Gender, Race, and Diversity in Organizations

WOMEN, ENTREPRENEURSHIP, AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Edited by
Dr. Beverly Dawn Metcalfe,
Dr. Bettina Lynda Bastian, and
Dr. Haya Al-Dajani

Women, Entrepreneurship, and Development in the Middle East

The Middle East was the region least impacted in the 2008 crisis, has investment systems markedly different to the West, is largely governed by Islamic Shari'a, and has varying forms of governance and institutional organization, which are not understood by many, nor how these systems shape entrepreneurial and industrial development. While the Middle East as a region has seen a small growth in entrepreneurship for women, and business scholarship in the Middle East has grown, there is no text in English that has brought critical insights from the Middle East together in a single volume.

In examining women's entrepreneurship in the Middle East, this book aims to challenge Global North assumptions about the disempowering impacts of Islamic Shari'a and governance. Referring to the constraints of Islam on women's subjectivity and agency greatly misunderstands religious identity, of both men and women, and the way in which public administration and private sector institutions are organized in very different ways to Western regions. This timely text expands and adds new insights to the theorizations of women's entrepreneurship in the Middle East, through unraveling spatialized themes, and incorporates contemporary themes including an Islamic science reading of women, work and venturing; changing families and entrepreneurship development; women managing social crises; Islamization, governance and women; Islamic feminist activisms and entrepreneurship; representations of women's entrepreneurship on social media; and women's collectives leading entrepreneurship via Facebook entrepreneurship.

It will be of interest to researchers, academics, and students in the fields of entrepreneurship, gender, work, and organizations.

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We dedicate this book to all the women entrepreneurs in the Arab world and the organizations that support women throughout the region.

نكرس هذا الكتاب لجميع رائدات الأعمال في العالم العربي والمنظمات التي تدعم المرأة في جميع أنحاء المنطقة

Dedicated to my father, Alan David Metcalfe - Dr. Beverly Dawn Metcalfe

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Foreword

Across the globe, the contribution of women to society is becoming more significant every year. One reason for this is the increasing rate of return on women's empowerment: Societies and nations that invest in and support women reap ever greater benefits for their economic and social development.

It is internationally recognized that female entrepreneurs, and the new businesses they establish, play a critical role in economic prosperity. Over decades, it has been shown that women are making incredible strides in the field of entrepreneurship. Today, women are playing a highly significant role in economic growth and development not only by owning and managing businesses but, more significantly, by being investors in areas that are traditionally considered the male arena, such as science and technology. Additionally, women are adding value by creating jobs and increasing the competitiveness of society. Thus, many of the world's governments, NGOs, and international organizations now look toward entrepreneurship as a key part of the solution to promoting women's empowerment. However, despite the growing number of women entrepreneurs, their share, regionally and internationally, is still disproportionally low when compared to their participation rate.

Although many women in the developing regions are succeeding in their businesses, they are still constrained by the gender values, norms, and stereotypes in the societies in which they live and operate. Because of their reproductive role they tend to be responsible, as well as for their businesses, for most of the unpaid work in the household. A woman often has less time to devote to her business and, in some geographic areas, is less mobile. A key issue, therefore, is whether women entrepreneurs face specific problems in setting up in business that is different from those faced by male business owners. Moreover, it is important for women to find supportive national and international organizations, specifically organizations run by women themselves, for facilitating and promoting the development of their businesses. This might include not only access to finance but, more importantly, support regarding family friendly policies, social culture and norms, entrepreneurial education, and training.

Thus, the role of women in society and the economy is changing, as society itself continues to develop. As women, we continue to struggle to demonstrate the strides we have already made—and the further contribution we can and will continue to make, given the appropriate support. Thus, women's entrepreneurship remains an area that requires increased research attention globally.

Therefore, as a contribution to this objective and discussing the case of one specific region, the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), I am pleased to present to you this book in the Routledge Global Series-Gender, Race and Diversity in Organizations (GRDO), which is focused on discussing and analyzing women, entrepreneurship, and development in the MENA. In its 15 chapters, it provides new perspectives regarding the entrepreneurship field in general and female entrepreneurship in the MENA region in particular. The advantage of this book is that it covers areas from Islamic economic and feminist perspectives, to entrepreneurial practices and challenges in Bahrain, Jordan, KSA, Qatar, the UAE, and Palestine, through to policy challenges and opportunities for development. In this volume you will find different scholars discussing female entrepreneurship's realities, challenges, and opportunities for change and development by diagnosing different cases and offering different policy perspectives. This publication is the result of months of work and effort by the chapter authors, who have carefully selected their topics and cases to address a diverse array of relevant concerns and issues.

I would also like to express our gratitude to the editor, Professor Beverly Dawn Metcalfe, for her great leadership efforts in managing this book and to the chapter authors for their contributions.

Dr. Hend Al Muftah
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The engagement of women in entrepreneurship in the Arab world continues to attract increased interest and attention from national, regional, and international policymakers, investors, think tanks, and researchers amongst others. Our sincere thanks to them all for shining the spotlight on the remarkable entrepreneurial women who are working tirelessly to mark their stamp on the socioeconomic development and progress of the region. And to each and every remarkable entrepreneurial woman, we say thank you for their resilience, drive, creativity, innovation, leadership, and determination to overcome the barriers and challenges that confront them, and for paving the way for the rest of us.

This book would not have been possible without the commitment and dedication of all chapter contributors. We are deeply grateful to them all for their thoughtful research and unique perspectives that enrich our understanding of how and why women entrepreneurs influence the development of the Arab world. We also extend our special thanks also to Tony Murfin for all his support preparing the manuscript and to Naomi Round Cahalin, Editorial Assistant at Routledge, for her patience and guidance along every step of the publication process.

We also thank our institutions for encouraging us to work on this book—the Mohammad Bin Salman College of Business and Entrepreneurship, ESA Business School, and the Holy Spirit University of Kaslik. Lastly, we are hugely grateful to our families for their enthusiasm and encouragement throughout our journey with this book.

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Part I

Islamic Economic Perspectives and Entrepreneurship Development

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1 The Mosque and the Satellite: Exploring the Multi-Level and Multi-Agency Dynamics of Women's Entrepreneurship Development in the Middle East

Beverly Dawn Metcalfe, Bettina Lynda Bastian, and Haya Al-Dajani

Introduction: The Background

This book is a response to several issues. These include longstanding concerns about the nuances of the contextual embeddedness of gender entrepreneurship theory (Yousafzai et al. 2019, McAdam and Cunningham 2019, Marlow 2020, Tlaiss and McAdam 2020), the limited range of feminist philosophies that have been used in entrepreneurship research (Ahl and Marlow 2012, Henry et al. 2015), and how entrepreneurship can be central to human capital and growth in developing regions (Ahl and Marlow 2012, Henry et al. 2015, Apostolopoulos et al. 2018, UN Women 2018, Global Entrepreneurship Monitor GEM 2019, UN Women 2020a,b). We recognize that merely describing enterprises and analyzing them in a vacuum offers a relatively limited understanding of entrepreneurship (Henry et al. 2015, Yousafzai et al. 2019, McAdam and Cunningham, 2019). Moreover, the extant work on gender and entrepreneurship has been based on Global North logics (exceptions: Al-Dajani, 2020).

