Women's Empowerment through Entrepreneurship: An Examination of Theory and Practice

Mary Johnstone-Louis

DPhil Candidate, Management Research

Saïd Business School, University of Oxford

Green Templeton College

Word count: 98,503

Abstract

Corporate-led programs aimed at increasing women's entrepreneurship are rapidly proliferating across many industries. The gendered nature of this phenomenon suggests that feminist approaches may bring much to bear on analysis of management theory and practice. In particular, I argue that insights from feminist economics regarding the historically prevalent – but narrow and gendered – definition of work, which artificially separates production from reproduction, provide fruitful tools for theory building and analysis of practice. Through a systematic literature review of the entrepreneurship literature, I demonstrate that the gendered separation of production and reproduction is typically *taken as given* in mainstream management theory. Findings from two organizational cases, both featuring industry-embedded approaches to women's empowerment, support the conclusion that unpaid/care work and market work are typically framed as forms of activity that are *gendered*, *dichotomous*, and existing in ontological *conflict* with one another in management practice. I present a conceptual framework of what is to be gained by examining management theory and practice in this light, and suggest how scholars and practitioners might use this framework for future work and research.

Acknowledgments

As with any worthwhile undertaking, this thesis was never a solo endeavor. The thanks due are inevitably too numerous to mention, but sincerely felt.

I would like to thank my husband and family for their enormous support towards the completion of this thesis. Particularly to my husband, thanks on these pages cannot be enough. Special thanks go to Abeni's Nana, Grandpop, Oma, and Opa. Sincere thanks also go to my supervisors, Linda Scott and Alex Nicholls, with particular gratitude for their attention to reading the thesis in its final stages. Thank you to Sue Dopson for her supervisory role. I am grateful to Catherine Dolan, Pegram Harrison, Lynn Martin, and Marc Ventresca for their encouragement and support.

Innumerable thanks are due to Erin Hespe Cudworth, a tireless editor and friend. Thank you to Phyllis Johnson of the International Women's Coffee Alliance (IWCA) and Elizabeth Vazquez of WEConnect International for sharing your worlds with me. Heartfelt thanks are also due to my dear friend Todd Jarvis for making it possible for me to cross the world on so many occasions.

I would also like to thank the Economic and Social Research Council for their support during my doctorate, including while on maternity leave with Abeni Amalia. Daniel Meacoe at the University of Oxford's Social Sciences Division has my particular gratitude on this point. Thank you to the Skoll Centre for Social Entrepreneurship for awarding me a Competitive Research Grant to fund my field work – this support has been essential. Thank you also to my University of Oxford college, Green Templeton, for their support, financial and otherwise.

Dominus illuminatio mea.

List of Tables and Figures

Table 3.1 United States Department of State ICWBL and Access to Markets Subcommittee Membership……..86

Table 3.2 Participant Observation at Key Events…….....87

Table 3.3 IWCA Interviewee List…….....89

Table 3.4 WEConnect Interviewee List……...91

Table 3.5 Data Analysis: NVivo Codes……...96

Table 4.1 Selection of Journals for Literature Review…….....104

Table 4.2 Review of Unpaid/Care Work in Entrepreneurship Literature (Stage 1)...106

Table 4.3 Review of Unpaid/Care Work in Entrepreneurship Literature (Stage 2)...109

Table 5.1 IWCA Country Chapters……139

Table 5.2 Who Owns the Coffee?.....142

Table 5.3 IWCA Data: Words Used to Describe Unpaid/Care Work……172

Table 7.1 Interface between Production and Reproduction across Three Cases…...274

Figure 7.1 4R Framework for Analysis of Unpaid/Care Work…….297

Figure 7.2 Production and Reproduction: Analyzing Process Dimensions……...298

Glossary of Key Terms

CGI – Clinton Global Initiative
CQI – Coffee Quality Institute
UN HLP – United Nations Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment
IADB – Inter-American Development Bank
IAFFE – International Association for Feminist Economics
ICWBL – U.S. Department of State International Council for Women's Business Leadership
IFC – International Finance Corporation, World Bank Group
ITC – International Trade Center (subsidiary of the World Trade Organization and the United Nations)
IWCA – International Women's Coffee Alliance
S/GWI – U.S. Department of State Office of Global Women's Issues
State Department/State – U.S. Department of State
UN – United Nations
WEConnect – WEConnect International

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction……..8
1.1 Research Motivation……...8
1.2 Central Concepts and Research Rationale……17
1.3 Research Approach……...19
1.4 Contributions of the Thesis……...22

Chapter 2: Theory Development: Feminist Economics
2.1 Introduction……...26
2.2 Production vs. Reproduction, Embedded Markets, Separate Spheres…….31
2.2.1 Labor……32
2.2.2 Institutions……...36
2.3 What Counts as Work/Whose Work Counts?.....40
2.3.1 Historical Perspectives…….42
2.3.2 The Economics of Care……48
2.4 Conclusions…….. 53

Chapter 3: Methodology
3.1 Overview……...59
3.2 Research Approach……...60
3.3 Research Problem……64
3.4 Research Design……...64
3.4.1 Case Study Approach……65
3.4.2 Case Selection……...67
3.4.3 Considerations in the Research Design……68
3.5 Fieldwork and Data Collection……70
3.5.1 Research Access and Data Collection……..71
3.5.2 Case 2: International Women's Coffee Alliance (IWCA)……....73
3.5.3 Case 3: WEConnect……..75
3.5.4 Interview Data……...79
3.6 Data Analysis……80
3.6.1 Analytical Procedure……80
3.6.2 Limitations……82
3.6.3 Ethical Issues……83

Chapter 4: Case 1: Unpaid/Care Work in Entrepreneurship Literature
4.1 Framing the Systematic Literature Review (SLR)……...98
4.1.1 Systematic Literature Review: Journal Selection……...102
4.1.2 Systematic Literature Review: Stage 1……...105
4.1.3 Systematic Literature Review: Stage 2……...108
4.1.4 Systematic Literature Review: Analysis……110
4.2 Systematic Literature Review: Findings……111
4.2.1 What is the interface between unpaid/care and entrepreneurial work?.....114
4.2.2 Dichotomous……...115
4.2.3 In Conflict……...117
4.2.4 Production vs. Reproduction……..121
4.2.5 Exceptions: 'Family Embeddedness' and Other Perspectives……...128
4.2.6 Gendered Work Spheres……134

Chapter 5: Case 2: International Women's Coffee Alliance (IWCA)
5.1 Organizational Background……136
5.2 Findings from Empirical Data……145
5.2.1 Gendered Work Spheres……146
5.2.2 Unpaid/Care Work Influencing Women's Pursuit of Market Work……...161
5.2.3 Unpaid/Care Work as Invisible/Unspoken……165
5.2.4 Unpaid/Care Work as Dichotomous to Market Work……171
5.2.5 Unpaid/Care Work in Conflict with Market Work……175
5.3 Discussion……...184
5.4 Conclusions……193

Chapter 6: Case 3: WEConnect International
6.1 Organizational Background……197
6.2 Findings from Empirical Data……206
6.2.1 Reproduction and Production as Dichotomous……..208
6.2.2 Unpaid/Care Work Influencing Market Work……212
6.2.3 Unpaid/Care Work in Conflict with Market Work…. ……...217
6.2.4 Gendered Work Spheres……225
6.2.5 Women in Supply Chains……...233
6.2.6 Instrumental Argument for Women's Empowerment……238
6.2.7 'Work' Means Economic Growth……..246
6.3 Discussion……...253
6.4 Conclusions……269

Chapter 7: Case Analysis and Implications for Research
7.1 Discussion of Comparative Findings……..273
7.1.1 Work as Gendered……..274
7.1.2 Reproductive Work as Dichotomous to Market Work……...279
7.1.3 Reproductive and Productive Work as Existing in Conflict……...281
7.1.4 Unpaid/Care as Invisible Influence on Market Work……285
7.1.5 Market Norms and the Invisibility of Unpaid/Care Work……..288
7.2 Conceptual Model and Implications for Theory and Practice……294

Chapter 8: Conclusion
8.1 Contributions……..312
8.2 Limitations……..314
8.3 Directions for Future Research……...316

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Motivation

Business is increasingly called upon – and electing to proactively engage with – a growing set of social and development issues more conventionally perceived to be the remit of public or third sector actors. Rapidly proliferating partnerships between corporations and governments or non-governmental organizations (NGOs), initiatives by industry actors on topics ranging from human rights to environmental protection, and the growth of organizations seeking to achieve social or environmental impact through market-based or business-influenced approaches progressively confound easy distinctions between "business" and "social" or "development" issues. This context presents scholars and practitioners with challenging new questions regarding how new agendas are shaped, how partnerships are formed and implemented, and how emergent actors diagnose and build strategy around problems previously outside the scope of their immediate experience (Battilana, Lee, Walker, & Dorsey 2012; Battilana, Dorado 2010; Blowfield 2005; Bruton 2010; Jamali & Keshishian 2009; Humphrey 2012; Nicholls 2010; Nicholls 2009; Hwang & Powell 2009; Savedoff 2012; Yeganeh 2013). For management and organizational scholars, analysis of the evolving relationship between business and society introduces the need to develop new theoretical frameworks and/or engage in critical re-examination of existing frameworks within their field. Through examination of the case of industry-embedded approaches to advance women's empowerment, particularly through entrepreneurship, this thesis aims to accomplish the latter.

Women's empowerment through entrepreneurship represents a strategy in pursuit of ostensibly complementary business and social goals that, in recent years, has been embraced by a substantial and rapidly growing number of the world's most

prominent industry and policy actors. Indeed, one of the more frequent areas of overlapping concern between business and policy or third sector organizations is, of late, the economic activity of women across the globe.[1] Industry support for women's entrepreneurship spans a remarkable range of industries and takes multiple forms. One of the world's largest investment banks, Goldman Sachs, supports 10,000 Women, an initiative that aims to "[foster] economic growth by providing [ten thousand] women entrepreneurs around the world with a business and management education, mentoring and networking, and access to capital".[2] Launched in 2008, this program has been active in over 40 countries and, from 2014, partnered with the World Bank's International Finance Corporation to raise capital to support "100,000 underserved women entrepreneurs globally".[3] The world's largest beverage firm, The Coca-Cola Company, leads 5by20, which seeks to "enable the economic empowerment of 5 million women entrepreneurs across the company's value chain by the year 2020".[4] Launched in 2010, 5by20 has worked with women entrepreneurs in 40 countries from the corporate position statement that "we [Coca-Cola] believe… women are a powerful global economic force – but one that is consistently undervalued".[5] 2011 saw the launch of the ongoing Global Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative by Walmart, the world's largest retailer. The stated aim of Walmart's set of programs is to "empower women worldwide" by providing "hard-

[1] Examples are not limited to corporate initiatives in support of women's entrepreneurship, but also proliferate in a variety of areas including microfinance, women's philanthropy, and increased interest in women's formal banking by key financial institutions.

[2] Goldman Sachs: http://www.goldmansachs.com/citizenship/10000women , accessed 20 October 2014.
[2] Goldman Sachs: http://www.goldmansachs.com/citizenship/10000women , accessed 20 October 2014.

[3] Ibid

[4] The Coca-Cola Company: http://www.coca-colacompany.com/sustainabilityreport/we/womens-economic-empowerment.html, accessed 20 October 2014.

[5] The Coca-Cola Company: http://www.coca-cola.co.uk/community/5-by-20.html, accessed 20 October 2014.

working women [entrepreneurs]… opportunities to improve their own lives and… the lives of their families and communities".[6]

These initiatives are significant in scope and potential impact. Each was launched by its firm's Chief Executive Officer and has received important attention from policymakers and media. These three programs are but a handful of examples of multitudinous[7] recent corporate initiatives launched in a similar spirit; at least half of the 50 largest companies in the United States[8] and 40 of the largest in the world[9] support programs of this nature, and these numbers are rapidly increasing.

A complete analysis of the factors contributing to the rise of corporate interest in women's enterprise falls outside the scope of this thesis, but can be presented as stylized facts containing at least three key contributing influences. First, since at least the early 2000s, entrepreneurship in general has received increasing – though not uncontested – attention as a means of pursuing market-based approaches to development and social impact (Blowfield & Dolan 2014; Bruton 2010; Bruton, Ahlstrom & Obloj 2008; Calas, Smircich & Bourne 2009; Scott, Dolan, Johnstone-Louis, Sugden & Wu 2012; Webb, Kistruck, Ireland, & Ketchen 2010).

---

[6] Walmart: http://www.walmart.com/cp/About-Empowering-Women-Together/1102793, accessed 20 October 2014.

[7] Companies supporting programs to develop women's entrepreneurship include: AIG, Allianz, American Express, ANZ, AT&T, AXA Group, Banco Santander, Bank of America, BNP Paribas, Boeing, Cardinal Health, Chevron, Cisco Systems, Citigroup, The Coca-Cola Company, Daimler, Dow Chemical, ExxonMobil, FedEx, General Electric, Goldman Sachs Group, Google, Hewlett-Packard, IBM, Intel, Itau Unibanco, Johnson & Johnson, J.P. Morgan Chase, MetLife, Microsoft, Mondelez, National Australia Bank, Nestle, PepsiCo, Royal Bank of Canada, Siemens, TD Bank Group, Telefonica, Hewlett-Packard, UBS, Verizon, Vodafone, Walmart, Wells Fargo, and Westpac Banking Group, among others.

[8] Company size is according to the 2014 list of Fortune 500 companies. For complete list of companies and ranking methodology, see: http://fortune.com/fortune500/.

[9] Company size is according to the 2014 list of Forbes Global 2000 companies. For complete list of companies and ranking methodology, see: http://www.forbes.com/global2000/list/.

Second, the highly publicized experiences of microfinance, which famously – if not always intentionally – emphasized provision of financial instruments to women, combined with enthusiasm across the mid-2000s for "conditional cash transfers" to female heads of household to attract interest from policy organizations including the World Bank, the United Nations, and national governments. Research by these bodies began to suggest that women possess the ability to catalyze a "multiplier effect", i.e. that increases in women's income appear to have multiple positive secondary effects on children and communities (Elborgh-Woytek 2013; Mason & King 2001; United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2010; United Nations Development Program 2006; World Bank Group 2014). The World Bank famously supported a case for gender equality as "smart economics" (World Bank Group 2006) and continues to propose links between women's empowerment and "shared prosperity" (World Bank Group 2014). The outcome of these first two phenomena has been the creation of a politically influential case for women's advancement in the economic sphere.

Third, in the wake of slow or stagnant economic growth since 2008, corporations and policymakers have been in search of alternative strategies through which to recover economic dynamism. In the quest for elusive growth, numerous elite think tanks as well as financial services and consulting firms published reports setting out a "business case" for empowering women, often presenting women entrepreneurs as a source of untapped or inadequately-tapped financial returns (Buvinic, Furst-Nichols & Pryor 2013; Coleman 2010; Economist Intelligence Unit 2012; Koch, Lawson & Matsui 2014; McKinsey & Company 2010; Nikolic & Taliento 2010; Silverstein & Sayre 2009; World Economic Forum 2014). In industries ranging from banking to consumer goods, women are increasingly cast as

an unexploited source of customers, suppliers, and innovators. Female participation in the formal labor force is up across some industries and regions, yet women remain disproportionately likely to be unemployed, underemployed, or informally employed relative to men across the globe (Elborgh-Woytek 2013). Thus, due in no small part to their historical exclusion from formal markets and concurrent relative specialization in unpaid/care work (Kabeer 2016), women appear to represent a means through which business and social goals might be simultaneously and harmoniously pursued.

Efforts to promote the empowerment of women are many, varied, and by no means new. However, the rapid increase in emphasis on women's *economic* empowerment[10] by high profile corporations, governments, and NGOs is indeed novel (Miller, Arutyunova & Clark 2013). This thesis contends that this topic of women's economic empowerment, often pursued through advances in women's entrepreneurial work, represents a unifying platform around which private sector, third sector, and policy actors can engage with one another. In this way, entrepreneurship in particular – though not exclusively – has come to feature prominently on partnership agendas, not infrequently taking center stage as a strategy through which to pursue gender empowerment and economic opportunity for women. At the same time, due to multifaceted political, economic, and demographic factors, the number of women who consider themselves to be self-employed, entrepreneurs, and/or primary breadwinners for their household is increasing markedly in many economies across the globe (Roland Xavier, Kelley, Kew, Herrington & Vorderwulbecke 2013). This empirical shift has not gone unnoticed by scholars of entrepreneurship and, while the study of

[10] For the actors investigated in this thesis, the term "women's economic empowerment" is typically used to refer to an increase in women's ability to earn, manage, and control money and/or financial/capital assets.

women's entrepreneurship is still not a majority topic in mainstream entrepreneurship research, management researchers explore the theme with increasing interest.

In the management literature, the study of women entrepreneurs is known to bring certain tensions to light. For example, scholarship traditionally demonstrates that women's enterprises tend to perform – in general terms – less strongly relative to those owned by men in terms of growth rates, access to formal finance, hiring of employees, and other standard measures of entrepreneurial success (Boden & Nucci 2000; Brush, de Bruin & Welter 2009; Coleman & Robb 2009; Coleman 2000; Eddleston, Ladge, Mitteness & Balachandra 2016). Globally, research has tended to suggest that, overall, women's entrepreneurial ventures are conspicuously smaller, start with less capital, and are relatively less likely than men's to access high-value sectors (Coleman & Robb 2009; Brush, Carter, Gatewood, Greene & Hart 2004; Fairlie & Robb 2009; Gatewood, Carter, Brush, Greene & Hart 2003; Hisrich & Brush 1984; Kelley, Brush, Greene, Herrington, Ali & Kew 2015; Morris, Miyasaki, Watters & Coombes 2006). This apparent gap between the performance of men's and women's businesses, between the promise and potential of female enterprise and its reality, remains a source of interest for scholars and practitioners alike.

Researchers have explored many reasons for gendered differences in entrepreneurial performance. Suggested – and often hotly debated – hypotheses include the existence of limitations on women's self-confidence (Amatucci & Crawley 2011; Kirkwood 2009; Roper & Scott 2009; Venugopal 2016; Wilson, Kickul & Marlino 2007), entrepreneurial motivation (Crant 1996; Duberly & Carrigan 2012; Fairlie & Robb, 2009; Saridakis, Marlow & Storey 2014),

"appetite" for risk[11] or personal interest in profit (Brindley 2005; DeMartino, Barbato & Jacques 2006; Humbert & Brindley 2015; Maxfield, Shapiro, Gupta & Hass 2010), access to credit or industry knowledge (Coleman 2000, Coleman & Robb 2009; Demirguc-Kunt, Klapper, Singer & van Oudheusden 2014; Manolova, Carter, Manev & Gyoshev 2007; McGrath Cohoon, Wadhwa & Mitchell 2010; Wu & Chua 2012), or to networks (Aldrich, Ray Reese & Dubini 1989; Diaz Garcia & Carter 2009; Foss 2010; Jayawarna, Jones & Marlow 2015; Lerner, Brush & Hisrich 1997). Identification of each of these areas has resulted in the production of research streams, many of which are actively pursued. However, other scholars of women's entrepreneurship have eschewed perspectives privileging the suggestion that individual women "underperform" as entrepreneurs, seeking instead to identify how the theory and institutions associated with entrepreneurship might be gendered in ways that meaningfully disadvantage women (Ahl 2006; Baughn, Chua & Neupert 2006; Calas et al., 2009; Fischer, Reuber & Dyke 1993; Gupta, Goktan & Gunay 2014; Klyver, Nielsen & Evald 2013; McGowan, Redeker, Cooper & Greenan 2012).

For example, in a now highly cited article in entrepreneurship's leading journal, Bird and Brush (2002) argued for a "gendered perspective on organizational creation", drawing attention to ways in which women's entrepreneurial experiences might be inadequately captured by scholarship. In 2006, the same journal featured a call for a community of scholars dedicated to systematic theory building on women's enterprise, characterized by research

[11] Scholars from fields other than entrepreneurship have also made important contributions to the question of gender differences in e.g. risk aversion. See, for example, Julie A. Nelson's work in *Journal of Economic Surveys* ('Are women really more risk averse than men?: A re-analysis of the literature using expanded methods', Vol. 29, Issue 3, July 2015, pp. 556–585) and *Journal of Economic Methodology* ('The power of stereotyping and confirmation bias to overwhelm accurate assessment: The case of economics, gender and risk aversion', Vol. 21, Issue 3, 2014, pp. 211–231).

acknowledging the "heterogeneity of what constitutes women's entrepreneurship" (de Bruin, Brush & Welter 2006). Brush et al. (2009) have gone on to reiterate the need for critical reflection on established theories of entrepreneurship, calling for the use of gender as a means through which to make manifest and interrogate *de facto* assumptions of the field. Work by multiple authors (Ahl & Nelson 2015; Hughes, Jennings, Brush, Carter & Welter 2012; Welter 2011; Zahra 2007) has stressed the importance of the examination of context, including family and informal institutions, in explorations of entrepreneurial outcomes. For example, Vincent (2016) uses a Bourdieuian framework to demonstrate that the accumulation of crucial forms of capital contains a temporal aspect, i.e. that "[gendered] participation in the domestic field can affect self-employed careers negatively". Similarly, Jennings and McDougald (2007) argue for examination of potential gendered strategies for managing the "work-family interface" when exploring the growth of entrepreneurial firms. Henry, Foss, Fayolle, Walker, and Duffy (2015) caution that a failure to account for the "contextually embedded" nature of women's diverse experiences with entrepreneurship may perpetuate a "traditional… dated and inaccurate" view of women's alleged entrepreneurial underperformance.

Finally, Calas et al. (2009) advocate that scholars approach entrepreneurship not as primarily an economic activity with potential social impact, but rather as a "social change activity" open to a variety of potential outcomes. Various authors (Ahl, Berglund, Pettersson & Tillmar 2016; Al-Dajani, Carter, Shaw & Marlow 2015; Haugh & Talwar 2016) have initiated research compatible with this perspective, including Lewis (2014) who articulates an "urgent need to direct critical attention away from a dominant focus on masculinity and the exclusion of

women from… entrepreneurship", instead advocating for examination of *how* "plural femininities" become "included in the organizational sphere". In this work, Lewis advocates a need to reflect gender as a "situated social practice" characterized by multiple performative possibilities (Lewis, 2014).

Research findings from outside the management literature have nevertheless suggested that, globally, women entrepreneurs may face numerous contextual barriers not addressed by standard entrepreneurship promotion interventions such as training, networking, or provision of credit (Agarwal, Humphries & Robeyns 2005; Duflo 2012; Kabeer 2005; Kabeer, 2011; Nussbaum 2011; Sen 2004). These include gender-specific hurdles in the form of legal or customary regimes of asset ownership; the inability to enter into contracts without male support; gender-based violence; gaps vis-à-vis men in terms of literacy or numeracy; as well as other factors including healthcare access, time poverty, and the notable influence of additional systemic (not personality-based) factors on the development of entrepreneurial "aspirations" and readiness to accept certain types of risk (Elborgh-Woytek 2013; International Finance Corporation 2014; Koch et al. 2014; World Bank Group 2014). Each of these represents a topic of potential interest for theory and practice related to women's engagement with enterprise. To what extent, therefore – and with which caveats – can entrepreneurship-as-usual necessarily be understood as a means to advancing women's empowerment?

Before proceeding, some clarification of terms is in order. Entrepreneurship-related research accommodates a broad set of related literatures. In this thesis, I use the terms "entrepreneurship scholarship" and the "entrepreneurship literature" to refer to published work within the top academic journals of the field.[12] Importantly,

[12] Journals searched on the topic of entrepreneurship for this thesis include: *Journal of Business Venturing*, *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*,

the word "empowerment" is used in this thesis without adherence to any single definition of the term.[13]

1.2 Central Concepts and Research Rationale

The study of approaches to women's empowerment through entrepreneurship affords an opportunity to expand theory and better understand the practice of business engagement with conventionally "social" concerns including women's empowerment, as well as to examine the process of shared agenda setting between industry and non-industry actors. This thesis takes the position that scholarship and practice associated with women's entrepreneurship may tacitly or explicitly reflect important theoretical norms regarding the nature of productive work, a concept so basic to the study and practice of entrepreneurship that it is likely to pass unremarked. However, by drawing on insights from outside management research, this thesis notes that the definition of "work" is not static. Rather, it has undergone important shifts, notably (although not exclusively) since the consolidation of classical economics across the 18th and 19th centuries, a field that still holds significant sway in management theory and practice.

As Chapter 2 will discuss, a first shift – emerging quite early in classical economic thought – began to explicitly limit the definition of "work" to those

---

and *Journal of Small Business Management*. This journal list was compiled using input from the *Financial Times* rankings for business research, the Association of Business Schools (ABS) Academic Journal Quality Guide (Version 4), and the author's own knowledge of entrepreneurship publication venues. Each of the journals searched is known to publish high-quality academic research on entrepreneurship.

