Constraints for Women Entrepreneurs in the Middle East and North Africa: Insights from Morocco

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Abstract

Despite the low prevalence of women entrepreneurs in the Middle East and North Africa, there is a lack of research into their behaviors and experiences. This qualitative study of 23 Moroccan women business owners and aspirational entrepreneurs aimed to identify their constraints as well as potential interventions. The subjects mostly experienced gender-neutral obstacles. However, they overwhelmingly cited gendered social factors as the primary constraint for female entrepreneurship in Morocco, and they mainly proposed entrepreneurship training and awareness as solutions. Furthermore, two gender-neutral regulations emerged that may disproportionately affect women entrepreneurs in Morocco, suggesting avenues for further research.

1 Introduction

Globally there are more male than female entrepreneurs, but the gap is particularly large in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, where the prevalence of women entrepreneurs is lower than in other middle-income countries in East Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, Europe, and Central Asia (Chamlou, 2008). However, there is a dearth of studies on the behaviors, experiences, constraints, needs, and problem-solving techniques of women entrepreneurs with growth-oriented firms in the MENA region (Kiss, Danis, & Cavusgil, 2012; OECD, 2012a). Nor is there systematic research on MENA women's role in the development of the private sector and small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), especially the factors that have led to the very low percentage of entrepreneurs and employers who are women (Stevenson, 2010). This is consistent with the general need for

16 subjects, this was their first business, and 14 had businesses that were already operational. The sciences were well represented among the backgrounds of the subjects, with 8 being engineers and 6 of the remaining subjects being scientists or having pursued science studies in college. Table 1 provides summary characteristics of the subjects.

| Table 1: | Subject Cha | racteristic | es |
|------------------------------|--------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| Characteristic (mean +/- SD) | Number of subjects | Number with existing business | Number of years in business |
| Age | | | |
| 20-24 | 1 | 0 | N/A |
| 25-29 | 6 | 1 | 1 |
| 30-34 | 4 | 4 | 4.66 +/- 2.27 |
| 35-39 | 3 | 3 | 4.66 +/- 3.21 |
| 40-44 | 3 | 3 | 7.33 +/- 10.12 |
| 45-49 | 3 | 1 | 5 |
| 50-54 | 2 | 1 | 14 |
| 55-59 | 1 | 1 | 22 |
| Level of education | | | |
| Associates | 3 | 3 | 8.17 +/- 9.65 |
| Bachelors | 5 | 5 | 5.19 +/- 9.42 |
| Masters | 14 | 6 | 5.67 +/- 4.80 |
| PhD | 1 | 0 | N/A |
| Science background/studies | 14 | 7 | 6.14 +/- 7.45 |
| No science background | 9 | 7 | 5.92 +/- 7.54 |
| Existing business | 14 | | |
| First-time entrepreneur | 16 | | |

In terms of the types of businesses, 18 subjects owned or were trying to launch high-growth businesses (defined as expected to hire more than 10 people), 6 involved importing and exporting products, and 15 had service-oriented firms. Three of the subjects had multiple businesses or lines of business, and many had businesses that were cross-sectoral. In addition, more than half of the subjects chose to launch a business in sectors dominated by men: agriculture (5 subjects), industrial (2), telecommunications (2), engineering (2), electronic goods wholesaler (1), and renovation/construction (1). Other sectors included

such as high collateral requirements (OECD, 2012a). Banks have little incentive to tailor products and services to women clients or hire female financial professionals (OECD, 2012a). Because of challenges such as insufficient collateral, few alternative financing options, and inexperience in preparing project proposals, women entrepreneurs in the MENA region are even less likely than men to use external financing, with the majority using informal sources such as personal savings and money from family and friends (OECD, 2012a).

In terms of code co-occurrences, the code for capital needs in this study coincided with those for being ambitious (10 code co-occurrences) and determined (8), as well as the need to start smaller and leaner (6) and financial obstacles (5). Capital needs also co-occurred with having a professional network (6 code co-occurrences), possibly a reflection of the professional status needed to launch a high-growth business requiring a lot of capital.