To respond to concerns relating to the necessity for studies that are rooted in the Global South, our aim is to unveil the nuances of context and incorporate social, economic, political, legal, and environmental factors. Although the Middle East as a region has seen some small growth in entrepreneurship for and by women, and scholarship on the Middle East has grown, there is no text in English that has brought critical insights from the Middle East together in a single volume. Further, to make Middle Eastern voices heard, we have drawn on writings in Arabic and Urdu, as well as knowledge of Islamic finance and Islamic government, as it is these fields that will greatly shape venturing opportunities in the future (El Azhary Sonbol, 2016, Bondi 1999, Metcalfe 2020).

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Our aim is to illustrate throughout the text how a variety of signifiers—including sex, sexuality, religion, family, and class—intersect and are positioned in a specific geography that captures the fluidity of entrepreneurial identities. We aim to produce a text that focuses on the Middle East; to provide critical insights from the Global South; and to question the often-portrayed homogeneity of Islamic framings by the Global North (Metcalfe 2008, 2011, Syed and Metcalfe 2015). Consequently, we explore the very different dimensions of how entrepreneurship is conceived and developed across the MENA region. A thread throughout is the importance of developing entrepreneurial learning and entrepreneurial leadership and endowing human capacity with an entrepreneurial mindset; not only for women but for men, too, as this learning heritage that evolved from the millennium development goals, through the sustainable development goals (SDG), aims to establish knowledge economies and undertake national skills upgrading (Cornwall and Edwards 2014, Ennis 2019).

Currently, there are few studies that review institutional environments, sector contexts, and the socio-material and religiopolitical organizing practices that may shape venturing capacities in the MENA region, and these provide the foci of this text. In line with the de Bruin et al. (2007) special issue on entrepreneurship methodology that used a tree metaphor as a way of framing entrepreneurship studies—"annuals" (case studies), "perennials" (fashionable themes), and "saplings" (new approaches and insights)—our aim in this text is to open up new avenues of inquiry and to unravel "sapling' theme," although insights from the "annuals" and "perennials" of start-up and GEM data are also very valuable in guiding this understudied region of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA).

This illustrates that venturing is a dynamic and fluid process, and that features of entrepreneurial behaviors and processes need to be understood as socially and historically constituted. Through this scrutiny we are then able to see the formations of gendered, racialized, and classed aspects of entrepreneurial action and policy development as they play out in a specific socio-historical and geopolitical context. As we shall go on to argue, the MENA region is quite different from how it is presented in the dominant Global North accounts that present entrepreneurial identities, systems, and approaches in very particular ways. As proposed by the OECD, the time is right to explore how to advance the social and economic markers where there are regions tainted with discord and authoritarianism, together with ongoing conflict, that have heightened the fragility of state mechanisms in the Middle East (OECD 2014) and that continue to present complexities for global cooperation and organization. There are still a wide variety of actors who have joined in a concerted effort to support women's advancement around the world, and many of these are excluded from contemporary entrepreneurship scholarship, as venturing is often treated as if it existed in a vacuum.

The Middle East was the region least impacted by the 2008 financial crisis (Saleem 2010, Al-Sharmani 2014, World Bank 2016). It has investment systems markedly different from those of the West, is largely governed by Islamic Shari'a, and has varying forms of governance and institutional organization (Chapra 1994, World Bank 2016) that are not understood by many; nor how these systems may shape entrepreneurial and industrial development (Metcalfe 2020). The aftermath of the "Arab Spring" revolutions reconfigured men's and women's laboring in diverse ways, and COVID-19 has created more complex constraints and opportunities for women in the Global South (see Al-Dajani 2020, UN Women 2020a, 2020b). This text aims to bring some of these insights to extend, contribute to, and add new epistemological insights about what venturing is, doing venturing, and how venturing is conceived in the MENA region as part of a globalized *ummah* (consensus) (Roy 2004, Chaudhri 2002, El Azhary Sonbol 2020).

In this chapter, we will first provide a contextualized view of political economy premised on the *Islamic Resurgence*, also named Islamism or Progressive Islamism. This has been shaping economic, social, and political, states since the early 1990s. This is extremely important given the large number of Arab states that have introduced political quotas for women only in recent years. We then provide an overview of women's social status in the Arab Middle East, built on 2021 statistics from the World Economic Forum on empowerment among Arab states (WEF 2021 see also Chaudry Shalaby 2016). As part of this discussion, we highlight how Islamic Feminism(s) are providing great impetus for women's development, especially entrepreneurship development. We then illustrate a contextualized model that provides a multi-level and multi-actor frame, which provides a critical understanding of the intersecting dynamics of all actors in the Middle East involved in venture education, international organizations, and state support planning and growth and the associated policies that can support this (Zahidi 2018, Moghadam 2021).

Islamizing and Westernization

Countries of the Middle East differ in terms of how they have evolved in respect of the economic system and state institutions. All the countries are Arab except Afghanistan, Iran, Israel, and Turkey. All are predominantly Muslim, except Israel. State structures vary from "theocratic state" (Iran) to "authoritarianism privatizing" (Saudi Arabia, Turkey) (Moghadam 2005, 2018. Castells (2000) highlights that the unity of Arab states is deeply embedded globally: via their close connections through their multiple political parties (many of them Islamic); networks of mosques worldwide; and diverse global Islamic movements. Further, factors illustrate the connectedness of the international political economy, via the Islamic Development Bank; regional state alliances

such as the Arab League and GCC; the nature and regulation of social movements/women's movements; and international alliances, especially their position regarding CEDAW, provide salient points in governance and development.[1] These are important, as in future discussions it will be seen that Arab states are more collectivist in their governance organization and policy, as well as in their approach to political economy when contrasted with Global North regimes that stress markets, neoliberalism, and individual aspirations and orientation (Syed and Metcalfe 2015).

The MENA region is an important area for study as, here, women have the lowest levels of employment and political participation in the world (World Bank 2012, 2018). The drafting and implementation of multilateral treaties such as the "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights" (ICCPR); the "Economic Social and Cultural Rights" (ICESCR), and, finally, the "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women" (CEDAW). International debates attest to the validity of this issue (Badran 2009, Reilly 2009), and whereas in many countries women's rights supporters have made progress in challenging male privilege and patriarchy, and the legal recognition of women's rights, although what constitutes rights is constantly debated. The status of women in Islamic states is often viewed with special concern, often tied to the governing legislation of Islamic Sharia, which is often argued as limiting women's rights. Indeed, many argue that Islamic rights and women's rights are an oxymoron (Badran 2009, Moghadam 2018). Throughout this text we will be providing reasoning countering this position and critiquing the Global North logic behind it, as this simply does not reflect the current sociocultural and religiopolitical climate. Indeed, many devout Muslims feel Islam is empowering (Mernissi 1991, Wadud 2006, Mir-Hosseini 2011, Ali 2010).