[13] While industry-embedded practitioners have tended to employ the term "empowerment" in the absence of a clear definition of the term, a robust field of scholarship including work by Sabina Alkire, Bina Agarwal, Naila Kabeer, Martha Nussbaum, and Amartya Sen investigates the concept of empowerment as it relates to gender. While engagement with this body of work falls outside the scope of this thesis, readers should be aware of this scholarship as a source of definitions and conceptual insights regarding empowerment. Notably, each of these scholars emphasizes a multi-dimensional (i.e. rather than strict binary) nature of empowerment. Empowerment can be conceived, thus, as the set of freedoms or "capabilities" individuals have to pursue what they value or have reason to value. Nussbaum has offered various lists of such capabilities, including e.g. imagination and thought, affiliation, and control over one's environment. Kabeer's work places special emphasis on empowerment as a process through which individuals, whose ability to make "strategic life choices" has been inhibited or withheld, acquire said ability (Kabeer 2009, 2010).

activities whose outputs could be directly exchanged in a market setting for a money price. A second, later theoretical innovation was the introduction of the concept of "unproductive work", that is, work that is not understood to contribute to "economic" activity. Through a complex and iterative interaction between academia, policy, and cultural norms, primarily in Britain and the United States[14], the established definition of work in contemporary economics and management came to refer almost exclusively to the production of that which is exchangeable for a market price, and creates a money surplus.

Because such a narrow definition of work cannot account for all activities of economic importance to individuals and groups, exploration of the definition of work represents one way into examination of extant norms within management theory and practice. Adam Smith himself "judiciously noted that many occupations that failed to meet the standard of productivity (increasing the market value of a tangible commodity) were nonetheless necessary" (Folbre 2009). Smith included "churchmen, lawyers, physicians, men of letters, the Army, and the Navy" in a listing of those deserving of support from "productive workers". However, as economist Nancy Folbre has observed of Smith's list, "[n]either domestic servants, nor wives, nor mothers were included. This does not imply that Smith thought these women undeserving of support". But, in contrast to Navy men and men of letters like himself, "[i]t does suggest that he believed their efforts were irrelevant to economic growth" (Folbre 2009). That is, Smith does not appear to have been convinced that those who conduct unpaid/care work, for example, meaningfully contribute to the economic productivity of other workers.

[14] Scholars including Professor Jane Humphries (All Souls College, University of Oxford) and Professor Nancy Folbre (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) have produced comprehensive accounts of these processes.

I focus this thesis on the distinction between market work and unpaid/care work in the theory and practice of management. Unpaid/care work refers to the costs of reproductive labor, that is "direct expenditures on behalf of dependents such as children, the sick, the disabled, and the elderly [and] the cost of time devoted to the care of these individuals, and to the daily maintenance of adults" (Folbre 1994).[15] Such activities have significant impact on the economy, but, as feminist economists point out, have rarely been considered productive work since the establishment of classical economics. Rather, conducting these tasks has, at various stages in modern history, either been cast as a matter of moral duty or personal preference – particularly for women – or the activities have been largely overlooked by the theory and practice of mainstream management.[16] Feminist economists' scholarship helps to make these tendencies and omissions clear.

1.3 Research Approach

In general, this thesis contends that historic myopia regarding the definition of work may cast a long shadow on theory and practice. To flesh out this assertion, key frameworks are presented from feminist economics, a field which has produced extensive research on the historical and gendered nature of the definition of work, and which thus offers important potential insights for theory building. In analysis that has

[15] For the purposes of this thesis, the term "unpaid/care work" will be used interchangeably with the term "reproductive work". Similarly, the terms "paid work", "market work", "formal work", and "productive work" will be used to refer to entrepreneurial or other work conducted in a market context with the intent of remuneration.

[16] Sources of marginalization and exclusion based on gender are many and varied across history. This thesis does not attempt to offer an exhaustive account of the roots of gender inequality in human experience. Nor does it intend to suggest that a shift in the definition of work since the 18th and 19th centuries is by any means the sole source of gender inequality since that period. Finally, in focusing on women's relative disempowerment in formal markets since that time, the thesis does not imply that gender inequality was an outcome of industrialization. Rather, it makes the case that the definition of work, which became increasingly narrow and explicit as both classical economics and industrialization advanced, has important and gendered effects which are relevant to the study of business and management today.

not previously been conducted, the thesis brings these insights into dialogue with extant theory and practice regarding women's engagement with market work. The thesis pays particular attention to the historical division between unpaid/care work and market work, and, concurrently, the processes through which unpaid/care work come to be understood as standing separate from and against productive economic activity.

The aim of this thesis is to investigate how the interface between reproductive and productive work are represented in management theory and practice, and how tacit understandings of the definition of "work" may impact upon the same. The thesis examines these questions via the empirical research context in which women's empowerment through market work, entrepreneurship in particular, has become a topic of increasing interest for corporate, policy, and third sector practitioners. Concurrently, research into women's enterprise is receiving increased amounts of attention from management scholars. Therefore, to accomplish its aims, the thesis investigates two primary questions: 1) To what extent and with which consequences is production taken to be separate from reproduction? and 2) What is (tacitly or explicitly) included in and excluded from the definition of work? Put another way, to what extent does contemporary management theory and practice appear to reflect the classical position that production and reproduction can be cleanly separated from one another, and/or that they occupy separate (and often gendered) spheres, only one of which – the market sphere – holds substantial economic significance? These questions are explored via examination of a theoretical case (Case 1) and two organizational cases (Cases 2 and 3).

On the basis of this research, this thesis finds that one outcome of the process of the negation of unpaid/care work *as a form of work* is the emergence of an internal bias – now normative within management theory and practice – which results in the

use of "soft language" to refer to unpaid/care work, likening it to leisure activities of weak economic importance, not unlike a hobby. Through an analysis of cases from theory and practice, this thesis establishes that engagement in unpaid/care work thus tends to be framed as a matter of individual personal choice or "lifestyle".[17] As opposed to "hard" issues such as access to finance and industry experience, unpaid/care work is either systematically excluded from management theory and practice, or at best perceived to be of distant relevance to market endeavors.

In terms of structure, the thesis first presents a review (Chapter 2) of feminist economics literature, with particular attention to insights regarding historical and theoretical shifts in the definition of work, and to the nature of work as gendered. After then discussing research methodology and data analysis related to the research (Chapter 3), the thesis undertakes a systematic literature review (Case 1, Chapter 4) of the treatment of unpaid/care work in mainstream entrepreneurship research, finding that this literature tends to exhibit blind spots that manifest in a gendered fashion. The thesis next examines two exemplar cases (Cases 2 and 3) of industry-embedded approaches to women's empowerment through market mechanisms (Chapters 5 and 6). Both cases feature initiatives instigated and directed by private sector actors, and both initiatives aim to improve market outcomes for women in global supply chains. To accomplish their objectives, these initiatives partner with major policy organizations including the United Nations, the Inter-American Development Bank, and bilateral donors as well as national governments. One case (Case 2, Chapter 5) examines the experience of the International Women's Coffee Alliance (IWCA), an

[17] As will be discussed in the analysis of unpaid/care work in entrepreneurship literature in Chapter 4, an exception to the choice/lifestyle narrative emerges when entrepreneurs perceived to pertain to disenfranchised power groups (immigrant entrepreneurs, micro-entrepreneurs, etc.) are the subject of study. However, such groups are very rarely the focus of mainstream entrepreneurship research.

NGO founded and managed by corporate actors from across the global coffee supply chain and which aims to improve women's visibility and advancement in the coffee industry. The other (Case 3, Chapter 6) features the organization WEConnect International, a "corporate-led non-profit" that seeks to increase women entrepreneurs' access to contracts from multinational corporations. Case study research for this thesis draws on more than two years of field research in English and Spanish, more than 150 formal and informal interviews, participant observation, and extended field visits in seven countries[18] with corporate and policy stakeholders, as well as with women entrepreneurs across the globe. Following the three case chapters, the thesis proceeds to discussion of comparative findings (Chapter 7), offering a novel conceptual framework with which to engage the interface between unpaid/care and market work. The thesis then concludes (Chapter 8) with reflections on the contributions, limitations, and future directions associated with the research.

1.4 Contributions of the Thesis

Analysis conducted for this research finds that scholarship and practice alike appear to contain a pervasive understanding of unpaid/care work and market work as dichotomous, conflicting aspects of human activity. The same analysis reveals that reference to unpaid/care work in theory and practice is scant, and typically engaged through a framework of "work-life balance" or individual personal choice. Moreover, the cases of theory and practice suggest that this language is highly gendered. It almost exclusively refers to the tension between *women's* market work and *women's* engagement in unpaid/care labor. This thesis suggests that the framework of "work-life" balance may be theoretically and empirically incomplete, suffering from

[18] Chile (Santiago), Guatemala (multiple locations), Mexico (multiple locations), Netherlands (Amsterdam), Peru (Lima), United Kingdom (London and Oxford), United States (New York and Washington, D.C.).

unarticulated blind spots regarding the nature of work and reifying the invisibility of unpaid/care work in management theory and practice. In addition, the gendered nature of work in these contexts obscures crucial insights about the nature of entrepreneurial processes in general, as well as about enterprise as a means to achieving, for example, empowerment outcomes.

Drawing on the findings from case research, this thesis suggests that management theory and practice may contain a tendency to reflect what feminist economists identify as a longstanding, artificial separation of productive and reproductive work. Drawing on their analysis, the thesis examines the interface between unpaid/care and market work. Similarly informed by scholarship from feminist economists, the thesis also presents an expanded definition of unpaid/care work to that which is typically reflected in management research and practice, i.e. care for one's biological children primarily during the pre-school age. Rather, the thesis upholds the contention of some feminist economists that unpaid/care work encompasses care for all minors, for the elderly, and for less physically or mentally able members of society, regardless of biological relationship with the caregiver.

Put another way, the thesis asks: Is it theoretically sound and empirically valid to suggest that care for such persons is a "lifestyle" choice akin to taking up golf, an optional leisure activity to which individuals can spontaneously opt in or out, and whose economic impact is limited? The cases examined for this research suggest that management theory and practice tend to reflect a deeply held internal bias that "work" is that which is done for pay in a market context, and the rest is "life" or economically trivial personal "choice". The effect of this dichotomy is that unpaid/care work is systematically under-acknowledged, and the (potentially significant) impact of unpaid/care work on market labor tends to remain obscured – with gendered effects.

In short, management theory and practice tend to be characterized by the uncertain norm that production and reproduction are ontologically separate. This conceptual short-sightedness regarding the definition of work has at least three non-trivial effects: First, it introduces analytical limitations. Because unpaid/care work tends to be gendered (Secretariat, United Nations Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment 2016), these limitations become most evident in an analysis of the theory and practice of women's enterprise. Second, these weaknesses in theory appear to manifest in practice, rendering this analysis relevant to industry-embedded initiatives that promote women's empowerment. Because of the way in which challenges regarding women's enterprise may be diagnosed, it is not impossible that such programs may face difficulty in achieving their stated objectives. Finally, as entrepreneurship in particular is increasingly investigated as a vehicle for social and economic advancement in contexts outside well-resourced communities in industrialized nations (the birthplace of mainstream entrepreneurship research) the omission of unpaid/care work from analysis may produce negative impacts on communities and individuals operating, for example, in the absence of social safety nets regarding unpaid/care work.

The thesis concludes with the introduction of a novel conceptual framework through which to examine the interface between unpaid/care and market work. Introduced in detail in Chapter 7 (see Figure 7.2), this model builds on an existing so-called "4R framework" which advocates for the *recognition* (R1), *reduction* (R2), *redistribution* (R3), and *representation* (R4) of unpaid/care labor. Samman, Presler-Marshall and Jones (2016) highlight the 4R framework, which has in fact evolved with contributions from various scholars over time. Initially, in a 2008 presentation to the United Nations Development Program Expert Group Meeting on Unpaid Work,

Economic Development, and Human Wellbeing, scholar Diane Elson suggested a 3R framework featuring the *recognition*, *reduction*, and *redistribution* of unpaid/care work (Elson 2008). As Samman et al. (2016) detail in their presentation of the concept, this 3R framework has subsequently been adopted and adapted, including by researchers who advocate for a 4R framework including *representation* in additional to the original 3R features. The 4R framework is now "a well-accepted approach" which "attempts to integrate unpaid work into the mainstream economy by reducing it and by reorganizing it… [this] integration is expected to improve the efficiency of the total workforce on the one hand and reap some macroeconomic gains on the other hand" (Hirway 2015). In addition, a key aim of the framework is to straightforwardly increase the visibility and legitimacy of unpaid/care work, an aim compatible with the findings and purposes of this thesis. Building on the foundation provided by the 4R framework, Chapter 7 sets forth a model for examining the interface between unpaid/care and market work within the context of management theory and practice.

The framework explicated in Chapter 7 represents a tool for theory building that draws attention to the potential dichotomous, conflictual, and gendered nature of the relationship between production and reproduction identified throughout the thesis. The conceptual framework provides a model through which to examine and understand potential implications of the separation of production and reproduction, and offers scholars and practitioners a means of analysis of the status of unpaid/care work in their research and actions. These contributions are possible because of the premise behind the framework: that the relationship between production and reproduction is not fixed, but rather it is shaped by institutions, structural factors, and norms in ways that may have important gendered impact.

Chapter 2: Theory Development: Unpaid/Care Work in Feminist Economics

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the theoretical lens employed throughout this thesis, emphasizing feminist economists' historical scholarship on the emergence of the definition of work in classical economics. It draws attention to particularly salient findings from this body of scholarship, for example regarding dramatic shifts in how government censuses counted unpaid/care work following the advance of industrialization and the concurrent emergence of the category of "dependent housewife". It also introduces conceptual frameworks from feminist economics including tools for examining the divide between "productive" and "reproductive" spheres and economics as the study of "provisioning", which are of interest to the analysis conducted in this thesis.

The aim of this chapter is to familiarize readers with analytical themes from within feminist economics that hold particular relevance for the study of women's engagement with market work. A wide range of scholars, mostly from Economics faculties at leading universities, has contributed to the field of feminist economics since its inception. The questions to which the field attends are, to be sure, at least as old as the formal study of political economy itself (Folbre 2009). Nevertheless, feminist economics is typically given to have become an "established" field of economic inquiry in the 1990s. The International Association for Feminist Economics (IAFFE), which today claims members from academic departments in universities in over 60 countries, was founded in 1992 to "advance feminist inquiry of economic issues".[19] The Association has been described as a fruit of the momentum of an "overflow crowd" attending a session titled 'Can Feminism Find a Home in

[19] International Association for Feminist Economics (IAFFE), *History*, online at http://www.iaffe.org/pages/about-iaffe/history/, accessed 6 May 2014.

Economics?' at the American Economic Association Conference in 1990 in Washington, DC.[20] In 1993, University of Chicago-trained economist Marianne A. Ferber and now-University of Massachusetts Professor of Economics Julie A. Nelson published the edited volume, *Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics*, a compilation of essays identifying a range of theoretical, epistemological, and historical contributions of feminist theory to economics. The book consolidated the work of diverse scholars around the task of IAFFE, and opened a field of investigation that has continued to date. In 1994, *Feminist Economics* was founded as a peer-reviewed academic journal published by Routledge. By 1997, the publication was voted 'Best New Journal' by the Council of Editors of Learned Journals.[21] Of the periodical, Nobel Laureate economist Amartya Sen has commented, "[it] has become, with remarkable speed, a leading journal in economics, vastly enriching the understanding of important economic issues".[22]

Like many heterodox approaches[23], feminist economics seeks to provoke a shift in mainstream economic thought. In order to accomplish this, the field has engaged a variety of intellectual tasks *vis*-à-*vis* mainstream economic theory and practice, including the identification and critical analysis of apparently unarticulated

[20] International Association for Feminist Economics (IAFFE), *History*, online at http://www.iaffe.org/pages/about-iaffe/history/, accessed 6 May 2014.

[21] Council of Editors of Learned Journals (CELJ), *Best New Journal*, online at http://www.celj.org/best_new_journal, accessed 16 May 2014.

[22] *Feminist Economics*, Homepage, online at http://www.feministeconomics.org, accessed 16 May 2014.

[23] As a discipline, Economics inspires a remarkable array of heterodox approaches, so named due to their critical engagement with mainstream, typically classical or neoclassical, theories. While diverse in philosophy and method, heterodox schools of economic thought may share skepticism of, for example, neoclassical assumptions about actors as rational utility-maximizing agents, the "scientific" or objective/value-neutral nature of neoclassical enquiry, and/or income as an appropriate proxy measure of human/social wellbeing. Prominent schools which may be considered heterodox economic approaches include Marxian and socialist economic analysis, the capabilities approach, complexity approaches, and feminist economics.

assumptions present in mainstream approaches (England 1993; Ferber & Nelson 1993; Nelson 1993; Agarwal et al. 2005), the introduction of systematically underexplored or unexplored topics to the economic research agenda (Folbre 1994; England & Folbre 2003; Humphries 2011), engagement with hitherto unconventional epistemological approaches (Ferber & Nelson 1993; Jennings 1993), and, at a fundamental level, a re-framing of the ends and aims of the discipline itself. Reflecting on ten years of scholarship on feminist economics in their second edited volume, Ferber and Nelson summarize this latter effort, maintaining, "we challenged the definitions of economics based on rational choice theorizing and markets and suggested instead a definition centered around the provisioning of human life" (Ferber & Nelson 2003). One of the field's prominent contributors, MacArthur Fellow Nancy Folbre, has described the task of feminist economics as follows: "The point is not that conventional political economy fails to put gender first, but rather that it underestimates its importance within the larger picture" (Folbre 1994).

This last assessment is, perhaps, a particularly useful one. Feminist scholarship is, of course, a historically and philosophically broad church (Ahl 2006; Jaggar 1983). A comprehensive treatment of feminist work writ large is not remotely possible within the limits of this thesis. It is nevertheless useful to sketch several streams of scholarship within feminist theory at this stage, understanding that such a cursory treatment cannot come close to doing them justice. In her influential work *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*, Jaggar (1983) suggests four primary lines of feminist argument, and identifies important distinctions and shared concerns between these. To start, she puts forth her view on liberal feminism, a perspective emerging in the context of Western liberal political philosophy and marked by an emphasis on the rationality and rights of individuals. Liberal feminism has been associated with efforts

to remove sex-based areas of inequality, particularly in formal spheres and through legal means. Jaggar notes that liberal feminist approaches have been critiqued precisely due to their emphasis on the individual, and for favoring solutions that – some argue – encourage women to emulate men's actions and play by "male rules", without sufficiently questioning institutions and norms which may be inherently androcentric. Second, of influential Marxist feminist approaches, Jaggar (1983) points to their characteristic emphasis on class and market work as agents of social organization and, concurrently, of women's oppression. Marxist feminism accentuates the importance of patriarchal asset ownership and patrilineal asset transfer as a vehicle for women's subordination, highlighting women's historical exclusion from ownership and inheritance regimes and associated status as property in the eyes of the market. Jaggar, and others (famously, Hartmann 1979) have critiqued Marxist feminist perspectives for an assumption that men and women share class interests, thus emphasizing class-based rather than gender-based sources of women's oppression. Third, Jaggar details how radical feminist scholarship, by contrast, tends to hold that a sex-based class structure manifest through personal and institutional performances of gender is fundamental to social order and women's subordination alike (Jaggar 1983). Radical feminist approaches (associated with a range of scholars including Judith Butler, Andrea Dworkin, and Catharine MacKinnon) tend to suggest the division of public and private spheres – and experience – is a profound but ultimately groundless social construct, emphasizing embodied experience as fundamental to both women's oppression and potential liberation. Radical feminist thought is admittedly varied but, according to Jaggar (1983), may lack a unifying theory of women's oppression. Finally, Jaggar (1983) identifies socialist feminism, which acknowledges both sex and class as fundamental aspects of women's

subordination, and argues for change to androcentric institutions as well as, for example, engagement by individual males in traditionally female spheres such as unpaid/care work.

While Jaggar's work offers a useful sketch of some aspects of feminist theory, additional and significant streams of feminist thought abound and continuously evolve. Pateman, for example, is well known for her contribution to feminist perspectives on political philosophy through, for example, her work on *The Sexual Contract* in which she points to the patriarchal nature of contract in Western liberal paradigms, and argues the difficulty of integrating women into regimes characterized by contract without addressing this fundamental androcentric character (Pateman 1988). Increasingly, feminist scholarship is characterized by an emphasis on intersectionality, that is, the "mutually constitutive relations among social identities" (Shields 2008) which examines the "mutual reproduction" of inequalities based on class, gender, and race among other identity factors (Acker 2006).

Feminist economics exists in a quite unique scholarly space which is informed both by the range of discourses emerging from feminist scholarship, as well as by research in economics. The contributions of the authors examined in this review offer substantial avenues of insight into the study of economics and management writ large, not exclusively *vis*-à-*vis* any single definition of feminist concerns. With particular emphasis on the work of Nancy Folbre, the review that follows thus invites re-consideration of women's entrepreneurial and market work, particularly as a catalyst of women's empowerment, in light of two questions to which feminist economic approaches are attentive. These are: 1) To what extent and with which consequences is production separated from reproduction? and 2) What is included in and excluded

from the definition of "work"?[24] Broad though they may be, each of these headings serves as an organizing enquiry that facilitates consideration of extensive historical, theoretical, and empirical insights from feminist economics to the study of women's market work.

2.2 Production vs. Reproduction, Embedded Markets, and Separate Spheres

'Who pays for the kids?' is the short version of the longer question: how are the costs of caring for ourselves, our children, and other dependents distributed among members of society? These are the costs of social reproduction, and they different from the costs of production in a number of ways. They are difficult to measure in money. They are paid in the family, as well as in the market, the firm, and the state… Success in caring for one another is a precondition for the production of goods and services, but it is also an end result, a goal (Folbre 1994).

Liberal political philosophy and liberal economic theory, since their inception, have frequently carried an implicit (and sometimes quite explicit) separation of spheres; i.e. between public and private. This perspective has its roots in, at least, the early founding of Western philosophy; reflected in ancient Greek characterizations of *oikos* (the household/private realm) vs. *polis* (state/public realm). Greek thought designated that men participated in both *oikos* and *polis*, while women only in *oikos*, and separation of spheres persisted along gender lines to a remarkable extent in liberal thought. Since the early days of classical economics, the home and the market have been formally understood to inhabit these "separate spheres"; one "productive" and the other progressively imagined to be "unproductive". Indeed, as will be discussed, this progression can be traced – at least in part – by tracking adaptions to national census categories and approaches to measuring the size of national economies between the late 18th to the early 20th centuries in Europe and the United States.[25] This

[24] While outside the scope of the thesis, feminist economics has also examined a salient and related third question, i.e. *What is the meaning and importance of the pursuit of self-interest, for whom, and under which circumstances?*

[25] Nancy Folbre's work across several decades has reconstructed the timeline of changes to national census accounts in Europe, Latin America, and the United States in several volumes. Additionally, she

section sketches the contours of feminist economic analysis of the separation of spheres from two perspectives, that of labor and institutions.

2.2.1 Labor

Feminist economists have undertaken and built upon extensive historical research (Schneider 2013) to document the emergence of the concept of individual (i.e. rather than household) occupations, as well as the eventual appearance of the category "unproductive housewife" or "dependent spouse" in public policy in industrialized societies by the early 20th century (Chester Jordan 1994, Folbre 1994; Folbre 2009; Humphries 1987; Humphries 1990, Humphries & Sarasua 2012). This research has also served to remind readers that, for much of history, the home has been (and in many cases, remains) a site of production. In less industrialized geographical and historical contexts, domestic efforts contributed to if not daily survival then at least (as in post-industrial contexts today), the provision of goods or services that decreased pressure on wage earnings, thus allowing households to survive with less cash income (commonplace examples include unpaid provision of healthcare, child or eldercare, tutoring, or meals). Feminist economists point out that non-market settings, most frequently the home, also "produce" – non-trivially – subsequent generations of employers, employees, entrepreneurs, paid and unpaid caregivers, and taxpayers (Folbre 1994).

Notwithstanding, feminist economists have gathered extensive historical and theoretical evidence that non-market work, particularly the care of children, the

---

has conducted extensive analysis of public and policy debates around these changes at the time they came into force. Memorable examples include this anecdote recovered from a little-known University of Chicago sociologist, of whom Folbre observes, "In 1910, Annie McLean wrote, 'the woman is worth more to society in dollars and cents as the mother of healthy children than as a swifter labeler of cans, yet our present industrial practice would indicate a preponderance of value in the latter'" (Folbre 1994).

elderly, and less able members of communities, has been framed as not only separate from production but also the primary domain of women, or even women's primary domain. The concept of "social reproduction"[26] calls this analysis into question, distrusting the assertion that production and reproduction can be cleanly separated and that one or the other is straightforwardly of greater importance to one person or group or another based on gender.

Questioning the assumption that family and care necessarily belong to a private, individual realm of limited or no economic importance introduces fresh analytical alternatives to the discourse of separate engendered spheres. First, this theoretical move allows children (and indeed, any human being in need of care[27]) to be framed as "valuable components of total 'output'" as opposed to "consumer goods we can ill afford" (Folbre 1994), the economic status typically granted to dependents – children, in particular – in post-industrial contexts (Zelizer 1994; Zelizer 2010). Second, this move broadens the set of actors who have an interest in care and family work, framing both as crucially important to well-being for adult men and women alike, rather than a matter of private caprice or a sphere in which women simply exercise their "natural or moral responsibility" (Folbre 1994). Finally, by moving care into the realm of public consideration rather than exclusively private concern, feminist economists have argued that public policy and professional institutions may develop structures and practices to value care more appropriately as valuable work. Such a development would, crucially for many women, undermine the "trade-off effect" in

[26] "The costs of social reproduction, however difficult to estimate, are easy to define. They include direct expenditures on behalf of dependents such as children, the sick, the disabled, and the elderly. They also include the cost of time devoted to the care of these individuals, and to the daily maintenance of adults. Housewives are often described as 'dependents,' but in fact their husbands, as well as their children, are quite dependent on them for care and nurturance" (Folbre 1994).

