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The Good, the Bad and the Ugly: Organizations and demons

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Introduction

The dominant entrepreneurship discourse predominantly focuses on the economic contribution of entrepreneurship and the alleged psychological traits of successful entrepreneurs. This narrative departs from the premise that entrepreneurs are white males, which results in a static and limited view of entrepreneurship. Yet, entrepreneurial identities are not unitary or fixed, as identity construction is a process which is contextually contingent (Haraway, 1991) and continuously developed through a dialogue with various constituencies. Consequently, entrepreneurial identities are unstable, fluid and multiple and constructed through various identity categories such as ethnicity and gender. This in line with the concept of intersectionality, which implies that everyone is always simultaneously positioned at multiple 'axes' of categories of identity and which provides a theoretical guideline to understand the interconnections of social categories which have diverse power implications (Wekker & Lutz, 2001; Crenshaw, 1997).

It is both theoretically and empirically relevant to investigate the intersectionality of people's gender, ethnic and entrepreneurial identities. Although the majority of the growing group of ethnic minority entrepreneurs is male, most stories on migrant entrepreneurship ignore the roles their female relatives play in these businesses (Westwood & Bhachu, 1987). Moreover, 26 % of all ethnic minority entrepreneurs in the Netherlands are female (EIM, 2004)². Yet, little is known about the ways they are supported by their families and how family relations affect their identities.

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² Respectively 12% of the Moroccans, and 17% of the Turkish entrepreneurs in the Netherlands are female (EIM, 2004).

In the Netherlands, the Turks and Moroccans constitute two of the largest ethnic minority populations. They share an Islamic background, a comparable Mediterranean culture, as well as a similar migration history³. Today, a substantial number of this group is engaged in self-employment. That is why this paper focuses on the entrepreneurial identity constructions of female entrepreneurs of these two migrant groups⁴. The aim of this paper is to explore what kind of stories these Female Entrepreneurs of Moroccan and Turkish Origins' (hereafter called FEMTOs) tell about their entrepreneurial identities and how these stories are related to the gender and ethnic roles their families expect them to play.

The interrelationship between family and entrepreneurship has hitherto been under explored (Anderson et al., 2005). Only the literature on migrant entrepreneurship specifically deals with family as a source of resources, but often focuses on either the positive or negative consequences of this alleged entrepreneurial reliance and is less concerned with the entrepreneurial identity constructions that stem from the interaction between the entrepreneur and his/her family members. In line with Aldrich & Cliff's (2003) call for applying a 'family embeddedness perspective' in entrepreneurship studies, this paper hence contributes to the entrepreneurship and intersectionality literature by exploring how a hitherto under researched group of entrepreneurs construct their gender, ethnic and entrepreneurial identities in relation to their families. Inspired by the conference theme to view organizational life as Hollywood scripts, this paper takes issue with the dichotomy between the 'good and the bad' of family reliance of entrepreneurs. By using the ethno-drama/soap approach, it reflects on the ambiguity of family relations in the context of female ethnic minority entrepreneurship. Conceiving of FEMTOs' life stories as melodramas constructed by various actors and mediated through imaginative audiences (Rhodes & Brown, 2005), this paper analyses how these female characters develop agency in relation to distinct ideas of femininity, ethnicity and entrepreneurship that are predominant within their families.

The first section presents the societal story on Turkish and Moroccan women in which the stories of FEMTOs need to be situated. Next, the methodological approach of this paper will be explained. In the fourth paragraph, the narratives of five FEMTOs will be used to illustrate what kind of stories these women tell to make sense of their entrepreneurial identities in relation to the societal scripts on gender, ethnicity and entrepreneurship that are (partly) incorporated by their families. The final section of this paper provides a conclusion on the way FEMTOS develop storytelling strategies to cope with the family relations that are involved in the construction of their multiple identities.

³ Acknowledging there are of course several differences between the two, this paper (following other researchers in the Dutch context) takes both ethnicities as one group, and the focus is merely on the differences within than between.

2. The societal discourse on Turkish and Moroccan women in the Netherlands

The Turks and Moroccans⁵ comprise an important group of migrants in the Netherlands as they share a similar migration history and religion. Their labor and migration history in the Netherlands starts in the 1960's, when Turkish and 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 Dutch labor market. However, it turned out their stay needed to be prolonged, and hence family reunification was supported by the Dutch government since 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 barely spoke Dutch and were used to fulfill a traditional role in their home-countries. Therefore, the first generation 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 low⁶ (although it doubled between 1995-2003 to 28% and from 17 to 29% respectively).

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-Quada), 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 as well as policy 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 contradiction between Islamic and Western values. The public debate often focuses on the position of women as they are the bearers of cultural and religious values (Prins, 2002). This position is predominantly uttered by in Dutch media often disputed 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

⁵ The Turks (350.000) constitute the largest group, while the Moroccans (305.000.) constitute the third group (CBS, 2004)

⁶ The participation grade of Dutch, native women was 57% in 2003 (Portegijs et al., 2004).

oppression of these women in Dutch discourse as it is regarded to be incompatible with the Dutch self-image as an emancipated society (Van Nieuwkerk, 2003). Ergo, 'being different' is understood against the opposition of two sorts of women: the Dutch woman, and the 'other' Islamic woman (Lutz, 1996). 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 in relation to men. Within this context women's activities are restricted as they might damage the honor and bring shame to the family. Hence, Muslim women, who in the Netherlands are particularly Turkish and Moroccan, are categorized as either un-emancipated, or 'Dutch' or 'integrated'.