3.2.2 Business Knowledge and Networks

After financial constraints, next most cited obstacle was lack of information and professional networks, specifically lack of business knowledge and know how (14 code applications), lack of client and professional network (13 code applications), and lack of professional advice (9 code applications). This latter constraint was seen even though at least 9 subjects reported receiving business training and/or coaching (13 code applications). The subjects themselves suggested that training is needed by new entrepreneurs on an ongoing basis, and that short-term or one-time training was not enough.

"There are few support programs here in Morocco, there is not a lot of communication because it is still the beginning. We need to train and support [women]. ... But when you leave [a training program], you do not realize that

everything disappears, it is only the initial enthusiasm. It requires active mentoring, real supervision, monitoring. What is difficult is the first step. It's easy to dream, to be enthusiastic, but once at home, we may return to old ideas."

To get around this constraint, many of the subjects sought advice from their business partners (9 code applications), their professional network, a business service provider, or a mentor or coach. In terms of advice seeking from institutional sources, however, only two used the Moukawalati ("My Enterprise") program, a government effort to help young college graduates start their own businesses that offers training, coaching, and an 85% micro-loan with follow-up support (Stevenson, 2010). Only one subject sought advice from a women business owners' association, although there is evidence that such associations help firms grow through horizontal linkages (Nichter & Goldmark, 2009).

3.2.3 Business environment

Coding for the business environment reveals that the largest complaints were corruption (6 code applications) and competition (5 code applications). To a lesser degree, the rest included such problems as protecting trade secrets, interference from elites, dishonest customers, indaequate institutions for business (e.g., chambers of commerce), technical issues, lack of customers, and worker loyalty. When including the section on rules, regulations, and taxes, the largest complaint, bureaucracy, still garnered only 5 code applications. The rest were such issues as high taxes and lax contract enforcement.

It should be noted that the biggest obstacles reported by the entrepreneurs in this study (funding, inexperience and lack of knowledge about business, and lack of a network) do not constitute a gender-discriminatory business environment. This observation is in line with World Bank survey data showing that the business investment climate in Morocco is not

who have supportive families are more likely to have businesses employing more than ten employees ((IFC & CAWTAR, 2007) cited by (Stevenson, 2010)).

4.2 Conclusions

There has been an increase in interest in women's entrepreneurship in developing countries, especially in the MENA region, for normative as well as economic reasons: the differences in the prevalence of male and female entrepreneurship is seen as an indication of gender inequality and political disengagement by women, and women entrepreneurs are considered an untapped source for economic growth and development (OECD, 2012a). This qualitative study attempted to capture the voices and experiences of women with high-growth SME businesses and aspirational entrepreneurs in Morocco, with the aim of identifying the constraints of women entrepreneurs in the broader MENA region as well as potential interventions. A better understanding of the barriers to women entrepreneurs of SMEs can lead to more effective policies and programs to help women-owned businesses grow (Lundström & Stevenson, 2005) cited in (Stevenson, 2010)).

The observations of the subjects in this study confirm previous findings with regards to the non-gendered business climate and social constraints on women entrepreneurs in Morocco. This study points to the need for improvements in the business climate in Morocco, comprehensive entrepreneurism training and education of women, and efforts to enhance the image of the woman entrepreneur in Moroccan society. However, this study suggests areas of further inquiry, specifically, research into ostensibly gender-neutral laws and regulations that might affect women entrepreneurs disproportionately compared with men.

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Appendix

Table A1: Subject Characteristics

| | | | | | O / \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ | | | iai aotoi | .000 | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---|---|---|---|----------------|-----------------|------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| No. | Age Group | Level of Education attained (US equivalent) | Science/ engineering background or studies | Type of business | Type of ownership | Female partner | Male partner | Finance Source | Existing business? | First business? | Business duration (years) | Number of employees | Projected number of employees |
| 1 | 25-29 | Masters | Yes | Mushroom cultivation and distribution | Partner | No | Yes | Government grant | No | Yes | NA | NA | 10+ |
| 2 | 25-29 | Masters | No | Traditiional, Berber health foods | Partner | Yes | No | Self, partner | No | No | NA | NA | 10+ |
| 3 | 45-49 | PhD | Yes | Food importation and then cultivation domestically. | Partner | Yes | Yes | Self, bank | No | Yes | NA | NA | 10+ |
| 4 | 45-49 | Masters | Yes | Private school | Partner | Yes | No | Self, partners, family | No | Yes | NA | NA | 10+ |
| 5 | 50-54 | Masters | Yes | Minor renovation firm | Self | NA | NA | Self | No | Yes | NA | NA | 10+ |
| 6 | 20-24 | Masters | Yes | Engineering firm | Self | NA | NA | Self, partner | No | Yes | NA | NA | 5 |
| 7 | 25-29 | Masters | Yes | Educational farm for school-aged children | Partner | Yes | No | Self, bank | No | Yes | NA | NA | 10+ |
| 8 | 25-29 | Masters | Yes | Quality certification for laboratories | Partner | No | Yes | Fiance | No | Yes | NA | NA | 10+ |
| 9 | 25-29 | Masters | No | Recuperative (psychological) hotel | Partner | No | Yes | Husband, bank | No | Yes | NA | NA | 10+ |