[27] That is, all human beings.

which market systems penalize those who specialize in non-market work, despite the ongoing need for such work to be reliably conducted (Folbre 2009). Some empirical observations provide particularly striking context for this final analysis. For example, it is estimated that half of the work conducted in the United States, measured in terms of hours, is not directly compensated by anyone. Rather, it is the work of, "housework, shopping, telephone calls and e-mail, caring for or helping others, and participation in organized civic and religious activities". That is, work that – when done by a friend or family member – carries no financial value (Folbre 2009; Hochschild & Machung 1989).[28]

To what extent, then, can the United States (for example) be considered a fully "capitalist economy"? Is it possible that capital acts as a free-rider, to a large extent, on labor which never enters market exchange? When considering markets and enterprise as a means to goals including women's empowerment, these are not idle questions. In concert with economic sociologists, anthropologists, and institutional theorists – to name a few – feminist economists tend to argue that the market sphere is firmly embedded in existing "non-market" institutions including the state and the family, deeply shaped by social and cultural norms. Scholars tend to take issue with approaches to economics that, from the discipline's early days onward, do not appear to reflect this. For example, Nancy Folbre sets forth that the easy separation of "production" from purportedly "non-economic" institutions and activities represents a

[28] Social scientists researching gender and time use have frequently used the term "second shift" to describe such tasks (Hochschild & Machung 1989).

"blind spot squarely at the core" of David Ricardo's labor theory of value.[29] She details:

> Ricardo correctly viewed labor as a direct or indirect input into the production of commodities. But he never recognized that labor itself was the output of a production process... The wages of the worker earned never provided his or her subsistence… These wages were transformed into services, such as meals, and into replacement workers, namely children, by women's unpaid work, and were conditioned by children's own contributions to the family economy, which help defray the costs of raising them… Ricardo [thus] followed the precedent set by [John] Locke, treating labor as the most important factor of production, but one that was not itself produced (Folbre 2009).

Folbre's reference to John Locke in this instance is significant. Liberal economic theory of the 18th and 19th century was strongly influenced by liberal political philosophy. Liberal political theorists introduced a hitherto outlandish emphasis on the political status of the individual, the importance of individuals' use of reason in the formation of rules for common life, and the concepts of both individuals and institutions as bearers of rights and obligations. Central to the vision of the politically rational actor was a freedom from unconsidered dependencies, including those of an "emotional" nature. However, as many historians have noted, the extension of these individual rights (which depended in no small part on the ascription of the possession of "reason" to an individual) delayed centuries in extending far beyond prescribed sets of land-owning white males in both European and American contexts. While there were detractors – Mary Wollstonecraft and John Stuart Mill famously among them – liberal political philosophy tended to emphasize "women's connectedness with others", thus "providing a rationale for denying them political rights" and calling into question their ability to reason (Folbre 1994). This was partially because "reason" was, increasingly, defined in association with a particularly narrow view of the self

[29] Ricardo introduced this approach in his work, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, published in London by John Murray in 1817. In the same volume, Ricardo also presented the theory of comparative advantage.

and of self-interest. Thomas Hobbes[30] and John Locke[31] concurred that women inhabited a world separate from men, bearing not natural rights, "only natural obligations" (Folbre 2009).

2.2.2. Institutions

Ann L. Jennings, writing in Ferber and Nelson's first edited volume, brings institutional economics into dialogue with feminist theory in order to trace the evolution and significance of the division between public and private spheres in economic life. In her analysis, Jennings examines explanations offered by social theorists including Karl Polanyi, Thorstein Veblen, and Susan Bordo for the predominance of the concept of gendered separate spheres in Western philosophy. She observes that Polanyi emphasizes the influence of existing social arrangements on the formation of market practices; Veblen predictably draws attention to the role of status,

[30] Of Hobbes on this subject, Folbre observes, "Like most of his contemporaries, Hobbes located women in a separate world. His image of the war of all against all evoked individuals who had neither collective interest nor family ties, men 'sprung out of the earth, and suddenly, like mushrooms, come to full maturity, without all kind of engagement to each other.' Men, acting intentionally and out of self-interest, choose a sovereign. Women and children, the subject to the sovereign, had no choice." Folbre counters, "In reality, men begin their lives as children. They must be nurtured before they can begin to fight", and cites Mary Astell's 1704 wry comment on Hobbesian mushrooms: "'How I lament my stars that it was not my Good Fortune to live in those Happy Days when Men sprung up like so many Mushrooms… without Father or Mother or any sort of dependency'. Astell went on to argue why she preferred the Kingdom of God to a contract forged by men seeking their own self-interest: the former, unlike the latter, was designed to protect the weak" (Folbre 2009).

[31] Of Locke on this subject, Folbre observes, "[Locke] considered… the primary aspect of women's work [the] provision of domestic services for family members. Principles of ownership could not easily be applied to this form of labor. They certainly could not be applied to motherhood… The solution to this conundrum lies in the assumption that care and nurturance are not forms of labor. Reproduction is not production. Domestic services lie outside the economy, in the realm of natural god-given instincts. Locke took great pains to explain that parents should not be considered producers of their own children, but vehicles for God's procreative will… Perhaps Locke wanted to reserve property rights for those forms of labor that required rational design… He pictured childcare as the fulfilment of a natural proclivity rather than a form of work, God having, 'woven into the Principles of Human Nature such a tenderness for their Off-spring.' No need, then, to worry about incentives, rights, or recompense in the reproductive realm… What women produce is not sold in the market, and therefore has no exchange value… Locke believe that individual rights of private property were male prerogatives because he believed that only men made choices and respond to incentives. If this view reflected his social reality, it also shaped it: men should lay claim to natural rights; women should remain subject to divine responsibilities" (Folbre 2009).

arguing that because “women [become] idle objects for the display of men's wealth… only disreputable women work… for money”; while Bordo analyzes the impact of Descartes on the establishment of dualisms eventually manifest in theories of economic life. Additionally, Jennings draws on Linda Nicholson, whose historical analysis, “associate[s] the rise of modern individualism [in Anglo-American society] with the emergence of public/private distinctions and with liberal theories of the state, finding that these distinctions between social spheres have also constructed cultural masculinity and femininity” (Jennings 1993). Feminist institutionalist scholars thus “are not content with most discussions that stress women's lack of economic power or roles”, seeking instead to, “challenge the very definition of ‘economic pursuits’… explore the historical origins of modern cultural beliefs and practices… and describe the gender dimensions of existing distinctions… between ‘economic’ and ‘non-economic’” (Jennings 1993).

Jennings outlines what she calls a “feminist institutionalist approach” to economic analysis. This perspective, she argues, “is concerned with the cultural manifestations of dualisms in social compartmentalizations and social rankings”. She argues that these dualisms both follow the lines of distinctions between private and public and tend to set “the market” as the sphere of greatest overall importance. One outcome of this, she argues, is the ranking of individuals and groups according to their presumed distance or proximity to the powerful economic sphere. She asserts that, “cultural dualisms, like philosophical dualisms, are almost inevitably hierarchical”, and provides intriguing support for this point through a discussion of the relative hierarchy of dualisms between the state, the market, and the household since the 17th century:

> In the 17th century, when public/private distinctions took the form of state/household separation, culturally recognized rankings were based mainly on political distinctions because the state was the public realm of privilege… In the 19th century, however, the political sphere lost ground to the economic sphere and distinctions of rank came to be based mainly on economic prerogatives. These shifts and cultural interpretations associated with industrialization… yielded a realignment of state/economy relationships expressed in the *laissez-faire* doctrines of classical economics (Jennings 1993).

Jennings goes on to detail that early political economy was chiefly concerned about the interaction between public bodies and markets. Notably, at the time of industrialization, the market was taken to be "public" with regards to the "private" family, but remained "private" in terms of its relationship with the state. This ontological and moral ambiguity around the status of market remains unresolved, introducing ethical and theoretical quandaries germane to the present day. Jennings argues that a turning point occurred in the 19th century, a time in which market activities were set apart, in moral terms, from other social pursuits, and gained primacy in terms of status and importance.[32] She observes, "[t]hose who could manipulate the market standard of value for their own benefit were [thus] assured of privileged status as benefactors to society" (Jennings 1993). It is strategic, of course, in such a setting, for women to seek inclusion in such a group, to aim to be considered market actors. But Jennings' analysis, i.e. that the market came to exist in a kind of amoral, asocial sphere, meant that such inclusion could also imply certain complexities and costs for individuals and groups. Under such an evaluation, tensions between the "market sphere" and other spheres of social life appear inevitable.

Jennings argues that it was the economy/family split that came to represent a core dualism in market societies, an "animating myth" used to preserve existing

[32] In fact, Jennings suggests that it was perhaps because market access began to trump political access in relative social importance that first-wave feminists achieved eventual success in their effort to secure political rights for women.

conditions as well as rank and privilege. The economy/family dichotomy thus, for Jennings, can be read in shorthand, illustrating a set of cultural dualisms or "social distinctions" which she suggests might manifest as follows:

public/private
(market) economy/family
(market) economy/state
individual/social
amoral/moral
man/woman
freedom/regulation
enterprise/constraint
rational/emotional
mind/body
historical/natural
objective/subjective
science/humanities
economic/sociological
competitive/nurturant
independent/dependent
efficiency/inefficiency
science/politics
individual/?[33]

In Jennings' view, such an analysis is particularly significant, "because our compartmentalized notions are falsely universalized, we are blinded to alternative interpretations; we see distinctions between social spheres as functionally necessary" (Jennings 1993). That is, when women's entrepreneurship is defined in opposition to men's (a default norm), women's economic activity is not just opposed to men's but also deemed to be "deficient with respect to the culturally prioritized category", that is, perceived as less productive or even unproductive work (Jennings 1993). This is despite historical evidence dating from as early as the onset of industrialization that women contributed significantly to households' economic status, even when such

[33] This list is a combination of two lists provided by Jennings. In one, she does not provide a pair for "individual", suggesting there is "no good term for 'nonpublic' persons". One might suggest, as she does in a later list, possible pairings including "social", as well as "relational", "cooperative", "mutual", or "interdependent".

activity is "disguised to conform to cultural norms".[34] In a thesis that echoes assessments of the entrepreneurship literature to be discussed in Chapter 4, i.e. that family is discussed almost exclusively in relation to *women* entrepreneurs, Jennings puts forth that:

> The conflation of women with the family, expressed in the 19th century cult of domesticity, remains deeply embedded in our culture. This may explain why so many feminists, determined to challenge women's disadvantaged status, still uncritically accept the notion that gender is rooted in the family. However, it is the association of women with the family and of men with the market economy, and their dualistic separation, that has been the main foundation of gender discrimination since the 19th century (Jennings 1993).

Jennings' is, without doubt, both a theoretical and an activist critique. She goes so far as to set feminist economics with a task: to "assist in creating possibilities for a better future by illuminating the blindness of both past and present social interpretations" (Jennings 1993). She also argues that economic principles, "must be reconnected to the full range of human activities, most of which have provisioning[35] significance…" positing that the feminist institutionalist perspective requires the theoretical and cultural "connection of home, workplace, and polity that recognizes the reproductive, productive, and political aspects of most human activity", concluding that, "what is separate is rarely, if ever, equal" (Jennings 1993).

2.3 What Counts as Work?/Whose Work Counts?

"In one of the most famous sentences in the history of economic thought, [Adam Smith] wrote, 'it is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their self-interest'. Smith neglected to mention that none of these tradesmen actually puts dinner on the table; ignoring cooks, maids, wives, and mothers in one fell swoop" (Folbre 2009).

"I have a little dream that in… the next period designated by the United Nations for a census to be held in every country, all women claim 'unpaid worker' as their designation" (Waring 1988).

---

[34] Here Jennings draws on the work of Claudia Goldin, in particular Goldin's *Understanding the Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women* (Oxford University Press, 1990).

[35] The concept of economics as the study of "provisioning" will be discussed in the Conclusion to this chapter.

In her book, *Who Pays for the Kids? Gender and the Structures of Constraint*, Nancy Folbre sets out a sophisticated analysis of how both collective and individual action relate to the formation of social structures. She emphasizes the difficulty of making generalizations about specific groups in society, given that individuals maintain membership of or affinity to multiple groups at any given time based on complex factors including social economic status, age, race/ethnicity, religion, family circumstances, and gender. Nevertheless, throughout the book, and with these caveats in place, Folbre continues to speak of women as a group – particularly a group of economic actors – and emphasizes the role of gender in the formation of markets and economic systems. One reason Folbre feels able to speak of women as a group is that her analysis offers extensive evidence of women's disproportionate participation, relative to men, in unpaid/care work across a striking range of history and geography. Indeed, Folbre's core argument is that work undertaken in the care of others – children, the elderly, and the less able – has been systematically undervalued, rarely reflected in formal economic analysis or accounting, and thus, through a reinforcing set of historical and theoretical processes, been rendered all but invisible to public policy and management. The separation of spheres, she argues, is thus firmly reflected in a remarkable range of contemporary political and economic institutions.

It is on this understanding of women's often-shared dominion over an "invisible" form of unpaid/care work that Folbre builds her gender analysis. In this sense, Folbre's perspective can be considered particularly powerful in that it holds without reliance on essentialisms, i.e. the use of stereotypes about the character, personality, or preferences of any individual woman or women as a group. Folbre's analysis of fundamental tensions between unpaid/care and market work would, of course, be upheld regardless of the gender of the person undertaking the labor.

However, she[36] presents compelling evidence that norms, incentives, policy, and law often combine to ensure that women are – as a group and relative to men – involved in unpaid/care work to such an extent that it is no insignificant factor in their engagement with formal market work (Secretariat, United Nations Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment 2016).

The purpose of this section is to make evident the historical and theoretical tensions present in the question of how "work" is defined. In order to do this, the section will briefly review historical perspectives on family and economic life, and address the question of how unpaid/care work has been excluded from definitions of work since the dawn of classical economics, if not before. Exploring several key concepts that began to gain preeminence in the definition of work in the industrial age, the section will conclude by presenting alternative frameworks for understanding work from feminist economists.

2.3.1. Historical Perspectives

Theorists, policymakers, and laypeople prior to the Industrial Revolution would have likely found it surprising that the distinction between what counts as "work" and what does not should fall at the doorstep of the household. In less industrialized contexts, of course, children were and are both an essential economic asset and crucial form of social insurance. The home indubitably represented a site of production (Folbre 1994). In pre-industrial contexts as well as less industrialized contemporary settings, the boundary between work and family is difficult to imagine in the absence of wage labor; i.e. "early proponents of political economy viewed the family as a unit of production and population growth as a source of wealth" (Folbre

[36] Here Folbre is one among many scholars from a variety of disciplines – among them anthropology, development studies, history, and sociology – to reach the same conclusion.

2009). As classical economic theory became increasingly formalized, and as methods of production began to shift in Europe from feudal to more urbanized, industrialized settings, conceptual shifts in the understanding of work underwent what can truly be called a revolution. As wage labor grew in predominance, labor that did not carry a wage began to fall in relative perceived and pragmatic importance. Where children and large families had previously been a key to wealth and survival[37], specialization in unwaged family labor or in the production of goods and services in the household began to carry a high opportunity cost (Folbre 1994).

Industrialization, and the economic theorizing that came to accompany it, thus introduced enormous social shifts, opening up questions about the place of both women and children in the marketplace. It is important to note that, for decades of industrialization in both Europe and the United States, children retained their essential economic role. John Locke famously posited that children between three and fourteen years of age should be able to support themselves financially through their productive activities, a perspective that remained reflected in British Poor Laws across the 19th century (Folbre 1994). In 1835, children aged fourteen years and younger made up an estimated 20% of the English textile workforce (Folbre 1994). Feminist economic historian Jane Humphries' work indicates that a significant portion of the labor that "built Victorian Britain" was provided by children less than fourteen years of age, often orphans left to public care (Horrell & Humphries 1995).[38] (Not infrequently, Humphries notes, this was due to their mothers' own destitution in the face of dramatic socio-economic shifts) (Humphries 1990).

[37] Note this analysis does not seek to explain why women may have experienced disempowerment in pre-industrial contexts, though Folbre has discussed this question in her analysis of gender and inter-tribal conflict as well as of coercive pro-natalism and state building in pre-industrial contexts (Folbre 1994, 2009).

[38] The average age of initiation to factory work was typically under ten years.

The move to limit and eventually outlaw child labor took decades in Europe and the United States, and eventually gained success for at least three reasons. It is worth examining these in detail as a lens through which to explore the questions and tensions around whose market engagement came to be seen as acceptable in industrializing contexts, and under what terms. First, as unions gained ground, trade unionists became concerned that both women's and children's wages – traditionally lower than the wage paid to an adult male – would depress wages overall, exposing male workers to unappealing levels of competition. Indeed, this concern was the source of extensive disagreement between industrialists and union leaders (Folbre 2009). Second, moral arguments against children's labor gained ground, strengthened by concerns introduced by growing formality in the life insurance industry. Advocates for banning child labor put forth passionately argued faith-based and moral arguments, but also present was the concern that if children's lives were insured, an incentive for poor families to have and perhaps even kill children could be introduced (Zelizer 1994; Zelizer 2010). Child labor eventually lost favor for a complex set of reasons, among them, a growing imperative for education – a boon to the formation of national identity and perceived as increasingly important in the pursuit of higher industrial productivity. As public investment in education grew and school for minors became compulsory, the costs of children relative to their potential economic contribution skyrocketed.

Notably, several feminist economists have observed that industrialization ushered in a reversal of long-standing historical norms and legal practices that gave fathers control over children and the output of children's labor. Such laws were widespread across the Roman Empire and remained evident in legal codes in pre-industrial Europe. They appear to have been strongly enforced. However, concurrent

with the shift in which the rising costs of children began to outweigh their immediate economic benefits, women gained custody of children in a remarkable range of legal settings. This, and other specific changes with regard to women's engagement with market labor, contributed to what has been called the "pauperization of motherhood", leaving increasingly large numbers of women economically vulnerable in industrial settings (Folbre 1994). Folbre explains:

> One of the functional aspects of traditional patriarchal structures of constraint are the incentives they provided for the care of the very young and the very old. The transition from a family-based to an individual wage economy encourages fertility decline, but also renders those unable to garner a decent wage (the sick and elderly as well as the young and their mothers) increasingly vulnerable to poverty (Folbre 1994).

Thus, because of its association with a relative devaluation of family labor, the impact of industrialization on women (as well as men and children, of course) was mixed. Throughout the dramatic transitions of the 18th and 19th centuries, women continued to specialize, relative to men, in lower-paid work – jobs typically most compatible with unpaid/care responsibilities (Folbre 1994). In fact, during much of British industrialization, more women were employed as domestic servants than in manufacturing (Folbre 1994).[39] Thus, much of the mixed impact of industrialization on women and dependents had its roots in the reality that unpaid/care work increasingly fell from view of economic analysis and policy, eventually landing outside progressively more precise definitions of what was considered "work" at all.

The problem of how to understand the changing nature of work in Europe and the United States exercised politicians, women's activists, and religious leaders alike.

[39] "The factory actually had less bearing on a women's work than another form of wage labor modeled closely on their role in the traditional patriarchal economy. In Great Britain in 1841, more women over age 20 were engaged in domestic service than commerce, trade, manufacturing, and agriculture combined… Among women under age 20, 69% were so employed… Maids, cooks, and housekeepers earned extremely low wages, averaging less than half of what male servants earned. They were also sexually vulnerable, highly susceptible to impregnation and desertion" (Folbre 1994).

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, an outspoken American advocate of women's rights and author of the influential 1898 *Women and Economics*, mused upon the issue of how to claim value for unpaid/care work in the face of the social and economic realities of her day. In a context in which the definition of production was increasingly strictly specified, Perkins Gilman found that straightforward answers were not forthcoming:

> For a certain percentage of persons to serve other persons, in order that the one so served may produce more, is a contribution not to be overlooked. The labor of women in the house, certainly, enables men to produce more wealth than they otherwise could; and in this way women are economic factors in the society. But, so are horses (Folbre 2009).

Because definitions of work and production were increasingly narrowly prescribed, explicitly disconnected from reproduction, and taken for granted in Perkins Gilman's America, it was difficult to articulate how women's work in families, unpaid and poorly amenable to market exchange as it was, differed from the labor of horses. A great technology enthusiast, Perkins Gilman anticipated that horses were very likely to become obsolete. This analysis led her to conclude that domestic labor and child-rearing, though she felt they were productive activities, would soon have to go the same way, as they could, "never fully utilize women's productive capabilities" (Folbre 2009). (That men's productive capacities might be engaged in such endeavors was perhaps as outlandish in the 19th century as it appears to remain in much mainstream management theory and practice today).

Such a conclusion, of course, is inevitably influenced by one's understanding of how domestic work might be shared, by whom, and importantly of how one understands the meaning of "production". As Folbre has observed, in reference to mainstream contemporary economics:

> Economists typically measure economic growth and welfare in terms of the value of goods and services exchanged for money. Despite appreciation of the

> concept of 'human capital,' they exclude time devoted to the care and education of the next generation from the macroeconomic category of 'investment'. That there is certain historical reluctance to see women's work in the family as an economic activity, rather than a natural or moral responsibility, has literally devalued the process of social reproduction. Children are often described as 'consumer goods' we can ill afford, not as valuable components of total 'output' (Folbre 1994).

As industrialization drove up the costs of raising children, and increasingly excluded children from the market sphere, the economic case for the value of children, and, by extension the work of those specializing in their care, became difficult to articulate. Much earlier perspectives, such as that of 17th century philosopher-theologian Poulain de la Barre began to appear quaint at best, rather than commanding analytical attention. Nevertheless, the observations of such pre-industrial thinkers remains prescient, however difficult to accommodate under the spirit of the industrial age:

> A man who tamed a tiger would be rewarded generously. Those who know how to train horses, monkeys or elephants are highly valued; a man who writes a little book, which hardly takes any time or effort, is spoken highly of. Women, however, are neglected although they spend many years in nursing and educating children. - Poulain de la Barre, *The Equality of the Sexes*, published 1673, cited in Folbre 2009

It should be made clear, of course, that less industrial or pre-industrial contexts by no means represent a lost Eden. Tensions around how to value family labor were long-standing. Mary Astell, often remembered as the "first English feminist", expressed concern in her writings across the late 17th century that women's relative subordination to men was a result of their association with the care of family needs, an activity she felt carried great value but correctly identified as difficult to remunerate:

> [Astell] observed that men seem to consider the nursing of children as something low and despicable, even though no activity deserved more honor, or greater thanks and rewards… The exchange of care was inherently unequal, because genuine care would be offered even if it was unreciprocated. Maternal altruism could be taken for granted – and therefore, it was (Folbre 2009).

The tandem requirements of production and reproduction thus presented, as they do today, theoretical and empirical quandaries. These come into particularly sharp relief

around debate concerning women's market activity. Indeed, "women could be brought into the market, but the market itself could not reward the tasks of family care unless children could be bought and sold" (Folbre 2009). It is worth noting that this tension is by no means limited to children. It extends to all forms of "economic dependents" including the elderly and those with any of a wide array of limitations that preclude them from individual gainful engagement with labor markets or entrepreneurial endeavors.[40]

2.3.2 The Economics of Care

Many early classical economists, familiar with contexts in which children in particular were considered economic assets, were aware of the tensions inherent in attempts to neatly divide production and reproduction. However, as economic analysis acquired increasing levels of theoretical formality and sophistication, mainstream approaches took very specific definitional approaches to resolving these difficulties. These theoretical steps had at least two important aspects, both of which directly relate to established definitions of work. The first, emerging quite early in classical economic thought, began to define "work" as those activities whose outputs could be directly exchanged in a market setting. The second, later innovation was the introduction of the associated concept of "unproductive work". These theoretical shifts are evident in policy decisions and census approaches at the time, signaling a

[40] Even from a straightforwardly utilitarian perspective, this represents a non-trivial number of people. The United Nations estimates that the global population in 2050 will reach 9.6 billion, with 1.9 billion under the age of fifteen years (UNICEF: State of the World's Children 2014). In the same year, the World Health Organization estimates that 2 billion people will be over the age of sixty (Sixty-sixth World Health Assembly 2013). The United Nations estimates that 15% of the world population currently live with disabilities, a number estimated to rise by 2050 (UN Enable Factsheet on People with Disabilities, accessed online July 2014). Though there is inevitable overlap between these figures, assuming an unchanged level of disability prevalence produces a cumulative estimate of 5.3 billion elderly, disabled people, and children by 2050, i.e. 55% of the projected global population. This number, of course, does not include those whose market activity is limited by various forms of social, political, or other exclusion.

definitive shift (or perhaps simply a formalization of existing thought) in the understanding of the boundaries between market and family work:

> The early mercantilists recognize that much of the country's wealth lay in the capabilities of a healthy population. Treating families as units of production, they tallied wives and mothers as productive workers. With the rise of political economy that convention was overturned... [even those, like David Ricardo, who believed] that labor was the most important input into the production of commodities ignored the fact that labor was also the output of nonmarket work that lacked an explicit price (Folbre 2009).

That the output of work should be exchangeable for a market price became increasingly undisputed as economic theory became more established. Despite the ubiquity of domestic service at the time he wrote, Adam Smith did not reference this labor in his work:

> [Smith's concepts of] productive and unproductive labor ignored both paid and unpaid domestic work. [He] argued that the only labor devoted to material production could create that all-important key to economic growth – a surplus. He insisted that labor devoted to what we now term 'services' was essentially sterile. If cooks, nannies and housekeepers were explicitly deemed unproductive despite their wages, then wives and mothers who often provided similar services to their own families were obviously also unproductive. As a modern feminist historian explains, domestic chores were, 'tainted by their association with perhaps the most unacknowledged form of women's work, that is simply attending to the needs of others' (Folbre 2009).