3. Methodology

Research on female migrant entrepreneurs is still in its infancy and little is known about the situational contingency of enterprising. Hence, an exploratory study on the relationship between FEMTOs' multiple identity constructions and family dynamics contributes to a better understanding of entrepreneurship.

In accordance with the intra-categorical complexity approach to intersectionality which reveals the complexity of lived experiences and actions of particular groups at neglected categories of intersection (McCall, 2005, p. 1774), twenty 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) in order to reveal the partiality, complexity and diversity within the group these individuals belong to. To approach and select FEMTOs, various networks for women and ethnic minorities were contacted, and additionally the 'snow-balling' method was used. Using McAdams' model (MacAdams, 1993), the FEMTOs were asked to organize their life-story in life chapters referring to the most important phases in their lives. After this open part, a few specific questions regarding the theoretical framework were asked. All conversations between FEMTO and researcher were conducted in Dutch.

The narratives were recorded, literally transcribed and sent back to the FEMTOs for possible corrections. After reading the adjusted transcripts, content analysis was applied to find general patterns and themes (Lieblich et al., 1998); one of them was family dynamics which this paper focuses on. A holistic approach towards narrative analysis was used to reveal the kind of stories these women tell in relation to the available societal scripts, or cultural repertoires (Buitelaar, 2002), on gender, ethnic and entrepreneurial roles. There is an increasing attention for stories in organization studies, and the link with fiction has been made by several authors such as Rhodes & Brown (2005) and Czarniawska (2006). Mangham & Overington (1987) even conceptualize organizations as theatre. The narrative structures that govern most of the telling of stories in Western tradition are 'comedy', 'romance', 'tragedy' and 'irony' (Murray, 1989). As soaps and melodramas generally comprise all four elements, this paper uses the ethno-drama (Rhodes & Brown, 2005) or soap approach to illustrate the ambiguities and dynamics of family involvement in entrepreneurship. By converting the life stories into story-like scenes⁷, the processes of identity construction that are mediated by family members are dynamically illustrated.

The ethno-drama/soap approach is very suitable to demonstrate that stories are always filtered, mediated, and linguistic constructions made in close interaction with the researcher. Ergo, there is no such thing as a 'true' reading of stories. It is not so much the question *if* these stories are true, but *how* they are true: what do the texts provoke (Mak, 2000). It should however be noted that this approach is not unproblematic and could be conceived as an easy way to entertain the reader. Applying this approach in social science therefore requires the responsibility of the author to avoid too much of an irony and to stay

⁷ All stories are based on the telling of the interviewees. The quotation marks display the literally told.

as close as possible to the words of the interviewees. Moreover, it is important to recognize that the researcher's identity might affect the stories these women tell. As the researcher and author of this paper is a highly-educated woman of Dutch decent, it is conceivable that the stories might have been told in a different way if the researcher would have had another identity. Yet on the other hand it is not only the researcher who is in power; FEMTOs also have agency in the way they tell about their identities and it is the ethno-drama genre that symbolically shows this. Just as stories may have a truth effect on their audiences, FEMTOs can present their characters or identities to imaginable audiences by strategically performing their life stories (Ramsdell, 1973; Brown, 1994). Since I am interested to explore the nature of the stories these FEMTOs are able to tell within their family environments to portray their identities, it is therefore interesting to reveal the narrative styles these women use to acquire this agency of identity construction.

The stories

These are the article's main characters: Nerli is of Alawite Turkish descent and owns a dress boutique. She is 33 and arrived in the Netherlands at age 7, has just remarried a man she met 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 in 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. Gülay, 30, is of Turkish origin and has a hairdresser shop. She employs a young girl and a middle-aged woman, is married, and 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 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. Finally Salima, 32 years old and born in the Netherlands, is a traditional Moroccan weddingplanner, or *zyana*. She is divorced, has a daughter from her former marriage and has a new Moroccan boy-friend.

Below, three acts are presented in which becomes clear how family members play an important role in the development of FEMTOs' entrepreneurial identities. Act one demonstrates how these women are often taught in their childhoods about archetypical images of femininity. Act two illustrates how marriage and raising a family might affect the development of these women's entrepreneurial identities. The final act shows how family members may hamper or sustain these identities. The acts will be analyzed by interpreting the variety of stories these women are able to tell within their family context, and how they make use of the gender, ethnic and entrepreneurial scripts these women have access to. By making analogies with existing melodramas and soaps it will be metaphorically illustrated what kind of stories these characters create in order to come across the sometimes restrictive gender, ethnic and entrepreneurial scripts that are often incorporated by their families.

Act 1: 'How to become a good woman'

Sex-role socialization of girls in Turkish and Moroccan communities, or the way families play a key role in the decision on the appropriateness of behaviors and actions of the two sexes (Mischell, 1971; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004), is often centered on appropriate behavior among girls⁸. They are expected to behave feminine and to adhere to female roles that are highly related to the private sphere, such as motherhood and being a housewife (Sadiqi & Ennaji, 2006). Therefore, they are rewarded and/or punished for proper gender behavior and inclined to copy this behavior from their parents and peers. The result of such processes is that gender roles become a central feature of adult personality. In this act we see how Sourya, Mouria and Gülay perform these roles in dialogue with their parents and siblings.

