to the Turkish context that female entrepreneurs regularly suffer from conflicts between the entrepreneur role and the roles of housewife, mother and wife, due to excessive expectations of family members (2001: 95). However, this does not mean that these women are completely limited in their actions. People have a 'situated agency' (Ghorashi 2001: 27), so that 'within a given social framework they actively construct their identities' (Ghorashi 2001: 22). Ketner et al. (2004) for instance found that adolescent girls of Moroccan descent in the Netherlands develop cognitive strategies to avoid or reconcile apparent contradictory norms experienced during their upbringing. In the compromise strategy, they negotiate with their parents on certain rules, and make a compromise between their own values and their parents accordingly. In the reinterpretation strategy, these girls try to reinterpret traditional values such as chastity. Others may strategically use religion to challenge and influence their parent’s ideas by calling these traditional and un-Islamic. A final method to circumvent parental restrictions is the secret behaviour strategy, according which girls are not to tell their parents about certain events, or to tell only one half of it (Ketner et al. 2004: 164).

This section on identity has argued that businesswomen of Turkish and Moroccan descent construct their gender and ethnic identities in relation to their perceptions of their family members’ norms on gender and ethnicity. These families are part of the larger migrant community where patriarchal mechanisms prevail, and thus the family norms on gender and ethnicity are highly affected by gendered power relations, expectations regarding the public/private-divide, and the issue of honour and shame. Accordingly, when constructing their identities, these migrant businesswomen have to relate to these family norms and values that are transmitted through socialization processes.
The confrontation with different norms on gender and ethnicity can be experienced as constraining and limitive. Yet they do not necessarily determine the way these women construct their identities. It is the agency emerging from the (virtual) dialogues these women have with their relatives on appropriate gender and ethnic behaviour and the desired gender and ethnic identity that the remainder of this paper focuses on.

Methodology

Research on female migrant entrepreneurs is still in its infancy and little is known about the way their family environment affects their enterprising. Exploring the relationship between the identity constructions of businesswomen of Moroccan and Turkish origin and family dynamics contributes to an enhanced understanding of the situational contingency of people’s entrepreneurship. Twenty life-story narratives were gathered. Narratives explore the lived experiences of particular individuals and extrapolate illustratively to the broader social location embodied by these individuals (McCall 2005: 1781).

To approach and select businesswomen of Turkish and Moroccan descent, various networks for women and ethnic minorities were contacted, and additionally the 'snow-balling' method was used. Using McAdams' model (MacAdams, 1993), the businesswomen were asked to organize their life-story in life chapters referring to the most important phases in their lives. Within these life-chapters, the women were requested to elaborate on the most important family members as well as other relevant people, and what kind of messages these people gave on gender, ethnicity and entrepreneurship. All conversations between businesswoman and researcher were conducted in Dutch. The interviews were recorded, literally transcribed and sent back to the female entrepreneurs for possible corrections. After reading the adjusted transcripts, a categorical and holistical content analysis was applied to find general patterns and themes (Lieblich et al., 1998) in relation to the perceived ideas on gender and ethnic appropriate behaviour and the desired identities, among their family members. To demonstrate these
general themes and patterns, the four most revealing life-stories regarding family dynamics have been chosen. Illustrating these family dynamics through story-like scenes and focusing on the strategies these women perform to convince their relatives about who they want to be (Goffman, 1963; Linstead & Pullen, 2006), dynamically shows this process of identity construction.

The narrative approach underlines that stories are always filtered, mediated, and linguistic constructions made in close interaction with the researcher. Hence, it is important to recognize that the researcher's identity, in this case a female academic of Dutch descent, might affect the stories these women tell. It is conceivable that the stories might have been told differently to another researcher from another social location. On the other hand, it is not only the researcher who has an impact on how these women narrate about their identities; the businesswomen also have agency in the way they talk about their selves. Just as stories may have a truth effect on their audiences, the narrative approach illustrates how these female entrepreneurs of Turkish and Moroccan origin strategically present their characters or identities to concrete audiences, such as the interviewer-author, and imaginable audiences, such as their family members (Ramsdell, 1973; Prasad, 2005). Hence, the narrative approach demonstrates how these women use the audience to accomplish their identities (Czarniawska, 1999).