Thus, the definition of work came to include the production of that which was exchangeable, for a market price, and which created a money surplus. With stunning circularity, unpaid/care work, the historical remit of women, was thus excluded from economic analysis, firmly situated in a sphere separate from and in opposition to the market.[41]

[41] "[Adam Smith] judiciously noted that many occupations that failed to meet the standard of productivity (increasing the market value of a tangible commodity) were nonetheless necessary. Churchmen, lawyers, physicians, men of letters, the Army, and the Navy all grace the list of those who deserve the support of productive workers. Neither domestic servants, nor wives, nor mothers were included. This does not imply that Smith thought these women undeserving of support. It does suggest that he believed their efforts were irrelevant to economic growth" (Folbre 2009).

How, then, to account for unpaid/care work? Its continued ubiquity represented, for some, a nagging concern, necessitating theoretical engagement. In the 17th century, economists and politicians, assuming the family to be a unit of production, addressed the issue by assuming that married women were contributing to the family enterprise. However, by the late 18th century, "Adam Smith and his counterparts decided that work that did not create vendible commodity was 'unproductive'" (Folbre 1994). This move was not without its detractors, particularly among policymakers. Nancy Folbre has identified that later censuses in both 1861 (Great Britain) and 1875 (Massachusetts) continued to include "housewife" as a productive occupation. However, the concept of "unproductive work" gained ground among political economists, including Marxists, across the 19th century. This move, of course, "literally devalued activities outside the marketplace". For this reason, Folbre argues that, "The history of the 'unproductive housewife' illustrates the impact of gender and class interests on the development of political economy itself" (Folbre 1994). Again the concept of separate spheres emerges; as care and home-based work was designated "unproductive", the norm that family exists in opposition to the market – in a different, more moral sphere – was perpetuated. This had at least two outcomes: the market was reinforced as a masculine, amoral space and the family reified as a space of moral obligation maintained primarily by women. In this way, what appeared to be neutral, theoretically rigorous definitions of productive work had far-reaching social and political effects, not all expected.

> The British neoclassical economists Stanley Jeavons and Alfred Marshall emphasized individual choices… They hope to focus the gaze of their discipline on the forces of supply and demand within competitive markets. Yet, they believe that women should be prohibited from competition, lest they neglect their moral duties to their families. The neoclassical assumption that nonmarket work, however morally indispensable, was economically unproductive exerted a long-lasting influence on census categories and national income accounts. Economic growth came to be defined narrowly as

> growth in the number and size of transactions passing through the market (Folbre 2009).

The presence of a blind spot regarding the inclusion of unpaid/care work in the definition of productive work left the social and political impact of industrialization mixed, particularly for women and "economic dependents". Wage employment offered, for many women, hitherto unimagined independence. However, the need for unpaid/care work to be conducted in society did not diminish with the onset of increased marketization. Because women as a group – by norm, culture, and sometimes law – specialized relative to men in this kind of work, they tended to be disadvantaged in increasingly formalized labor markets. As money and wages became increasingly important, those individuals who did not have access to these were progressively vulnerable to material poverty. The move from home-based or cottage industry to factory work could, of course, have been accompanied by mechanisms to attend to and account for unpaid/care work, as well. But this was not typically the case. Formal market work was chiefly structured as if those undertaking it were not also involved in unpaid/care labor to any significant extent. This reinforced an early tension between work and family[42]; both raising the opportunity cost of not working for a money wage and introducing severe limitations on those who could do so (Folbre 2009). As Folbre has summarized:

> The emergence of individual wage employment gave women and young adults new opportunities outside the home… Over the course of capitalist development women gained 'self-ownership', but remained subordinate to men in large part because they continued to specialize in producing something that could not be easily bought or sold – the next generation of citizens and workers (Folbre 2009).

The tension between market and unpaid/care work was neither incidental nor necessarily accidental. As with child labor, there was concern that, because women

[42] This tension is manifest today in myriad popular musings on "work-life balance" and in the "work-family conflict" literature in the field of entrepreneurship.

could be expected to work for a lower wage than men (under the — by no means valid — assumption that they were not their household's primary breadwinners), women's wages might drive overall wages down, or make men less competitive in the marketplace. The author of the 1835 business text, *Philosophy of Manufacturers*, Andrew Ure observed:

> 'Factory females have in general much lower wages than males, and they have been pitied on this account with perhaps an injudicious sympathy, since the low price of their labor here tends to make household duties a sinless and profitable as well as agreeable occupation, and prevents them being tempted by the mill to abandon the care of their offspring at home. Thus Providence effects its purpose with a wisdom and efficacy which should repress the shortsighted presumption of human devices'. Ure cited in (Folbre 1994).

The prospect that women's wage levels were themselves the outcome of human devices remained, in Ure's case, obscure. Women's relative specialization in unpaid/care work was, in fact, a key to the eventually (at least partially) successful argument by some politicians and trade unionists in Europe to secure a "family wage"; i.e. a wage for a single individual intended to support a family with an average number of dependents. The family wage was extended to men, not to women (Folbre 2009). This was regardless of whether women had sole responsibility for supporting their families, or whether men were single without children. In other circles, for example the 1836 report of the National Trades Union meeting in the United States, women were encouraged to avoid seeking market work in a show of both working class solidarity and their own "moral sensibility" (Folbre 2009).

Folbre's central thesis on this point is as follows:

> The changing nature of relationships between parents and children, men and women, is a central feature of economic development, with important implications for sustainable growth and social welfare… Both the expansion of markets and the enlargement of state participation in the economy empowered women and youth just enough to destabilize the patriarchal organization of social reproduction, but not enough to generate a non-patriarchal system that might fairly and efficiently meet the needs of children and other dependents

(Folbre 2009).

Such an approach to a market system, Folbre observes, not only penalizes women, but also children and others in need of care which is difficult to monetize or from which a profit is unlikely to be made. Similarly, the world of work that reflects the crude division of human existence into an amoral market sphere and moral family sphere creates an organizational life that can be understood as pernicious and schizophrenic, for men and for women. Indeed, it is possible to understand contemporary cosmopolitan concerns about "work-life balance", burnout, and the quest for meaningful work as modern manifestations of the long-standing dichotomy between market activity and other facets of human life. But, more specifically to this analysis, and in the words of Alice Clark, the "shift from family based production to an individual wage system reduced social recognition of those aspects of women's work that took place outside the market… [And thus] the growth of wage employment [can be understood] as a wedge driven between the production of things and the reproduction of people" (Folbre 2009).

2.4 Conclusions

Thus it came to pass that every womanly function was considered as the private interests of husbands and fathers, bearing no relation to the life of the State, and therefore demanding from the community as a whole no special care or provision.
-Alice Clark, 1919, quoted in (Folbre 2009)

Thus far, a critic might venture that the contribution of feminist economics appears primarily in the form of critique, nothing more than a deconstructionist account of the historical and philosophical nuances of the development of the market economy. What, a skeptic might counter, could be the alternatives to the approach being critiqued? Feminist economists present multiple alternate frameworks for approaching management theory and practice. The conclusion of this review will emphasize two of these. First, in response to the critique that the definition of work in

mainstream economics is too narrow, feminist economists have offered at least one alternative definition: that is, economics as "the study of provisioning". Second, the concept of "social reproduction", while not unique to feminist economic analysis, is employed by feminist economists in order to overcome the apparent stalemate between production and reproduction in the analysis of economic behavior of individuals and groups.

In *Beyond Economic Man*, Julie A. Nelson sets out the case for economics as the study not primarily of choice, but of "provisioning". She is incredulous that the distinction between productive and unproductive labor – i.e. that which results in the production of a material object and that which does not – is a useful distinction, despite its favor with thinkers ranging from Adam Smith to Karl Marx (Nelson 1993). Such a distinction, Nelson argues, places even essential "non-tangibles" such as healthcare absurdly outside the remit of economic life. She references economic thinkers including Alfred Marshall who called economics, "the study of mankind [sic] in the ordinary business of life" (Nelson 1993). In this vein, Nelson posits:

> What is needed is a definition of economics that considers humans *in relation* to the world… Focusing economics on the provisioning of human life, that is, on the commodities and processes necessary to human survival, provides such a definition" (Nelson 1993).

She argues that human survival, in this context, evidently includes survival through childhood, bringing care, nonmaterial services, and family labor "into the core of economic inquiry… just as central as food or shelter" (Nelson 1993). In any case, she points out (not without irony), "The Greek root of both the words 'economics' and 'ecology' is *oikos*, meaning 'house'". In a reversal of the ancient Greek distinction, then, between women's assigned role in the *oikos* and not the *polis*, she suggests, "economics could be about how we [as society] live in our [collective] house" (Nelson

1993).

Such a perspective opens intriguing analytical space, especially when taken alongside Nancy Folbre's use of the concept of "social reproduction". Folbre reminds her readers that social reproduction is by no means limited to care for a person's biological children or family members. Rather, the concept includes "direct expenditures on behalf of dependents such as children, the sick, the disabled, and the elderly. They also include the cost of time devoted to the care of these individuals, and to the daily maintenance of adults" (Folbre 1994). This lens helps to bring care work back into the realm of a socially and economically interesting activity, and loosens the strictures placed on caregivers as "dependents", reframing them as crucial contributors to economy and society. "Housewives", she reminds us, "are often described as 'dependents', but in fact their husbands, as well as their children, are quite dependent on them for care and nurturance" (Folbre 1994). Thus, social reproduction introduces the need to "devise broader and better kinds of support for nonmarket work", including that conducted for those who do not happen to have a biological relationship with the caregiver.[43] Folbre argues that, when designed in ways that encourage the integration of paid and unpaid work, support for care can be a matter of political and economic priority rather than a matter of individual "lifestyle choice" of little import to policy or business (Folbre 1994).[44]

Crucially, Folbre also emphasizes that ignoring unpaid/care work has been

[43] Paid care work is increasing in prevalence across the globe. Demographic shifts mean that eldercare is increasingly as much of or more of a concern as childcare in the lives of many professional workers.

[44] In her book, 'The Price of Motherhood', Ann Crittenden sets out specific policy measures not involving direct pay for care that could provide support for caregivers. These examples build on similar provisions, including subsidized loans and educational support, currently offered to members of the U.S. military. Additionally, examples in the United Kingdom include the acquisition of pension credits for years active as an unpaid carer, a policy measure conspicuously absent from Social Security in the United States.

shown in a remarkable set of historical and geographical settings to reduce women's economic and political bargaining power (Folbre 1994) and thus creates perverse institutions and incentives.[45] She details:

> The movement of women into the paid labor force promotes economic development *by definition*[46], because that work earns money income. Unlike family labor, it is included in estimates of national income. But even in the most advanced capitalist countries a significant proportion of women specialize in family labor, and even those who have paying jobs devote a large percentage of their time to housework and child care.
>
> In addition to asking how many women transition to the paid labor force, economists should also ask how many men have shouldered traditionally female responsibilities… The point here is that the image of the unproductive housewife was connected to a cultural norm that treated women as dependents who should be grateful for their husbands' support.
>
> The devaluation of housework and child care was enforced by the official terminology of economists and statisticians… the lack of attention to women's unpaid work not only distorted the picture of economic development. It also obscured an important dimension of gender inequality and weakened the bargaining power of individual women (Folbre 1994).[47]

The concepts of economics as the study of provisioning (rather than choice) and social reproduction introduce interesting nuance to the question of: Who is a free rider in a market society? Feminist economists have argued that, while economic development may bring individual freedoms and challenge traditional social norms, it can also be theorized and managed in a way that, "fosters new concepts and definitions that exaggerate the relative importance of market work. Although you would never guess it from conventional labor force surveys or statistics, even the most advanced economies are quite dependent on large quantities of unpaid (and largely female)

---

[45] Hence the oft-repeated Economics textbook adage that, "If a man puts his mother in a care home, GDP increases. If he marries his housekeeper, GDP falls".

[46] This interpretation depends on an income-based definition of development, which is contested by a wide range of scholars including, for example, Bina Agarwal, Sabina Alkire, Martha Nussbaum, Ingrid Robeyns, and Amartya Sen.

[47] Here it is necessary to reiterate: women's relative bargaining power was not strong prior to the 19th century, but market access rose in relative importance to, e.g., access to state power or land during this time, increasing its importance.

family labor" (Folbre 1994).

One of the fundamental points of this analysis is that the distinction between production and reproduction is a theoretical position, not an ontological reality. Feminist economists argue for a view of economic life that includes all work, paid and unpaid, which takes place in and outside "market exchange". Such boundaries are artificial but reified by theory, policy, and norms. Folbre argues explicitly, "Neither the market nor the State offers a very good solution for problems of social reproduction, which require an important role for families and communities" (Folbre 1994). Yet, feminist economics analysis suggests that individualizing the costs of care is a risky, inefficient strategy, and one that is likely to result in underinvestment in the needs of children, the elderly, and the less able, as well as leaving caregivers vulnerable to material poverty. This concern is borne out by statistics in countries for which these have been collected (Agarwal et al. 2005; Folbre 1994; Samman et al. 2016). In this sense, feminist economists may have reason to be cautiously optimistic about the empowerment outcome of women's market engagement, depending on the terms and definitions at hand (Kabeer 2011, Kabeer 2005). As Folbre observes, "economic development" that does not take into account care as work often leaves women and dependents vulnerable:

> [A] major driving force behind the proletariazation of women is the process of economic development itself, the potential for producing goods and services more efficiently outside the household. This technological potential often pits desires for greater consumption against other norms and preferences that value family relationships (Folbre 1994).

Whether this is primarily a matter of individual desire and consumerism is open to debate. But to be sure:

> [m]any processes associated with economic development penalize commitment to family labor… The contradictory impact of economic

> development is evident in the extension of wage employment, the growing costs of parenthood, and the emergence of welfare states (Folbre 1994).

Feminist economics offers an approach to economics as the "study of provisioning" and the inclusion of "social reproduction" as an activity whose costs must be reflected in the economic analysis of individuals and groups. The purpose of this thesis is to examine to what extent contemporary management theory and practice manifest the division between unpaid/care work and productive labor characterized by what can be called an overly narrow definition of work. Feminist economist Diane Elson defines reproduction as "a non-market sphere of social provisioning, supplying services *directly* concerned with the daily and inter-generational reproduction of… human beings" (Elson 2010). Reproductive labor thus encompasses "unpaid work in families and communities" (Elson 2010; Folbre 1994) relating to the "care, socialization, and education" of others. Similarly, production can be traditionally understood to refer to formal or informal paid activities that contribute to a good or service that can be exchanged for a money price (Elson 2010). A range of thinkers have suggested that finance and production arguably "free ride" on reproductive work, without which "economies would simply not function" (Acker 2006; Folbre 1994; Sepulveda Carmona 2013; United Nations Economic and Social Council 2016). Insights from feminist economics on what counts as work – and whose work counts – remind scholars and practitioners that the distinction between production and reproduction represents a theoretical position, not an ontological reality. This is not to ignore the reality of tradeoffs between paid and unpaid/care work, but to observe that *how* these tensions manifest, and *for whom*, is determined by social norms, systemic constraints, and structural factors.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Overview

In this section, I describe the methodology employed for the empirical research for this thesis. I give an account of why I selected a qualitative, interpretive paradigm through which to conduct the work, and detail methods for case study development including through one case involving a systematic literature review (SLR), as well as two entailing data collection through field work. The focus of this thesis is the interface between reproductive and productive work in management theory and practice. The thesis therefore explores this topic through two means: an SLR conducted within the leading entrepreneurship literature (Case 1, presented in Chapter 4) and two organizational case studies: International Women's Coffee Alliance or IWCA (Case 2, presented in Chapter 5) and WEConnect International (Case 3, presented in Chapter 6). The SLR is undertaken with the aim of identifying how the interface between reproductive and productive work appears to manifest within several decades of literature associated with one field of management research – that of entrepreneurship scholarship. Similarly, both the institutions selected for organizational case studies share the distinctives that they represent relatively elite, difficult-to-access, ongoing endeavors on the part of private sector actors – working in partnership with policy and non-governmental organizations – to advance women's empowerment through market work, with a particular focus on entrepreneurial work. I conclude with a discussion of how I conducted data analysis, as well as identifying several important limitations of my research including ethical issues inherent within my research process.

Because the methods associated with the SLR are explicated in detail in Chapter 4, this chapter emphasizes research approach, design, execution, and data

analysis procedures associated with the two organizational case studies. Case research on both organizations has been primarily conducted through in-person and telephone interviews as well as participant observation with senior policymakers, corporate executives and leadership of NGOs, as well as women business owners. The data collected for this thesis is the result of interviews with 157 distinct informants, participant-observation at more than 15 senior-level invitation-only events, and five weeks spent embedded in one of the organizations of interest: a total of approximately three months of in person fieldwork visits to locations in seven countries, as well as ongoing remote communication with key informants.[48] Research was conducted in both English and Spanish.[49] Analysis of key archival sources including reports, organizational documents, and Internet and social media content also provided important contextual data sources for the development of this research.

3.2 Research Approach

Management research presents scholars with a wide-ranging set of tools. In the design of research, investigators must be aware of the theoretical foundations implicit in the methods with which they choose to engage. Most basically, researchers should consider ontological and epistemological foundations influencing their choice of a research paradigm. As management research engages a broad set of phenomena in a diversity of settings, multiple approaches to scholarship are possible. The paradigm, and associated theory and methods, selected by the researcher should be suited to the nature of the research problem; that is, the research question should drive the methodology around which a study is designed. Because of this, there is no hierarchy

[48] Chile (Santiago), Guatemala (multiple locations), Mexico (multiple locations), Netherlands (Amsterdam), Peru (Lima), United Kingdom (London and Oxford), United States (New York and Washington, D.C.).

[49] Translation from Spanish to English was conducted by the author.

of research paradigms or methodological approaches; the researcher's primary concern is to ensure that the methodological approach is suited to the aims of the project.[50]

A range, or continuum, of paradigms influencing research methods is often expressed in management scholarship. On one end of this stylized continuum might sit the "positivist paradigm", often presented in opposition to an interpretive or phenomenological paradigm that occupies an opposite pole (Klein & Myers 1999). The positivist paradigm has been characterized by the identification of causal relationships, often those with predictive power. For positivist research, the world can be understood to be composed of universal facts or laws, amenable to replicable, testable hypotheses and empirical measurement of a value-neutral nature. Positivist perspectives may assume, and in fact, rely upon, the objective independence of the researcher and the research methodologies employed in order to draw conclusions (Dube & Pare 2003). Positivist approaches can be powerful tools for investigating questions about certain kinds of causal impacts or sequences of events. However, in order to be meaningful, positivist approaches are best suited to research in cases where causes can be plausibly identified and isolated, and effects reliably measured.

Interpretive research is most typically associated with interrogating questions of meaning or seeking understanding of phenomena characteristic to the social world. Areas of interest may include beliefs, individual or group identity, social practices and behaviors, or institutions. Interpretive research takes the context in which enquiry takes place to be significant, constructed by history and human action (Berger &

[50] Also significant in the design of a study, of course, is the context in which the phenomenon of interest will be available to be studied and the skills, abilities, and theoretical lens of the researcher.

Luckmann 1966), and holds that knowledge is influenced by interpretation and experience (Sandberg 2005). Such research often seeks insight into how aspects of social reality are established, become taken for granted, or change (Gubrium & Holstein 2008). Interpretive researchers are encouraged to be explicit about their own non-neutrality in terms of values and theoretical position, taking seriously the proposition that, particularly in the investigation of social life, there is no "view from nowhere" (Nagel 1989). Interpretive research may employ multiple empirical methods in order to elucidate distinct views or perspectives on a complex phenomenon, seeking to "understand what is happening" in a research context or how meanings and practices generate social structures and patterns (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Lowe 1991).[51]

Positivist research is often associated – or even conflated – with quantitative approaches, while interpretive research is frequently perceived to be interchangeable with qualitative work. This methodological dichotomy frequently holds, but by no means must do so. The approaches are distinguished not by their reliance on either numbers or words, but rather by the nature of the research questions and context to be explored. Edmondson and McManus (2007) emphasize the importance of alignment between prior work (literature), research questions, collection of original data, and data analysis. To this end, and with the aim of exploring the subjects of interest in both management theory and practice, a literature-based case (Case 1) built around an SLR as well as two organizational cases (Cases 2 and 3) developed through field work are appropriate for this thesis. That is, while the continuum metaphor mentioned

[51] Alternatives, additions, and amendments to these stylized approaches, of course, proliferate across social science research. Critical realism, for example, has gained attention from scholars in recent years. The critical realist approach, broadly stated, holds that while events and mechanisms exist in the "real world" and can be studied (a claim associated with positivism), researchers' ability to exhaustively and effectively study these is contingent and limited in significant ways (a claim more familiar to interpretive paradigms) (Smith 2010).

above is not altogether specious, scholars must take care to consider the nature of the question(s) they wish to explore, rather than selecting a particular paradigm or methodology because it appears to be de facto more "rigorous". Indeed, King et al. posit that qualitative and quantitative research share a "logic of inference". They detail:

> In the same research project, some data may be collected that is amenable to statistical analysis, while other equally significant information is not. Patterns and trends in social, political, or economic behavior are more readily subjected to quantitative analysis than is the flow of ideas among people or the difference made by exceptional individual leadership. If we are to understand the rapidly changing social world, we will need to include information that cannot be easily quantified as well as that which can. Furthermore, all social science requires comparison, which entails judgments of which phenomena are "more" or "less" alike in degree (i.e., quantitative differences) or in kind (i.e., qualitative differences) (King, Keohane & Verba 1994).

With the above caveats in place, it is possible to advance in a discussion of the particular interpretive approach to research taken in this thesis. As a very high-level aim, the present research seeks to understand whether and how meaning becomes assigned to particular contexts and concepts, i.e. how aspects of an issue become "salient" for scholars and practitioners, and how actors in diverse theoretical and organizational settings come to share an understanding of a given issue or topic. Through this analysis, the research seeks to identify areas of convergence and divergence between framing of concepts in the literature versus empirical settings. This approach is amenable to interpretive research, attentive to processes of individual and organizational sensemaking[52] of an unfolding phenomenon open to multiple analytical interpretations.

[52] Note that theoretical and empirical examinations of sensemaking are well established in the management literature (see discussion in Chapter 7). Thus, it is important to clarify that this thesis is *not* a study of sensemaking as such. Rather, the concept of sensemaking is presented at this stage in order to illuminate an important aspect of the approach taken to the thesis research. Because interpretive methods can contribute to understanding of the social creation of meaning systems (Gioia,

3.3 Research Problem

The primary research interest of this thesis is the presentation of the interface between reproductive and productive work in management theory and practice, and how tacit understandings of the definition of "work" may impact upon the same. The empirical research context motivating this research is that women's empowerment – perhaps traditionally perceived to be the remit of nongovernmental organizations, charities, or activist groups – has become a topic of interest for private sector actors in recent years, with an especially remarkable uptick in activity observed since 2008/9 (Arutyunova & Clark 2013; Miller et al. 2013; Oddsdottir, Carter & Lucas 2013). These actors primarily engage with the theme of women's empowerment through discussion of "women's economic empowerment" (defined for the purposes of this thesis in Chapter 1) or women's empowerment through market work, including and especially entrepreneurship. As indicated in Section 1.3 of the Introduction chapter to this thesis, the primary questions motivating this research are: 1) To what extent and with which consequences is production taken to be separate from reproduction? and 2) What is (tacitly or explicitly) included in and excluded from the definition of work? These questions are related, and – as previously mentioned in this section – are explored through one case (Chapter 4) examining management theory and two (Chapters 5 and 6) investigating organizational practice.

3.4. Research Design

With regard to the two organizational cases, the research design employed in this project was selected in order to gain as much proximity as possible to organizations and individuals leading industry-based initiatives focusing on women's

---

Corley & Hamilton 2013; Gioia, Thomas & Clark 1994), this is a helpful approach towards the aims of this thesis.

empowerment via market and entrepreneurial work, as well as to women business owners engaged with these initiatives. Research interviews focused on the background of the organizations and initiatives and the contexts in which they operate, also exploring the organizations' aims regarding women's empowerment through market and entrepreneurial work, and, in the case of women business owners, their own experiences with entrepreneurship and, to a secondary extent, with the organizations profiled in the case studies. The research did not rely solely on interviews as a source of data, drawing also on documentary sources and participant-observation for context and insight. These provided depth to the research. Participant-observation, for example, may permit insight into how processes described by informants are impacted by informants' context and environment (Maitlis 2005), as was the case with this research.

3.4.1 Case Study Approach

This section discusses the case study method in order to illustrate, given the aim of the research, why this approach is appropriate for this thesis. Yin holds that:

> The case study seeks to explore contemporary phenomena within a real-life context, where the phenomena in the context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin 1994).

That is, a case study can be defined as, "the real-life investigation of a particular phenomenon" (Luck, Jackson & Usher 2006), suitable for use as a method when, "research and theory are at their early, formative stages" (Benbasat, Goldstein & Mead 1987). The case method also allows for detailed analysis of a topic or setting, its context, and, significantly, the experience of individuals with that topic or setting (Darke, Shanks & Broadbent 1998). These aspects of the case method make it an amenable means through which to engage this research.