At age 16 Sourya always has to knead bread right after she comes home from school. However, she prefers to play soccer. Why can't she just play outside like her brother, she resists? But her father tells her she is just not allowed. To mislead him, Sourya often tells him she is with girlfriends. 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'. But she isn't allowed either. As she is so hung up on soccer, she does it anyway; and so she plays soccer for four years against her father's wishes...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. Just like in *Bend it like Beckham*, a melodrama about a young girl ('Jessminder') of Indian descent who wants to play football but is prohibited to do so⁹, Sourya's Moroccan family does not allow her to play football as this does not agree with their idea of femininity. Whereas the movie has a happy ending- during the wedding of his other daughter Jessminder's father is so touched by his older daughter's happiness and Jessminder's grievance that he allows Jessminder to go to an important match- Sourya's parents are not to be persuaded. Accordingly, she has to quit in order to save her father's name. Yet, as she wants to perform an alternative image of femininity, she revolts against this 'gender inequality', and decides to do the opposite by telling white lies, doing things secretly, and just persisting.

This scene illustrates that Sourya apparently has always had an independent character, and that 'the public' attracts her more than 'the private'. This plot furthermore suggests how Sourya's family contributes to the development of an entrepreneurial identity while obstructing the development of a more 'masculine' gender identity: all her father's and Moroccan communities' objections even make her more determined to set up something for herself. Ergo, in this story we clearly see how Sourya is socialized to perform 'appropriate feminine behavior', and how, while ignoring her father's demands, she tries to resist

⁸ Phalet & Schönplug (2001) explicate that the effect of parental collectivism on conformity goals is stronger in Turkish than in Moroccan parents. This fits into the pattern of the more tightly knit Turkish immigrant families.

narrow-formulated gender norms. These expectations can be related to the discourse of honor and shame which prevails in her family's social environment and which they seem to have incorporated. When gender role expectations are not met, the honor (*nefs* in Moroccan and *namus* in Turkish¹⁰) of the family is often at stake (Pels 2000: 77). Woman's sexuality is a threat to men's identity and gendered power relations, especially when she enters the public without a guarding male. Sadiqi & 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. Hence, the status of the two sexes is strongly related to the division of labor: domestic versus 'man's work'. Men's honor in families is guaranteed by exercising social control/gossip, mostly executed by the traditional sectors of the community. Women have to 'watch how they behave', and wearing a veil in the public space facilitates them to remain symbolically in the private space (Sadiqi & 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, being predominantly connected with femininity, whereas honor is related to masculinity. As 'Bend it like Beckham' moreover demonstrates, honor and shame is not only an issue for the Moroccan or Turkish migrant community in the Netherlands, but also the Indian community in England.

Appropriate feminine behavior frequently returns in FEMTOs' life stories, but also depends on the ideas, norms and values of their parents. Perhaps because of the fact that Mouria's parents have no sons, her parents' are less affected by what 'others' will say about their daughters:

Mouria's mother frequently tells her daughters that they should not forget what people expect from them as girls, and that they are somewhat mature. So they have to behave themselves, be decent and when they receive visitors they have to do the dishes and cooking. But at the same time they get another message: even if they are no boys, they should also try to achieve and accomplish something. 'Not only boys are capable, girls are too!' They should be autonomous, and not think about quitting school earlier. Mouria's parents even warn them that otherwise the chances will be bigger to be married off. Later, Mourya says: 'so that's something we fortunately we got in our upbringing, and I still have the urge to achieve something without having a man around'.

Universally, weddings are socially constructed as the high point of a woman's life, as can be seen in many soaps, or *telenovelas*, and melodramas. However, marriage is not always depicted as an act of mutual love; often weddings are cancelled because of second thoughts or prevented by 'enemies' or jealous lovers. Alternatively, occasionally marriage represents the notorious Sword of Damocles, which

⁹ When the researcher referred to this movie in the interview, Sourya enthusiastically reacted that she happened to have seen it a week before. It is possible that seeing this movie influenced the way she told her story.

makes the characters prone to extortion. 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 ought to be autonomous since one is never secure about the future. Ergo, in contrast to some feminists (such as Firestone, 1979) who claim there is a universal experience of oppression in which all women are subjugated by men and which can be referred to the Grand theory of patriarchy (Grant, 1993), this fragment shows how Mouria's parents, as well as Mouria herself, resists patriarchy. Her parents even go far to stimulate their daughters' independence: they 'blackmail' their daughters to marry them off if they would quit school too soon. Evidently, Mouria's parents know this will frighten their daughters, and so they employ their power to develop their daughters educationally, which makes them less dependent on potential husbands. Mouria has taken over this philosophy of female autonomy, as she still wants to prove she can 'achieve something, without having a man around'. It should be notified however that this progressive view on their daughter's upbringing might have been different if they have had also sons. In the absence of sons, their daughters are the only children to gain honor with. Moreover, Sadiqi & Ennaji (2006: 14) 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 a genuine interest in the liberation of women as individuals. Yet, women's education aimed at producing good housekeepers and child-rearers. The work of women, and hence their money, was considered as a dishonor to the family (Sadiqi & Ennaji, 2006: 5). Ergo, this ulterior motive could apply to Mouria's parents too.¹¹

