

**Facing Gender Stereotypes in Previous Jobs Explains the Entry into Business
Ventures for Some Women**

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Abstract

Women are more and more often creating their own businesses but are still less numerous than men in this activity. Several reasons explain their decision to start a business and they are not so different from men's. With a qualitative methodology, we try to understand their motivations to start a business. If the need of independence is often cited, the main reason is to obtain a balance between work and family life. This marks one of the main differences between men and women. Our results show that gender stereotypes frequently explain the decision to start a business. Finally, if women business venturing is considered motivated by will, it is often constrained by the painful situations inherent to gender stereotypes in previous jobs.

Introduction

Whether in the academic area or in the professional world, the various economic actors are increasingly focusing their attention on the link between equality in entrepreneurship and economic growth (Holmquist and Carter, 2009). Until then, studies have shown that women are more likely to undertake, but remain under-represented in new business ventures with an average ratio of 30% of women entrepreneurs versus 70% of men (Ha and Kim, 2013; Jennings and Brush, 2013; Gatewood, Brush, Carter, Green and Hart, 2009). This marks a paradox between the demographic weight of women and their place in positions of importance including those of business leaders. In 2014, in the United States of America, women accounted for 50.4% of the population but 30% of entrepreneurs (source: World Bank). At the European level, 25% of entrepreneurs with employees are women. Why such a

difference? The late emancipation of women, but also representations of the role of women and men in society have certainly contributed significantly to this gap with the male population. The weight of history, but also the traditions, yet weigh to project themselves into leadership roles for women. This “gender effect” translates on many levels. The pay gap between men and women is still clearly displayed (Thébaud, 2016; Thébaud, 2015). The service sector is particularly feminized (Kirkwood, 2009; Manolova, Brush, and Edelman, 2008; Anna and Chandler, 2000). This leads us to wonder about the perceptible and imperceptible factors that lead the game of those who “dare or dare not” face the reality of entrepreneur. We attempt to answer this question by studying the motivations for the business creations and the link with gender stereotypes.

For ten years, abundant studies have been conducted in the field of entrepreneurship however very few are dedicated to women among the academic literature (De Bruin and al., 2006). Entrepreneurial motivations, finance, network and social capital were the subject of much research (De Bruin, Brush and Welter, 2007). Do men and women have similar motivations? Are personal fulfillment or the entrepreneurial spirit the same? Some differences appear, without being significant (GEM, 2014). They led in recent years with the emergence of female-specific training support (Lebègue, 2015 b; D'Andria and Vial, 2014; Riebe, 2012) explained by the lack of institutional structures to remove obstacles (Lebègue, 2015b). These measures aim to facilitate the entrepreneurial process. They also respond to the will of the public policies to showcase women in entrepreneurship (De Bruin and al., 2007). We have conducted our study in this context with a qualitative methodology near women who have chosen to follow a specific training support dedicated solely to female business-creating structure. From the literature, we study women's motivations for starting a new business while assuming that the need for autonomy and the desire for personal achievement, in other words entry into business by will, is often disguised and explained in many cases by painful situations experienced in previous employment and related to gender stereotypes: discrimination, harassment, plain sexism. This research on the influence of gender on the motivations for business creation is thus legitimized both by academic research and the will of the authorities to reduce gender differences in the field of entrepreneurship (Schneor and Jenssen, 2014; Allen and Currington, 2014; Jennings and Brush, 2013).

1 Theoretical framework

1.1 What do we know about women entrepreneurs?

Worldwide, the first academic articles dealing with female entrepreneurship appear in the early 1970. The initial current attempts to draw up a typical profile of women entrepreneurs (1970-1980) but from the 1990's authors are more interested in studying women entrepreneurs' behaviors through feminist theories (Minniti, 2010). The early 2000's shows research conducted directly towards women in terms of their positions within the family. It appears that women entrepreneurs are fewer than men (Thébaud, 2016; Holmquist and Carter, 2009; Brush and al., 2008). Despite many recent scientific papers, the authors encourage the development of research particularly in terms of qualitative methodologies to better understand these women entrepreneurs and their entry into business creation (Marlow and Swail, 2014; Brush and Cooper, 2012; Ahl, 2006 and 2004). Before presenting the reasons that lead them to undertake, we try to describe the characteristics of the woman entrepreneur through the literature.