Case study work understands individuals and organizations as embedded, that is, existing in a complex set of often overlapping, often unarticulated contexts. The use of case studies thus provides depth of insight into a specific context or phenomenon, and is well suited to situations requiring analysis of multiple perspectives and stakeholders on the same theme. An important objective of case study work is to, "see the social world through the eyes of our respondents" as the researcher seeks to remain open to, "see things we might not otherwise see and ask questions we might not have previously asked" (Dopson 2011). This thesis seeks to explore the understanding of work as reflected in management theory and practice. Hence, the two organizational cases (examining practice) are supplemented by the SLR of entrepreneurship research (examining theory). As Thomas (2011) points out, the subject of case studies is open to direction from the researcher, depending on the ends of the research, and may include analyses of "persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems". In each occasion, Thomas (2011) reminds the reader, "[t]he case that is the *subject* of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame — an *object* — within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates."

Case studies may, as in the case of this thesis, build upon the results of interviews, focus groups, and other qualitative techniques including ethnography, observation, and document analysis. The "quintessential characteristic" of case studies is that they "strive towards a holistic understanding of cultural systems of action", that is, "interrelated activities engaged in by the actors in a social situation" (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1990). Case studies take different forms, including cases that can be considered exemplars of a specific phenomenon or cases that are explanatory in nature. Crucially, they must "always have boundaries" (Stake, 1995). This thesis

presents organizational cases that can be considered “exemplars” of the phenomenon of interest, i.e. women’s empowerment via market and entrepreneurial work. Case studies may be longitudinal in nature or take a snapshot approach. The cases examined in this thesis are time-bound in the specific period of the research. They do not represent a longitudinal study, but rather a situated snapshot with retrospective context.

3.4.2 Case Selection

A key question for case researchers is the issue of case selection. Tellis (1997) suggests that selective rather than random sampling should be used for the study of cases. Similarly, Coyne (1997) distinguishes purposeful and theoretical approaches to selective sampling. Theoretical sampling selects cases representative of emerging theory following a grounded theory approach. Purposeful sampling seeks to identify cases that can be considered to be, “of central importance to the purpose of the research” (Patton 1990). Selection criteria for cases may include geography, type of organization, industry, among other variables.

In the case of the present research, the two organizational cases selected were identified via purposeful sampling due to their character as examples of industry-embedded initiatives seeking to empower women through market and entrepreneurial work. Both organizational cases also represent pioneering initiatives in that they seek to bring awareness of and engagement with women's empowerment to contexts in which the topic would typically be considered novel or outside business-as-usual. Though both organizations originated from entities based in the United States, they are global in scope and actively expanding their geographical presence as well as their reach into industry.

One case examines WEConnect International, an organization founded in 2008 by U.S.-based multinational companies. WEConnect has described their organization as, "a corporate led non-profit that helps to empower women business owners to succeed in global markets".[53] That is, the organization seeks to identify women-owned businesses across the globe, certify[54] these as 51% women-owned, managed, and controlled, and increase the success of these businesses in accessing procurement contracts via the supply chains of their corporate members. A second case examines the International Women's Coffee Alliance, established in 2003 by corporate leaders from across the coffee industry including brand managers, importers, exporters, and other industry actors. IWCA describes itself as, "a global peer network of women in coffee that advocates for women from seed to cup and provides access to resources and a forum for connection".[55] The organization's mission is to, "[e]mpower women in the international coffee community to achieve meaningful and sustainable lives; and to encourage and recognize the participation of women in all aspects of the coffee industry". In short, both organizations are industry-embedded approaches advancing women's empowerment via market and entrepreneurial work, with an emphasis on access to global supply chains.

3.4.3 Considerations in the Research Design

[53] WEConnect International website: https://www.weconnectinternational.org/en/media-news/press-releases/women-are-the-next-emerging-market-and-buying-for-impact-how-to-buy-from-women-and-change-our-world-is-your-compass, accessed 13 August 2013.

[54] In order to conduct certification, WEConnect employs a widely accepted process established by Women's Business Enterprise National Council (WBENC), a US-based organization whose certification role emerged following the adoption of supplier diversity legislation in the United States. Of this process, WBENC describes: "WBENC's world-class certification is accepted by more than 1,000 corporations representing America's most prestigious brands, in addition to many [US] states, cities and other entities. WBENC is also an approved Third Party Certifier for the United States Small Business Administration (SBA) Women-Owned Small Business (WOSB) [US] Federal Contracting Program". Source: http://www.wbenc.org/certification/, accessed 13 August 2014.

[55] International Women's Coffee Alliance website, http://www.womenincoffee.org/, accessed 10 September 2016.

Challenges associated with accomplishing a research task of this nature include securing close access to key actors and organizations, the researcher's personal biases and limitations, as well as the fact that the research setting is complex and unfolding in the present time, often with significant reputational, political, and financial implications for individual and organizational stakeholders. The possible set of credible informants for the organizational cases selected is relatively limited, confined to relatively elite circles including senior officials of national governments, United Nations agencies, and the World Bank, as well as executives within high-profile multinational corporations. Informants for this type of case study research may be challenging to identify and personally access. For this reason, the development of rapport between the researcher and early informants formed an essential aspect of success for this research. Section 4.5.1 below sets out the experience of research access for the two organizational cases in detail.

The skills and abilities of the researcher are fundamental to successful interpretive research design (Trauth 2001). Indeed, successful field research has been described as a "fitting process" between the researcher's own knowledge of the field, ability to focus inquiry, facility with tools and techniques, and skill in data analysis (Edmondson & McManus 2007). While the doctoral thesis unquestionably reflects a learning process on all counts, nevertheless, I spent the past 10 years exploring the interface between business and social challenges in practitioner and academic settings, including work in multilateral organizations and in the private sector, as well as through scholarly research. During my MPhil at the University of Oxford (Latin American Studies, concentration in Economic Development), I independently designed and conducted an interpretive research project on the meanings CEOs and presidents of Latin American companies attached to corporate social responsibility

(CSR). Following my Master's research, I formed part of an academic team conducting, over a two-year period, multi-methods research on gender and corporate-led approaches to development in Africa and South Asia. I also contributed to case studies on high-profile corporate approaches to gender and social responsibility across the globe.

Thus, I brought several relevant skills to this thesis research. These included interview techniques, experience researching partnerships across sectors, the ability to organize and independently conduct fieldwork in a variety of global settings, language skill (Spanish), and the ability to develop rapport with a range of informants. Additionally, I had experience conducting research on sensitive topics about which actors are actively managing high levels of personal and professional ambiguity. Finally, I have proficiency in data analysis related to the outcomes of case study research.

3.5 Fieldwork and Data Collection

This section will discuss data collection for the organizational cases constituent of this thesis. On this score, the importance of open and reliable research access at the start of and throughout the project can hardly be overstated. Prior to commencing research, exemplar cases of corporate engagement with women's empowerment were identified and examined in detail. Access to these programs was often elusive due to their nascent and sometimes politically sensitive nature, or lack of ability to identify or connect with individual key gatekeepers. A turning point was reached in 2012 when Professor Linda Scott, supervisor of this thesis, was invited to sit on the Access to Markets Subcommittee of the U.S. State Department's International Council for Women's Business Leadership (ICWBL). Chaired by then-U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, ICWBL brought together a small group of

prominent global leaders with an interest in women's empowerment through market work (See Table 3.1: ICWBL and Access to Markets Subcommittee Membership). Professor Scott invited me to represent her in telephone and in-person ICWBL meetings, including those hosted at the State Department by Secretary Clinton. This provided both insight and an invaluable entry point to accessing key informants for thesis research.

Concurrently, archival, print, and Internet sources proved an invaluable source of data for framing the research. These sources of information aided in mapping the key initiatives and actors involved in activities seeking to advance women's empowerment through market and entrepreneurial work. In addition, they provided insight from which to develop the direction of the research, as well as topics and framing for case research interviews. A high level of familiarity with these materials served as an essential aspect of credibility-building with key informants, particularly in the initial phases of research engagement. While the emphasis on data analysis for this thesis is on data collected through interview methods, the background provided by archival sources contributed importantly to understanding the context in which the initiatives investigated via the two organizational cases conduct their efforts.

3.5.1 Research Access and Data Collection

The CEO of WEConnect International, Elizabeth Vazquez, sat on the ICWBL Access to Markets Subcommittee. Because of interactions in this context, I deepened my understanding of WEConnect's growing work with women business owners and multinational corporations across the globe. In particular, I learned of a series of high-profile events on women's economic empowerment to be held in October 2012 in Lima, Peru and Santiago, Chile. These events, working in partnership with local NGOs, the Inter-American Development Bank, United Nations Women, and regional

heads of state would also provide a platform at which to formally launch WEConnect's newly established programs in these countries. With the support of a Skoll Center Competitive Research Grant, I traveled first to Peru and then to Chile to act as a participant observer in each of these meetings. Prior to travel, I secured approval from WEConnect and their partners in Chile and Peru to attend all invite-only events, including those featuring then-Secretary Clinton, Ollanta Humala (then-President of Peru), and Michelle Bachelet (two-term President of Chile, then-head of United Nations Women). I also gained permission to independently interview, at my discretion, women business owners associated with WEConnect in both countries. In August 2013, I was able to conduct a similar set of interviews with WEConnect-associated women business owners in Guadalajara, Mexico via an event that also gathered WEConnect stakeholders, corporate leaders, and senior policymakers from throughout Mexico.[56]

Participation in such key milestone events also afforded me the opportunity to establish rapport and conduct interviews with an increasing number of difficult-to-access stakeholders. For example, in Peru, I spent an evening with a senior executive who helped conceive Walmart's women's empowerment initiative[57] and the executive tasked with scaling a women's finance initiative for a major European bank. This trend continued as I attended subsequent events; I was able to spend extended unstructured time both in transit and in and around conference settings with key

[56] Research methods for this project have been approved by Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) at the University of Oxford at every stage. Research agreements are in place with both WEConnect and IWCA.

[57] Walmart announced their Global Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative in September 2011. The initiative has since grown to include contract value goals on sourcing from women entrepreneurs, training for female employees and factory workers, grants for gender empowerment projects and, in 2014, a logo signifying goods made by women business owners.

informants. Insights provided by these informal, unscripted interactions have proved invaluable to the research.

I continued to gain access to and attend similar events from October 2012 onwards. A table of relevant events is presented in Table 3.2: Participant Observation at Key Events. I employed such events both as a means to make personal connections for interviews with key informants and also to undertake scheduled in-person interviews with informants – women business owners in particular – on days either side of the meeting in order to make use of participants' proximity. As mentioned, I also took part in multiple informal meals, meetings, and gatherings with informants at these times; occasionally visiting the homes of women business owners and, when possible, joining event speakers for social events spontaneously emerging in association with scheduled conference activity.

3.5.2 Case 2: International Women's Coffee Alliance (IWCA)

In November 2012, I attended the Global Platform for Action on Sourcing from Women Vendors in Mexico City along with Professor Linda Scott. This event, convened by the International Trade Center (ITC) and Mexican government ministries, featured panels on women's economic empowerment populated by senior corporate and public sector representatives from across the globe, a buyer-seller matchmaking event for women business owners from more than forty countries, and discussion of policy recommendations from ICWBL's Access to Markets Subcommittee, to which I had contributed. During this event, I attended a session on women in the coffee industry at which I learned of the work of the International Women's Coffee Alliance. IWCA Vice-President Phyllis Johnson led this session. At an evening event, Professor Scott and I approached Johnson and explained our interest in IWCA's work from a research perspective. Johnson was open to further

engagement, and from my return to Oxford I began follow-up with her regarding potential research.

Johnson and I sustained ongoing communication from this point forward. Across November and December 2012, she shared extensive documentation about the work and history of IWCA with me. She also invited me to attend IWCA's gathering of its global country chapter presidents to be held in February 2013 in Guatemala. This event, only the second of its scale since IWCA's founding, would gather actors from across the coffee supply chain including representatives of well-known brands and key industry organizations from across the world. The event would also feature visits to coffee farms working with IWCA in Guatemala. A research agreement was put in place, and in 2013, I traveled to Guatemala to attend this event as a participant observer and also to hold in-person interviews with key informants including industry actors and IWCA country chapter presidents.

Prior to the event, I worked with Johnson to identify and establish email contact with IWCA country presidents who would be present at the event. Johnson also suggested a list of industry stakeholders with strong knowledge of or involvement with IWCA's work. I continued to triangulate what proved to be valuable contacts and information provided by Johnson, and to investigate IWCA's work further. Once in Guatemala, I conducted in-person interviews in both English and Spanish with IWCA chapter presidents from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. I also visited three coffee farms connected with IWCA. Transport for these visits was conducted by van with a group of actors from across the coffee industry, some affiliated with IWCA and some not. During long hours of travel, as well as during unscheduled time throughout the trip, I was able to conduct informal interviews with a wide range of informants knowledgeable about IWCA's work and about multiple aspects of women's work

within the coffee industry. Additionally, our group was assigned a documentary film team tasked with capturing the story of IWCA's work in Guatemala during the trip. This team had limited Spanish language ability, so I volunteered to act as their translator throughout our travel, a role that allowed me unrestricted access to farm staff at the sites we visited.

I conducted both formal and informal interviews with IWCA stakeholders and took extensive field notes (see section 4.5.5. for detail). Upon my return to Oxford from Guatemala, I continued to pursue telephone and Skype interviews with coffee industry informants and IWCA leadership, using a snowball sampling technique (Bryman & Bell 2003). In all for the IWCA case, I conducted interviews with 47 distinct informants throughout this process (see Table 3.3: IWCA Interviewee List) and gathered a close to exhaustive collection of current IWCA publications and related documents. Several key informants were interviewed multiple times and regular email and phone contact was maintained with some members of IWCA leadership.

3.5.3 Case 3: WEConnect International

In May 2013, I approached WEConnect CEO Elizabeth Vazquez to request her support as a host for a research visit to Washington, D.C. focusing on her organization's work. After several rounds of calls and emails detailing the aims of my visit, a research agreement was put in place and Vazquez offered me daily use of an office in the WEConnect headquarters. She also agreed to personally introduce me to my "wish list" of WEConnect stakeholder informants to the best of her ability. I composed this list of informants based on my previous eight months of participant-observation at conferences as well as archival and Internet research. Vazquez provided email addresses for close to half of the informants requested. I contacted informants

by email across the month of June 2013, seeking to arrange in-person meetings in Washington starting in July. In order to ensure messages were opened, I included Vazquez's name in the subject line, and copied her on initial communication. The process of confirming in-person interviews with key informants and senior staff was ongoing throughout my time in Washington, and continued via snowball sampling after my return to Oxford in September 2013. Securing interviews with senior interlocutors as a doctoral student, as expected, demanded the canny use of gatekeepers and knowledge of Washington institutions and social-professional norms. In addition, it required the ability to face rejection and, in an experience reminiscent of my days managing a commercial portfolio, a reluctance to accept a door as permanently closed, treading the fine line between "persistent" and "pest" (hopefully with success).

WEConnect's headquarters were my base throughout my time in Washington. During this time, I also visited New York to interview key informants at the United Nations, Clinton Global Initiative, and other relevant institutions. While at WEConnect, I developed rapport and familiarity with the WEConnect team and greatly increased my understanding of their daily work. During this time, I remained alert to the mention of key meetings, events, and individuals the team perhaps took for granted as part of their daily routines, but which would be valuable for research purposes. For example, during an informal conversation in the WEConnect staff kitchen, I learned of a joint event on women's empowerment and enterprise hosted by Exxon Mobil, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the U.S. State Department's African Women's Entrepreneurship Program to take place that evening. Through the WEConnect staff, I was able to attend this event as a participant-observer and confirm several later in-person interviews from among the attendees.

I conducted both formal and informal interviews during my time at WEConnect and took extensive field notes (see section 4.5.5. for detail). Because I was in Washington with a platform informants perceived to be politically neutral but sympathetic, I was able to conduct extended in-person interviews with senior WEConnect stakeholders at the State Department, World Bank, International Finance Corporation, and U.S. Agency for International Development, among other institutions. I was able to do the same with key senior stakeholders of firms with prominent corporate initiatives emphasizing women's empowerment and market work (see Table 3.4: WEConnect Interviewee List).

During this time, my understanding of WEConnect's work grew more nuanced. As I conducted interviews with WEConnect's leadership and key stakeholders, as well as women business owners associated with the organization, I became increasingly attentive to also capturing the perspectives of large corporations who had made commitments to increase their sourcing from women-owned businesses across the world. I was particularly interested in the experiences of procurement and supply chain managers. Such triangulation allows the possibility of insight into how meaning is constructed from multiple perspectives (Darke et al. 1998). However, even with the support of WEConnect – an organization made up of corporate members ostensibly from the procurement function – identifying and gaining access to supply chain executives is a challenge. Precisely because of their position as buyers for well-known multinational firms, these individuals carefully limit their visibility. In each case where research access was granted for an in-depth interview, a personal introduction or in-person initial contact at an event was required. I learned that the introduction was most effective if made not by WEConnect but via a corporate colleague, ideally someone who shared the informant's role in a different firm.

This process was ongoing across the summer, and I also sought additional means through which to engage procurement and supply chain managers through interviews or direct observation. For example, at WEConnect's event in Guadalajara, Mexico, Vazquez permitted me to observe a Spanish-language buyer-seller "matchmaking" event in which procurement executives from more than twenty major multinational corporations heard in-person sales pitches from women business owners associated with WEConnect in Mexico, and provided immediate feedback on whether their company could buy from them, and if so, how to follow up. Such an event represents a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for many business owners; providing them in-person access to a buyer they would be unlikely to easily contact. The room was heavy with expectation. Buyers also had to react quickly; many of their companies had made commitments to increase sourcing from women-owned businesses, and they would need to be alert to opportunities and avoid time-wasting distractions. Across the afternoon, I sat alongside as women business owners pitched to buyers one-on-one. The experience provided me with rich data from which to devise follow-up questions for both procurement executives and business owners alike.

At the time I returned to Oxford, phone interviews with supply chain managers were ongoing, necessarily so due to their spread across the globe. In the months of September-December 2013, I focused on securing research interviews with corporate buyers from global companies based in the United States and Europe, interviewing individuals in person and by phone and undertaking participant observation at two high-profile annual supply chain events in London and Amsterdam (for detail see Table 3.2: Participant Observation at Key Events). In all for the WEConnect case, I conducted multiple interviews with 110 distinct informants (see Table 3.4: WEConnect Interviewee List) and gathered an extensive collection of documents and

publications related to WEConnect's work. Several key informants were interviewed multiple times and regular email and phone contact was maintained with some WEConnect stakeholders.

3.5.4 Interview Data

This section describes the nature of the data collected from research interviews for the IWCA and WEConnect cases. I have conducted interviews with 157 (110 for WEconnect, 47 for IWCA) distinct women business owners, corporate and NGO leaders, and policy stakeholders on the topic of industry-embedded approaches to women's empowerment through market and entrepreneurial work. These interviews are composed of both exploratory (Gray 2009; Patton 1990) and in-depth (Bryman & Bell 2003) interviews.[58] In-depth interviews were semi-structured (Bryman & Bell 2003), following a set of pre-determined topics[59] in an open manner. This approach ensured subjects of interest were addressed during the interview, but allowed space for informants to provide nuance and introduce concepts or topics not originally anticipated prior to the conversation (Patton 1990). Semi-structured interviews lasted at least 30 minutes, with most lasting 60 minutes or more. They were conducted in-person whenever possible at a pre-agreed place such as a meeting area at a conference or in the informant's own office. Semi-structured interviews were typically audio recorded with informants' permission and later transcribed. When recording was not possible or was discouraged by the informant, notes were taken by hand and extensively reviewed immediately following the interview for integration into field

[58] IWCA data consists of more than 18 exploratory and 29 in-depth interviews. WEConnect data consists of more than 55 exploratory and 55 in-depth interviews.

[59] Interview topics included the interviewee's role, background of their organization, organizational or programmatic engagement with women's economic empowerment and/or women's entrepreneurship, discussion of key stakeholders, goals, and challenges, process of strategy building on women in supply chains/industry, as well as reflections on the connections between women's economic activity and empowerment aims.

notes. Upon request, transcripts of recordings or interview notes were shared with informants for their approval. At time of writing, no informants have asked for omissions or changes to be made.

Exploratory interviews (Gray 2009; Patton 1990) were the other type of consultation used in data collection for this research. Such interviews were often conducted in a strategic or opportunistic manner by approaching an (often very senior, difficult to access) informant at an event and engaging with them one-on-one in the moment or at an agreed time later that same day. In conducting exploratory interviews, key questions and topics to be covered were noted ahead of time and covered in an open fashion across conversation. Notes were typically taken by hand. Some exploratory interviews lasted 15-20 minutes, some extended several hours or over a drink or meal or resulted in subsequent interactions by email, phone, or in person. Notes and observations from exploratory interviews were reviewed immediately following the interaction to be reflected in field notes.

Audio-recorded interviews with both WEConnect and IWCA were then transcribed for data analysis. When necessary, handwritten notes were also transferred to electronic format, typically using Dragonspeak voice dictation software. All interviewees in the thesis have been anonymized to the extent possible following data analysis. An exception to this includes quotes from then-Secretary of State Clinton, whose comments at ICWBL and other public forums exist in the public domain and are, in addition, difficult to render anonymous.

3.6 Data Analysis

3.6.1 Analytical Procedure

In order to analyze the interview data collected for this thesis, I employed an

iterative, inductive process to identify patterns and themes based on my research (Saldaña 2013; Carson 2001; Carroll & Swatman 2000). Data analysis processes that lack appropriate structure can, nevertheless, easily become difficult or even impossible to manage (Maylor & Blackmon 2005). Therefore, it was necessary to orient the exercise towards clear conceptual foci. To this end, throughout the process of data analysis I maintained a focus on examining what the data appeared to indicate about informants' understanding of the interface between reproductive and productive work, and how they appeared to understand the definition of work itself. The selection of such clear emphases also helps to make explicit researchers' initial underlying assumptions, which may or may not be supported (Carroll & Swatman 2000). Selective coding implies the identification of one or few core categories of interest within the data (Dey 1999); typically that or those which is or are representative of the main subject of interest for the research (Corbin & Strauss 2008). Selective coding thus offers, as in the case of this thesis, theoretical consistency across the work (Langley 1999).

To conduct data analysis, I started with a first-order review process (Saldaña 2013) of the transcribed and electronic documents resulting from field research, re-reading them to ensure familiarity with content and key themes. Subsequently, and with the help of NVivo 11 qualitative data analysis software, I initiated a second-order coding process (Saldaña 2013) seeking to identify and group key relevant topics emerging from the data. This resulted in the identification of 29 codes ranging from "invisible forms of work" to "women and economic growth". Unsurprisingly, given salient shared features of organizations researched, there was a high level of overlap in codes between the two organizational cases (see Table 3.5 for detail). With the focus of research in mind, it soon became evident that sub-groups of codes were strongly

applicable to three themes: the *gendered nature* of work (e.g. codes 5, 18, 25), reproductive and productive work as *dichotomous* (e.g. codes 7, 17, 19, 24, 28), and reproductive and productive work as existing in *conflict* (e.g. codes 9, 11, 29). Codes applicable to these three categories also represented the largest amount of coded material across the data, and formed a robust theoretical link with findings from the SLR conducted for the theoretical case in Case 1. The volume and richness of the interviews meant that the data generated substantial insight on additional themes of secondary relevance to the thesis, including insights regarding corporate engagement with women's empowerment (e.g. codes 1, 2, 3, 15, 22, 29). These have been analyzed and reflected as appropriate in Chapters 5 and 6.

3.6.2 Limitations

The research conducted for this thesis contains several inherent limitations. First, the research is time-bound to the duration of data collection, and cannot provide a longitudinal account of phenomena of interest, for example. Second, research access and researcher's own time influenced the number and nature of the informants it was possible to access for this research. While the number and quality of informants is high, it is of course always possible to continue engagement, even when saturation (Guest, Bunce & Johnson 2006) had evidently been reached within this study. Third, women business owners, in particular, were interviewed in three countries: Chile, Peru, and Mexico. Their experience is inevitably impacted by their social, economic, and political context. Fourth, as with any interview-based research, retrospective bias or social desirability bias may conceivably impact informants' responses.

Finally, as is characteristic of qualitative research, "the researcher is the research instrument" (Patton 2002), which is to say such methods contain an

important subjective component. Research design and data analysis are influenced by the standpoint and experiences of the researcher, who is encouraged to be explicit about their own perspective in reflecting on the research process (Elliot, Fischer & Rennie 1999). In this case, the researcher is a white female native English speaker enrolled in a doctoral program at a globally elite business and research institution. Professional experiences include work in Washington, D.C. and Latin America, with women's empowerment topics, and with senior business leaders. These features inevitably affect the framing of the research, the topics of interest, and the questions selected for investigation, as well as the perceptions of the researcher by informants from a range of backgrounds.

3.6.3 Ethical Issues

The methods employed in this research were approved by the Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC). As with any project engaged with individuals, institutions, and power, however, there are ethical implications involved in this research. For example, despite an effort to ensure that the experiences of women business owners – and not just that of organizational stakeholders – was reflected in the research, the research interviews lean more heavily on leaders and organizational respondents. This is less true in the WEConnect case than in the IWCA case, which features some but limited engagement with farm workers, for example; often examining their experiences through interviewees who occupy different positions within the value chain. While not necessarily of concern for the findings of the work, the ethical issue of whose voice(s) are present/absent in a given set of narratives remains, as with any work, an important ethical consideration.