This scene also illustrates how early children in Islamic countries and communities, particularly girls, are being introduced to the topic of marriage. It is not only the personal ideal but also the social norm. Ideally daughters get married as early as possible, as this decreases the risk for family dishonor. '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 honor' (Buskens 1999: 373). To be married off is furthermore still a common practice among Arab 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 therefore of utmost importance, and partners originating from the same region are preferred as they are thought to have similar values and norms. 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). The

¹⁰ A lot of studies are devoted to the study of honor and shame in Morocco and Turkey, as this discourse plays a central role in many people's lives (see for instance Gilmore, 1987; Van Eck, 2001)

¹¹ Also in the Turkish and Moroccan communities in the Netherlands there seems to be a double standard regarding their children's socialization: although they encourage their daughters to obtain education and to find employment, many strongly retain the ideal of the man as the sole breadwinner (Pels 2000: 88).

literature suggests this practice to be more common among Turkish than Moroccan families; similarly it has been observed that overall in Europe the Turks constitute a rather closed community¹². And although the number of arranged marriages in general is declining, still a few interviewed FEMTOs affirm to have been married off, and 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 & Surkyn 1999: 13).

Ergo, the basis of FEMTOs' stories, just like soaps and melodramas, is family life, and every member is allocated a smaller or larger role (Geraghty, 1991). This means that not only parents play an important role in the identity constructions of these women. Also brothers prominently feature in these families, as Gülay's story demonstrates:

When Gülay's mother is just pregnant of Gülay, she considers aborting her baby as she is already the sixth. But her oldest son tells her: 'If you are going to abort it I will kill you with my own hands'. Since Gülay's mother knows abortion in their culture is not allowed, as it is '*haram*', murder, she doesn't proceed. Gülay's brother still occasionally tells Gülay: 'It is because of me you're still alive'. Gülay actually admires her brother: 'My father is a real delicate person, but he finds it sometimes difficult to distinguish between bad and wrong'. So the fact that her brother sometimes plays the father over her is kind of pleasant for Gülay. Although he shouldn't go too far: as Gülay is not allowed to go out alone, her oldest brother accompanies her once when she is about 16. He tells his friends: 'this is my sister, watch carefully, and pay attention to her', and her brother is continuously keeping an eye on her. That is why she decides not to go out anymore... Later on she notices she is always somewhere else with her thoughts. She withdraws herself, but does what she wants anyway; she just keeps many things to herself. Years later she confides she is still like that as 'you have to stand firm in your shoes as a female entrepreneur'.

This is a real strong scene which could have been borrowed from the *Godfather*-trilogy. Apparently, Gülay expects her father to be a powerful patriarch, as she speaks friendly but not very highly of her father. Instead, for her it is her brother who performs the strong '*Godfather*'-character, as he controls her mother's movements by threatening her with murder if she would damage her family's honor and acts protective towards Gülay. Yet, we may also observe a contradiction in Gülay's story, as she tells she does not like to be continuously watched by her brother and prefers to do her own thing. Her agency might therefore perhaps be best labeled as opportunistic: she adheres to her brother's support and male authority when convenient, but occasionally distances herself from both him and other relatives to divert them from her plans.

¹² Likewise, the number of 'import brides' in the Netherlands is larger among the Turkish community than the Moroccan

Although mothers in both Turkish and Moroccan communities generally play a much larger role in socialization processes than fathers, as raising children is generally conceived to be confined to the private sphere¹³, this scene shows that also fathers and (older) brothers can play a central role in the socialization of appropriate gender roles and may exercise their influence to uphold the honor of their family. In this particular story ‘the ideology of motherhood’ furthermore prevails, which 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 Turkishness (Strüder 2001: 16). The male body is inscribed with authority, stability and charged with the reproduction of the economy (Strüder, 2001). Ergo, women are often encouraged to internalize specific feminine roles, such as a mother, wife, sister or daughter (Salih, 2001).

Although Gülay’s brother might not have been serious about killing his mother, his threat can be contextualized in the shameful practice of ‘honor-revenge’, which is still performed in both traditional patriarchic communities around the Mediterranean, the Middle-East and Asia, as well as the migrant communities in western countries that originate from these regions (SCP, 2006). The honor usually concerns the chastity of women, and it is often women that have supposedly violated this honor and are therefore killed to save the family honor (van Eck, 2001). Honor-revenge is not an aspect of Islam, but merely of culture (Van Eck, 2001; SCP, 2006). When a man or woman has committed ‘zina’ (profligacy, adultery), the Qur’an says s/he should be punished by a hundred lash beatings, but not stoned as Islamic legists later determined in the ‘Hadith’¹⁴ (van Eck, 2001). Punishment because of ‘zina’ furthermore should be decided by an Islamic court; therefore honor-revenge by definition is disallowed by Islam.