The episodes

These are the article's main personages: Nerli is of Turkish descent and owns a dress boutique. She is 33 and arrived in the Netherlands at age 7, has just married a man she met a few years ago in Turkey and has a son from her first marriage. Occasionally, her sister helps her out. Mouria, a 47-year-old Moroccan female who came to the Netherlands when she was 17, has her own beauty-centre and has one employee. She is married and has a son and a daughter. Gülün, 30, is of Turkish origin, has a hairdresser shop and has two employees. She has 2 children. She came to live in the Netherlands when she was 1,5. Sourya (30) came to the Netherlands when she was 8, has a traditional

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4 All stories are based on the telling of the interviewees. The quotation marks display the told.
Moroccan clothing shop, and in the back of her shop she also dresses women and does their make-up. She is married and has a daughter.

Below, two episodes are presented in which migrant businesswomen react to certain norms pertaining to gender and ethnicity that they perceive to be dominant within their families, and which influence these women’s identity constructions. The norms in episode one concern messages provided throughout childhood which emphasize the importance of becoming a good woman. The norms in episode two concern messages concerning how women should try to remain a good (house)wife, daughter and mother when being an entrepreneur, and how relatives should be involved in these women’s entrepreneurship.

*Episode 1: 'Becoming a good woman'*

The stories of the interviewed businesswomen of Turkish and Moroccan origin reveal how these women are expected to behave feminine and to adhere to particular female roles. These female roles are highly related to the private sphere, such as motherhood and being a housewife (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2006). In this episode we see how Sourya, Gülin and Mouria perform these roles in dialogue with their parents and siblings.

At age 16 Sourya wants to play soccer, instead of kneading bread. But her father tells her she is not allowed. ‘Why can't I just play outside like my brother’ she resists? To mislead him, Sourya normally tells him she is with girl-friends. But when her father finds out she is still playing soccer, he is very angry and determined about his daughter not leaving the house at night. And so he tells Sourya to quit. Sourya is very disappointed, and still attempts: 'well, then I will play indoor soccer’. Although her father objects to this too, she plays soccer for four years. But then the inevitable happens: a broadcasting company comes along to film the team; imagine her father's friends' reactions after they see her in short trousers on television! The telephone is constantly ringing: 'what's that, you don't
have a son do you, but a daughter!?' And so again she has to quit, just when she is asked for the Amsterdam eleven. 'Do you know what the problem with Moroccan people is', she says, 'they think: what will the people say? They don't think: how does my daughter feel, is she happy?' It is in these years she starts thinking about setting up her own business, as she is eager to do 'what you want, what you like, how you want it; your own little shop'.

This scene demonstrates how Sourya is trained to be a 'good Moroccan woman', which refers to domestic activities, as opposed to her brother who can play outside. Sourya's Moroccan family does not allow her to play soccer as this does not agree with their norms on femininity, such as that women should stay inside and confine themselves to the private sphere. Accordingly, she has to quit to save her father's name. Yet, as she does not want to refrain herself from the public, she opposes against this gender inequality by telling white lies, doing things secretly, or just persisting public behaviour.

This scene indicates that from her youth onwards public activities with masculine connotations (such as soccer) attract Sourya much more than private household activities (such as making bread). Yet, socialization processes within her patriarchal environment teach her the opposite. Sourya risks damaging her family's honour, if she maintains to play soccer, a men’s activity. Her playing in short trousers on television –one cannot imagine a more public exposure- even brings more shame to the family. Nevertheless, Sourya performs, very persistingly, a ‘self-determination strategy’ in order to accomplish the things she wants to do. Hence, she resists the narrow norms for appropriate femininity by acting very self-determinantly. Additionally, this story line suggests how Sourya's father contributes to the development of an entrepreneurial identity while obstructing the development of a more 'masculine' gender identity: all her father's (and the Moroccan communities') objections even make her more determined to set up something for herself.