As indicated, most of the Arab states analyzed are governed by Islamic sharia law: governance, organization, and legal codes are built on Islamic law (Beekun and Badawi 2009, Metcalfe 2011), although there is a great deal of variation in how these are structured and operate. Platteau (2011) argues that the political system of Islam can represent a new model of development, and this is being advocated by Muslim states themselves, with the United Arab Emirates a prime example. However, when one examines Muslim countries, "authoritarian political" regimes are dominant, and in these regimes politics and religion co-existed as separate entities linked through an asymmetric relationship between religion and politics of mutual recognition (Metcalfe and Murfin 2011: 7; see also Ahmed 1992, Esposito 2005, Ramadan 2009). The objective of Islamic polity is the establishment of social justice for humanity using the principles in the divine commandments (Shurah 57:42) (see Metcalfe and Murfin 2011). The voices of the collective do have critics, however: they call out the "shar'ia excuse" (Badran 2009), used in any situation where women's wrongs are seemingly unthinkingly nullified by recourse

to the Qur'an. Large numbers of women nevertheless feel that Islam is empowering, and it is cultural and masculinist views that are tainting a balanced Islamic discourse. The extent of the religiosity of the younger generation, and women's view that Islam will be part of the solution that supports women's development is shown nicely in this comment by Coleman:

> The fact is that young Arab women are more overtly religious than their mothers' generation, but they are also significantly better educated, they are marrying later, having fewer children, and are likely to work outside the home. Their demands for greater freedoms have been building for years. The uprisings have played a role in mobilizing these women, who since the earliest days of upheaval have been on the front lines of change. They have been protesting alongside men, blogging passionately and prolifically, covering the protests as journalists, newscasters, launching social media campaigns … The defiance of these brave activists has surprised many in the West who have long viewed Arab women only as oppressed victims of patriarchy and religion …. But women are more determined than ever to change that reality, and given the strength of Islamism today, progressive interpretations of Islamism will have to be part of the solution. (Isabel Coleman (2013): *Paradise Beneath her Feet: How Women are Transforming the Middle East,* x–xi)

As Coleman (2013) highlighted in her text quoted at the beginning of this chapter, the youth of today are more religious as indicated in their daily routines and in their ambitions to show they are good Muslims adhering to required Islamic teachings. Aligned with what Esposito (2005) stated, the issue is not that Islam may be impacting governance and social change issues, the question is: *How* is Islam helping shape social and economic change?

The young generation feels that Islamization can offer a new way forward that will benefit humankind (Zahidi 2018, UN Women, 2020b) The neoliberal development policies, advocated by the global governance institutions, have nurtured a move to devise fluid conceptions of an Islamic economic moral economy, one that promotes Islamic equality and social justice values. The argument, now considered a benchmark for Islamic Economics, of Chapra (1994) has led to an outpouring of the ways in which moral economic thinking can be gleaned through the processes of *fiqh* (Islamic Law) and aid in mapping ways in which institutions can create learning communities and assist in the Islamization of institutions (see, for example, Ramadan 2009, Metcalfe and Woodhams 2012, Arrenfeldt and Al Hassan-Golley 2015). Coleman (2013) uses the phrase "progressive Islamism" very clearly in her commentary. Given the huge transitions in women's lives since the 20th

century, their participation in many spheres and their commitment to a regime change would be followed if necessary (Saleem 2010). Islamism usually describes a top-down or state-centered focus on achieving an Islamic social order. The view builds on the idea that a state constructionist perspective can shape identities, social ties, and emotions, including civil society (Roy 2004, Saleem 2010, Moghadam 2018).

Esposito (2005, 165) builds on the ideological framework of Islamization as follows:

1 Islam is a total and comprehensive way of life. Religion is integral to politics, law, and society.
2 The failure of Muslim societies is due to their departure from the straight path.
3 The renewal of society requires a return to Islam, an Islamic religiopolitical and social reformation or revolution.
4 To restore God's rule and inaugurate a true Islamic social order, western-inspired laws must be replaced by Islamic law.
5 Although the Westernization of society is condemned, modernization as such is not.

The significance of the resurgence requires an understanding of how social, political, and economic relations are constructed.

Table 1.1 highlights Arab countries' leadership, political systems, and includes the representation of women in government. The governance machineries in most Arab states, have been supplemented with the SDG 2030 plans. They have been aligned with a range of social, environmental, educational, and public–private partnership logics that have heightened concerns about women's involvement in the political economy, especially women's choices and opportunities to engage in venturing (covered in detail in Chapter 9, this volume; see also Al-Sharmany 2014, El Azury Sonbol 2016, World Bank 2016, Abdullah 2017, Ennis 2019, Metcalfe 2020). While the SDG architecture has assisted in establishing a framework for devising national development plans, this should not be represented as creating homogeneity; rather, governance, the organization of public administration, and women's involvement in the polity and economy are highly variable and socially and historically constituted (Ennis 2019, Metcalfe 2008, 2011, 2020). These themes will be explored further in Chapters 6 and 9 when looking at women's inclusion and governance for supporting venturing.

Although westernization is condemned, modernization as such is not. Islamization is a new development model and a "program of life" (Abu-Lughod 2013). Westernization includes changes in economic and social relations. It also highlights religiosity and a focus on supporting transnational communication and engagement (Badran 2005, 2009). The term *Mosque and Satellite* coined by Mernissi (see 1991) stresses how

Table 1.1 Culture and leadership in selected Middle East countries

a Country	*Political System*	*Head of State*	*Year born (acceded/ elected)*	*Representation of women Upper/Lower or Single* **Quotas in black** *(Source: IPU Parline April 2021/ IDEA unless otherwise stated)*
Algeria	Bicameral parliament	Abdelmadjid Tebboune	1945 (2019)	U: 6% of 144 L: 34 of 407 (8.4%) Quota system **abandoned** for 2021 election
Bahrain	Constitutional Monarchy Elected Chamber of Deputies since 2002	King Hamad bin Isa al Khalifah	1950 (1999)	U: (Shura Council) 9 of 40 **(22.5%)** L: (Council of Representatives) 3 of 40 (7.5%)
Egypt	Arab Republic	Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi	1954 (2014)	U: **40** of 300 (**13.3%**) L: 162 of 591 (27.4%) Quota **25%**
Jordan	Constitutional Monarchy	King Abdullah II	1962 (1999)	U: (Senate) 7 of 65 (10.8%) L: (House of Representatives) 2020 election **15** of 130 (15.4%)
Kuwait	Constitutional Monarchy	Sheikh Nawaf al-Ahmad al-Jaber al-Sabah	1937 (2020)	S: (Unicameral National Assembly) 1 of 65 (1.5%) 2020 election: 1 of 50 directly elected, 0 of 15 appointed
Lebanon		Michel Aoun	1935 (2016)	6 of 128 (4.7%)