Act 2: ‘Marriage as support, escape or nightmare’

There are several stories of FEMTOs 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 honor. However, some women got from the frying-pan into the fire, as we will see in this part where Salima is introduced. Fortunately, this did not happen to Sourya, who married the man of her dreams she secretly dated before:

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 together. Yet, many acquaintances take offence of him, and tell him it is un-appropriate for him to go out with his wife and to go on a vacation together. Yet, Sourya dismisses this by saying it is

community (Lesthaeghe & Surkyn, 1995; Schoenmaeckers et al., 1999; Lievens, 2006).

¹³ Although it is also widely known that Dutch fathers spend far less time with their children than mothers, even when she is active on the labor market, caring fatherhood seems to be somewhat more part of the Dutch male gender identity than the Moroccan and Turkish male gender identity (Pels, 2000).

¹⁴ Written traditions ascribed to Mohammed.

jealous behavior. And Sourya continues to go alone on a business trip to Morocco, despite of what others say.... .

Various contemporary (western) melodramas demonstrate how women still struggle with their prescribed housewife role, and the hegemonic discourse in these dramas depicts women wanting to escape from expected feminine behavior as too masculine, and not a 'real woman' (Ramsdell, 1973), assuming both universal feminine and universal masculine essence (Nochimson 1992: 159). Melodrama-analyses even reveal that in soaps 'real women' are more sinned against and women exposing 'alternative' behavior are sinning. Alternatively, women 'doing the right thing' are being rewarded. There are however a few cases in which the female heroine reinvents proper feminine comportment, deviating from social norms and expectations, which are recognized in Sourya's story¹⁵. Various people, relatives and friends alike, blame Sourya's husband for treating his wife equally, making her an 'unreal woman'. Yet, Sourya dismisses this narrative as jealous and un-useful in her identity construction as an entrepreneur, while persevering her individual business activities and consorting with her husband. Ergo, jealousy is Sourya's interpretation of people talking badly about both her and her husband who treats her equally. His emancipated comportment could be explained by the fact that he is grown up in Holland and is an entrepreneur himself. 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 is 'them against the rest'. Therefore, Sourya may afford to act like nobody can thwart her in any way. For it is this supportive marriage, that makes her feel confident in her position as an autonomous female entrepreneur.

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). When Moroccan or Turkish women get married, they generally are expected to be supervised by their husbands and their freedom of action is considerably decreased in order to 'protect' the gendered segregated social order. When we compare these women with Dutch women, we observe a great difference in this freedom of action. In contrast to Sourya, Mouria needs to work her husband much more to accomplish her goals:

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 get children she will have to stay at home. That's not what

¹⁵ Interestingly, Irna Philips ('the Mother of the soap') developed in the early '70s a new character in the soap *As the World Turns*: 'Kim Reynolds' (later Kim Hughes), an independent and aggressive young woman who pursued what she wanted on her own terms, and who seduced Dr. Bob Hughes, one of the serial's 'ideal' husbands. When the audience reacted with shock and surprise to Kim's success, Proctor & Gamble (who financed the soap) said Reynolds had to be punished and the affair terminated, as Philip's story was viewed as public sanction for immorality. When Philips refused to accommodate the demand, she was fired. A few years later Reynolds eventually got what she wanted anyway (Nochimson 1992: 16). Tragically however, Philips had already died.

she wants in life! From friends she hears about the freedom, prosperity and educational possibilities in the Netherlands. Therefore, she agrees to be linked up with a man she hardly knows. 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 starting a beauty-salon which is her big dream. But as she is dependent from 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 business she is 'even willing to risk a divorce for it'. She succeeds because he is fed up with the fights and wants to avoid a divorce.

Upward social mobility through marriage is an often discussed theme in all kind of melodramas and soaps (Ramsdell, 1974). For instance *Bold and the Beautiful's* character 'Brooke Logan', 'a valley-girl' who marries upper-class Ridge Forrester being the heir of a big fashion-concern in LA, is frequently depicted as opportunistic by Ridge's family. This might be explained by the fact that individualistic countries such as the US typically celebrate achievement through hard work, instead of marriage. Yet, Mouria's upward social mobility is typically recognized in Latin telenovelas and Arab soaps. In these discourses using ones femininity at the right time on the right place is a commonly accepted (identity) strategy to gain more female autonomy within a highly patriarchic environment, without having to openly and publicly act against men. Ergo, this strategy to climb socially through marriage is a much more socially accepted move for women in less individualistic societies.

The scene illustrates how Mouria dreams of a better life, and imagines the Netherlands to be heaven on earth. Instead, at first it seems like hell. She feels alone, and she is fighting with her husband all the time. It is therefore understandable she feels to be betrayed by her uncles who saddled her up with a 'bossy man'. But she is not easily daunted; she wants a better future for herself, and thus she manipulates (which is a great soap ingredient) her husband to be her own boss, instead of being bossed around. She applies a 'double agency' to accomplish her purpose of female autonomy: at times she butters him up and explicates a win-win situation¹⁶, and at other times she provokes him to show she is determined. When Gülay started her own company, she had to come with even more heavy artillery:

¹⁶ Also her marriage to an un-known man can be interpreted as a win-win situation: he probably wanted to have a decent wife and posterity, and she wanted to leave her country for a better life

'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 as his father calls him three days later. So he asks: ''so Gülay, did you really call my father in Turkey? Gülay: ''yes, that's what I did. I don't like it, but I want to save my marriage''. He eventually asks Gülay 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....