In addition, while not strictly ethical concerns, it is relevant for me to offer some reflection on my experience with the field research process. As I noted in my field notes at one stage during my time in Washington, D.C., "this field work is an exercise in steeling myself to ask for things". When seeking research access in the initial stages, I felt acutely aware of my own lack of influence. I felt had strong brand behind me (a research affiliation at the University of Oxford), and some invaluable contacts, but I had no previous professional or personal relationships with elite actors on which to draw for research access. Rather, I initially relied largely on people I did not know well having a desire to be helpful in providing support, a meeting, an introduction. This process was at once humbling, risky, and, sometimes, empowering.

Throughout the process of field research, there were times when I felt confident and times I felt ridiculous asking for people's time, to record our conversations, to take out my notebook while seated at a plush conference meal. It was, in a few instances, particularly difficult to have conversations with informants who felt a strong personal commitment to an aspect of the issue I was researching. A small handful of informants made – sometimes quite forceful! – suggestions about the "right" direction for my doctoral research. Responding with grace and research professionalism in such situations was a skill. Many other times, I sincerely enjoyed the time spent with informants and sought to manage research professionalism on this count, taking care not to "go native" (Gray 2009) or lose critical distance from their narratives.

As a qualitative researcher, I found I was constantly building rapport with informants, and sometimes having to manage their expectations of my research (i.e. this thesis may become the basis of a bestselling book or *New York Times* article, but I cannot guarantee it). There is also a matter of motivation. On one full day of research

interviews in Washington DC, the taxi radio on the way to my final interview played live audio of victims entering hospital after a violent attack on civilian crowds in Egypt. It was difficult to convince myself that my doctoral research mattered very much for anyone at that point. Particularly in an action-oriented city like Washington, the constant emphasis on "what works" can, at times, present a barrier to more critical or conceptual avenues of conversation. In addition to the inevitable existential doctoral student churn about whether a contribution to knowledge was being made through my investigation, the tensions inherent in conducting academic research in a strongly practitioner setting could, at times, feel burdensome.

Also, to be turned down for interviews is humbling. To realize my dependence on the kindness of relative strangers for my own research success is humbling. To those who might perceive that an Oxford doctorate may give one an inflated sense of self-importance, I can attest to the many aspects of the process that can serve as a lesson in one's own smallness.

Table 3.1 U.S. Department of State ICWBL and Access to Markets Subcommittee Membership

International Council on Women's Business Leadership

1. Cherie Blair, Founder, Cherie Blair Foundation for Women (United Kingdom)
2. Indra Nooyi, Chairman and CEO, PepsiCo (USA)
3. Judith Rodin, President, Rockefeller Foundation (USA)
4. Ofra Strauss, Chairperson of the Board, Strauss Group (Israel)
5. Sally Susman, Executive Vice President for Policy, External Affairs, and Communications, Pfizer (USA)
6. Zhang Xin, CEO, SOHO China (China)
7. Susan Fleishman, Worldwide Corporate Communications & Public Affairs, Warner Bros. Entertainment (USA)
8. Wendy Luhabe, Founder/Chairman, Women Private Equity Funds (South Africa)
9. Sri Mulyani Indrawati, Managing Director, The World Bank (Indonesia)
10. Tan Sri Zeti Akhtar Aziz, Governor, Bank Negara Malaysia (Malaysia)
11. Beth Brooke, Global Vice Chair of Public Policy, Sustainability, and Stakeholder Engagement, Ernst & Young (USA)
12. Valerie Jarrett, Senior Advisor and Assistant to the President for Public Engagement and Intergovernmental Affairs, The White House (USA)
13. Ory Okolloh, Policy Manager for Africa, Google (Kenya)
14. Sheikha Lubna bint Khalid bin Sultan Al Qasimi, Minister for Foreign Trade (UAE)
15. Maud Olofsson, former MP and former Deputy Prime Minister of Sweden and Minister for Enterprise and Energy (Sweden)
16. Meera Sanyal, Chairperson and Country Executive, ABN AMRO / RBS Bank India (India)
17. Elizabeth Shuler, Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO (USA)
18. Catherine Hughes, Chairperson of the Board and Secretary, Radio One (USA)
19. Wanda Engel, Executive President, Unibanco Institute (Brazil)
20. M. Audrey Hinchcliffe, Founder and Principal Consultant of Caribbean Health Management (Jamaica)

ICWBL Access to Markets Subcommittee

1. Sally Susman, Chair, Executive Vice President, Policy, External Affairs, and Communications, Pfizer
2. Ofra Strauss, Chairperson of the Board of Directors, Strauss Group
3. Beth Comstock, Chief Marketing Officer, General Electric
4. Amber Cottle, Chief Trade Council, Senate Finance Committee
5. Angelica Fuentes, CEO, Grupo Omnilife-Chivas
6. Maria Cristina Gonzalez, Corporate Affairs, Estee Lauder Companies
7. Meg Jones, Director, Gender & Trade, International Trade Center
8. Laura Lane, Head of Public Affairs, UPS
9. John Priddy, President, Priddy Brothers/Full Circle Exchange
10. Pamela Prince-Eason, President and CEO, Women's Business Enterprise National Council
11. Leslie Schweitzer, Chairman, Friends of American University of Afghanistan Foundation
12. Linda Scott, Professor, Oxford Said Business School
13. Josette Sheeran, Vice Chairman, World Economic Forum
14. Jacalyn Spedding, Consultant
15. Elizabeth Vazquez, CEO, WEConnect International

Table 3.2 Participant Observation at Key Events

Event	Dates	Location	Comments
***Poder Mujer*, Inter-American Development Bank/President's Office of Peru**	14-18 October 2012	Lima, Peru	U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and former President of Chile/Head of United Nations Women Michelle Bachelet spoke at this event, which also hosted WEConnect's formal launch in Peru.
***Mujeres Empresarias*, WEConnect/Inter-American Development Bank**	19-22 October 2012	Santiago, Chile	Key corporate buyers were a strong feature of this event, which was co-hosted with Chile's most influential women's business network and also saw the formal launch of WEConnect in Chile.
Global Platform for Action on Sourcing from Women Vendors (International Trade Center)	2-8 November 2012	Mexico City, Mexico	In addition to the formal agenda, this event included "buyer-seller" sessions for procurement executives to meet women entrepreneurs. Access to the buyer-seller event was closed to researchers.
International Council on Women's Business Leadership, U.S. State Department	27 November 2012	Washington, D.C., USA	From July-November 2012, I participated in regular phone and in-person meetings with ICWBL, including this meeting of fewer than thirty participants hosted by Secretary Clinton.
Emerging Markets Forum	11-13 January 2013	Oxford, UK	I served as graduate assistant at this event, which emphasized women's empowerment and included key participants e.g. from the World Bank.
International Women's Coffee Alliance Global Conference	3-10 February 2013	Multiple locations, Guatemala	As part of this event, I visited several coffee farms with IWCA and corporate stakeholders. I was typically one of only a few Spanish speakers in the visitor group, and was thus able to converse freely with farm staff.
Power Shift: Oxford Forum for Women in the World Economy (Theme: Women as Entrepreneurs)	20-21 May 2013	Oxford, UK	I wrote a case study on IWCA for this event. Three members of IWCA's Board traveled to Oxford to participate in the teaching of this case.
Research visitor at global headquarters of WEConnect International	13 July – 5 September 2013	Washington, D.C.	I undertook daily participant observation and conducted interviews with key internal and external stakeholders during this time, including in-person interviews in New York City.
WEConnect International Forum	26-29 August 2013	Guadalajara, Mexico	This event included a "buyer-seller" event. I was given intimate access to this event, at which I was able to shadow buyers and women entrepreneurs pitching their businesses.
Oxford Analytica Global Horizons Conference	18-20 September 2013	Oxford, UK	The U.S. Ambassador for Women's Issues spoke at this event, and I was able to conduct several research-related conversations with her across the following years.

WEConnect International's Europe Conference 2013	3 October 2013	London, UK	
Ethical Corporation Sustainable Supply Chain Summit	7-9 October 2013	London, UK	
International Supply Management Congress	5 November 2013	Amsterdam, Netherlands	
Connected Women Summit	3 March 2014	London, UK	Activist Malala Yousafzai was the keynote speaker at this event.
Coca-Cola Global 5by20 Stakeholder Convening	8 April 2014	London, UK	This was an invite-only Chatham House Rule meeting for Coca-Cola's 5by20 Program, an initiative slated to "economically empower 5 million women in the Coca-Cola supply chain by 2020". I gained access to this event via Professor Linda Scott.
Power Shift: Oxford Forum for Women in the World Economy (Theme: Women and Finance)	27-29 May 2014	Oxford, UK	Participant observation, in-person interviews (exploratory and in-depth).

Table 3.3 IWCA Interviewee List

Interviewee	Country based	Role	Organization	Phone/ in person	Language
1	USA	Senior Vice President	Commodity trader	In person	English
2	USA	Senior Director, Procurement	Roaster/retailer	Phone	English
3	El Salvador	Board Member, Owner	IWCA, Coffee farm	In person	English
4	Guatemala	Head of Medical Clinic	Coffee farm	In person	Spanish
5	Guatemala	Founder	Exporter	In person	English
6	Guatemala	Field Supervisor	Coffee farm	In person	Spanish
7	USA	Founder	Roaster/retailer	In person	English
8	USA/ Canada	Board member	Industry association	Phone	English
9	USA	President, Vice President of Marketing	IWCA, Retailer	In person/phone	English
10	USA	Co-Founder	Roaster/retailer	In person	English
11	Guatemala	Agricultural worker	Organic co-op coffee farm	In person	Spanish
12	Costa Rica	President, Owner	IWCA, Exporter	In person	English
13	USA	Chief Executive Officer	Roaster	Phone	English
14	USA	Senior Director	Roaster/retailer	In person	English
15	Burundi	Founder and President	IWCA Chapter	In person	English
16	Uganda	Founder and President	IWCA Chapter	Phone	English
17	USA	Senior Director, Board Member	Fair Trade USA, IWCA	In person	English
18	Kenya	Founder and President	IWCA Chapter	Phone	English
19	Guatemala	Owner	Coffee farm	In person	English
20	Philippines	Trustee	IWCA Chapter	In person	English
21	Norway/ Brazil	Founder and President	IWCA Chapter	In person	English
22	USA	Co-Founder	IWCA	In person	English
23	USA	Co-Owner	Roaster/retailer	Phone	English
24	Guatemala	Founder, Owner	IWCA Chapter, Coffee farm	In person	English
25	El Salvador	President, Owner	IWCA Chapter, Coffee farm	In person	English
26	USA	Senior Director	Industry association	Phone	English
27	USA	Co-Founder, Executive Director	IWCA, Industry association	In person	English

28	Dominican Republic	President	IWCA Chapter	In person	Spanish
29	Guatemala	Mill Coordinator	Coffee farm	In person	Spanish
30	USA	Co-Founder	Roaster/retailer	In person	English
31	Kenya	Director	Industry association	In person	English
32	Switzerland	Program Manager	Women in Trade Program, Multilateral organization	In person/phone	English
33	USA	Secretary, Senior Director	IWCA, Retailer	In person	English
34	USA/ Guatemala	Owner	Roaster/retailer	Phone	English
35	USA	President	NGO	In person	English
36	USA	Global Head of Soft Commodities	Commodity trader	In person	English
37	Philippines	Founder and President	IWCA Chapter	In person	English
38	Switzerland	Executive Director	Multilateral organization	In person	English
39	Burundi	Smallholder grower	IWCA Chapter	In person	English
40	USA	President	Importer	In person/phone	English
41	India	President	IWCA Chapter	In person	English
42	USA/ Rwanda	Board Member, President	IWCA, Exporter	Phone	English
43	USA	Director of Global Sales	Retailer	Phone	English
44	USA/Brazil	Owner	Coffee farm	Phone	English
45	India	Board Member	IWCA	In person	English
46	Guatemala	Hospitality Coordinator	Coffee farm	In person	Spanish
47	Guatemala	Export Assistant	Coffee farm	In person	Spanish

Table 3.4 WEConnect Interviewee List

Interviewee	City based	Role	Organization	Phone/ in person	Language
1	Washington, D.C.	President & CEO	NGO	Phone	English
2	Monterrey, Mexico	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
3	Washington, D.C.	Economist	Bilateral donor	In person	English
4	Cambridge, UK	Founder	NGO	In person	English
5	New York, NY	Program Manager	United Nations organization	In person	English
6	Philadelphia, PA	Director of Global Procurement	Forbes 50 company	Phone	English
7	Washington, D.C.	Senior Advisor	Bilateral donor	In person	English
8	London, UK	Manager, Supply Chain Social Responsibility	Forbes 1,000 company	In person	English
9	Washington, D.C.	Senior Advisor	WEConnect	Phone	English
10	Washington, D.C.	Senior Director	WEConnect	In person	English
11	Atlanta, GA	Senior Vice President, Customer Engagement	Forbes 100 company	Phone	English
12	London, UK	Procurement Director	Forbes 100 company	In person	English
13	Washington, D.C.	Chief Strategy Officer	Bilateral donor	In person	English
14	Lima, Peru	Social Impact Manager	Commercial bank	In person	English
15	Santiago, Chile	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
16	Santiago, Chile	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
17	San Francisco, CA	Vice President, Global Opportunities	Forbes 50 company	In person	English
18	Lima, Peru	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
19	London, UK	Global Director, Global Women's Economic Empowerment	Forbes 100 company	In person	English
20	Lima, Peru	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
21	Washington, D.C.	Founder	Consultancy	Phone	English
22	Lima, Peru	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish

23	London, UK	Procurement Operations Director	Forbes 100 company	In person	English
24	London, UK	Head, Office of Corporate Engagement	Investment bank	In person	English
25	New York, NY	Director, Supplier Diversity	Forbes 100 company	Phone	English
26	Zurich, Switzerland	Vice President, Procurement	Forbes 100 company	In person	English
27	Sao Paulo, Brazil	Head of Small Business Credit	Forbes 100 company	In person	English
29	Lima, Peru	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
29	New York, NY	President	NGO	Phone	English
30	Washington, D.C.	Senior Executive	WEConnect	In person	English
31	Paris, France	Leader, Services Delivery, Africa	Forbes 100 company	In person	English
32	Santiago, Chile	Senior Director	WEConnect	In person	Spanish
33	Guadalajara, Mexico	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
34	Lima, Peru	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
35	Stockholm, Sweden	Head of Sustainability Policy	Forbes 100 company	In person	English
36	Washington, D.C.	Senior Executive	WEConnect	In person	English
37	Mexico City, Mexico	Head of Strategy, Growth Markets	Forbes 100 company	In person	English
38	Phoenix, AZ	Senior Manager, Supply Chain Operations	Forbes 100 company	In person	English
39	New York, NY	CEO	NGO	In person	English
40	London, UK	Strategic Project Director, Global Women's Economic Empowerment	Forbes 100 company	In person	English
41	Washington, D.C.	Senior Advisor	U.S. Department of State	In person	English
42	Washington, D.C.	Head of Research	U.S. government organization	In person	English
43	Washington, D.C.	Director, Strategic Partnerships	NGO	In person	English
44	Washington, D.C.	Manager, Corporate Relations	U.S. government organization	In person	English
45	Lima, Peru	Owner	Own business	In person	English
46	London, UK	Sustainability Manager	Forbes 200 company	In person	English

47	San Francisco, CA	Director, Supplier Diversity & Sustainability	Forbes 350 company	Phone	English
48	Boise, ID	Owner	Own business	In person	English
49	New Haven, CT	Founder & President	NGO	In person	English
50	Washington, D.C.	Chief Diversity Officer (retired)	World Bank Group	In person	English
51	Washington, D.C.	Senior Policy Advisor, Secretary's Office of Global Women's Issues	U.S. Department of State	In person	English
52	Geneva, Switzerland	Head of Responsible Procurement	Forbes 50 company	In person	English
53	Washington, D.C.	Correspondent	British Broadcasting Corporation	Email	English
54	New York, NY	Director, Women's Empowerment Principles	United Nations organization	In person	English
55	New York, NY	Manager, Social Sustainability & Women's Empowerment	United Nations organization	In person	English
56	Washington, D.C.	Consultant, Women's Economic Empowerment	Multilateral donor	In person	English
57	Washington, D.C.	Researcher	U.S. government organization	In person	English
58	Mexico City, Mexico	Advisor	Ministry of the Economy	In person	Spanish
59	New York, NY	Vice President	Investment bank	In person	English
60	Washington, D.C.	Director	WEConnect	In person	English
61	Washington, D.C.	Lead Economist, Gender & Development	World Bank Group	In person	English
62	London, UK	Global Vice-President for Social Impact	Forbes 100 company	In person	English
63	Paris, France	Director, Supplier Relationship Management	Forbes 200 company	In person	English
64	London, UK	Senior Executive	WEConnect	Phone	English
65	Washington, D.C.	SME Banking & Gender Specialist	World Bank Group	Phone	English
66	London, UK	Head of Customer Innovation	Forbes 450 company	In person	English
67	San Jose, Costa Rica	Director, Women's Banking	Commercial bank	In person	English
68	Santiago, Chile	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish

69	Mexico City, Mexico	President	Women's business association	In person	Spanish
70	Monterrey, Mexico	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
71	Lima, Peru	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
72	San Francisco, CA	VP Sales & Marketing	Forbes 2000 company	In person	English
73	Santiago, Chile	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
74	Santiago, Chile	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
75	Washington, D.C.	Lead Specialist, Women's Economic Empowerment	Multilateral donor	In person	English
76	London, UK	Global Supplier Diversity & Inclusion Lead	Forbes 300 company	In person	English
77	Atlanta, GA	Global Government Relations Director	Forbes 100 company	In person	English
78	Mexico City, Mexico	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
79	Lima, Peru	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
80	Monterrey, Mexico	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
81	Washington, D.C.	Senior Fellow	United Nations organization	In person	English
82	Mumbai, India	CEO	Forbes 450 company	In person	English
83	Geneva, Switzerland	Senior Executive	United Nations organization	In person	English
84	Lima, Peru	Owner	Own business	In person	English
85	London, UK	ESG Program Manager	Forbes 75 company	In person	English
86	Washington, D.C.	Ambassador for Global Women's Issues	U.S. Department of State	In person	English
87	Austin, TX	Director, Supply Chain Social Responsibility	Forbes 1,500 company	In person	English
88	Washington, D.C.	Director	WEConnect	In person	English
89	Lima, Peru	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
90	London, UK	Senior Executive	Forbes 1,000 company	In person	English
91	Guadalajara, Mexico	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
92	Washington, D.C.	Consultant, Gender & Women's Economic Empowerment	World Bank Group	In person	English

93	Washington, D.C.	Director, Office of Global Women's Issues	U.S. Department of State	Phone	English
94	Washington, D.C.	Director, Women's Economic Opportunity Initiative	Forbes 10 company (Foundation)	In person	English
95	Santiago, Chile	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
96	London, UK	Global Supplier Diversity Program Manager	Forbes 50 company	In person	English
97	New York, NY	Head of Program, Girls and Women	NGO	In person	English
98	Washington, D.C.	Director, Global Supplier Diversity	Forbes 800 company	In person	English
99	New York, NY	Director of Sustainability & Environmental Compliance	Regional government	In person	Spanish
100	Washington, D.C.	Program Officer	United Nations organization	In person	English
101	London, UK	Managing Director, Procurement	Forbes 100 company	In person	English
102	Basel, Switzerland	Head of Sustainability & Compliance	Forbes 100 company	In person	English
103	Guadalajara, Mexico	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish
104	Mexico City, Mexico	Director, Government Relations	Forbes 1,500 company	In person	English
105	Washington, D.C.	Senior Director	World Bank Group	In person	English
106	Miami, FL	Global Engagement Manager	Forbes 50 company	In person	English
107	London, UK	Program Officer	Investment bank	In person	English
108	Washington, D.C.	Senior Director, Federal Government Relations	Forbes 20 company	In person	English
109	Washington, D.C.	Senior Analyst, Gender & Development	World Bank Group	In person	English
110	Monterrey, Mexico	Owner	Own business	In person	Spanish

Table 3.5 Data Analysis: NVivo Codes

Code Number	Code Description	Used in Analysis of IWCA Data	Used in Analysis of WEConnect Data
1	Corporate aspirations vs. corporate action	X	X
2	Corporate motives for women's empowerment	X	X
3	Corporate influence over norms		X
4	Defining empowerment	X	X
5	Gendered work spheres	X	X
6	Instrumental arguments for women's empowerment	X	X
7	Invisible forms of work	X	X
8	Linking women's empowerment and social/development impact	X	X
9	Making gender legitimate/palatable to new actors	X	X
10	Marginalization as resource	X	X
11	Market and unpaid/care work in conflict	X	X
12	Men and work identity	X	X
13	Need for unpaid/care work	X	X
14	Public support for unpaid/care work		X
15	Strategic theater makes issues visible		X
16	Training, networking, finance prescription for women business owners	X	X
17	Unpaid/care work as personal choice	X	X
18	Unpaid/care work influencing pursuit of market work	X	X
19	Unpaid/care work separate from market work	X	X
20	Unpaid/care supporting market work	X	X
21	Virtuous Woman/multiplier effect narrative	X	X
22	What is visible to industry actors/the market	X	X

23	Who is an entrepreneur		X
24	Women and economic growth	X	X
25	Women in formal spheres	X	X
26	Women in supply chains		X
27	Women need to change to become empowered	X	X
28	Work implies economic growth	X	X
29	You need women who need help but who are ‘help-able’	X	X

Chapter 4: Case 1: Unpaid/Care Work in Entrepreneurship Literature

4.1 Framing the Systematic Literature Review (SLR)

This thesis seeks to explore the interface between unpaid/care work and market work as represented in management theory and practice. To this end, this chapter explores the case of management theory through the analysis of a systematic literature review (SLR) of mainstream entrepreneurship scholarship. In her influential[60] 2006 article in *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 'Why Research on Women Entrepreneurs Needs New Directions', Helene Ahl, commenting on her analysis of 81 articles in four leading entrepreneurship journals between 1982 and 2000, identifies what she calls "the division between work and family" as one of ten discursive practices characteristic of entrepreneurship research.[61] Her analysis asserts that entrepreneurship literature reflects an implicit understanding of work as an activity undertaken in a public sphere, apart from family[62], which is defined to exist in a private, individualized domain (Ahl 2006). Here, Ahl draws on the tradition of critical engagement with the concept of "separate spheres", a topic of long-standing interest to social theorists, historians, and feminist thinkers alike (see e.g. Jennings 1993). In the same analysis, Ahl also argues that entrepreneurship research tends not only to assume that work and family represent two theoretically and empirically distinct poles of human endeavor, but also to "position the family as being a

[60] By Google Scholar's count, Ahl's 2006 article had been cited 691 times as of 21 April 2016, with 249 citations in 2014/15.

[61] The discursive practices Ahl explores are: 1) the entrepreneur as male gendered, 2) entrepreneurship as an instrument for economic growth, 3) men and women as essentially different, 4) the division between work and family, 5) individualism, 6) theories favoring individual explanations, 7) research methods that look for mean differences, 8) an objectivist ontology, 9) institutional support for entrepreneurship research, and 10) writing and publishing practices.

[62] Note that unpaid/care work outside the family is not referenced in this literature.

problem… an impediment for a woman to start and run a business". That is, Ahl observes that family is most frequently understood as quite separate from entrepreneurial work, and of intensified concern for *women* entrepreneurs (Ahl 2006). Here, Ahl provides an entry point for entrepreneurship research to engage some of the fundamental insights from feminist economics scholarship.

While particularly influential, Ahl's article by no means represents a solitary voice in the entrepreneurship literature. Additional articles set out arguments that correspondingly craft the scaffolding on which insights from feminist economics can build. In a now highly cited *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* piece, Bird and Brush (2002) argue for a "gendered perspective on organizational creation", drawing attention to ways in which women's entrepreneurial experiences might be inadequately captured by scholarship. Brush et al. (2009) reiterate the call for increased critical reflection on established theories of entrepreneurship, inviting the use of gender as a means through which to make manifest and interrogate *de facto* assumptions of the field. Their objective in this, of course, is to encourage entrepreneurship scholars to engage "more strongly in theory building". Aldrich and Cliff point out that, in entrepreneurship scholarship and management literature more broadly, "families and businesses have often been treated as naturally separate institutions" (2003), and introduce models in which social networks – crucially, family – exercise significant influence on entrepreneurial work. Martin explores the impact of gender (e.g. succession planning with daughters vs. sons) in family firms, and with Millman has contributed to the literature on "copreneurs"; i.e. couples sharing ownership and responsibility for a business (Martin 2001; Millman & Martin 2007). Papers by Zahra (2007) and Welter (2011) have stressed the importance of the examination of context, including family and informal institutions, in explorations of

entrepreneurial outcomes. Finally, Calas et al. (2009) advocate that scholars approach entrepreneurship not as a primarily economic activity with potential social impact, but rather as a "social change activity" open to a variety of possible positive, neutral, and negative outcomes.