In many of the stories, migrant women are socialized to become appropriate women, and prepared to become a good wife in service of their future husbands (Lievens, 1999; Phalet and Schönpflog, 2001). Yet, the following scene shows the opposite, and demonstrates how the norm of becoming a good, appropriate woman according to
traditional Moroccan standards is used to enhance the school results of female adolescents:

Mouria’s mother teaches her daughters to behave decently when strangers are around, and when they receive visitors they have to do the cooking and the dishes. But on other occasions, contrarily, Mouria’s parents warn her and her sisters: ‘Remember, not only boys are capable, girls are too! And do not think about quitting school earlier, for otherwise the chances will be bigger to be married off!!’ Mouria is glad that her parent’s encourage their girls to finish school, which she underlines by saying: ‘that is something fortunately we got in our upbringing, and I still have the urge to achieve something without having a man around!’

The fragment above shows the ambiguity in Mouria's upbringing: on the one hand she is socialized that as a woman she is particularly assigned to the private, but on the other hand she gets the message that girls are equal to boys. Her parents deploy a very unorthodox tactic to stimulate their daughters' independence: they 'blackmail' their daughters by saying they marry them off if they quit school too soon. In this case, Mouria's parents know marriage represents the notorious Sword of Damocles for Mouria and her sister. They employ this power to stimulate their daughters’ education, which makes them less dependent on potential husbands. Hence, they act in a cunning way: they use the traditional practice to get married-off to accomplish a less traditional practice: female education and female autonomy. Mouria has taken over this philosophy of female autonomy, as she still wants to prove she can 'achieve something, without having a man around'. Ergo, this fragment shows how Mouria's parents as well as Mouria resist patriarchy. Later on, we will see how Mouria has copied this ‘cunning strategy’ of her parents to resist patriarchal elements in relation to other relatives.

This progressive view on their daughter's upbringing could however also be interpreted from another perspective. Sadiqi and Ennaji (2006) mention that in the years after Morocco's independence 'many middle and upper classes sought in educating their girls some kind of social prestige', in a context where many parties merely had political goals to emancipate women, instead of an indisputable interest in the liberation of women.
as individuals (Sadiqi and Ennaji 2006: 14). Yet, women's education primarily aimed at producing good housekeepers and child-rearers. The work of women, and hence their money, was considered as a dishonour to the family (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2006: 5). Ergo, this ulterior motive of social prestige could apply to Mouria's parents too.

At any rate, this scene illustrates how early children in Islamic countries and communities are being introduced to the topic of marriage. It is not only the personal ideal but also the social norm to get married. In the Moroccan and Turkish community there seems to exist no alternative cohabitation mode to marriage; living together is inconceivable and living alone is considered to be a threat to the social order as one cannot be (sexually) controlled (Buskens, 1999). Ideally daughters get married as early as possible, as this decreases the risk for family dishonour. 'For men the period between puberty and marriage implies a materialistic preparation and at the same time relative freedom. For women in contrast this period signifies a stronger morality; they need to be protected against their own desires in order to retain the family honour' (Buskens 1999: 373). To be married off is therefore still a common practice among Moroccan and Turkish people. 'Traditionally, marriage is conceived to be a family matter, rather than a union between two independent individuals' (Lievens 2006: 719). The respectability of the marriage candidate's family is thus of utmost importance, and partners originating from the same region are preferred as they are thought to have similar norms and values. Hence, the ideology of arranged marriages is to be able to perpetuate communal relations and to attain 'ethnic and religious purity' (Schoenmaeckers et al., 1999). Although the number of arranged marriages in general is declining, still a few interviewed women of Turkish and Moroccan origin both, affirm to have been married off. Marriages that are based completely on free individual choice without further interference by parents still seem to be rare and often a source of conflict (Lesthaeghe and Surkyn 1999: 13).