| 10 | 30-34 | Bachelors | No | Real estate, communications, and events agency | Self | NA NA | NA | Family | Yes | No | 0.25 | 4 | 10+ |
|----|-------|------------|-----|--|-------------|-------|-----|------------------------------|-----|-----|------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 11 | 30-34 | Associates | No | Call center | Self | NA | NA | Family | Yes | Yes | 0.5 | 5 | 10+ |
| 12 | 30-34 | Bachelors | No | Importation of electronics Therapeutic | Self | NA | NA | Self | Yes | No | 0.7 | Self | 5+ |
| 13 | 40-44 | Bachelors | Yes | center | Self | NA | NA | Self | Yes | Yes | 1 | Self | 5+ |
| 14 | 25-29 | Masters | Yes | Engineering firm | Partner | No | Yes | Self | Yes | Yes | 1 | Self | 5 |
| 15 | 35-39 | Masters | Yes | Medical devices | Partner | Yes | Yes | Self, partners, family | Yes | No | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 16 | 40-44 | Bachelors | No | Women's cooperative | Cooperative | Yes | No | ND | Yes | No | 2 | 10+ | 10+ |
| 17 | 45-49 | Masters | Yes | Coaching consultancy | Partner | Yes | No | Self, partners | Yes | Yes | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| 18 | 30-34 | Associates | No | Business management services | Self | No | No | Self | Yes | No | 5 | 5 | 5+ |
| 19 | 35-39 | Masters | Yes | Fruit exportation | Self | No | No | Self | Yes | Yes | 6 | 5 full time, 100 seasonal | 5+ full time, 100+ seasonal |
| 20 | 35-39 | Masters | Yes | Irrigation systems for agriculture | Self | No | No | Family, self, | Yes | Yes | 7 | 20 | 20 |
| | | | | Photocopying, printing, stationery supplies, promotional | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | 50-54 | Masters | No | items | Self | No | No | Self | Yes | Yes | 14 | 30 | 30 |
| 22 | 40-44 | Associates | No | Fashion school | Partner | Yes | No | Family | Yes | Yes | 19 | 9 | 9 |
| 23 | 55-59 | Bachelors | Yes | Steel fabrication and laser cutting | ND | ND | ND | ND | Yes | Yes | 22 | 20+ | 20+ |

NA, not applicable; ND , no data.

Table A2: Code Applications

| · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · | I abio / L |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| | |
| Codes | Count |
| Personal Characteristics | 1 |
| Personality | |
| Determined | 50 |
| Empowered | 47 |
| Ambitious | 37 |
| Optimistic | 35 |
| Enthusiastic | 34 |
| Flexibility | 22 |
| Risk Taker | 9 |
| Creative | 8 |
| Questioning self | 7 |
| Motivation | |
| Pull factors | 23 |
| Help others | 17 |
| Be own boss | 7 |
| Push factors | 7 |
| Job dissatisfaction | 5 |
| Money | 4 |
| Independence | 4 |
| Inspired by models | 2 |
| Lack of good job opportunities | 2 |
| Flexibility | 2 |
| Business will help with family duties | 1 |
| Background | |
| Scientist or science studies | 10 |
| Engineer | 10 |
| Former job in private sector | 8 |
| Current student | 6 |
| Educator | 5 |
| Government employee | 5 |
| Previous partner or shareholder | 2 |
| Housewife | 1 |
| Started business right of college | 1 |
| Worked with an NGO | 1 |
| Obstacles | |
| Financial obstacles | 15 |
| Capital needs | 32 |