This quote resonates with 'Gabrielle Solis' the Latina 'Desperate Housewife', who has featured the last couple of years as an icon of these kind of negotiations with relatives. Whenever she wants something done from her husband 'Carlos', she approaches her mother-in-law or other relatives to make him do what she wishes. In a western individualistic perception, this approach might appear odd or shrewd. Yet, as they are a Latin family, it is very customary to have family members involved in their private lives, just like it makes sense to Gülay to involve her father-in-law to improve her marriage. Taking her culturally different context into account, accomplishing her wishes through other relatives is a natural thing to do. Gülay is fed up with her husband, who does not do anything in the household, whereas she is working all the time and does the household. Ergo, something has to be done to push him. And so Gülay does not shrink from involving her father-in-law in her plan. 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.

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. This fragment also touches the issue of work/life balance in these women's lives. Almost all interviewed FEMTOs, divorced or married, complain to have a distorted work/life balance and report guilt towards their children. Because the private is even much more ascribed to femininity in the migrant communities these women belong to, it is difficult to have their partners doing domestic tasks¹⁷. This is however one of the least concerns of Salima, as we can observe in the next scene:

To get more freedom, Salima decides to get married. Yet her Moroccan husband regularly intimidates and abuses her, which makes her feel insecure, incapable and worthless. Once Salima is so beaten up she finally has the courage to file for a divorce. At the same time, she starts a

company through which she realizes she is capable of achieving a lot. In years she hasn't been this happy. Yet, the problem is that while she has the Dutch divorce within half a year, she has to wait for the Moroccan for another eight years! 'How unfair', she says, 'you seem to be divorced for the Islamic law when your husband cannot care of his wife; then a marriage in Islamic terms is not legit. But for the Moroccan law it is legitimate, that's the illogical thing about it!' And so she can't go to Morocco for many years, as she is afraid for kidnapping and claiming of her child.

Soaps increasingly pay attention to societal issues such as rape and abuse. Unfortunately, this excerpt illustrates that these are indeed the tragedies some of these FEMTOs also experience. At first Salima is intimidated and beaten up by a man, and then it turns out that although she is divorced according to the Dutch and Islamic law, she cannot return to Morocco. An obstructive factor in the development of her female autonomy is not only her ex-husband's attitude, but also the patriarchic Moroccan law system. Ergo, her whole marriage, as well as the aftermath, turns out to be a nightmare. A bright spot in this whole nightmare is her entrepreneurship through which she regains her self-esteem. Demonstrating that as a woman of Moroccan descent she can set up and run a whole business is the best therapy to overcome this tragedy.

Six out of the twenty interviewed FEMTOs are divorced. As we can see from the above example, this particularly brings Moroccan women into trouble, apart from the shame a divorce implies in both cultures. The old Moroccan family law, or *Mudawwana*¹⁸, is partly based on the Islamic law, the *Shari'a*. Yet, it is often suggested that the *Mudawwana* provides men with more rights than the *Shari'a*. For instance, there is still the male expulsion right (Buskens, 1999), the one-sided marriage dissolution. And although it is officially determined that the man needs to offer his ex-wife financial compensation and reimburse part of the dowry, in practice this is often hardly redeemed¹⁹. A wife, until recently, only had the opportunity to persuade her husband to expulse her, or to have a judge (who was/is usually male) transfer an abandonment to a legal divorce after one year of her husband's absence, after proving her husband's failure to maintain her, or after causing her great damage (Buskens, 1999). However, practically, this seemed very difficult to accomplish for women due to fear, the costs and length of such a procedure, and the burden of proof. Since Mohammed XI has been assigned, some adjustments in favor of women's divorce rights have taken place. Through a progressive interpretation of the *Shari'a*, *jithad*, the family code has been reformed and since 2004 the 'Nouveau Code de la Famille' has become operative. For both men and women durable disruption ('*Shiqaq'*) is a new ground for divorce ('*Taliq'*)

¹⁷ Pels (2000) states that many fathers are discouraged by traditional sectors of the Turkish and Moroccan community to become too domestic and feminine, as this would decrease their honor.

¹⁸ The *Mudawwana* has been adjusted on a number of parts in 2004. Sourya was interviewed in 2003, and was thus still confronted with this highly gender biased family law.

¹⁹ 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).

and women are no longer obliged to prove this through witnesses. Married couples can request for a mutual dissolution, and expulsion without a legitimate reason is rejected (Sadiqi & Ennaji, 2006). Yet, still a lot of gender inequalities remain in the family law, and as the number of specialized judges in this reformed code is small, women continue to be discriminated against in divorce procedures (Sadiqi & Ennaji, 2006).