The entrepreneurship literature thus presents a landscape that is amenable to critical engagement with assumptions characteristic of current scholarship. Scholars make this point not infrequently in discussion of the topic of women entrepreneurs and families. Yet, while Ahl's article has inspired a groundswell of responses to her call for "new directions" in women's entrepreneurship research, novel theoretical engagement with her observation regarding the separation of work and family remains scarce. This thesis offers one reason why this may be the case, and outlines a possible way forward. To start, responses to this particular critique of Ahl's may not be forthcoming because, in the entrepreneurship literature, "family" tends to remain a relatively abstract concept and one that is rarely framed to hold explicit economic significance. Making headway in theory development on the interface between reproductive and productive work therefore remains somewhat unintuitive to a literature preoccupied with the "business enterprise" rather than the "family system" (Calas et al. 2009; Dyer & Handler 1994; Dyer, Nenque & Hill 2014). Feminist economics provides at least two original theoretical resources with which to advance scholarship: first, their discussion of "family" in terms of unpaid/care work sharpens analysis, nudging the literature away from prevailing imprecise references to family. Additionally, their expansion of "work" to explicitly include unremunerated "provisioning" labor[63], unlike the term's classical[64] definition, offers a lens through

[63] Note the concept of "provisioning" discussed in the literature review of feminist economics: "What is needed is a definition of economics that considers humans *in relation* to the world… Focusing economics on the provisioning of human life, that is, on the commodities and processes necessary to

which the relationship of entrepreneurship to context and institutions can be examined in new ways.

The purpose of this SLR is to identify the manner in which the entrepreneurship literature engages with unpaid/care and provisioning work – typically shorthanded to "family" – *as a form of work*, i.e., rather than as one among many demographic variables or individual-level characteristics that may or may not contribute to business success. In conducting the analysis for the review, foremost attention has been paid to two questions: 1) To what extent and with which consequences is production taken to be separate from reproduction? and 2) What is (tacitly or explicitly) included in and excluded from the definition of work? Put another way, to what extent does contemporary entrepreneurship scholarship appear to reflect – or take as given – the classical position that production and reproduction can be cleanly separated from one another, and/or that they occupy separate (and often gendered) spheres, only one of which – the market sphere – holds substantial economic significance?

To this end, the review aims to identify articles offering some degree of detail regarding unpaid/care work conducted by entrepreneurs. This is opposed to those articles that reference "family" – simply acknowledging that many entrepreneurs are embedded in some form of family relationship – without explication of the processes or activities related to provisioning work. Following Ahl's observation that the gendered separation of work and family may constitute one of the key discursive practices of entrepreneurship research (Ahl 2006), the review also seeks to investigate

---

human survival, provides such a definition" (Nelson 1993).

[64] Note the discussion in the literature review of feminist economics of how classical economics' definition of work came to be limited to the production of that which is exchangeable, for a market price, and which created a money surplus.

the extent to which the gendered division of labor is upheld (or not) in analysis by entrepreneurship scholars. To accomplish this final task, attention is paid to the extent to which women entrepreneurs are assumed or stated to be relatively more engaged in unpaid/care work than men entrepreneurs.

In summary, the pursuit of women's empowerment objectives through entrepreneurial work is an aim of a proliferating number of prominent public sector, private sector, and partnership initiatives. However, much entrepreneurship literature is myopic in part because it tends to treat the socially constructed distinction between productive and reproductive work as fact. While this tendency becomes most evident in research on women's entrepreneurship, the problem is not limited to this avenue of entrepreneurship research; it is conceptually quite fundamental to how much of the field has tended to frame its research. While this thesis builds on feminist theory, the critiques and observations identified via this SLR should not be seen as limited to scholarship on women's enterprise. Rather, it appears that research on women's entrepreneurship simply renders existing assumptions in the broader literature more apparent.

4.1.1 Systematic Literature Review: Journal Selection

This thesis engages an SLR encompassing literature from as far back as the 1970s to date. The use of SLRs is well accepted as a research approach in the field of entrepreneurship (Jennings and Brush 2013; Pittaway and Cope 2007). They have particular utility when, as is the case with this review, high numbers of articles are searched over an extended period of time. In order to focus this SLR, a search was conducted within specific relevant journals, rather than via general databases such as Business Source Complete. Such journal-specific SLRs are an established

methodological approach within entrepreneurship research (Jennings & Brush 2013), and suitable for the research aims of this thesis. Thus, the first step in conducting the SLR was to identify journals appropriate for the search. The aim in selecting journals was to identify publications reflective of mainstream scholarship on entrepreneurship considered by academic peers to be of the highest quality. With the understanding that assigning objective relative quality to academic journals is a notoriously fraught process, the reason for the approach taken is that "highly rated" or, colloquially, "top" journals are likely to be considered influential in the field, and thus provide a credible indication of the state of what is considered good scholarship by those considered experts. The process of generating journals to search was initiated using the Academic Journal Quality Guide (Version 4, dated 2010) published by the Association of Business Schools (ABS). ABS uses numeric criteria to express their assessment of journal quality in a range of business, economics, and management subjects. Ratings ascend from one to four, with the latter corresponding to the highest achievable ABS quality grade.

For the purposes of this SLR, journals in entrepreneurship receiving an ABS rating of three or higher were considered. Of journals rated three, the ABS Guide states, "[these] journals publish original and well executed research papers and are highly regarded… have good submission rates… and are very selective in what they publish. Papers [published in these journals] are heavily refereed." A total of seven entrepreneurship journals receive a rating of three or higher from ABS. In order to avoid reliance on a single snapshot list in the selection of journals to search, comment from scholarship was also taken into account. Ratnatunga and Romano (1997) and Meeks, Neck, and Meyer (2001)[65] concur that four of the seven journals under

[65] These are the two papers on which Ahl (2006) draws in order to select journals to review.

consideration following the ABS review are considered leading journals in entrepreneurship. The combination of these observations from over time, taken alongside the ABS rankings, helped to identify the group of entrepreneurship journals which could be appropriately considered "leading" for this review. Table 4.1 presents the results of this exercise.

Table 4.1 Selection of Journals for Literature Review

Publication	**ABS rating**	**Mention by Ratnatunga & Romano (1997) and Meeks et al. (2001)**
Journal of Business Venturing	4	Yes
Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice	4	Yes
International Small Business Journal	3	No
Entrepreneurship and Regional Development	3	Yes
Small Business Economics	3	No
Journal of Small Business Management	3	Yes
Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal	3	No

Four journals emerged as arguably representative of mainstream scholarship in entrepreneurship following this exercise: *Journal of Business Venturing*, *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, and *Journal of Small Business Management*. This approach to journal selection, while efficacious for the research ends of this thesis, introduces the limitation that wider sets

of journals, including those from outside the field of management (e.g. from sociology, political economy, or anthropology) are not reflected in this exercise.[66]

4.1.2 Systematic Literature Review: Stage 1

A systematic search of multiple keywords was next conducted in these four journals. Search terms employed in this review were "care", "children", "family", and "work". In addition, a less comprehensive keyword search was also completed in the remaining journals from the ABS list and the *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship* in order to ensure that the cutoff for journal selection had not affected results. While the *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship* appeared in neither the ABS list nor in the mentioned references from scholarship, its subject area is highly relevant to the topic of the review. However, given that the objective of the literature review is to understand the treatment of unpaid/care work in leading mainstream entrepreneurship journals, the review will focus on analysis of results from the searches of the terms "care", "children"[67], and "family" in the *Journal of Business Venturing*, *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *Entrepreneurship and*

[66] The primary limitation of examining entrepreneurship literature only in terms of leading journals is that such a search is likely to exclude topics and methods of study which may be represented in less mainstream research. Nevertheless, the intention of the SLR is precisely to identify how the interface between unpaid/care and market work are framed in leading aspects of management scholarship. Because of this, and with the limitations of the approach firmly in mind, the journal selection method chosen for this SLR is in fact well suited to the aims of this research.

[67] Unpaid/care and provisioning work is by no means limited to that directed in the benefit of biological children. As discussed in the review of feminist economics literature, such work also includes care for the elderly, as well as those facing physical and/or mental challenges. It is by no means limited to care for those with whom one shares a biological relationship. Taking this into account, searches were also performed for the terms "elderly", "eldercare", and "ageing" as well as for "disability" and "handicap". None of these searches returned results, indicating that the kind of care with which entrepreneurship literature has engaged – when it engages with unpaid/care work at all – has been care for dependent children.

Note also that "family" in this literature most frequently refers to an assumed nuclear family, i.e. a single adult pair and their underage dependents (i.e. not their own elderly parents, etc.) Several scholars exploring entrepreneurship in emerging economies or by immigrant groups to OECD countries note that "family" in these contexts may refer to larger sets of extended relatives, but this is rare and such family is not infrequently cast as pathological in terms of impact on entrepreneurial outcomes (see e.g. Khavul, Bruton & Wood 2009; Young & Welsch 1993).

Regional Development, and *Journal of Small Business Management*. In this first stage of the search, journals were searched for each term individually in a paper's abstract, keywords, subject description, or title. Results of each search were then examined for relevance using exclusion criteria set for each search. For each stage of this SLR, manual rather than automated review methods (Neergaard & Ulhoi 2007) were employed; given the need for reflection on the content of research articles at every stage. Table 4.2 lays out the procedural aspects of these searches as well as their results.

Table 4.2 Review of Unpaid/Care Work in Entrepreneurship Literature (Stage 1)

Search Term	Publication	Database/Years searched	Exclusion criteria	Results
Care				
	Journal of Business Venturing	Elsevier SD Freedom Collection, 1985 - present	Excluded "care" when as health or medical care, especially related to healthcare systems; also when found in phrases i.e. "take care".	12 total, 0 relevant following application of exclusion criteria
	Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice	EBSCO, 1988-present	As above	5 total, 1 relevant
	Entrepreneurship and Regional Development	EBSCO, 1998-present	As above	1 total, 0 relevant
	Journal of Small Business Management	EBSCO, 1971-present	As above	7 total, 1 relevant
Totals ("care")			Totals ("care")	25 total, 2 relevant
Children				

	Journal of Business Venturing	Elsevier SD Freedom Collection, 1985 - present	Excluded “children” when as non-dependent children (i.e. adult children running a family firm) or when context spurious, e.g. "Polluted water is one of the world’s leading causes of disease… particularly for children..."	6 total, 5 relevant following application of exclusion criteria
	Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice	EBSCO, 1988-present	As above	11 total, 9 relevant
	Entrepreneurship and Regional Development	EBSCO, 1998-present	As above	2 total, 2 relevant
	Journal of Small Business Management	EBSCO, 1971-present	As above	6 total, 6 relevant
Totals (“children”)				25 total, 22 relevant
Family				
	Journal of Business Venturing	Elsevier SD Freedom Collection, 1985 – present	Excluded “family” when mentioned exclusively in reference to family business.	65 total, 16 relevant following application of exclusion criteria
	Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice	EBSCO, 1988-present	As above	172 total, 47 relevant
	Entrepreneurship and Regional Development	EBSCO, 1998-present	As above	30 total, 8 relevant
	Journal of Small Business Management	EBSCO, 1971-present	As above	99 total, 33 relevant
Totals (“family”)				366 total, 104 relevant
Combined totals following initial search (“care”, “children”, and “family”)				416 total, 128 relevant

Stage 1 of the SLR yielded a total of 416 possible articles for review, with the majority (88%) of initial results yielded from the search for "family" and relatively few from "care" (6%) and "children" (6%). Upon application of exclusion criteria, 288 articles (70%) of the combined total possible articles for review were found not to be relevant, leaving 128 articles open for Stage 2 examination. Of these 128 relevant articles, again the majority (81%) of relevant Stage 1 results came from the search for "family". Results for the search term "children" made up 17% of Stage 1 relevant articles, while the search term "care" yielded only two relevant articles or less than 2% of the total results for Stage 1.

4.1.3 Systematic Literature Review: Stage 2

For Stage 2 of the SLR, each of the 128 articles remaining from Stage 1 was examined in depth. At this stage, exclusion criteria were more nuanced; attention was paid to the article's key arguments and focus, as well as how the article situated itself within the entrepreneurship literature. The objective of this second stage was to ensure that articles included in the final review in fact represented meaningful reflections on entrepreneurship scholarship's engagement with unpaid/care work and the division between productive and reproductive labor. In this analysis, particular effort was made to identify articles that provided at least a minimal level of detail about the nature of unpaid/care or provisioning labor undertaken by entrepreneurs – a reference to time allocated to childcare, or to housework, for example. Additionally, the process of reviewing these 128 papers yielded valuable insight into how the research questions motivating this thesis differ from those already explored in the entrepreneurship literature.

Following the completion of Stage 2 of the SLR, a total of 35 articles were found to contain topics or themes salient to the review. Of the original 416 articles

identified as possibly relevant following a keyword search, Stage 1 confirmed that 128 of these papers warranted further examination. Upon more rigorous second stage analysis of these 128 articles, fewer than one-third or a total of 35 articles were appropriate for inclusion in the final review. The search terms used resulted in the identification of five articles which were duplicates, i.e. appeared in multiple searches such as both "children" and "family". Notably, both of the articles remaining in the final results for "care" were duplicate articles, and in both cases the duplication was with the search term "children". Three of the articles remaining in the results for "children" overlapped with the search term "family". That is to say, depending on the approach adopted for managing duplicate results, it is entirely possible to have zero substantive results for the search term "care" in leading entrepreneurship journals in a search covering years as far back as 1971. For the present review, the rule applied to duplicate results was as follows: a single entry for the duplicate article was maintained in the category of the search term with fewer overall results. The article was removed from the second category in which it appeared. Table 4.3 presents a summary of Stage 2 literature search findings by keyword.

Table 4.3 Review of Unpaid/Care Work in Entrepreneurship Literature (Stage 2)

Search term	Stage 1 results	Stage 2 results	Duplicates	Final totals
Care	2 relevant	2 relevant	2 (with "children")	2
Children	22 relevant	11 relevant	2 (as above), 3 (with "family")	9
Family	104 relevant	27 relevant	3 (as above)	24
	128 relevant	40 relevant	5	35

4.1.4 Systematic Literature Review: Analysis

The results of the Stage 2 review permit some initial analysis of how unpaid/care work is treated in the entrepreneurship literature and, by extension, the definition of work that is taken for granted in this body of scholarship. The most immediately apparent finding is that unpaid/care work receives little to no analytical attention from entrepreneurship scholars publishing in leading journals. Because of their incredulity regarding the easy divide between production and reproduction, feminist economists frame unpaid/care work as invaluable to the functioning of economic life. Because of this, feminist economist scholars may look with suspicion upon the convention that work is limited to that which is done for market exchange, pointing out that such a definition of work is by no means "natural", but rather the outcome of historical processes that restricted the scope of what should or could be considered productive work. This analysis of the treatment of unpaid/care work in contemporary entrepreneurship literature suggests that the influence of classical economics indeed maintains a long shadow over the literature, and that the understanding of work as something separate from family and signified by market remuneration is well established within the field. The presence of such a clear conceptual gap underscores the need for theoretical engagement between entrepreneurship literature and feminist economics.

The literature search results support Ahl's assertion that, "the division between work and family" represents a non-trivial characteristic of entrepreneurship research. Expounding on this assertion, Ahl posited that entrepreneurship literature tends to assume work to be an activity undertaken in a public "sphere," apart from family, which exists in a separate, private domain (Ahl 2006). Again, feminist economists have made the case that family, and the unpaid/care work that supports it, creates not

only individual, private goods but also public goods of nontrivial economic importance, most crudely "the next generation of workers and taxpayers" (Folbre 1994). Still, the literature search reveals that analysis into the mechanisms through which entrepreneurial and unpaid/care work interact is characteristically thin.

Overall, substantive analytical attention even to the narrowest definition of family is limited in the scope of the volume of articles surveyed. This is somewhat surprising, given that the object of entrepreneurial study is not infrequently self-employed entrepreneurs as well as businesses operating in family contexts. Again, the existence of such a prominent gap suggests a potential limitation on the conceptual level, i.e. a thin view of entrepreneurial work and concurrent view of unpaid/care work as inherently distinct – or at least somewhat straightforwardly separable – from entrepreneurial endeavors. The concept of provisioning is, unsurprisingly, never articulated. But neither are the theoretical insights the term offers reflected in mainstream analysis by current scholarship. Insights from feminist economists help both to make evident and problematize such a conception of enterprise and the nature of the institutions in which it is embedded.

4.2 Systematic Literature Review: Findings

Tendencies encountered in the literature were remarkably consistent across the SLR. To start, it is also prudent to make several observations about the literature overall and the terms employed in analysis of the literature search results. First, it must be emphasized that explicit reference to "care", "care work", "unpaid work", or "provisioning" was absent from the literature reviewed. Thus, the objective of identifying articles that engage directly with unpaid/care work was not a matter of a simple search. While not at all unexpected, the extent to which this held true across

the literature is worthy of note and provides further reinforcement of necessary engagement with feminist economic insights by scholars.

Second, "family" received substantive engagement (as detailed in Table 4.3), but, with a few exceptions, was predictably cast as dichotomous to work, existing in a separate sphere except in the case of relatively few articles explicitly arguing for a more embedded approach to the study of entrepreneurship (Aldrich & Cliff 2003; Alsos, Carter & Ljundgren 2014; Rogoff & Heck 2003; Werbel & Danes 2010). Not only was the "family" sphere separate, but also typically cast as non-economic or even anti-economic, reinforcing classical definitions of work and lacking evidence of awareness of more expansive constructs such as that of "provisioning". In fact, a kind of conflict metaphor was evident in the discussion of family in this body of scholarship overall; family (the only variety of unpaid/care work mentioned with any regularity) was overwhelmingly cast as standing in tension with entrepreneurial work. A majority (22 of the 35) of articles explicitly introduced family primarily in terms of either "conflict" or "tension" with entrepreneurship. Ten of the 35 articles acknowledged the possibility of a more mixed, contingent relationship between work and family, but few engaged unpaid/care work in detail. Several authors made explicit reference to ways in which family might encourage enterprise, for example through the provision of spousal support (Davis, Allen & Hayes 2010), financial or emotional motivation (Olson, Zuiker, Danes, Stafford, Heck & Duncan 2003; Young & Welsch 1993), or contributions to the business (Werbel & Danes 2010). Unsurprisingly, the term "work-family conflict" is well established in mainstream literature and enjoys extensive purchase with scholars (Shelton 2006; Shelton, Danes & Eisenman 2008; Stoner, Hartman & Arora 1990).

The conflict between work and family was frequently taken for granted, due to an assumed – and at times explicit – ontological incompatibility between economic and non-economic spheres across the literature. Nevertheless, and as a third overall observation, the precise characteristics of this incompatibility were rarely articulated, with the exception of several articles citing specific tensions regarding the use of time (McGowan et al. 2012; Williams 2004).[68] Not only was reference to unpaid/care work absent from the literature, but the unpaid/care work involved in the maintenance of "family", i.e. any form of provisioning labor, was rarely explicitly detailed. The literature rarely elaborates on the nature of the activities unpaid/care or provisioning work entail (an exception exists in 6 out of the 35 articles reviewed which make at least passing mention of "housework" (Collins & Low 2010; Eddleston & Powell 2012; McGowan et al. 2012) or "household chores" (Aldrich & Cliff 2003; Caputo & Dolinsky 1998; Lee, Sohn & Ju 2011)). Rather, the overwhelming tendency observed in the literature was not to explicate on "family" at all, taking conflict between productive and reproductive work as given. Where the literature contains specific references to the nature of challenges presented by "family", these typically straightforwardly conflate "family" with the existence of "young" or "small" children (Collins-Dodd, Gordon & Smart 2004; DeMartino et al. 2006) in need of "child care" (Lerner et al. 1997, Williams 2004), a decidedly narrow view of unpaid/care labor.

Fourth, the focus of much of the entrepreneurship literature is on individual characteristics of the entrepreneur (e.g. personal values and motivation, skill levels, etc.) and features of their local environment (e.g. access to finance, training, mentors). One can also find, to a somewhat lesser extent, discussion in the literature of

[68] Marlow (1997) has made a similar emphasis in the context of professional careers, arguing that: "The time and energy resources required for playing a domestic, caring role often conflict with the demands of developing an effective executive career."

institutional and social arrangements (e.g. business environment, rule of law) on entrepreneurship. However, unpaid/care work is almost without exception mentioned only in the context of the individual. Institutional structures and norms (e.g. child or eldercare policy, the nature of professional norms) are almost never mentioned, let alone examined in detail.

Finally, the taken for granted understanding of the kind of "family" that influences entrepreneurship in this literature appeared to be a couple's own biological offspring, typically younger than school-age (Collins-Dodd et al. 2004; Morris et al. 2006). When discussing "family", articles did not reference, for example: parenting of teenagers[69], care for elderly relatives or aging parents, nor dependents that may require long-term care due to physical or mental challenges or chronic illness. Across the literature, mention was not made of unpaid/care work with those outside the nuclear family; i.e. extended family or community members (neighbors, or those with whom one volunteers at a school, shelter, or hospital, for example) Such omissions can be argued to impoverish this literature's engagement with reproductive work, suggesting that empirical and analytical contributions may lack nuance on this score. As a result, insights regarding the interface between unpaid/care work and entrepreneurial work are likely to be underdeveloped.

4.2.1 What is the Interface between Unpaid/Care and Entrepreneurial Work?

Entrepreneurship scholarship engages the interface between production and reproduction to a limited extent, and in a relatively cursory manner. A comprehensive analysis of the 35 articles identified following Stage 3 of this review illustrates

[69] An exception was Collins & Low (2010), who noted that a significant number of the immigrant women entrepreneurs interviewed in Sydney, Australia reported that, "at some stage their teenage children had to spend time after school or during the school holidays at their places of business as there was no one to take care of them at home".

how entrepreneurship engages this interface, when it does so. Three tendencies emerge from the review. First, entrepreneurship appears to understand "family" (its closest reference to unpaid/care or reproductive work) as *dichotomous* to production or market work, casting business as either ontologically separate to or cleanly separable from family. Second, entrepreneurship tends to assume that the dichotomous relationship between production and reproduction is one characterized primarily by *conflict* or *tension* between two ontologically incompatible realms. Some scholars signal alertness to the ways in which the institutions and norms constituent of these realms have been socially and historically composed, but many appear to simply take their incommensurability as given. Third, entrepreneurship appears to uphold a *gendered* separation of work spheres. Scholarship investigating how women entrepreneurs manage conflict between "business" and "family" is relatively commonplace. No articles dedicated to this topic could be identified for men entrepreneurs in this review. These and additional subsidiary tendencies observed within the SLR will be explored in the present section, which will conclude by highlighting contributions from entrepreneurship scholars who articulate possibilities for an alternate view.

4.2.2 Dichotomous

Documenting the literature's tendency to frame entrepreneurial and market work as dichotomous to unpaid/care work is relatively straightforward. For example, in her study of entrepreneurs' personal motivations and value systems, Fagenson (1993) presents "family" and work as two fundamentally distinct activities pursued by individuals motivated by divergent personal value systems. Similarly, Morris et al. (2006) explore whether women were "pushed" or "pulled" into entrepreneurship by examining the nature of their personal motivations. In so doing, the authors draw a

distinction between what they call “wealth or achievement factors” and family motives. This article concludes that growth, i.e. the pursuit of non-family objectives in the economic realm, is a “deliberate choice” and that women (the subject of their investigation) have, “a clear sense of costs and benefits of growth and make careful trade-off decisions” as they navigate these opposing realms.

The article does not explicate the nature of the unpaid/care work associated with family that would make it opposed to business. The authors instead appear to take their ontological opposition as given. Thus, the piece archetypically assumes that the pursuit in one or the other realm is the outcome of a process of personal choice and individual motivation, rather than, for example, enactment of two different types of equally valuable work. One wonders why it is not possible to consider “wealth” and “achievement” in the context of provisioning work related to family, for example.

As a final illustration of the tendency towards dichotomization, research conducted by Schindehutte, Morris, and Brennan (2003) asserts that the “distinction between ‘paid work’ and ‘family responsibilities’ is more salient for women” (again, the object of their research). Not only does this observation reflect a norm of dichotomization, but notably eschews use of the term “unpaid work” as the counterpart to “paid work”. A possible thought experiment might be to reread the authors’ analysis, substituting the term “work responsibilities” where the term “paid work” appears and replacing the term “family responsibilities” with “unpaid work”. The analysis, of course, would read quite differently. Such play with words is not an esoteric exercise. Rather, it draws attention to the ways in which the reproductive sphere is framed as one of responsibility and obligation, rather than productive work. More to the point, the inclusion of the term “unpaid work” makes evident the work

conducted in non-market settings. By an accident of historical circumstance, it is often an unremunerated economic provisioning activity, but work nevertheless.

4.2.3 In Conflict

Entrepreneurship literature features an established conversation engaging with work and family. However, family is most frequently perceived to be not only dichotomous to but also in conflict with business activity. Iterations of the entrepreneurial work-family conflict metaphor are numerous in the literature. In some of these cases, conflict assessments are empirically grounded. In other cases, they are taken for granted. This section will examine examples of both.

In one piece exploring experiences of entrepreneurs seeking to enter export markets, the authors find that increased business commitments negatively affect family life, not infrequently with "detrimental effects" on family (Wright 1993). While entrepreneurial work is thus presented in stark conflict with family, the only mechanisms of conflict mentioned are increased travel commitments and stress, not strictly family or unpaid/care-related concerns. As previously noted, when specific elements of "work-family conflict" are enumerated, they overwhelmingly focus on the experience of women entrepreneurs navigating care for young children, as does Winn's (2006) *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* case study of a woman entrepreneur in the Czech Republic. In this piece, the author notes that the "biggest challenge" faced by the entrepreneur profiled was, "finding childcare for her son" in the absence of parental ability to provide unpaid/care work. In an article examining the impact of government entrepreneurship promotion policies on women entrepreneurs in South Korea, Lee et al. (2011) conclude that family life has explicit impact on entrepreneurial outcomes for women, with housework and childcare cited

as particularly problematic. In their exploration of how families of entrepreneurs may enrich women's businesses, Eddleston and Powell (2012) also note that "women's entrepreneurial experiences may be hampered by family responsibilities", observing that, in studying family, "scholars have primarily focused on how the family intrudes on the entrepreneurial experience". The authors argue for a more nuanced perspective, citing that conflict between entrepreneurial work and family may be overcome when family members provide "instrumental support" at home or "assume their fair share or the bulk of the household responsibilities", allowing the entrepreneur to "focus on business concerns".