| Codes | Count |
|--|-------|
| Business (contd.) | |
| Financing | |
| Personal savings | 9 |
| Funds: Spouse/fiancee | - |
| Funds: Family | |
| Funds: partner | ! |
| Funds: Investors | 1 |
| Bank Loan | |
| Funds: friends | |
| Multiple businesses/lines of business | - 4 |
| Capital investment | |
| Opinions | |
| Reason so few women entrepreneurs | |
| Gender roles (external pressure) | 19 |
| Gender roles (internalized) | 13 |
| Risk averse compared with men | |
| Funding | 4 |
| Women become convinced business is too hard | 4 |
| Women lack courage, confidence, sense of adventure | |
| Women want a simple life of the home | |
| Pressure from Society in General | |
| People don't have confidence in women-run businesses | |
| Society dictates that women are made for the home | |
| Women should not have much contact with men | ! |
| Society discourages women from being entrepreneurs | 4 |
| Women should stick with traditional work or enterprises | 1 |
| Sexual harassment in bus. environment | |
| Women a burdened with family obligations | |
| Women are not encouaged to be entrepreneurs | |
| Women seeking high salaries seen as having questionable morals | : |
| Male dominated sectors seen as too hard for women | : |
| Married women are not supposed to desire work | : |
| Sacrificing household duties for work is frowned upon | : |
| Society is especially harsh for divorced and single moms | |
| Pressure from men in general | |
| Women underestimated by men | |
| Men see women as competition for status | |

| Collateral requirements | 5 |
|---|----------|
| Banks unwilling to lend | 4 |
| Slow payments from customers | 3 |
| Fear of Financial loss | 3 |
| High interest | 2 |
| Micro loans too small | 1 |
| Business operations | <u> </u> |
| Obstacle: Contacts/network | 13 |
| Corruption | 6 |
| Competition concerns | 5 |
| Dishonest customers | 3 |
| Not enough customers | 3 |
| Exhaustion | 2 |
| Interference from elites | 2 |
| Obstacle: Idea protection | 2 |
| Doesn't seek advice | 2 |
| Technical issues | 2 |
| Worker loyalty | 1 |
| Information obstacle | 4 |
| Lack of business knowledge/ experience | 14 |
| Professional Advice | 9 |
| No entrepreneurship at college | 1 |
| Social constraints | 1 |
| Not taken seriously | |
| · | + - |
| Not taken seriously: woman | 7 |
| Not taken seriously: Student | 2 |
| Not taken seriously: youth | 1 |
| Not taken seriously: non elite | |
| Sexual harassment | 3 |
| Cannot take financial risks because of children | 1 |
| Finding a partner | 5 |
| Obstacle: trepidation | 5 |
| Rules, regulations, taxes | 1 |
| Bureaucracy (not necessarily corruption) | 5 |
| State employee restriction | 4 |
| Prohibitive tax regulations | 3 |
| Locale obstacle | 2 |
| People fear increased property taxes | 1 |
| Contract enforcement lax | 1 |
| "First mover" problem | 1 |
| Time constraint | |
| Job demands | 3 |