This episode has demonstrated the dualism of the public/private-divide in a Muslim migrant context, and the implications of this divide for gender and ethnic appropriate behaviour, as well as the way girls are required to construct their identities. From this analysis, a few norms can be derived. The first and foremost norm migrant girls have to relate to is the norm that women are predestined to become a mother and a housewife,
and to remain to the private sphere. It is a norm that girls behave modestly and decently, and that their bodies and movements are controlled, particularly in the public and preferably by their male relatives. Activities of (adolescent) girls are carefully watched to avert possible shame and retain the family honour. As this is a predominant issue in Turkish and Moroccan migrants’ lives, good manners, as well as honour and shame, are part of the socialization of children. This is also indicated by the language interviewees and their relatives commonly use to account for bad behaviour ('this is very shameful', 'this is really haram'). Alternatively, this norm may be deployed by family members to achieve the opposite: economic independence of (young) women.

This brings us to the second episode where the interviewees have to deal with the family norms concerning how female entrepreneurs should behave themselves in relation to their husbands and relatives, and how their families should be involved in their entrepreneurship.

**Episode 2: Remaining a good (house)wife, daughter and mother as a migrant businesswoman**

When Moroccan or Turkish women get married, they are generally expected to fulfill a central position in the family and to be house-wifes solely. As such, they are often supervised by their husbands, and their freedom of action is considerably decreased in order to ‘protect’ the gender-segregated social order (Buitelaar, 2002). Despite their relatives’ expectations, the interviewed businesswomen hardly appear to be attracted to the role of a housewife only, since their ambition is to be an independent entrepreneur.

At age 17 Mouria imagines how her life will turn out if she stays in Morocco. She works as a secretary, but is afraid that if she marries there and gets children she will have to stay at home. That's not what she wants in life! From friends she hears about the freedom, prosperity and educational possibilities in the Netherlands. Mouria dreams of a better life, and imagines the Netherlands to be heaven on earth. Instead, at first it seems like hell. She agrees to be linked up with a man she hardly knows to pursue her dreams, but after two weeks in the
Netherlands they are already quarrelling. She is all alone with her husband, very depressed, and thus she calls her uncles: 'Yea, you just coupled me with that man, and now he wants to boss me around!' From the beginning of her marriage she has to fight to accomplish things, such as also starting a beauty-salon which is her big dream. As she feels dependent on her husband, she decides to play things clever: sometimes she 'begs a bit, or just tells things on pleasant moments'. To persuade him to set up her own business, she argues: 'some things are better for us, than I'm off for a while'. She is so eager to have her own business that she says: 'I am even willing to risk a divorce for it!' She succeeds because her husband is fed up with the fights and definitely wants to avoid a divorce.

This scene illustrates how Mouria feels isolated when first in the Netherlands, and how she is fighting with her husband all the time. It is therefore understandable she feels to be somewhat betrayed by her uncles who linked her up with a 'bossy man', as the actual reason to marry him was to get a better life and to be able to work. But she is not easily daunted, and so she manipulates her husband to become her own boss, instead of being bossed around. Although she feels dependent on her husband concerning her self-image, she does not show this to him when in dialogue about her identity. Instead, she displays a 'cunning strategy' to accomplish female autonomy when being confronted with her husband: at times she butters him up and explicates a win-win situation, and at other times she provokes him to show her determination.

Gülin even has to put her husband under pressure when she starts her own company:

'Listen, I didn't make this child alone, these children are also yours, just take a few days off, and you go and take care of them. If you agree, I would really like it, if not, we go our separate ways.....And else I will call your father that his son is coming and that he can already prepare the divorce papers'. This really scares her husband, and his fear becomes reality when his father calls him three days later. So he asks: "so Gülin, did you really call my father in Turkey? Gülin: "yes, that's what I did. I don't like it, but I want to save my marriage". He eventually asks her
what she wants him to do, so she says: 'taking a day or two off a week, and taking care of your children...' And so he agrees.... Gülin is in strong control against her own family too when performing her entrepreneurship, as she warns her family whenever they want to interfere: 'this is my shop, and everyone has his own business, end of discussion!'