1.1.1 Female specificities

Female entrepreneurship and business creation is an important and current academic field. After thirty years of screened prior research, the authors note profound disparities in the results. These are related to the diversity of cultural characteristics, methods used (qualitative or quantitative) and the size of the treated samples. Also, cross-study comparisons reveal discrepancies (Minniti, 2010). However, all authors agree that women are under-represented in the population of entrepreneurs (Allen and Curington, 2014; Minniti and Naudé, 2010; Kirkwood, 2009; Gupta, Turban and Wasti, 2009; Ahl, 2006). In most countries, we see 30% of women entrepreneurs versus 70% of men (GEM, 2014; 2015; Ha and Kim, 2013). If early studies have shown that women and men entrepreneurs have similar characteristics (Belcourt, 1990), the literature now emphasizes some differences in terms of businesses created. Indeed, those created by women are small (Ha and Kim, 2013; Davis & Shaver, 2012), with lower growth intentions (Douglas, 2013; Gatewood, Brush, Carter, Green and Hart, 2009). They generate fewer sales and are more present in the services sector (Ha and Kim, 2013). These characteristics show growing pains (Kirkwood, 2009) and contribute to more difficulties for women to access finance. These troubles are reinforced by a lesser managerial experience (Marlow and McAdam, 2010) but also little involvement in the areas of innovation (Marlow and McAdam, 2013). These characteristics contribute to increase gender differences (Thébaud, 2015).

1.1.2 The impact of gender stereotypes

Several authors question the gender differences in entrepreneurship and explain this phenomenon by the weight of gender stereotypes when creating the company (Thébaud, 2016; Kirkwood, 2009; Gupta, Turban and Wasti, 2009; Gupta, Turban and Bhawe, 2008). Gender stereotypes can be defined as the characteristics attributed to women and men (Gupta, Turban and Wasti, 2009; Powell and Graves, 2003). Women are often portrayed as timid, kind, with a lack of self-confidence while men are represented as independent, self-confident or aggressive (Gupta, Turban and Wasti, 2009; Gupta, Turban and Bhawe, 2008). Gupta, Turban and Wasti, 2009 are among the first to establish the link between gender stereotypes and perceptions of entrepreneurial intentions. According to them, gender stereotypes lead to thought patterns which then dictate behavior explaining that “*men and women's entrepreneurial intentions are strongly influenced by gender stereotypes in contemporary society*” (Gupta and al., 2009, p.413). This gender effect, thus highlighted in the entrepreneurial activity, is explained by discrimination resulting from cultural or societal beliefs (Minniti and Naudé, 2010). Indeed, women and men perceive themselves differently implying singular entrepreneurial behavior (Minniti and Naudé, 2010; Kirkwood, 2009; De Bruin and al., 2007). Entrepreneurial activity is masculine characteristics (Kirkwood, 2009). Some authors go even further by stating that “*the gender of male entrepreneurs is masculine*” (Jaafar and al., 2014, p.82). Accordingly, more attention to gender equality countries observes more women engaging in business creation (Thébaud, 2016; Ahl, 2006). Gender discrimination can therefore hinder entrepreneurial activity of some women (Thébaud, 2016, Jennings and Brush, 2013). These women more sensitive to gender stereotypes have a lack of self-confidence but also in their ability to create a business (Kirkwood, 2009; Gupta, Turban and Wasti, 2009). Their likelihood of going into business is then, lower than for men (Minniti, 2010). However, the literature review expresses that discrimination against women would tend to reduce or disappear (Carrier, Julien, and Menvielle, 2006). In 2006, Ahl lists 81 articles on women's entrepreneurship and shows a significant presence of gender stereotypes. However, Marlow and Swail (2014) question the female entrepreneurship research. According to these authors, these researches relegate women entrepreneurs to second place, showing mostly its weaknesses and faults, then representing the woman as a category of problematic contractors (Marlow and Swail, 2014).