(*Continued*)

Table 1.1 (Continued)

a Country	*Political System*	*Head of State*	*Year born (acceded/ elected)*	*Representation of women Upper/Lower or Single* **Quotas in black** *(Source: IPU Parline April 2021/ IDEA unless otherwise stated)*
	Unitary parliamentary confessionalist constitutional republic			
Morocco	Bicameral parliament	King Mohammed VI	1963 (1999)	U: 14 of 120 (11.67%) L: (House of Representatives) 81 of 395 (20.51%) **Female quota 60 seats (15%)**
Oman	Traditional Monarchy Appointed Consultative Assembly Elected legislature (Council of Oman)	Haitham bin Tariq al-Said	1955 (2020)	U: 15 of 86 (17%) L: 2 of 86 (2.3%)
Palestine	Unitary semi-presidential republic	Mahmoud Abbas	1935 (2005)	S: (Legislative Council) **17** of 132 (12.9%) Quota 20% of proportional representation component (Samaroo 2018)
Qatar	Constitutional Monarchy	Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani	1980 (2013)	S: **4** of 41 (9.8%) Appointed advisory council
Saudi Arabia	Islamic Monarchy	Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud	1935 (2015)	S: **30** of 151 (19.9%) Consultative Council
Syria	Unitary dominant-party semi-presidential Ba'athist republic	Bashar al-Assad	1965 (2000)	S: 27 of 250 (10.8%) (Shaar and Akil 2021)
Tunisia	Unicameral parliament	Kais Saied	1958 (2019)	

				68 of 217 (31.3%) **Candidate quota 50%**
UAE	Presidential Federation of Traditional MonarchiesAppointed consultative assembly	Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed al Nahyan	1948 (2004)	S: 20 of 40 (**50%**) **Female Quota**
Yemen	Unitary presidential constitutional republic (de jure)Unitary provisional government (de facto)	Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi (in exile)	1945 (2012)	L: 1 of 301 (0.3%) U: 3 of 111 (2.7%)

b

Country	**Population (thousand)** Source: Worldometer 2021 (2019 data)	**Religious affiliation** Source: Author's interpretation from various sources, including ARDA, n.d.; Metcalfe and Murfin, 2011; Pew Research Center 2016; and national statistics agencies. Owing to the sensitive and contradictory nature of quoted statistics, caution is advised.	**CEDAW status** Source: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner (2021).
Bahrain	1702	Shi'i Muslim 52% Sunni Muslim 28% Other (predominantly non-resident) 20%	Ratified June 18, 2002[1]
Egypt	102,334	Muslim 95,268 (94.9%) Christian (predominantly Coptic) 5120 (5.1%)	Ratified 1981[2]
Jordan	10,203		Ratified July 1992[3]

(*Continued*)

Table 1.1 (Continued)

a Country	*Political System*	*Head of State*	*Year born (acceded/ elected)*	*Representation of women Upper/Lower or Single* **Quotas in black** *(Source: IPU Parline April 2021/ IDEA unless otherwise stated)*
		Muslim 97.1% (Shia < 2%) Christian 2.1% Other 0.6% (Pew Research Centre)		
Kuwait	4271	70.7% (Sunni about 50%, Shi'i about 20%) Christian 13.6% Hindu 9.9% Buddhist 5.5% Other 0.3%	Ratified 1994[4]	
Lebanon	6825	Sunni 28.5% Shia 28.3% Other Muslim 0.8% Christian 36.8% Druze 5.6%	Ratified 1997[5]	
Morocco	36,911	Sunni 99.1% Shia 0.5% Bahai 0.1% Christian 0.1%	Ratified 1993[6]	
Oman	5107	Muslim 85.9% Christian 6.4% Hindu 5.7% Ibadi Muslim 49.8%	Ratified 2006[7]	

		Sunni 34.9% Shia 6.2% Christian 4.0% Hindu 2.9% Other 2.2%	
Palestine	5101	Sunni 71.7% Other Muslim 9.6% Jewish 11.3% Other 7.4%	Ratified 2014 No reservations
Qatar	2881	Muslim 65.2% Christian 13.7% Hindu 15.9% Buddhist 3.8% Other 1.4%	Ratified 2009[8]
Saudi Arabia	34,814	Muslim 92.7% Christian 4.4% Hindu 1.3% Other 1.6%	Ratified 2001[9]
Syria	17,501	Sunni 78.5% Shia 13.9% Christian 5.2% Other 2.4%	Ratified 2003[10]
Tunisia	11,819	Sunni 97.2% Shia 0.1% Christian 0.2%	Ratified 1985[11]
UAE	9890	Sunni Muslim 60.3% Shi'i Muslim 9.1% Other Muslim 5.1% Christian 12.9%	Ratified 2004[12]

(*Continued*)

Table 1.1 (Continued)

a Country	*Political System*	*Head of State*	*Year born (acceded/ elected)*	*Representation of women Upper/Lower or Single* **Quotas in black** *(Source: IPU Parline April 2021/ IDEA unless otherwise stated)*
		Hindu 7.7% Buddhist 2.4 Other 2.5%		
Yemen	29,826	Shia 59% (Predominantly Zaydi) Sunni 39.3% Other 1.7%	1984 (as South Yemen) without reservations[13]	

Notes

1 Reservations revised 2016: "The Kingdom of Bahrain is committed to implement the provisions of Articles 2, 15 paragraph 4 and 16 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women without breaching the provisions of the Islamic Shariah/".
2 Reservations remain inc. "on provisions which are in conflict with the principles of Islamic sharia"; reservations to articles 2 and 16; Withdrew reservation to article 9 (2).
3 Reservations to articles 9 (2) and 16 (1) (c), (d), and (g). Current reservations concern article 9§2 which relates to the rights of women to convey her nationality to a foreign husband and children; and articles 16§(c), (d), and (g) relating to a woman's rights after divorce, custody, and guardianship of children, and a women's right to choose a family name, profession, or occupation. Jordan has withdrawn its previous reservation to article 15§4 on freedom of movement and a wife's freedom to choose her own domicile.
4 Reservations to articles 9 (2) and 16 (1) (f) reservation on women's enfranchisement withdrawn in 2005.
5 Reservations to Article 9 (2) on granting women equal rights with men with respect to the nationality of their children. And Article 16 (1) (c), (d), (f), and (g) regarding equality in marriage and family relations.
6 Reservations to articles 2, 15 (4), and 29. Reservations to articles 9 (2) and 16 withdrawn in 2011.
7 Reservations include "all provisions of the Convention not in accordance with the provisions of the Islamic sharia and legislation in force in the Sultanate of Oman", and articles 9 (2) and 16 (1) (a), (c), and (f).
8 Reservations to articles 2 (a), 9 (2), 15 (1) and (4) and 16 (1) (a), (c) and (f)

9 General reservation, giving precedence to sharia in case of any conflict reservation to article 9 (2).
10 Reservations withdrawn to articles 2 and 15 (4) reservations remain to articles 9 (2), 16 (1) (c), (d), (f) and (g), 16 (2) and 29 (1).
11 Specific reservations withdrawn 2014; maintains a general declaration that the country "shall not take any organizational or legislative decision in conformity with the requirements of this Convention where such a decision would conflict with the provisions of Chapter I of the Tunisian Constitution."
12 Reservations to articles 2 (f), 9, 15 (2), 16 and 29 (1).
13 "Substantial parts of its legal system remains in contradiction to the Convention."