Gülin is fed up with her husband, who hardly takes care of their children. Ergo, something has to be done to push him. And so Gülin does not shrink from involving her father-in-law in her scheme. Since her husbands' father, even if he lives in Turkey, is still the pater familias of the family, she turns to him to include him in her intrigue at her wits end. Divorce would imply a shame to the whole family, and thus he is forced to persuade his son to conform to his daughter-in-law's wishes. Just like Mouria, also Gülin appears to apply a ‘cunning strategy’. Since Gülin lives in a community that is highly collective, it is not uncommon to have family members involved in her private life, and to involve her father-in-law to improve her marriage. In Turkey and Morocco, family members are usually requested, even by judges, to provide reconciliation, as divorce is the ultimate solution in Islamic countries which should be prevented at all cost. Accordingly, accomplishing her wishes by involving other relatives in the negotiation with her husband seems to be a logical action for Gülin. However, the interesting part of Gülin's strategy is that in relation to her own family she seems to keep a distance and to appeal to a more western, individualistic attitude towards doing business. She strongly takes issue with the habitude among migrant entrepreneurs to mediate family and business. Clearly, she is afraid that involving her family in her business might imply less autonomy and possibly the end of her career. Hence, in some occasions she deliberately appeals to her migrant background and involves her family to sustain her entrepreneurship, and in other occasions she leaves her family out of her business to maintain her entrepreneurial autonomy.

Among the interviewees there are several stories of women who married at a young age because they wanted to get out from under their family's yoke, while at the same time keeping their family's honour. However, some women get from the frying-pan
into the fire, as their (ex) husbands repress them much more than their own families.\(^5\) Nerli first runs away to marry a man in order to get more freedom, but is emotionally and physically abused by her husband. Fortunately, she experiences she is able to fall back on her family, right after she divorces her husband. All her family members support her when she returns home: first by offering jobs in their own companies, and later when she wants to set up something for herself:

When recovered from her divorce Nerli considers doing 'something with clothes', as she's always had a thing for clothes. It must have been predestined, because a few weeks later her brother-in-law tells her: 'I have a surprise for you. We are going somewhere and then you may observe it and decide upon it'. Hence they are heading for the city of A. to check out an interior of a shop. ‘If you agree I will help you to open a boutique, also financially. Alternatively, you may proceed with the police academy, but you know, you have a small child, and you would return home late....’. She eventually decides to go for her own company, but then Nerli experiences that although it is never said openly, it is very difficult to get money from banks because of her Turkishness. Therefore her brother-in-law finances it first, which she accepts by saying: 'Okay, we do it the Turkish way: first arranging everything, hiring a place, and at the end the money. Of course this is not ideal or well sort out, but hey. It is already heavy enough, being a single mother and an entrepreneur'.

This scene clearly demonstrates the positive side of family-ties in relation to female migrant entrepreneurship. Although divorce officially implies shame, Nerli's family 'overcomes' this shame and provides her with all the family support she can use to build