| Collateral requirements | 5 | Men block and discourage women from entrepreneurism | 1 1 |
|---|----|--|-----|
| Banks unwilling to lend | 4 | Pressure from Husbands | 1 - |
| Slow payments from customers | 3 | Men don't want their wives making more money than them | 3 |
| Fear of Financial loss | 3 | Husbands discourage their wives from starting a business | 2 |
| High interest | 2 | Husbands don't encourage their wives to launch | 1 |
| Micro loans too small | 1 | Men insist their wives drop out of school | 1 |
| Business operations | | Women make lower salaries thus less savings | 1 |
| Obstacle: Contacts/network | 13 | Women are discriminated against when seeking loans | 1 |
| Corruption | 6 | Women have less money than men | 1 |
| Competition concerns | 5 | Business is too time consuming | 1 |
| Dishonest customers | 3 | From the time they're girls, women are fixated on marriage | 1 |
| Not enough customers | 3 | Women don't want the headache of business | 1 |
| Exhaustion | 2 | Women give up easily when faced with business obstacles | 1 |
| Interference from elites | 2 | Women lack motivation, prefer a tranquil career | 1 |
| Obstacle: Idea protection | 2 | Women prefer to drop their studies when they marry | 1 |
| Doesn't seek advice | 2 | Lack of women in power to help | 1 |
| Technical issues | 2 | Society protects the family | 1 |
| Worker loyalty | 1 | Poor quality or no education | 1 |
| nformation obstacle | 4 | Reason so few entrepreneurs in general | |
| Lack of business knowledge/ experience | 14 | Low % overall: no training in schools | 5 |
| Professional Advice | 9 | Low % overall: fear of risk | 4 |
| No entrepreneurship at college | 1 | Low % overall: elites hindering entry | 1 |
| ocial constraints | | Solutions | |
| Not taken seriously | | Help women: training/mentoring | 11 |
| Not taken seriously: woman | 7 | Help women: awareness programs | 8 |
| Not taken seriously: Student | 2 | Help women: change the culture to equality | 6 |
| Not taken seriously: youth | 2 | Help everyone: tackle corruption | 5 |
| Not taken seriously: non elite | 1 | Help everyone: target children and youth | 5 |
| Sexual harassment | 3 | Help women: Funding | 5 |
| Cannot take financial risks because of children | 1 | Help women: models of success | 4 |
| inding a partner | 5 | Help women: education in general | 3 |
| Obstacle: trepidation | 5 | Help women: improve women business assoc. | 3 |
| lules, regulations, taxes | 1 | Help the customers = help business | 2 |
| Bureaucracy (not necessarily corruption) | 5 | Help women: more women in positions of power | 2 |
| State employee restriction | 4 | Help women: special interest rates | 1 |
| Prohibitive tax regulations | 3 | Help women: strengthen networks | 1 |
| Locale obstacle | 2 | Help women: target college students | 1 |
| People fear increased property taxes | 1 | Women are good at business | 4 |
| Contract enforcement lax | 1 | Women are less corrupt | 2 |
| First mover" problem | 1 | Business environment is not gendered | 2 |
| Time constraint | | Assets | |
| Job demands | 3 | Family support | 14 |

| Time: family demands | 3 |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| Time constraint: Business demands | 1 |
| Time constraint: student | 1 |
| Support | |
| Poor institutional support | 3 |
| Obstacle: lack of family support | 2 |
| Obstacle: Moral support from husband | 1 |
| Business | 1 |
| Туре | |
| High-growth | 29 |
| Service | 17 |
| Import/Export | 10 |
| Nationwide | 8 |
| New sector/groundbreaking | 8 |
| Corporate Partnership | 4 |
| Structure | |
| Sole owner | 13 |
| Partnership | 10 |
| Female partner | 6 |
| Male partner | 4 |
| Spouse/fiancee partner | 5 |
| Cooperative | 1 |
| Sector | |
| Nontraditional for women | |
| Agriculture | 10 |
| Health Care or Health Product | 7 |
| Food | 5 |
| Education | 3 |
| Engineering | 2 |
| Industrial | 2 |
| Telecommunications | 2 |
| Handicrafts | 1 |
| Business services | 1 |
| Real estate | 1 |
| Event Organization | 1 |
| Electonic goods wholesaler | 1 |
| Consulting | 1 |
| Renovation/construction | 1 |

| Business training/coaching | 13 |
|---|----|
| Husband support | 12 |
| Professional network | 10 |
| Business service providers | 4 |
| Suppliers | 3 |
| Collateral | 2 |
| Volunteer from large organization | 1 |
| Problem Solving | |
| Financial | |
| Recalibrate business model | |
| Start smaller and leaner | 13 |
| Outsourcing operations | 9 |
| Put project on hold | 6 |
| Renting location | 6 |
| Start a new, different project | 2 |
| Leverage and Combine education and experience | 1 |
| Get a loan | 1 |
| Apply for a grant | 1 |
| Get more education/training | 7 |
| Lodge a complaint | 2 |
| Find a proof point | 5 |
| Partner with another company | 1 |
| Develop/display "masculine" characteristics | 1 |
| Advice seeking | |
| Partners | 9 |
| Professional network | 5 |
| Business service provider | 4 |
| Mentor/Coach | 4 |
| Moukawalati program | 3 |
| Doesn't seek advice | 2 |
| Women business owner association | 1 |
| Family | 1 |