Note: Details correct to the best of the authors' knowledge as of June 4, 2021 (Algeria: June 19, 2021).

many Muslims, but especially Muslim women, are creating networks globally. The debate about the clashes of values between East and West, popularized by Samuel Huntington, again assumed ascendence as Islamic values were presented as underdeveloped and lacking in some way (Chapra 1994, Holt and Jawad 2013). This is significant when one considers the number of scholars examining sociocultural and geopolitical, or ethico-political, schemas when assessing social change (Bondi 1999). In the Middle East one cannot disconnect class and politics; rather, there is a subject identity reflected by religio-politics (see Esposito 2005: 159). Islam is believed to be integral to politics, law, education, social life, and economy; but pluralism, a conscious effort to reinterpret relationships and the roles of women, and opening up multiple methodologies and strategies are central to creating agency (see Roy 2004, Esposito 2005, Ramadan 2009, Syed and Van Buren 2014, Syed and Metcalfe 2015).

To appreciate and critique the nature and practice of organization, leadership, and entrepreneurship, it is necessary to look at the world through an Islamic lens. There is no secular. This is nicely phrased by Lewis: "The idea that any group of persons, any kind of activities, any part of human life, is in any sense outside the scope of religious law and jurisdiction is alien to Muslim thought" (Lewis 2002: 111, Ahmed 1992, Ali 2019, Holt and Jawad 2013). This perspective was reported in 2002, not long after the September 11 terrorist attacks in the U.S.A., and this belief is still strongly held among Arab states. The Arab uprisings and ongoing protests attest to this collective subjectivity (El Azhary Sonbol 2016).

This does not mean that that venturing could not be part of the Islamic worldview. Below behaviors are shown which provide an insight of Islamic entrepreneurship (Ali Asraf 2019).

Entrepreneur as	*Steward*
Exemplars	Prophet Mohammad
Source of wisdom for entrepreneur	Qu'ran and Hadith
Motivation for entrepreneurship	Submission to God's will
Primary quality of entrepreneur	Concern for community

Kayed and Hassan (in Ali, 2019) have claimed Islam is an "entrepreneurial religion" and this is now a growing research field given the growth of ethical and social justice aspects of Islamic products and marketing. Further, Hassan and Kible (in Ali 2019) argue that Western views of entrepreneurship see it as an individual with the aim of maximizing economic agents where there will be a financial reward for individuals. In this framework even though the entrepreneur benefits others and has social impacts on various groups of society, this mindset is not one that leads entrepreneurship in moral economies (Abdullah

2017). And, as we will show throughout the text, Islamic identity is not *one*, it is *everyone*. Religion and entrepreneurship are both dynamic concepts. Islamic scholars contextualize understanding of Islam through reason (*aql*) and transmission (*naql*) (Ramadan 2009). In addition to Islam as a key entrepreneurial influence, recent scholarship has highlighted how female entrepreneurs are influenced by their faith, religio-cultural practices, and Islamic feminism(s) (Tlaiss and McAdam 2020). This is an important area for advancing Islamic Feminisms as it nurtures collective subjectivities and is critical to transnational feminist networking (Moghadam 2021). This builds on 25 years of heritage of the UN women's movements that has nurtured collective knowledge, with women acquiring tools for mobilization and building venturing opportunities (UN Women 2018, UN Women 2020b).

Women, Political Economy, and Development in the New Middle East

A useful way to map the progress of women's development is the Global Fender Gap Report by the World Economic Forum (WEF) (see Table 1.2). The measures reported began in 2006 and included 124 countries, and it has now become a widely respected source. In 2021, there are data for 155 countries: the report measures women's empowerment in four key areas: Economic, Educational, Political, and Health measures. For most of the 15 years of the report, the World Economic Forum figures have been calculated, and there has been terribly slow progress. Every single Arab state has reported a worse empowerment measure than in 2006. The Arab states

Table 1.2 Gender rankings of MENA countries

Country	***Rank 2006*** *Overall*	***Rank 2021*** *Overall*	***Economic***	***Education***	***health***	***political***
Tunisia	**90**	**126**	144	108	91	69
Egypt	**109**	**129**	146	105	102	88
Jordan	**93**	**131**	133	98	145	144
Lebanon	**n/a**	**132**	139	113	112	112
Algeria	**97**	**136**	142	111	144	100
Bahrain	**102**	**137**	111	134	90	143
Qatar	**n/a**	**142**	136	148	151	86
Kuwait	**86**	**143**	137	59	94	153
Morocco	**107**	**144**	148	116	139	113
Oman	**n/a**	**145**	143	98	138	150
Saudi Arabia	**114**	**147**	149	97	123	134
Iraq	**n/a**	**154**	155	145	109	155
Yemen	**115**	**155**	154	154	152	154

Source: Global Gender Gap Report 2021.

have largely remained in the lower quartile. There have been significant improvements in education, especially for the Guld Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, Egypt, and Morocco, and these are within the best 100 for the first time this year, and the direction of movement, at least, is highly commendable. The reason for their still low ranking is the weight attached to economic opportunity and access to work. The highest score for the Arab states in economic empowerment is the UAE, placed 135 out of 155 countries. The rest, as one can see, are lower placed. Women's opportunities to work and to venture have been seriously undermined in the periods of the millennium development goals and SDGs, that is, 2000–2021, and, in the Arab states, the proportion of working women has remained continuously low at approximately 10–15% due to a wide range of restrictions and constraints on paid work (Moghadam 2018).

However, a complex empowerment strategy has evolved, culminating in 2021: that is, that many Arab governments have introduced quotas for women in parliament. These include Algeria[2], Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Morocco, and Jordan (see Table 1.1). This has happened in more conservative authoritarian states, such as Saudi Arabia, as well as in more democratic ones, like Tunisia. The introduction of the quotas has had a significant implication for the UAE, which rose from a 120th overall rank for empowerment to an overall 72nd, which is quite phenomenal. This runs counter to the way in which women's rights are typically attained, as it is usually protest and revolution at the grassroots level that leads to change. One way to interpret this is that the governments are listening to women and have responded to them. The approach taken here could be seen as a "state feminist" approach that, in essence, is government controlled.