\(^5\) Six out of the twenty interviewed businesswomen are divorced. Often, these divorces had been very problematic. Before 2004, Moroccan family law provided women with very little possibilities to divorce their husbands, while men could expulse their wives at any time. Even if couples would be divorced according to the Dutch and Islamic law, they would still be married according to the Mudawwana and so women were at risk to be kept against their wishes by their husbands in Morocco. The Moroccan family law, or the Mudawwana, has been adjusted on a number of parts in 2004. Yet, this system is still highly gender biased. Not only in Morocco, but also in Turkey the family-law, the Hürriyet (which is not based on the Shari’a but merely shaped after the Swiss Civil Code (Buskens, 1999)), is gender biased. For instance, ‘zina’ by men was penal until 1966, whereas ‘zina’ by women was penal until 1999 (Van Eck, 1991).
up a new life. The fact that even her brother-in-law takes a lot of effort to help her underlines how close family ties are, especially in Turkish communities (Lievens, 2006), which in this case contributes to the development of Nerli’s entrepreneurship. Yet, Nerli’s relatives might want to convince her to become an entrepreneur as this is regarded less shameful than being a police-woman, a job which entails going to unexpected places at late hours and is thus deemed inappropriate for women. Putting her under their guardianship, by employing her first, and through their heavy involvement in her company later, enables them to avert possible shame (of a fallen woman) in the family. All the same, Nerli’s reaction to the expectations regarding gender and ethnicity within her family is applying a ‘pragmatic strategy’: instead of distancing herself from these norms on gender and ethnicity, she resigns in these as this leads to her goal: ‘doing something with clothes’, which in her case means having a fashion shop.

Interestingly enough, Nerli at the same time regrets and even rejects her setting up a business without securing the capital first, which she views as a typical Turkish practice. Her reaction reveals how the ethno-centrically determined entrepreneurship discourse is at stake in Nerli’s entrepreneurial identity construction. This hegemonic discourse argues that individualism is an entrepreneurial asset, despite studies showing the importance of family networks in migrant entrepreneurship (Flap et al., 1999). Nevertheless, also in this respect Nerli seems to behave pragmatically, which is demonstrated by her ‘but hey’. She can use all the support she needs being a single mother6, which might actually have contributed to her decision to become an entrepreneur instead of a police-woman.

As the story of Mouria in episode one already suggested, the interviewed migrant businesswomen do not experience unambiguous gender inequality in relation to their relatives. Hence, the norms revolving how to remain a good (house) wife, daughter and mother, being a migrant businesswoman, are not always the same in every family context, nor do they always have the same impact. This can be observed in the last scene with Sourya, who married the man of her dreams she secretly dated before:

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6 Quite a few interviewees are divorced and mention the difficulty to raise both their child(ren) and their business, and some even report to feel guilt towards their children as they are too busy as business women.
Sourya is determined to set up her own business and thus makes long hours. As she financially hardly succeeds, she has to submit a business plan to attain a loan. Her husband, who also has a company, helps her with this business plan. They have a good life, and they undertake a lot of nice things together. Yet, many acquaintances and relatives take offence of her husband, and tell him: ‘It is inappropriate to go out with your wife and to go on a vacation together’. Nevertheless, Sourya dismisses this by saying: ‘O well, this is just jealous behavior. And I continue to go alone on a business trip to Morocco, despite of what others say!’

Various people, relatives and friends alike, blame Sourya's husband for treating his wife equally, turning her into an 'unreal woman'. Yet, her husband does not request a subservient wife and goes against this patriarchal idea. And so Sourya dismisses this narrative as jealous and un-useful in her identity construction as a female migrant entrepreneur, while persevering her individual business activities and consorting with her husband. Sourya and her husband seem to be on the same wave length as he also has a business and they enjoy undertaking many activities together; it appears to be 'them against the rest'. Therefore, Sourya may afford to act like nobody can thwart her in any way and thus executes a ‘self-determination strategy’. Her approach seems to be supported by her egalitarian marriage, which makes her feel confident in her position as an autonomous female entrepreneur.