1.2 The reasons for a business entry

1.2.1 Start a business to achieve personally

Since 1990, studies on entrepreneurial behavior arise: attitudes, motivations, the authors analyze all the reasons leading individuals to become entrepreneurs (De Bruin, Brush and Welter, 2007; Ahl, 2006). Creation is motivated by the need of independence and the desire of personal fulfillment. The motivations for business creation can be underpinned by factors such as “Pull”, fulfilling a desire to create or “Push”, by necessity. In the first case, the approach is attractive, opportunities are to be taken. The second case represents the creations under stress or facing an unavoidable necessity such as unemployment (Jennings and Brush, 2013; Ekinsmyth, 2011; Pardo-Del-Val, 2010; Reynolds, Bygrave, Autio, Cox and Hay, 2002). Thus, in this case, business venture is an answer for some women to escape difficult conditions or the denunciation of a former unsatisfactory situation. For others, the desire for more professional independence, personal fulfillment, or looking for more flexibility will constitute a motivational desire (Pardo-Del-Val, 2010). McGowan, Redeker, Cooper and Greenan (2012) focusing on the expectations and motivations of women in Northern Ireland, emphasize the importance and the desire to reconcile work and family life. They observe some differences between men and women and particularly on the financial issue. Women creating their business want to give the opportunity to be more creative while men have the desire to get richer (McGowan, Redeker, Cooper and Greenan, 2012). Female new business venture, thus, seem more motivated by non-financial interests and are more susceptible to social influences (Allen and Curington, 2014). It seems then that the will to achieve both in the family environment and in society is the “locomotive” for women starting new businesses (Duberley and Carrigan, 2013; Rani and Rao, 2007).

1.2.2 Balance family and professional life

A comparative study conducted in France and Canada raises differences in motivations related to culture. Thus, according to Mione (2002), in France, entrepreneurship seems motivated more by the “Pull”, in other words by will than “Push”, factors. The author stresses the need for women to achieve personally while seeking to balance work and family life (Mione, 2002; Buttner and Moore, 1997). This is a key point recently highlighted by McGowan, Redeker, Cooper and Greenan (2012), which marks the second difference between women and men in terms of motivations. Indeed, women’s business creation is further explained by the desire to reconcile work and family life (Jennings and Brush, 2013; Reynolds and Renzulli, 2005). While men are turning to entrepreneurship for pecuniary reasons, these women choose entrepreneurship for the sake of well-being “*appear motivated*

by the desire to create wealth, when wealth is specifically expressed as to the benefit of the family” (Allen and Curington, 2014, p.160). The family is the center of their concerns. According to the authors, women still have more responsibilities in the home, with respect to children (Thébaud, 2016; Correll, Benard and Paik, 2007). Entrepreneurship means to them more flexibility between work and family life (Hundley 2000). Boden (1999b) also shows that the presence of young children in the household does not impact the creative man. In women they correspond to the prime motivation for starting a business.

1.2.3 Glass ceiling and gender discrimination

If obtaining the harmony between family and the professional world seems a real determination, it remains true that women leave their employment because they face the glass ceiling (Thébaud, 2016; Albrecht, Von Essen, Parys and Szech, 2013). They do not access the required hierarchy level, lack of recognition and are paid less than men for the same job (Thébaud, 2016; Rinfret, 2003). Such discrimination experienced in the former position lead them to make the choice of entrepreneurship (Fenwick, 2000) and then explain their need for recognition. Their choice is increasingly constrained. Thébaud (2015, p. 675) explains that the professional world is conditioned by cultural norms *“that assumes women are primarily responsible for housework and caregiving”*. If the female business creation is motivated by the will to undertake, it also seems to be explained by the need to escape the gender representations in order to contribute to achieving a harmonious balance between work and family. For some women new business venture is rooted in the search for this balance and the need to escape stigmatizing situations (Mueller and Dato-On, 2008). This sparked the writing of two research proposals:

- PR1: some women are stigmatized by gender stereotypes
- PR2: painful situations encountered in previous employment explain the decision to start a business

2 Empirical framework

Our research was conducted within the framework of the association Normandy Pioneers. This structure, located in Normandy (France) collectively supports women starting new businesses. We will present in this section the context of this work and the methodology used to collect qualitative data.

2.1 Research context

Our research was conducted within the framework of the association Normandy Pioneers. Founded in 2007 with the aim of being an “*entrepreneurship diversity accelerator*” (Source : Normandy Pioneers), the association has developed a support methodology upstream of creation to help women to wonder the deepest motivations of their creation. Normandy Pioneers is dedicated to female entrepreneurs whose projects are in the field of innovative services to individuals and businesses. The Normandy Pioneers association training support lasts four months. It is divided into 10 workshops that take place exclusively among women, run by women entrepreneurs themselves. The specificity of Normandy Pioneers is to collectively support women starting new businesses. Indeed, the system uses both a gendered approach and a collective one to support women in new business venture (Bueno Merino and Duchemin, 2016). They help to support the future business leader in the construction of her study, strategies and defining her business model. The training ends with a validation committee. This four-month coaching begins with a women-to-women support group at the birth of the idea, and animated by a woman specializing in personal development. After those two workshops which lead the candidates to entrepreneurship to an introspection about their motivations for business venturing, women who decide to create continue with technical support, business development, business plan, banking. All the women we interviewed followed those two workshops at the very beginning of the support. This cooperative game for women and run by women allows future designers to fully engage in the creation.