SDGs and Politicized Development

We turn now to the still current SDGs. The results for the Arab region were poor and highlighted the need to improve human well-being. The theme of women's empowerment has been a constant element of the Arab states' economic and social development strategies following Millennium Development Goal failures. The formation of the SDG 2030 project enhanced even further an array of equality agendas, with SDG 5 dedicated to empowering women and eradicating inequalities. This is not the only goal that covers gender and other identities. Gender themes are also central to Poverty, Goal 1; Well-being and Zero Hunger, 2; Quality Education, 4; Decent work, 8; Reducing Inequalities, 10; Peace and Justice 16; and Partnerships for goals, 17.

Overall, however, the bedrock of the SDGs is premised on education and equality (Naples and Desai 2002, Chaudry 2016). However, while in this text we aim to make Global South voices visible and heard (World Bank 2012, Syed and Van Buren 2014, UN Women 2018), development

scholars are without any doubt that the management of gender equality discourses has, since the launch of the 2015 SDGs, been appropriated by neoliberal actors, with the aim of carrying on with labor and capital accumulation). Mohanty (2003) stipulates that women need to acquire agency through transnational feminisms that help women to understand their social position, and this is a precursor to the creation of feminist solidarities across multiple scalar locales, including computer platforms.

Scholars of the Middle East have begun to question and challenge Global North assumptions about the disempowering impacts of Islamic Shari'a and governance (Esposito 2005, Ramadan 2009, Metcalfe 2020). Simply put, referring to the constraints of Islam on women's subjectivity and agency greatly misunderstands religious identity, of both men and women, and the way in which public administration and private sector institutions are organized in very different ways to Western regions (Syed and Van Buren 2014, Syed and Metcalfe 2015, Chaudry 2016, Ali 2019, Samier and El-Kaleh 2019).[3] Notwithstanding long-term aims to encourage entrepreneurship and economic upgrading in the MDGs (2000–2015; Cornwall and Edwards 2014), the vocabulary of the SDGs is now far more prominent in global international philosophy; and discourse on equality and empowerment is part of business philosophy more generally (Chaudry 2016, Abdullah 2017, UN Women 2018, 2020b). For example, there has been a long heritage of women's organizations attaining support for skills upgrading for female entrepreneurship, and this has been central to UN Women's human development skills upgrading programs for the last twenty years (Metcalfe and Rees 2010, Metcalfe 2020, UN Women 2020a). Moreover, so-called scholar activists (Moghadam 2021) have begun to highlight the importance of space in relation to mobility.

This aspect is nicely summarized by Fatima Mernissi when she argues that women desire "'the mosque and the satellite', *at the same time*." This reflects the region's openness to internationalization, which interpreted modernization as 'equating Islamic economics and feminist geopolitics as vibrant and growing' (Metcalfe and Murfin 2011: 7). This leads us to review briefly Islamic Feminism and the implications for entrepreneurship development.

Islamic Feminism

Islamic feminism explicates the idea of gender equality as part and parcel of the Qur'anic notion of equality of all *insan* (human beings) and calls for the implementation of gender equality in the state, civil institutions, and everyday life. It rejects the notion of a public/private dichotomy (by the way, absent in early Islamic jurisprudence or *fiqh*), conceptualizing a holistic *umma* in which Qur'anic ideals are operative in all spaces. This counters those who argue Islam supports patriarchy and control over

women. This ignores the ways behaviors and social practices are historically constituted. Mernissi (1991) argued that patriarchal thought, institutions, and behaviors largely remained resistant over time to the revolutionary Qur'anic notion of gender equality to the extent that the equation of "patriarchy and Islam" became axiomatic. Debates within Islam demonstrate that "[m]ultiple, contested, and coexisting meanings of Islam are integral to the struggle for justice in Islamic reform today" (Wadud 2006:5).

The contested meaning of Islam has also sought to question the global political economy and the power relations between the Global North and Global South. This positioning of the space and place of the Middle East has now been reconfigured by scholars who argue that a disconnection from the west is necessary to know oneself (McLaren, 2017, Runyan 2018, Metcalfe 2020). To understand a state and its peoples, one needs to appreciate their history, experiences, and struggles and articulate a position, but not in relation to post-colonial frames, which leads to mirroring a colonizing approach (Mignolo and Walsh 2018). Rather, to challenge the coloniality of power, you decolonize and speak the voice and truth from a state's authenticity (McLaren 2017). These areas of decoloniality are woven into this text, intentionally, as this theoretical standpoint is now at the forefront of tackling development's localized meaning and creating international development policies that are relevant for states' needs and conditions. This is important for female venturing. Global development plans are coordinated by governing institutions that are guided by state policies and priorities. In response, there is a formation and a blossoming of resistive feminism that can undo colonial power and bring back the essence of what "Arab" is all about: this is explored further in Chapter 9, this volume.

Having recognized the value of the dialogue among Muslims searching for common ground by re-examining what Islam means in more inclusive ways, the case of Muslim women, oftentimes labeled "scholarship-activism," is instructive as an access point for understanding Islamic civilization. This approach has been part of Arab feminist histories in the Middle East. A well-known example is Qasim Amin in Egypt: in 1899 she wrote *The Liberation of Women: The New Woman*, which challenged contemporary positions on the status of women in society, their lives, and desires. It is important to acknowledge this history as much scholarship places women in the sphere of a Western hegemonic discourse and sees "Islamic" gender politics as one of the main differences between the West and Islam. Oppressed, secluded, and veiled Muslim women became the focal point of representational discourses on the Middle East, which has fueled racism and Islamophobia (Runyan 2018, McClaren 2017).

Our concern with this lens is that it privileges western views of sexual liberation and equality. These claims will be challenged in various chapters, given the advances women have made in politics and education in particular. Support for entrepreneurial policy is depicted in the

debates in Chapter 4 by Haya Al Dajani on women in the Shura Council in Saudi Arabia; women in the Shura also feature in the Qatar Chapter 8. Our arguments will show that it is not enough to talk about post-colonial periods but to undo the Orientalizing sensibilities formulated in a "post" colonial state and articulate a decolonial sense of agency. A decolonial stance provides the framing for outlining a contemporary dynamic shaping entrepreneurial fields.

While intersectional approaches have yielded new insights into identity and subject positions which bear multiple differences, including gender and race/ethnicity, very few studies attend to nationality, religion, disability, or political status. Looking anew at decolonial practices, it is necessary not just to compare identities over cross-cultural terrain and landscapes, but also to look at the varied political systems that arise from the socio-historical circumstances, and how the racial, religious, and national are intertwined. Taking up decoloniality means a willingness to query the colonial logics that have previously framed the assumptions through which disempowering ideologies have dominated many scholarships on women in the Middle East (Mohanty 2003, McLaren 2017).