In this second episode we have seen that a good woman is someone who primarily confines herself to the private sphere. A good woman is a private woman who most and foremost fulfills the position of mother and/or (house)wife, and who welcomes the protection provided by her male relatives. Women should be in charge of the household, the reproduction of the family and thus the continuation of Turkishness/Morocanness, and should not be primarily economically productive as this is a man’s prerogative. It is an unspoken rule that women should not freely express their wishes of having more autonomy. Men are expected to socially and economically take care of the whole extended, family, and to protect the family's good name. It is therefore a highly valued
norm that family members help each other out at all cost in order to prevent shame; one should not air one's dirty laundry. Accordingly, it is highly appreciated when families solve their problems with each other and not individually, even if the topic is very private. Connected to this, it seems to be a norm among these women’s family members to help them with moral, practical and financial support when starting and sustaining their businesses. We note a tension between this latter norm to help these businesswomen who are active in the public, and the other norms that pertain to women remaining in the private. Yet, the norm to provide family support to migrant women once they have crossed the public/private-divide can also be interpreted as a way to control these women’s movements in the public, and to keep them close to the private.

Discussion and conclusions: Playing family ties on the public-private divide

The analysis of the stories has illustrated how the tight and hierarchic migrant family-structures, in which the interviewed migrant businesswomen are embedded, impose norms concerning appropriate gender and ethnic behaviour on these women. As we can see, many of these family norms are related to the simultaneity of gender and ethnicity as constructed within the patriarchal environment of Turkish and Moroccan communities, and transmitted through socialization processes. The interviewed women have to relate and respond to these norms within their family environments. By presenting and analyzing the stories, we have seen that the migrant businesswomen not only experience to be restricted by these norms when doing entrepreneurship, but also find opportunities within these family norms and values. The women interviewed do not seem to internalize restrictive norms completely, but they rather adjust these norms that dominate their families when constructing their gender and ethnic identities in relation to others. Additionally, they deploy the supportive norms and values that dominate their families in order to sustain their entrepreneurship.

This paper has illustrated that the women in this research apply diverse strategies to acquire this agency in relation to dominant family norms. By utilizing the resources found in such family norms, these strategies enable them to be a more autonomous
entrepreneur. This is often done cautiously, as confirmed by Fatima Sadiqi who argues:

‘One wants to avoid trouble in family and such so one has to be careful in how one presents oneself’. Buitelaar (2006) also recognizes that migrant women often guardedly investigate the amount and nature of the room which is available in the norms that dominate these migrant family-structures. Being solidary with family is spoon-fed, and especially women are socialized with this idea. Buitelaar (2006) even notes that many Moroccan women sometimes want to internalize the idea they should be good, appropriate women who primarily serve their family. Hence the 'exit-option' to leave their families for more autonomy is hardly conceivable for these women (idem). Hence, Sadiqi contends that women have to know 'how to play the game' (...) ‘So within this patriarchy, women are very aware of the strengths and weaknesses of men and that's how they use it; they are socialized to do this'.

The stories have shown that by developing inventive strategies, in response to the norms that dominate their family members, these migrant businesswomen are able to maintain the respect from their siblings, the illusion of female modesty and appropriateness, and to be autonomous at the same time. Consequently, they are able to indirectly critique the patriarchal mechanisms in their migrant communities and families.

We can distinguish three strategies. The first strategy which is applied by Sourya can be labeled as the 'self-determination strategy'. In order to get what she wants, she opposes her family members and acquaintances either openly or secretly. At any rate, she is very persistant and almost stoical in the way she convinces her relatives about her self-image; she is determined not to be diverted. Sourya objects to the norm she should confine to the kitchen and keep a distance from the public, using the moral and material support from her husband. The part of opposing secretly to family members can be recognized in Ketner et al.'s (2004) 'secret behavior' approach. In line with Ketner’s findings, we may interpret that migrant businesswomen are inclined to display this secret behaviour during their childhood particularly, as it is in this period that they live with their parents and are