2.2 Methodology used

To understand the motivations of women to become entrepreneurs and establish a causal relationship to gender stereotypes, we conducted a qualitative study with semi-structured interviews that took place between February and May 2015. Thus, 24 women, who all participated in the cooperative games of Normandy Pioneers association were approached. Among them, 23 are adherents to the association. Case 24 is a young woman engineer who had the opportunity to participate to the two first workshops of Normandy Pioneers but refused to join the network. The table below shows the characteristics of the respondents. The data collection was conducted from the construction of an interview guide derived from the academic literature. It invites the interviewee to remember her entrepreneurship process and her motivations for it. It made the link between gender stereotypes and the reasons of business creation.

Participants are numbered from Case 1 to 24 (Table 1). Globally, 26 hours and 23 minutes of conversation were recorded and fully transcribed.

Case	Age	Marital situation	Children	Business creation	Date
1	35	Married	2	Equality training	04/02/15
2	38	Married	2	Audit and quality coaching	09/03/15
3	28	Single	0	Delicatessen Mexican products for restaurant	12/03/15
4	33	Single	1	Drafting of childminder contracts	12/03/16
5	53	Divorced	2	Personal development coaching	16/03/15
6	45	Divorced	2	Arts training	16/03/15
7	33	Married	0	Nomadic library	19/03/15
8	42	Married	2	Publishing for children	23/03/15
9	35	Divorced	1	Cultural restaurant barge	23/03/15
10	48	Married	2	Handmade decorative items	31/03/15
11	48	Married	2	Tea room	31/03/15
12	40	Married	2	Tea room	01/04/15
13	54	Single	0	Cosmetics to hoteliers	01/04/15
14	46	Widowed	2	English training	07/04/15
15	48	Married	1	Personal development coaching	08/04/15
16	37	Married	0	Food truck	14/04/15
17	48	Married	2	Entrepreneurs coaching	16/03/15
18	48	Married	2	Literacy training	20/04/15
19	50	Married	1	Recording studio	21/04/15
20	35	Single	0	Cameraman	07/05/15
21	30	Divorced	0	Soft toys for children	11/05/15
22	29	Married	0	Publishing	12/05/15
23	31	Divorced	0	Publishing	27/05/15
24	35	Divorced	0	Washable underwear protectors	1/04/2015

Table 1 : Participants' characteristics

The twenty-four interviews were fully transcribed so as to proceed firstly to a discursive analysis (NVivo). We mobilized in this research a priori coding method to carry out the processing of the raw data (Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2013). Initially, thematics were built from the literature review in order to transform the primary material categories (Hlady-Rispal and Jouison-Laffite, 2015). The categorization was made easier by the use of NVivo software (QSR NUD * IST version 6). Cross-site templates were then constructed to summarize the analysis of raw data and to highlight the links between identified concepts (Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2013). Our analysis is illustrated by extracts from inter-site

matrices. The concept of entrepreneurial motivation is the category on which we have focused our analysis. Subcategories correspond to the motives of will and necessity. The academic literature has helped to identify cross-site occurrences: “gender stereotypes in female entrepreneurship”, “lack of confidence” and “the difficulty of reconciling business creation and family life”. The analysis is structured according to our research proposals in the part dedicated to the theoretical anchorage.

2.2 Data analyses

To better understand the influence of gender representations, we interviewed each participant about her career and the problems encountered. We return to the motivations to create the business and underline the weight of gender stereotypes in the decisions.

2.2.1 A genuine desire to start a business

According to the respondents, the entry in the entrepreneurial process is explained by a genuine desire to undertake. One of the recurring factors is the need to perform personally. But the exchanges also highlight the difficulties, often linked to gender stereotypes encountered in the workplace. For some, they constitute an obstacle to entrepreneurship.