The Model

While we have argued that Islamization is central to renewal, as contemporary Islamic leaders are advancing further the role of entrepreneurship in building socio-ethical reform, that will also bear bounties for the community and nation it is important to show how this is being developed as a national strategy. Entrepreneurship from an Islamic perspective (EIP) highlights how business obligations and societal welfare intersect in Islam (Cornwall and Edwards 2014). This has led to the formation of religious-based products such as financial services and food manufacturing. Similar to other public service goals covered by Chapra (1994), in framing Islamic economics, entrepreneurship policy needs to incorporate *maslaha* (social good/public welfare). This builds on the traits of Islamic leadership, which include "piety, humility, social responsibility, self-development and mutual consultation" (Metcalfe 2020). This view brings together the importance of the governance and welfare of the economy, and an individual commitment to self-advancement and acquisition of new knowledge of ethical venturing. This is often referred to as *jihad*, an intellectual struggle to strive, to seek knowledge, and to become.

In our model, we map out the various actors involved in entrepreneurship development, the scales in which they operate (Global, State, Local), and the human development outcomes that are anticipated for the mutual advancement for all in an Islamic economy (Chapra 1994, Ramadan 2009). Imagine this model as part of the *Digital Islamic Galaxy* (Mernissi), where there are many more actors who are

interacting in multi-scalar ways than before, including in economic and social ways. The center of the model highlights the *individual*, the *organization,* the *community*, and *the state*. This is a range of identities a man woman can manage, as they exist continuously.

This ignores the multi-level processes and relationships between various partners at the global level. Thus, the transnationalism insights evident in Castells social theorizing (2000, 2017) forge a global communication imaginary of nodes, networks, patterns, and flows that constitute and reconstitute *multiple actors'* "movements" in dynamic spaces, rather than just singling out individual actors. Transnationalism also captures the multiplicities of movement and resistance. This approach enables understanding of the contextualization of entrepreneurship, and how embedded features may be changed or undone in response to everyday challenges.

The essence of the transnational location includes the Digital Islamic Galaxy and many other actors. If we tried to understand this through an Islamic lens, we would stress a religio-ethical stance and divine trusteeship (*amana*), which constitutes human beings as religious moral agents, and not merely striving for material wealth. Abiding by tawhid (oneness of God) and as corporate *khilifa* (vicegerents) on earth proffers a concept of ethical decision-making benefiting both individual selves and communities. This reflects the commentary before about Islamic entrepreneurship.

The model includes a multitude of actors, who act in multi-scalar ways, and with multi-level actors. These are described below.

Macro Actors: These include international organizations such as the UN, World Bank, ILO, WEF, and UN Women. These actors work with a range of partners in specialized fields of development finance, industrial restructuring, and social development. In the context of entrepreneurship, all of these bodies have assisted governments and regional agencies, such as the GCC and Arab League, in helping draft human development planning to upgrade venturing education. The first UN Human Development Report was published in 1990, when it was realized that economic development needed a range of HRD and management specialists. In the 1990 edition, entrepreneurship was also highlighted as a way of enhancing development solutions. Importantly, however, the World Bank and other global institutions are reviewing global governance and strategy. The Washington Consensus and the insistence on neoliberalism and market-based economies is now radically changing due to two main factors. First, human inequality has heightened in every country globally. Second, climate change and sustainability areas need to be tackled to help slow down the impact human beings have had on the environment. UN Women, the ILO, and the UN have provided consistency and guidance to regional representatives, governments, and localized actors such as NGOs, who have ventured into environmentalism.

State Actors cover all those units under the purview of the public administration of the state leadership and include specialized units for policy advice and strategy. Most states have signed conventions relating to Health and Safety, and CEDAW, although many Muslim majority countries have highlighted restrictions where codes any contravene Islamic law.[1] Conditions for work are very mixed and many countries do not follow the guidelines established by international codes. For example, very few regional countries have legalized codes for a minimum wage or follow ILO guidelines. The Ministries of HRD and Education are important, indeed, so is any that works on skills upgrading. All Middle East states have devised policies that align to 2030 and women's empowerment development is a particular key aim in all Arab states. Liaison with women is usually via education and HRD and industry. A matter for further debate is what is meant by empowerment. While the WEF provides a baseline since 2006, the one indicator that has remained low is work opportunities or access to paid work.

Local Actors are women's organizations and policy groups that work to promote women's development and empowerment, including, *inter alia*: women and household management; leadership and business training, and business planning; water and environment; and education. They include international NGOs that have a regional office, such as Action Aid and OXFAM, and operate across many developing states. Local actors also include a range of agents that are dedicated bodies working under the jurisdiction of the Prime Minister or a royal head of state but do not have a role in official governance channels. This includes the cases of Saudi Arabia, Oman, the UAE, and Bahrain. This section also includes a range of NGOs and professional associations backed by governments but that have a social role. For example, *The Bahrain Society for Training and Development*, the *General Women's Union* in the UAE, and *Al Nadah* in Saudi Arabia. The status of women's organizations will be explored more fully in Chapter 9 when we examine how women's organizations support entrepreneurship development.[4] Human rights organizations' work is varied across the MENA region as they have often accessed countries for a time and then had to leave. For human rights groups, that is very difficult to manage. Nevertheless, humanitarian groups have contributed to policy issues on decent rights, women's protection, and provisions for women while at work. Evidence suggests that any microfinance support has a positive impact on poverty reduction.

The local sector also includes private institutions who many ventures will do business with. In addition, local linkages between education centers and professional bodies are vital to acquire the latest knowledge and qualification. All of these actors intersect in dynamic ways across different scales.

Human Development Outcomes in Diagram 1.1

We have chosen here to show how entrepreneurial development, as part of the SDG30 goals for human upgrading, are features that most Arab states argue are part of their community and economic development. The interactions among the actors help to build learning and development for the befit of oneself, the family, and the community. They help to form strong relationships. Entrepreneurial growth is promoted as an inclusive development policy guided by humanistic values which aim to eradicate poverty and inequality. All human beings regardless of race, class, or gender can have access to economic and social resources in order to support holistic well-being and development.

Capacity building in an Arab state is the responsibility of the Leader; he or she is the shepherd of the flock and is a vicegerent responsible on earth for building sustainable livelihoods and including families in this growing and learning process. Through developing entrepreneurship, they have a responsibility to support innovation and knowledge management, which can be trasnformational. This nurtures the capacity of all social actors involved in doing entrepreneurship. This model highlights the complexities of entrepreneurship development, and the multilayered and multi-actor dynamics of potential contributors to entrepreneurship planning. A spatial lens together with a concern to unveil Global South voices provide important arenas for future debates (UN Women 2018, Marlow 2020). Importantly, the key aspect of entrepreneurship development is the collectivist orientation of Islamic governance. As the most recent Arab Human Development Report argued, we aim for inclusive citizenship and to leave no-one behind (Figure 1.1).