Act 3: 'All in the family: you can't enterprise with or without them'

We finally zoom in two plots where FEMTOs construct their entrepreneurial identities in relation to their families, when developing their own businesses. To demonstrate this, another FEMTO enters the stage:

Nerli comes home after having lived with her ex-husband in another town for two years. It wasn't a good marriage; she married him to have more independence, but instead he dominated and mentally abused her. She is psychologically in bad shape, but then her brother tells her: 'you know what, I am going to open a travel agency, and then you can work there and get some experience.' And also her sister who has a sewing-shop says she is welcome to help her. When recovered after a while, she considers doing 'something with clothes', as she'd 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 A. to check out an interior of a shop. If she agrees he will help her to open a boutique, also financially. Alternatively, she may proceed with the police academy, but they tell her the negative elements about the school, that she has a small child, and would return home late. When she decides to go for her own company, 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 takes months. They do it 'the Turkish way: first arranging everything, hiring a place, and at the end the money'. She knows 'of course this is not ideal or well sort out, but hey. It is already heavy enough, being a single mother and an entrepreneur'. Fortunately she receives lots of support from her parents.

Just like many melodramas Nerli's narrative starts badly, but it eventually seems to have a happy end. Nevertheless, there are many paradoxes in this story: just like Salima she marries to achieve more independence. But when she divorces, her family 'overcomes' this shame and provides her with all the family support she needs to build 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, which in this case contributes to the development of Nerli's female entrepreneurial identity. Yet, their support might not be

that unselfish as it seems, for they might try to avert possible shame of a fallen woman in the family by 'putting her under their guardianship' by employing her first, and through their heavy involvement in her company later. All the same, Nerli's agency in developing a company is conforming to her family members, instead of distancing herself from them. The approach to set up a business without securing the capital first, which is referred to as typically Turkish, is not recognized to be in favor of entrepreneurship. This could imply that the ethno-centrally determined entrepreneurship discourse is at stake in her entrepreneurial identity construction. 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 & Mueller, 2000). Ogbor (2000) however notes that these entrepreneurial traits are ethno-centrally determined since entrepreneurship theories are typically based on US-research and mostly deal with white male entrepreneurs. Migrant entrepreneurs are therefore often inclined to adhere to these traits when constructing their entrepreneurial identities. This dominant discourse might also affect banks' perspectives on migrant entrepreneurship, as Nerli experiences to be discriminated against as a (female) Turkish entrepreneur requesting money. Still Nerli seems to be practical ('but hey') and grateful. She can use all the support she needs as a single mother²⁰, which might have in fact contributed to her decision to become an entrepreneur. Baycan Levent et al. (2003) namely suggest many women prefer integrated and flexible forms of entrepreneurship in combination with other roles in family and the household²¹.

Some theories on migrant entrepreneurship celebrate the financial help provided by family members, although the literature applying network theory to ethnicity and entrepreneurship implies that ethnic minority entrepreneurs are detrimentally stuck and restricted within their strong-tie network because they are socially and financially dependent on a rather informal network (Flap et al., 1999). But apparently, as this fragment demonstrates, this family reliance is not just culturally determined, but also due to mainstream organizations' reluctance towards migrant entrepreneurs. In contrast to Nerli, Gülay anxiously resists her family's interference:

Gülay often experiences opportunism from many people, even her family, who think: 'she has her own business, so she earns well. So let's do nice to her'. Hence, Gülay concludes that if you have money, you are someone, if you don't, you're nothing. Therefore she warns her family: 'this is my shop, and everyone has his own business, end of discussion!' Yet, they still try to push her. For instance her youngest brother expresses he would prefer her quitting her business and wearing a headscarf. But Gülay's reaction usually is: 'ho, wait a second, that's the limit! I earn my living with this'. And so she tries not to care too much.

²⁰ As discussed earlier, more FEMTOs have been 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.

Soaps such as *Dallas*, *Dynasty*, and *As the World Turns* clearly demonstrate the commonality of intermingling family relations with business. These discourses only present a few women entrepreneurs; usually explicitly represented as cunning, deceiving, and/or flirtatious (remember Alexis Colby from *Dynasty*?). Ergo, the subtext in these stories is that women can only get to the top through a devious leadership-style instead of their capabilities and strong character. An exception to the case might be Lucinda Walsh in *As the World Turns*, who is nowadays depicted as a strong, capable female business-owner²². It is this image Gülay seems to hold on to persevere an independent position as a female entrepreneur.

Aldrich & Cliff (2003) state that families and businesses are inextricably intertwined, as norms, attitudes and values within families often affect entrepreneurial behavior, and financial and human resources are often provided through ‘strong ties’²³ with family members (Aldrich & Cliff 2003: 577; Anderson et al., 2005). Yet Gülay strongly takes issue with the discourse in the entrepreneurship literature that advocates mediating family and business. Clearly, she is afraid that involving her family in her business would either imply financial loss or even the end of her career. That is why she takes a strong offensive attitude to keep potential gold-diggers far away.

²¹ In contrast, Carter et al. (2003) note that women are less inclined to set up a business than men, because they are still primary responsible for household chores.

²² It should be mentioned however that also Lucinda Walsh had to go through diverse character-changes to ‘acquire’ this identity.

²³ Weak ties consist of business associates and formal organizations.

Conclusions

By conceiving of FEMTOs' life stories as melodramas constructed by various actors and mediated through an imaginative audience (Rhodes & Brown, 2005), this paper has analyzed how FEMTOs constitute their entrepreneurial identities in relation to distinct ideas of femininity, ethnicity and entrepreneurship within their own families. It has been illustrated how FEMTOs and relatives are both actively involved in the construction of these women's identities and how women, just like in melodramas and soaps, use their power to sustain their (entrepreneurial) identities.