Our interview guide dedicated to the motivation for new business venturing helps to put forward a real will to create. Of the 24 interviews conducted, 22 respondents reported a “Pull” motivation explained by a job that no longer satisfy, creativity that cannot flourish because of too much stress, the disagreement with the hierarchy or an opportunity (Table below). This echoes the work of McGowan, Redeker, Cooper and Greenan (2012) and show that women are attracted to entrepreneurship for reasons of will.

Pull factors	A job that does not satisfy anymore / lack of creativity	7
	Self-fulfillment	6
	Disagreement with management / hierarchy difficulties	1
	An opportunity / detection of a need	4
	Independence	2
	Entrepreneur’s family	1
	Dream	1
Push factors	End of contract / unemployment / difficulty of finding a job	2

Table 2 : Pull and Push factors

“What led me to build my business, it's being sick of fast food, or fast restaurant food where I was working staggered hours, Sundays, holidays, and finally I just had all I could take of it[...] that came to us like that, a little, yes just like that, while discussing.” Case 11

-“So what prompted me to start my business, it was during my Marketing Master's in 2005 at the IAE of Caen, I did a short dissertation on the field of fragrances which allowed me to get to know this area and after that I created.” Case 13

-“I created my company, so I think already a temperament, because when you work like that in many private and public companies you have a set limits to your job and you cannot spread your wings and I had a little tendency to want to spread my wings, because many things interest me [...] It took me five years before finding the right idea, I went through a lot of phases, [...] and there was a meeting with Olivier, this is a time when I was on leave [...] I took this tangent here because I couldn't take the limitations any longer. ” Case 19

-“I liked my job, it was not too bad but in fact returning to my professional training that was my, well how it's called ? I was missing something, I was not satisfied by this drug of the construction business, overall that is is what I wanted was to return behind the camera.” Case 20

Table 3 : verbatim

We do not observe links between educational level and “Pull” motivations. Nevertheless, respondents with a graduate degree more than bachelor's degrees are turning to entrepreneurship to flourish and find self-fulfillment (Beaufort, 2011; Boutiller, 2008). Women do not mention money, do not seem attracted by the bait of gain (Mcgowan, Redeker, Cooper and Greenan, 2012). As Lebègue highlights (2015a), female start-up marks the need of a break with the professional career. Indeed, 6 women have decided to enter in a business creation process to create their own jobs and cope with unemployment. The verbatim extracts below illustrate this phenomenon:

-“I wanted to work on issues of gender equality and I could not find a job, so I created my job. In fact, I did not have any experience.” Case 1

-“What led me to starting a new business, I think it was the current situation, the return to Caen (Normandy, France), unable to find employment, I did not want to go to Paris, then I turned to childminder work, a little more out of spite than by desire and there I realized that there was a big gap in people's understanding of their employment contract. ” Case 4

-“What led me to build my business, it was two things, one was a little dream that kept running through my head for a very long time, [...] and then the trigger was after a lay-off from Cultura, that is to say that before, I was saying to myself be reasonable, starting a business is not easy, being an entrepreneur is not easy while being employed is easier, and then when I have noticed that no, to be an employee was not easy because we were completely at the mercy of our bosses, it may seem hard to say this but others decide for us, in addition things are not going to be better.” Case 7

2.2.2 Gender stereotypes and professional life

What is a gender stereotype? We confronted our 24 respondents with this question. According to them, gender representations lead society to put women and men in boxes. If 19 of them were able to give a definition, 4 women who nevertheless chose to follow a women-to-women collective coaching were not able to define gender stereotypes. In accordance with the academic literature, gender stereotypes are representations and beliefs that force the behavior (Gupta, Turban, and Wasti, 2009; Mueller and Dato-On, 2008). They can lead to a depreciation of the feminine characteristics (Cornet, 2014). This explains why some women face difficulties during their career. Of the 23 “Pioneers” interviewed, three quarters indicate having experienced one or more situations related to gender stereotypes, harassment or ordinary sexism. The table below recounts:

-“When my mechanic does not explain the repairs he will do on my car because I am not able to understand them, or when the nanny always calls me first when there is a problem with the children rather calling my husband, in the workplace, I was much referred to as charming, rather than referring to my skills, I would say, which is even more than the stereotype it is plain sexism. After there is the fact that a woman cannot be necessarily [considered] legitimate for a policy decision, or finally have charisma or leadership, that I encountered while working, while leading boards of 30 guys who were 60 years old as a young woman of 30 years it was difficult. There were a lot of stereotypes that I was the little, young, very cute one and they would teach me about life.” Case 1