The outcomes stress the importance of economic growth that values sustainability, and human well being for all, the importance of building knowledge capacities for all citizens, and womens role and marginalized grouwps as agents in the development process. These highlights of the scholarship in this text are concerned with understanding the ethico and religio-cultural contextualities of the Arab Middle East, and appreciating entrepreneurial education planning, exemplified through successful case examples (Al-Sharmani 2014, Badran 2009, Ali 2019).[5]

The text is organized along contemporary themes. The initial chapters highlight the importance of the Islamic Economic Development Model. The chapters illustrate contemporary practices and highlight the fluidity of venturing itself in multiple Arab states. The contemporary challenges section provides insights into the multiple actors involved in sharpening entrepreneurship, with a strong focus on education. We probe the vision and power of women's organizations that have transformed lives for many women, men, and families. One chapter addresses learning across the cultures of Saudi Arabia and Palestine, no small feat. It is important to realize that, despite many economic struggles, in a country such as

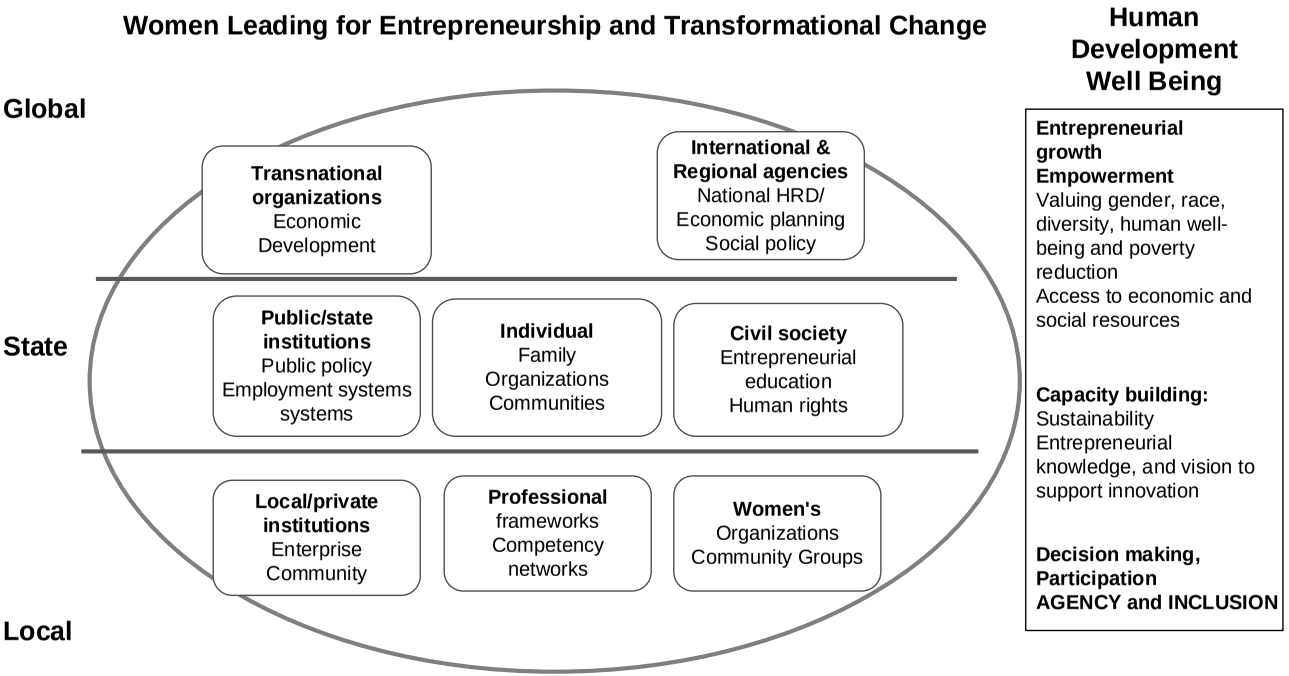

Figure 1.1 Women leading for entrepreneurship and transformational change.

Palestine, armed conflict has to be managed every day, and women's organizations are assisting here too.

An important aspect of women's education for entrepreneurship is shown by Sanier and Ekan. Moving against decolonial education frames this chapter highlights how much education reform is needed, not just in schools, but in universities, too. We are seeing an end to the mantra that "west is best" and are co-creating, with many actors, development strategies relevant for the Arab lands.

Several chapters also illustrate contemporary challenges such as COVID-19 and how this is impacting venturing in, for example, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The COVID pandemic is a global disaster and all need to collaborate to support human well-being.

COVID-19 has further impacted the daily lives of women in multiple ways across the region (UN Women 2020a). The complexity of governance regimes illustrates venturing as being concerned with the social and cultural maintenance of Arab legacy, and in forming economic development premised on Islamic logics (Abdullah 2017). These ideas are then brought together in the conclusions sections to advance contemporary understandings of entrepreneurial feminist agency in MENA, aligned principally with Islamic and decolonial feminisms that remain virtually unexplored (Holt and Jawad 2013, Moghadam 2018, Tlaiss and Mcadam 2020). In essence, Islamic feminism is being embraced by women as a way of using religion for their own self-development; in fact, self-development is part of a core *hadith* (named *Jihad*, denoting intellectual struggle within oneself; Ali 2019, Saleem 2010). Put simply, women's entrepreneurship in MENA can be conceived as a decolonial ethic and practice.

In the contemporary global economy, and taking on board the mantra of inclusivity within the Islamic tradition, we want to inject Arab ethics into our deliberations and connect ideas and logics that bring out the everyday practices of organizing and doing entrepreneurship in the Middle East.

A Conclusion?

We want to acknowledge that explorations of female accounts of ventures represent a lost literature by women themselves (for example, Omin). Writing in 1900, Omin provided insights into women's protests and their contribution to tackle women's rights before the western world had done so.

This aspect is nicely summarized by Fatima Mernissi when she argues that women desire "'*the mosque and the satellite' at the same time*." This reflects the region's openness to internationalization, which negates modernization as equating to westernization. Feminist resistance and geopolitical agendas are vibrant and growing. Womens development in

the Middle East, especially entrepreneurial growth will evolve, and be strategically governed by women and womens orgaizations at local levels, through multiple and myriad Islamic Feminism(s).

To illustrate the collective and connected activist ethic of Islamic identities Mernissi argues:

> It is time to define what I mean when I say "we Muslims".
>
> The expression does not refer to Islam in terms of an individual choice, a personal option. I define being a Muslim as belonging to a theocratic state…Being Muslim is a civil matter, a national identity, a passport, a family code of laws, a code of public rights. (1991: 20–21).

Notes

1 Arab states have made numerous reservations with regard to CEDAW, which in general simply state that if the code undermines Islamic law, then that component will not be adhered to.
2 While writing this text Algeria eliminated quotas for women that had been established in 2012.
3 This is significant, as World Bank Economic Planning had historically not incorporated women's development. In 2012, their annual report was devoted to women's advance. This set the stage for the continued focus on inequalities which is now central to economic planning globally we are addressing today. Indeed, the World Bank ethos is now more human oriented, and aligns in many areas of UN Women.
4 Many of the ME states outlaw the free organization of institutions, even political bodies. The policies vary, but many women's organizations are supported by the state, and to function have to be registered as an Islamic organization. For many women this is not an issue but for overseas agents like Human Rights Watch are banned from many Middle East States.
5 It is important to realize that like feminism, Islamic feminisms are multiple, fluid and contested, and continually debated.

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