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7 Professor Fatima Sadiqi is director of the Centre for Studies and Research on Women in Fés, Morocco, and has done a lot of research on the position of women in Arab societies and the gendered use of Arabic languages. She was interviewed in Fés by the author of this paper, during a short period in Morocco to gather background material for her research.
heavily controlled. When they are adults this secret behaviour is less necessary, as they physically and emotionally may distance themselves from this parental control. Mouria and Gülin seem to apply another approach: the 'cunning strategy': whenever they think it is useful for them, they go along with their family's wishes. But when obstructed by their family members, they either 'beg', 'butter them up', or 'blackmail' them to push them in the right direction. It is remarkable how much these tactics resemble their family members' tactics; apparently they had good examples. Mouria and Gülin both object to the idea their movements as a woman should be controlled, and that women ought to perform a subordinate, economically dependent and reproductive role. As it is seemingly uncommon for these women to speak their minds freely, they are inclined to use more manipulative tactics to impress their relatives. The resources Mouria finds in her family-structure and norms to sustain her autonomous position as an entrepreneur are referring to her parent’s opinions on gender equality, marrying a man who lives in another country where she might be able to work, and using their marital status as a negotiation source to convince her husband. Gülin moreover deploys her father-in-law who is still in charge to protect his family’s name. This strategy contains some similarities with Ketner et al.'s (2004) 'strategic use' approach, as both strategies are applied in order to play out people or ideas against each other. The third approach is the 'pragmatic strategy', in which these migrant businesswomen seek female autonomy from their family members by presenting their selves in relation to the family norms on gender and ethnicity in a more practical way. Nerli for instance first avoids the confrontation with her relatives concerning their differences revolving gender and ethnic norms. She runs away to get wed, and uses her marriage to get more independence as a woman. When she finally decides to file for a divorce, she goes back to her family and uses her relatives as a resource to develop her entrepreneurship and hence her autonomy. As her relatives emphasize the advantages of becoming an entrepreneur over a police-woman, and stress they will financially support her if she chooses to become the latter, Nerli again avoids carrying things too far and acts rather low-profile accordingly. Also her reaction on the fact she should perhaps not rely too much on family finance is a pragmatic one.

The analysis of these strategies shows the dramatic qualities of these migrant businesswomen’s narratives with regards to family dynamics. Scrutinizing the strategies
deployed by these women not only demonstrates the problematics and tragiCS, but also the beauty and humour of relating to family-members while trying to sustain their entrepreneurial identities. The women in these stories play their relatives by applying inventive strategies which challenge gendered norms and values predominant in their families (see also Nochimson, 1992). In this sense, they might be considered performers (Höpffl and Linstead 1993: 77) within their entrepreneurial contexts. Just like we see in soap-operas (Nochamsin, 1990), they employ a whole range of alluded techniques in their family environments to impress their co-actors (Ten Bos and Heusinkveld, 2007) and to achieve entrepreneurial success. Accordingly, these female entrepreneurs play an active role in the construction of their gender and ethnic identities by continually resisting, reinterpreting and changing the norms and rules of patriarchy in a strategic and inventive way (Halford and Leonard, 2001).

By demonstrating and acknowledging the dramatic qualities of these migrant businesswomen’s narratives, as well as the way they construct their strategies in relation to their relatives, we are able to view these women as less dependent from and determined by their families, as often depicted by hegemonic discourses on Muslim migrant women. Telling these stories has not only shown the difficulties and struggles these women experience in relation to their relatives, but also the possibilities and the room they find by applying particular strategies. It has nuanced the stereotypical image of the Moroccan and Turkish male who would always expect his daughter, sister or wife to fulfill a subordinate role. Consequently, this paper has demonstrated that, contrary to the universalized conception of 'the family' in socialization theories and the culturalist stereotypical images on migrant women that are constructed in the Dutch popular discourse on migration, these women not passively internalize stereotypical roles of gender and ethnicity. By inventing creative strategies, they rather actively relate themselves to these in entrepreneurial ways to get more female autonomy and to sustain their entrepreneurial identities. They herewith adjust the existing norms on gender, ethnicity and entrepreneurship into more diverse and alternative ideas on these identity categories. Accordingly, they might contribute to the opportunities of other migrant women (of new generations) interested in becoming an entrepreneur.
Literature