-“I will always remember, it had to be not even a week after being hired I went to the HR center for information on my workers’ rights and no sooner had I gone in, the person, I said, here I would like to have information on my workers’ rights, [...] we start talking [...] I say oh no I am a manager so the person apologizes so there I said so already there when I walk in the business people do not think I’m an engineer, people do not think I am manager, ok, it starts, I had the same experience in what the measurement center where we had what are called accelerators, where we were testing industrial parts and one day I do not get a weld, the parts were too small, I do not get the solder and so I’ll see the specialist and then I chat with them while he made the weld and then he starts to rant on about managers, [...] I tell them : but you know I am a manager and there, I see their faces: no it's not possible, so well no it's not possible that you are in management, you're nice you say hello to us every morning, you are a woman, if I'm an engineer in microelectronics dear friends and I am in management, [...] a little small secondary effect also because I stopped wearing dresses so I moved from skirt to pants from dresses to pants, it was crippling because I also had colleagues that when I said hello they were looking first at my legs before looking at myself, that I did not like so I quickly went to the trousers.” Case 2

-“I was an executive assistant in a children's home and according to the boss I was just the secretary and all that it induces is what also led me to the end of the employment contract, [...] I was working in a fire station, [voluntary firefighter] so there I got the right to hear a woman is made to be in the kitchen, you will not go in the truck, very sexist stuff.” Case 4

- "It was really quite funny when it was time to approach banks, I actually I did not have any money, so it was my best friend who brought me the contribution and suddenly in fact every time I introduced myself to a bank and I explained how I was going to have input there was always a moment of silence, then a look, and after a very frank and open question saying it's your boyfriend, you have a relationship together, [...] that was still strong because people they had no hesitation at all to ask the question, well maybe they were because they were bankers but it's still pretty crazy anyway because it meant I slept with him for the money."

Case 16

Table 4 : Confrontation to gender stereotypes

This research allows us to observe that all women do not receive gender stereotype to the same way. Indeed, some are less sensitive (Cornet and Constantinidis, 2010; Kirkwood, 2009) or decide to shut gender stereotypes (Lewis, 2006). In this current survey, it is most often women who have a bachelor's degree or more. To illustrate this, we emphasis the word of a young engineer (Case 24), who recently created her company but refuses to join female entrepreneurship training support. However, she faced situations that could have been traumatic and explains her position : *"A gender stereotype is for me, well I wonder about what is a gender stereotype because you see, in Asian countries you have three genders so if we remain man - woman, no in fact a stereotype to me, that does not make sense, I'm not in stereotypes thought [...] I always tried not to ask myself these questions and not to apply these to others [...] but yes I faced gender stereotypes, but downright yes, I have two anecdotes [...] I remember it was the second or third year of engineering school, a computer engineer had come to interview me, just to interview me on the girls in education, all in computer and so I had my picture in the paper board and so we had hung the article in the classroom and one afternoon I came back and someone had pinned a note and it was written "whore" the first story, and that's sexism [...] after another in the United States , in an elevator, I got into this elevator with two guys who went to the floor above, and then I go and in English they say to me " you do not miss one is talking of poor guy thing" and then I tell them in English "never mind, in any case I do not understand English very well and then it does not bother me" , and then I do not know what happened at some point, they told me " whore, whore European [...]" and there I found myself completely dumbfounded on the landing so in fact they told me that just when I came out of the lift so that I did not had time to turn around or tell them anything because the elevator had closed and he was gone, so I was a bit shocked and indeed my head managers in the United States asked me if I wanted psychological treatment [...] perhaps finally I was a little shocked and maybe I should have asked myself more questions or react violently [...]"* Case 24. While talking, we then go back on the training support dedicated to

women. She explained to us *"I did not want a female support that does not make sense being only with girls, it's just that this exclusively female side is beyond me because I do not like divisions in fact, there is a communitarian notion that bothers me"* Case 24.

Finally, the women in the creation process expressed themselves on gender stereotypes and related experiences that felt more or less painful. These difficulties explain why women turn to female training support. Indeed, two-thirds of the respondents who express a lack of self-confidence explain to us their difficulties with gender stereotypes in the past. The remarks about the violence or the recurrence of gender stereotypes has weakened some of them (43%), this is manifested by a lack of self-confidence strongly perceived.