In line with Stanley & Wise (1983), this paper has moved away from the universalized conception of 'the family' in socialization theories, as this view suggests that children are obliged to internalize these values which are largely defined by society as well as a dichotomy of 'properly gender stereotyped'/not properly gender-stereotyped', mal-socialization. Contrary to this perception, this paper has argued that people not passively internalize stereotypical gender roles, but rather actively relate themselves to these in different ways. Yet we have seen that the struggle between personal freedom and loyalty to their family is important in the stories of these women. Their migrant communities often hardly consider them as independent actors, but rather in relation to (male) family members; as daughters, mothers or wives (Lesthaeghe & Surkyn 1995: 15). Yet, this is not a clear cut situation, as some FEMTOs report to have also been stimulated to develop their autonomy. Others reported to have received great family support when setting up their businesses. Hence, the entrepreneurial identities of FEMTOs are effected by various relatives whose influence is not unambiguously disadvantageous or advantageous, but situationally dependent.

All interviewees' stories point out these women struggle with female autonomy at least at some point in their lives, either in relation to their parents and siblings, their husbands, or both. Nevertheless, just as soaps increasingly take issue with patriarchal premises (Nochamson, 1992), this paper has demonstrated how strong these female characters challenge male-dominated families, migrant environments and sectors that have a masculine connotation. Ergo, FEMTOS play an active role in the construction of their gender roles, by continually resisting, reinterpreting and changing the norms and rules of patriarchy (Halford & Leonard, 2001). They seem to develop different storytelling strategies to sustain their entrepreneurial identities within the scope of their family environments and without having to loose the respect from their family members.

Three storytelling strategies can be distinguished. The first one which is applied by Sourya can be labeled as the '*stoic persevering*' strategy. In order to get what she wants, she opposes family members and acquaintances either openly or secretly. At any rate, she is determined not to be diverted. This is line with Ketner's et al.'s (2004) 'secret behavior' strategy applied by adolescent girls of Moroccan decent to avoid the contradictions in norms and values regarding gender between family members and themselves

by not telling about certain occasions. Mourya and Gülay seem to apply more complex strategies: the *'opportunistic and double agency'* strategy: whenever they think it is useful for them, they go along with their family's wishes. But when are 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 are similar to their family members' strategies; apparently they have had good examples. This strategy contains some echoes of Ketner et al.'s (2004) 'strategic use' strategy, in which adolescent girls use their knowledge between Islam and culture in order to force their parents to reconsider certain demands. The third is the *'docile compliant'* strategy, in which FEMTOs tend to seek female autonomy from their family members in a more traditional and safe way. In order to obtain more independence and simultaneously retain the acceptance by their families, both Salima and Nerli decide to marry a man they hardly know. After having been subordinated for a long time, they finally decide to file for a divorce and go back to their families, whose interference is now much more appreciated as they might contribute to the development of their entrepreneurship. This might however also be a way to show that the zones in which they invest are quickly transformed into private spaces; in this way they remain the illusion they do not trespass the space they are confined to (Sadiqi & Ennaji 2006: 8). The only price they have to pay is that they have to 'share' their company with the whole family. This last strategy corresponds with the 'compromise' strategy found by Ketner et al. (2004), in which they found women to negotiate with their parents to be able to work if they would return home straight after work, and to defend them working as advantageous for a later future as a good mother and wife.

The women interviewed might have told their stories in a particular way to convince both their audiences and themselves about their multiple identities. Therefore, the style of these strategies can be related to the different narrative models which Chanfrault-Duchet (1991: 80) distinguishes: the epic model reveals identification with the values of the community, the Romanesque model expresses the quest for authentic values in a degraded world, and the picaresque model reflects an ironic and satirical position in relation to hegemonic values. As in the Romanesque model the subject views the possibilities of change through individual challenge (Chanfrault-Duchet 1991: 81), Sourya's narrative style can best be positioned in this model. Since Salima and Nerli merely comply with their family members' demands and ideas, their presentation approaches the epic model, in which the subject melds with the community, which, in its values, is beyond change (idem: 81). Finally, Mourya and Gülay's narrative performance approximates the picaresque model, as they ironically and satirically continually question and object dominant social values (idem: 81).

In 'western terms' these storytelling strategies might seem odd or even cumbersome, but they might be conceived as the most sensible thing to do for these women entrepreneurs in order to be both

true to themselves- to be able to be their own boss- and to be loyal to their families. Or as Fatima Sadiqi²⁴ told me: *'You cannot judge the strategies there with our standards of individualism. One wants to avoid trouble in family and such so one has to be careful in how one presents oneself'*. Sadiqi furthermore states it is very common for a wife to go to her husband and say: *'I've this good idea (you cannot say it is your idea), it's not mine, I read it somewhere, what if it is mine?'* Hence, Sadiqi agrees 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'*. This implies that the concept of autonomy has a different meaning for these women in their cultural contexts as opposed to western contexts. Through these strategies and by not openly critiquing the patriarchal mechanisms in their society, they maintain the respect from their siblings and are able to be autonomous at the same time. In this context, entrepreneurship can be conceived as the ultimate tool and empowerment to achieve female autonomy.

²⁴ 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, who stayed for a short period in Morocco to gather background material for her research.

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