Pioneers (N=24)	Lack of self-confidence		
Gender stereotypes	Yes	No	Total
Yes	43%	30%	74%
No	22%	4%	26%
Total	65%	35%	100%

Table 5 : Lack of self-confidence because of gender stereotypes

So, it appears that if the reasons expressed to create a business belong to the factor of will, the reality is different. Some women, more sensitive, have been weakened in their past work experience with harassment, everyday sexism, derogatory remarks. The use of business creation then comes in response to no longer be confronted with gender stereotypes. If the motivation is called will, there is nevertheless a constraint motivation. These women show an important lack of self-confidence which would explain why they choose to join a support training program dedicated to women. Together they reassure each other and thereby remove the impediments.

2.3 Discussion and limits

Our goal was to better understand the motivations of women to start a business and to establish the link with gender representations. Academic research, mainly entrepreneurship oriented, have yet to focus on female entrepreneurship training support (Lebègue, 2015b) and more precisely to try to turn Push factors in Pull factors (Pardo-Del-Val, 2010). The number of women entrepreneurs is still below that of men (Jennings and Brush, 2013). A return on the

literature review led us to look at women's motivations for entrepreneurship; Intentions dictated by the will of well-being and self-fulfillment (Allen and Curington, 2014; Mcgowan, Redeker, Cooper and Greenan, 2012.). Behind this will hide the need for some women, those more sensitive to gender stereotypes, to stay away from it. So quickly, our research led us to consider the weight of gender stereotypes in the entrepreneurial process when starting a new business. Our results confirm the work of Constantinidis (2010) on the business networks and highlight the existence of two categories of potentially creative women: first, those most sensitive to stereotypes, which need help at the very early stage of creation and, secondly, those more comfortable with men who do not consider themselves as different and do not face the psychological barriers from societal representations. In addition, in line of Lewis (2006)' works, our results show the divide between women who shut the gender stereotypes and feel similar to men and the others (PR1). If the female entrepreneurship should attract the interest of researchers, entrepreneurial activity is still culturally attached to men (Robledo and al., 2015). The company witnessed a depreciation of female characteristics, devalued in favor of men (Cornet, 2014). These representations can thus adversely affect some women and undermine their entrepreneurial process (Shirokova and Tsyganova, 2010). Thus, the majority of women who turn to female collective support faced with painful situations related to the dominance of male models in the professional sphere (Laufer, 2004). Confirming the work of Constantinidis (2010) devoted to business networks, some women struggle to overcome the glass ceiling, others less. The use of a business is a way to escape the difficulties caused by gender stereotypes (Thébaud, 2016 and 2015; Scharnitzky, 2012).

Our results allowed us to conclude that women entrepreneurs are often motivated by will factors (Allen and Curington, 2014). The need for freedom and independence is the first explanation. For some of them, it is more for self-fulfillment, the desire to flourish and greed is not the center of their concerns. They are more family life oriented. Many designers talk about their willingness to devote time to their children, while exercising their entrepreneurial activity. When they are also mothers, women entrepreneurs say their motivation is to create a balance between their work and their family life (Ekinsmyth, 2011; Richomme-Huet and Vial, 2014). Our results show that starting a business while being a woman, even if it is explained by a "Pull" motivation, is actually too often underpinned by the glass ceiling and gender stereotypes (Thébaud, 2016). This is actually a disguised constraint motivation (PR2). However, we must take our findings with caution given our sample mainly was composed with women having a bachelor's degree at least, which joined the work of Cornet and

Constantinidis (2004). It finally appears, even if the reason is not overtly mentioned by the women we have met, that the confrontation with the glass ceiling and gender representations explain, in many cases, the break with the former job (Albrecht and al., 2013) and thus the creation of the company.

Conclusion

Our work carried out within the association Normandy Pionneers, a collective support training for women, highlights the importance of gender stereotypes during the entrepreneurial process for some entrepreneurs (Bueno Merino and Duchemin, 2016; Constantinidis, 2010; Lewis, 2006). Our results show the extent of focusing attention on these societal representations, their impact both in the reasons explaining new business venture and the difficulties encountered during the entrepreneurial process. They invite the academic world to develop the research on collective training support dedicated to women (Bueno Merino and Duchemin, 2016). Finally, our work suggest lines of thought concerning future research carried out on memory : more precisely the memory of the difficulties encountered and the creation of a new business.

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