This framing, i.e. an implicit selection of one dichotomous sphere over another, is examined by several scholars investigating how women entrepreneurs manage conflict between business and family. (No articles on this theme were identified for men entrepreneurs). Shelton (2006) examines strategies undertaken by women entrepreneurs to manage "work-family conflict" by "manipulating roles". In this instance, while unpaid/care work is not specifically referenced, family is cast not explicitly as work but in terms of the fulfillment of a "role". However, the activities constituent of this role are left largely unarticulated. The article suggests women pursue one of three strategies for manipulating roles: role elimination, role reduction, and role sharing. Because the interface between family and entrepreneurship is taken to be negative, role management by women entrepreneurs is presented as a crucial aspect of entrepreneurial success. Indeed the author argues that:

> [M]itigating work-family conflict is an important condition for growth in entrepreneurial ventures… work-family conflict negatively impacts venture performance by lowering the well-being of the entrepreneur and subsequently hindering work performance.

A reader may wonder whether the impact of tension on family might also be negative. Clearly, the interface between unpaid/care work presented is one of discord.

Entrepreneurship literature contains repeated affirmations that entrepreneurs – women in particular – face significant conflict between work and family. This conflict is not infrequently cited to have significant impact on business success. However, a fleshed-out perspective on the nature and purpose of unpaid/care or provisioning work, and the mechanisms by which these must necessarily interfere with market pursuits, remains largely obscure. Work-family conflict is often taken for granted, as in Werbel and Danes' (2010) work, which notes that, "the negative spillover from family to work has been an important aspect of much of past literature". In this piece, the authors present nine variables of work-family conflict including work-induced tiredness and irritability. Each of these variables is found to "interfere with family life". However, the variables selected do not reflect unpaid/care work as a meaningful construct, nor do they reflect fully the investments the provisioning of "family life" requires. The conflict between work and family is thus well established in entrepreneurship research, but suggestions of novel theoretical frameworks with which to understand this phenomenon are scarce.

Entrepreneurship scholarship has been overwhelmingly limited to examples taken from industrialized country contexts, often engaging with relatively highly educated and resourced entrepreneurs. Many exceptions to this trend exist, and their number is increasing in the literature. However, in the review conducted for this research, only a handful directly engaged with the experiences of entrepreneurs operating outside of such settings. One example investigated the experiences of women micro-entrepreneurs in India (Datta & Gailey 2012), another micro-financed businesses in East Africa, and a third explored immigrant entrepreneurship in Sydney,

Australia using a sample of women entrepreneurs from across Asia (Collins & Low 2010). While the term "unpaid/care work" is not used in these articles, they express recognition that unpaid/care and market work may overlap. Among women Asian immigrant entrepreneurs to Australia, Collins and Low (2010) perceive that the interface between paid and unpaid work appeared to be significant, indeed belying a clean separation between the two. Sydney-based respondents reported taking their children to work with them, often keeping younger children with them throughout the entire day-to-day operation of their business. The authors observed that, for these entrepreneurs, "their entrepreneurial process runs parallel with their child minding responsibility". However, the extent to which paid and unpaid labor simply represent two types of provisioning work is not made explicit. This is particularly true as unpaid/care work is framed as "child minding" and as a "responsibility" (Collins & Low 2010), rather than, for example, a crucial economic activity with far-reaching implications for individual children and society at large. A thought experiment to illustrate this might be rewriting the following sentence with a minor adaptation: Of the Sydney-based entrepreneurs, it is observed that, "their entrepreneurial process runs parallel with their child minding responsibility". An alternate reading might be that, "their entrepreneurial process runs parallel with their ongoing engagement in crucial forms of unpaid work".

To conclude, the literature review reveals that the conflict between "work" and "family" is primarily seen as arising from the family side of these two dichotomous and opposing spheres. Women's unpaid/care work with their young children is perceived as particularly aberrant in terms of business pursuits. Conducting simple thought experiments using theoretical framing offered by feminist economics helps to make evident certain assumptions present in current entrepreneurship literature, as

well as to suggest potential new avenues for exploration into the interface between entrepreneurship and unpaid/care work, particularly for women entrepreneurs. For example, while unpaid/care work is not specifically mentioned in Cooper Maysami and Goby (1999), the authors observe that, "problems faced by female entrepreneurs… include reconciling family and work", citing that, "lack of time to spend with family is the most common cause of family tension, itself a major problem faced by female entrepreneurs". Apart from this, the article primarily explores the impact that, "personality traits, such as self-discipline, patience, perseverance, and an intense desire to succeed…" have on women's businesses. Would it not be reasonable also to examine whether holding multiple jobs, i.e. simultaneously accomplishing manifold forms of work, might impact business outcomes, as well?

As a final thought experiment to conclude this section, one might replace "family" with "unpaid work" in Cooper Maysami and Goby's piece, thus making explicit the kind of work family entails. An alternative phrasing to the original statement might read as follows: "problems faced by female entrepreneurs… include reconciling paid and unpaid work… lack of time for the unpaid/care work that family demands is the most common cause of tension between reproductive and productive work, this tension itself a major problem for all members of society".

4.2.4 Production vs. Reproduction

Why might entrepreneurship literature so consistently present productive and reproductive work as two dichotomous and ontologically conflicting spheres? One answer is that, since the establishment of classical economics, production has been systematically separated from reproduction at a theoretical level – a discrepancy enforced by business, policy, and academic norms across a striking variety of settings since the industrial period. The separation of production from reproduction is now, in

the mainstream business literature, taken almost entirely for granted. This section examines literature identified in the review that reflects this dichotomization; a split that typically manifests itself via articulations of tension between work and family, but in fact has much deeper conceptual roots, reflected in an emphasis on the conflict between production and reproduction *for individual entrepreneurs*, rather than at a systemic or institutional level.

One way to examine the literature's taken-for-granted separation of production from reproduction is in scholars' references to individual motivations, a subject of interest for many entrepreneurship researchers. On this point, there are two things to note: first, scholars' assumption that motivations can be cleanly ascribed to one or the other sphere of life, and that such motivations can be accurately captured by research and will be consistently held by individuals over time. By no means all entrepreneurship scholarship, of course, reflects these assumptions, but they are not uncommon. Second, it is beneficial to draw attention to the ways in which studies of motivation may tend to situate the individual as the unit of analysis, abstracted from social norms, systemic constraints, and structural factors. This is significant because of the way in which family, for example, appears to be cast as a matter of individual (i.e. rather than social, political, or economic) consequence, with children not infrequently presented as a matter of individual preference or lifestyle choice. Feminist economists offer a framework for understanding unpaid/care work, including that in the benefit of children, which places importance on its role as a social, public, and economic good; if nothing else for the production of the previously mentioned, ever-important "next generation of workers and taxpayers". Much of entrepreneurship literature appears to have imbibed cultural norms typical of the contemporary period in industrialized settings, i.e. that children, perhaps akin to a serious hobby, are

primarily valuable due to their emotional contribution to their immediate kin, lacking a further economic, social, or political role (Zelizer 1994). Work of feminist economists, along with scholars from a variety of other disciplines, helps to point out that such a perspective would have been and remains anathema for much of human experience.

Analysis by DeMartino and Barbato (2003) is a helpful illustration of how scholarship on the individual motivation of entrepreneurs may reify a conceptual split between production and reproduction. Their study posits the existence of individual level "motivational differences" between men and women MBA-educated entrepreneurs in the United States, arguing that this gendered difference become more pronounced when women entrepreneurs are "married with dependent children":

> The findings of this study, confirming earlier research, suggest that women are motivated to a higher degree than equally qualified men to become entrepreneurs for family-related lifestyle reasons. Women are less motivated by wealth creation and advancement... These differences became even larger when the comparison is between married women and men entrepreneurs with dependent children…. Most of the increase in difference occurs… because of the effect of marriage and dependent children on women entrepreneurs. For the most part, married male entrepreneurs with dependent children do not differ from unmarried male entrepreneurs in terms of their career motivations.

The article goes on to detail a distinction between individual orientations towards "family/lifestyle" vs. "productivity", which is associated with "wealth/advancement". In later work, DeMartino et al. (2006) again examine what they call the "career/achievement" vs. "personal life" orientation of entrepreneurs, with specific attention to the impact of sex and dependent children on entrepreneurial motivations. The authors conclude that differences in individual motivation are not found to exist between men and women entrepreneurs as such, except in cases when women have dependent children. Because the scope of the examination is limited to children, it is difficult to parse whether the phenomenon the authors identify is primarily child-

related or a more fundamental issue of the gendered nature of unpaid/care work. One way to explore this would be expanding the research beyond children to include all kinds of unpaid/care and provisioning labor. However, where discussion of unpaid/care work is limited to young children, and where children are tacitly framed as a matter of personal lifestyle preference, the topic is unlikely to gather enthusiasm for a wider-reaching, more conceptual research agenda.

Perhaps due in part to the fraught nature of discussion of gender roles in business, and to dissatisfaction with gender essentialisms in management scholarship that have assumed women to be natural caregivers, multiple authors seek to explore alternative explanations for women's differential entrepreneurial performance. Theirs is, of course, a crucial contribution, full review of which falls outside the scope of the current text. But several such articles continue to reflect a distinction between productive and reproductive work, even while their purpose is to advocate for women's significant contribution and potential in the "productive" realm.

For example, Lerner et al.'s (1997) widely cited article, one of the early pieces in the literature to engage entrepreneurship outside the United States or Europe, makes the case that industry experience, business skills, and "individual motivation and goals", i.e. not gender as such, represent key factors influencing entrepreneurs' performance. Yet, the authors acknowledge that when, "demographic variables were examined, the age of the women entrepreneurs' children was related significantly to profitability", concluding that what they call "individual factors" affect performance based on, "variations in social structures that organize work, social life, and family". While family (i.e. number and age of dependent children) is initially listed as simply one demographic variable among many in this article, it turns out to have a significant

impact.[70] Working from a sample of women entrepreneurs in Canada, Collins-Dodd et al. (2004) argue that gender is not a significant mediating variable in entrepreneurial outcomes; rather, that an entrepreneur's personal motives are more defining. Yet, they also report that women with a "stronger motivation" to establish their own businesses in order to "balance work and family" achieved more positive financial outcomes, while for men the same motivation reduced financial performance. They posit that owning their own business allows women to earn more income than if they were engaged in traditional formal employment. The mediating effect of unpaid/care or provisioning work is not mentioned in these articles; the emphasis remains firmly on entrepreneurs' contributions in the "productive" sphere.

More recent articles in the review suggest that some entrepreneurship scholars are seeking to reconcile the explicit dichotomization between work and family. However, as in work by McGowan et al. (2012), the case that production and reproduction must be more unified on a conceptual level does not appear to have yet been explicitly made. McGowan et al. (2012) advocate that, "family and work are not separate spheres but are interdependent, with permeable boundaries, where roles and responsibilities can merge and clash". Without explicit mention of unpaid/care work, the piece engages women's attempt to "balance" work and family, "especially when they become mothers", with outcomes often characterized by "tension and stress". The article undoubtedly provides tools with which to engage the work-family interface in nuanced ways. However, it also reflects underlying assumptions that children are primarily individual, private goods. While the theme of children as a

[70] Though this is a standard finding, not all entrepreneurship research supports the conclusion that children have a negative impact on women entrepreneurs' performance. For example, Davis et al. (2010) finds that "parenthood may increase an entrepreneur's perception of the minimum acceptable financial performance of a new venture and thus increase one's intentions for firm growth".

"lifestyle choice" is not as explicit in this article as in others, the piece stops short of engagement with the full range of unpaid/care work and reproductive labor writ large, as well as the social, political, and economic significance of this labor, maintaining emphasis on the individual level of analysis.

Entrepreneurship research thus reflects a long-standing division between production and reproduction, a conceptual approach that has its roots in the founding of classical economics. Such economic approaches, of course, carry incredibly heavy weight in management theory and practice, and have done so for many decades. To close the section on the conceptual division between production and reproduction, therefore, it is not altogether trivial to examine the earliest article that was included in the final selection for this literature review. In his 1974 *Journal of Small Business Management* article, Mancuso (1974) addresses "Mr. Reader" and suggests that unpaid/care work may indeed have an important role to play in entrepreneurial labor. Specifically, drawing on his research with entrepreneurs in the United States, he suggests:

> I did find the successful entrepreneur had an exceptionally supportive wife. She provided love and stability to balance the insecurity and stress of [his] job… [a] supportive (non-women's liberation type) wife significantly increases the entrepreneur's chances of success. Otherwise, a successful, but divorced entrepreneur is the next logical step.

The author describes entrepreneurship as "one of the last male strongholds", arguing that, "everybody knows only a handful of women have started an ongoing business enterprise from nothing". This claim is non-trivial, given his definition of an entrepreneur as, in fact, "a person who creates an ongoing business enterprise from nothing". However, the primary aim of the piece is not to define "entrepreneur", but rather to identify the specific personality and character traits definitive of

entrepreneurs, a process that the author intriguingly takes to have its roots in childhood. He asks:

> When other kids were out playing ball, why was he [the entrepreneur] busy hustling lemonade? When his friends were dating cheerleaders, why was he organizing concerts? Or marketing grandmother's pickle recipe? (Mancuso 1974)

Notably, the environment of security and provision from which this individual hustled lemonade was, of course, one created and sustained by unpaid/care labor and provisioning work: the ongoing preparation of meals, support of the development of math and language skills required for sales, and (one might imagine), the free provision of lemons, sugar, reliable clean water and other inputs, not to mention of grandmother's pickles.

This anecdote serves simply to illustrate the ways in which production and reproduction are, in fact, remarkably difficult to disentangle. However, their conceptual separation is a long-standing, taken-for-granted norm within management theory and practice. One outcome of this tendency is that unpaid/care and provisioning work are systematically obscured from the view of scholars, and remain almost entirely unreflected on research agendas. As a result, even when seeking to engage explicitly with family, entrepreneurship literature has tended to perpetuate a vision of an individual entrepreneur active in a market setting, without meaningful engagement with the unpaid/care work that permits this market setting to function. It is easy to look askance and perhaps even smirk at some of the assumptions and conclusions made so explicit in Mancuso's article. The piece may read, to some, as from another era. But, it is not amiss to probe whether entrepreneurship scholarship's theoretical engagement with reproductive work has made a true conceptual shift in the

intervening decades since Mancuso's musings on baseball, cheerleaders, and lemonade stands.

4.2.5 Exceptions: 'Family Embeddedness' and Other Perspectives

Arguably because the separation between production and reproduction exists only in theory, research on entrepreneurship continuously signals – explicitly or not – degrees of interdependence between entrepreneurship and "family". Interpretations of this interdependence, of course, vary. Uniquely, Caputo and Dolinsky (1998) include the presence of young children in the household as well as "husbands' provision of childcare" as key human capital resources available to women entrepreneurs, and suggest that the presence of both appear to contribute to women becoming self-employed. As previously mentioned, research with immigrant entrepreneurs (Collins, Low 2010) and micro-entrepreneurs (Datta & Gailey 2012; Khavul et al. 2009) tends to elicit more explicit reference to the links between unpaid/care work and entrepreneurship. Yet, several studies (Cooper Maysami & Goby 1999; Lee et al. 2011) of highly educated women entrepreneurs in industrialized Asian countries also note that, as Welsh, Memili, Kaciak and Ochi (2014) observe of women business owners in Japan, "families and businesses are not separate institutions and are, rather, intertwined".

Research by Young and Welsch (1993) on entrepreneurship in Mexico similarly argues that entrepreneurial work is embedded in family systems, suggesting that the family can be a source of motivation and support as well as a drain on entrepreneurial work. While unpaid/care work is not directly mentioned, Young et al.'s work contains an intriguing nod to the potential importance of unpaid/care work for adult children (i.e. those long past the need for child care as such) when the authors note that "the strongest support group encouraging entrepreneurship was the

Mexican family, especially the mother… She seems to be the foundation and strength the entrepreneur relies on in moving ahead in his or her business…" Writing on experiences of entrepreneurs in Turkey, Cetindamar, Gupta, Karadeniz, and Egrican (2012) include family as one of the key sources of human capital influencing women's likelihood of becoming an entrepreneur, but do not explicate the mechanism behind this nor engage with ways in which the interface between unpaid/care and market work may be more nuanced or complex. Additionally, the authors measure "family capital" simply by family size, a potentially weak proxy that makes it difficult to engage with the results of this piece for the current purposes.

The point of this exercise is hopefully clear; that is, while entrepreneurship scholarship does contain research that does not treat work and family as entirely separate spheres, this perspective is not mainstream and, regrettably, appears to be largely limited to articles examining "alternative" geographies or populations, i.e. not the standard contexts in the United States or Europe which have thus far defined the field. As interest in entrepreneurship grows globally, and as the discipline becomes less parochial, exploration of entrepreneurship in a wider variety of settings is becoming increasingly mainstream. The need for more nuanced attention to the interface between unpaid/care and market work is not geographically bound, nor limited to a specific community or population. However, such engagement may remain somewhat tokenistic and is likely to hold limited theoretical sway without a more fundamental conceptual (not simply geographical) shift in the literature, i.e. an explicit attempt to rejoin production and reproduction and substantively explore their interface in the entrepreneurial context.

Aldrich et al. (2003) have initiated one of the field's most persuasive attempts to bring fresh theoretical insights to the interface between entrepreneurship and family

in particular. To accomplish this, they advocate the adoption of a "family embeddedness perspective" in entrepreneurship research. In a now-influential piece, the authors argue that, "while families and businesses [have] often been treated as naturally separate institutions… they are inextricably intertwined" and challenge scholars of entrepreneurship to, "connect the unnaturally separated social institutions of family and business". The authors marshal historical evidence in support of their perspective, reminding readers that, "100 years ago, 'business' meant 'family business'" and that yet, "in the interim, the two social institutions have become more highly differentiated from each other". The authors contend:

> [M]assive sociohistorical changes of the past century have led us to think of the two institutions [business and family] as disconnected systems, needlessly fragmenting the study of each. This distinction has become enshrined in academia… This unwarranted separation has blinded scholars to the significant causal processes connecting family systems and entrepreneurial phenomena.

The authors go on to detail that the economic role of children and young adults, as well as the roles of women and families, has dramatically changed from a point they cite in the mid-20th century at which stage, in the United States (the context to which they refer), children spent much longer periods at home and represented key sources of family income. They argue, "only in the 20th century did men, as family heads, make enough money to allow their children not to work, and thus to attend school full-time."[71] In short, in examining the interdependence of historical, social, and cultural shifts regarding family, the authors reason that, "researchers need to include family

[71] This historical turn, i.e. the removal of children from the economy, and their recasting as non-economic or even leisure or "lifestyle" choices, is examined in detail from the start of the industrial period in Europe, Latin America, and the United States by Nancy Folbre, whose work has been engaged at length in the review of feminist economic literature in this thesis. Folbre notes that the removal of children from the economy and their recasting as non-economic actors had profound knock-on effects on how unpaid/carers' own work was perceived. Provisioning work came to be understood as a "non-economic" activity, framed by classical economists as "moral obligation". Perhaps, in the same way it is framed as a matter of "lifestyle choice" by contemporary management scholars. The decoupling of unpaid/care and provisioning work from economic analysis is, of course, one reason why family and the market sphere are now so clearly perceived to be innately and immutably separate.

dimensions in their conceptualizing and modeling, their sampling and analyzing, and their interpretations and implications" (Aldrich & Cliff 2003)[72].

The family embeddedness perspective has enjoyed a level of theoretical influence in the entrepreneurship literature. Introducing the special issue in which Aldrich et al.'s 2003 article appeared, Rogoff and Heck (2003) welcome the introduction of a conceptual framework that acknowledges, "entrepreneurship does not take place in a vacuum", citing family as one of the key resources that acts as "oxygen for the entrepreneurial fire". The article advocates the family embeddedness perspective as a means through which to "advance light years into a new era of research" into entrepreneurship and avoid the literature's tendency to "sidestep" investigation of the interface between unpaid/care and entrepreneurial work. However, Rogoff and Heck's (2003) endorsement of Aldrich et al.'s piece continues to use the term family in a way that is quite inexplicit, certainly not unambiguously acknowledging unpaid/care labor as a form of work. Nor do the authors present a wider view of unpaid/care or provisioning work than that related to the nuclear family.

In a similar vein, Olson et al.'s (2003) piece explores strategies used by families to increase business success and family well-being. The article presents the "sustainable family business (SFB)" model, which, "recognizes each system [business and family] as a viable social entity by acknowledging both the concrete resources of each system and the interpersonal transactions that occur within each system". They

[72] On Aldrich & Cliff's family embeddedness perspective: "The framework emphasizes how the characteristics of entrepreneurs' family systems (i.e., transitions, resources, and norms, attitudes, and values) can influence the processes involved in venture creation (i.e., opportunity recognition, the launch decision, resource mobilization, and the implementation of founding strategies, processes, and structures). The framework also stresses that outcomes of the new venture creation process (i.e., survival, objective performance, and subjective perceptions of success) can affect an entrepreneurial family's resources, potentially trigger certain family transitions, and ultimately even change family members' norms, attitudes, and values" (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003).

observe that business literature tends to label family as an “emotional arena”, while business is labeled as a “rational arena”, citing that, “an underlying assumption of much of the traditional business performance literature is that individuals make economic decisions in the social vacuum”. Olson et al. (2003) take issue with this individualist perspective, advocating instead for a conceptual model, which “locate[s] entrepreneurship of the business within the social context of the family”. However, while this piece and Rogoff and Heck’s (2003) provide useful theoretical grounding and insight for the current exercise, neither explicitly emphasizes unpaid/care work or a widened definition of family. Rather, the aim of these articles is to discuss ways in which direct family members may serve as potential contributors to business through provision of skills, time, and other resources.

Finally, responding to the call for the adoption of a family embeddedness perspective in entrepreneurship research almost a decade after Aldrich et al.’s piece, Alsos et al. (2014) observe that:

> Entrepreneurship research rarely affords consideration to the household and family context in which the entrepreneur is embedded. To a large extent, this practice reflects a broader management literature, where business and household have been traditionally regarded as separate spheres.

Though the interface between unpaid/care and market work is not directly addressed, the authors employ the concept of the “household business nexus”, arguing that the lines between business sphere and private sphere are blurred. They conclude that, "although previous studies have viewed entrepreneurial growth largely as an outcome of personal ambition and business strategy [our] results reveal the importance of the entrepreneurial household… in determining business activities.” The piece makes multiple contributions, but does not attempt to reframe work away from that which is done in the market context. Though the authors acknowledge that family members

may work in family businesses for “altruistic reasons”, i.e. not directly for pay, the conceptual shift retains emphasis on the business as the primary unit of production, and therefore analysis. The article calls for research not on “family enterprises” but “enterprising families”, seeking, along with Aldrich, Rogoff, and Olson et al. (2003) to understand how families contribute to business outcomes. Such a conceptual emphasis unquestionably makes a valuable contribution. However, in the absence of theoretical examination of the nature of work itself, how novel is it necessarily to swap the unit of analysis of enterprising individuals for that of enterprising families?

This section has reviewed the contributions of scholars who specifically seek to engage the interface between family and entrepreneurial work. Such scholarship departs from the mainstream approaches outlined in the previous three sections of this review, i.e. those arguing that entrepreneurship is defined by a perspective that situates work and family as dichotomous, conflicting spheres due to an unarticulated conceptual separation of reproduction from production. Scholars advocating for a “family embeddedness perspective” or “sustainable family business” approach to entrepreneurship research tend to be skeptical of purely individualistic understandings of entrepreneurship. Rather, for these researchers, the institutions and norms in which entrepreneurial work is embedded are taken to be formative of entrepreneurial processes and outcomes. Notably, however, even in this literature, a pervasive attention to the individual or nuclear family level of analysis is perceptible. Unpaid/care work is rarely examined in detail. While it is not unusual for entrepreneurship research to engage with government policies regarding business or entrepreneurship promotion, reference to institutional, social, and policy level initiatives impacting unpaid/care work are few and far between.

Indeed, the literature review yielded only two articles that make direct reference to policy-level care arrangements. The most explicit is Williams (2004), who argues from the results of a survey in eight European nations that time spent caring for children significantly reduces the duration of self-employment ventures for men and women alike. Without referencing unpaid/care work directly, Williams concludes that, "policymakers need to consider childcare policies in conjunction with self-employment policies", a recognition that time spent on unpaid/care work cannot also be spent working for pay. Lee et al.'s (2011) analysis from South Korea is less explicit, but nevertheless consistent with Williams' findings. In their examination of the impact of government entrepreneurship promotion policies, the authors conclude that women entrepreneurs are "not sensitive" to government programs seeking to support entrepreneurial growth. The article goes on to state that family life has a discernable impact on women's business outcomes, and that housework and childcare alike are problematic on this count. While these are not framed directly as competing types of paid/unpaid work, the article lends support to Williams' assertion that care policy and entrepreneurship policy should not be seen as separate and unrelated instruments, something which appears to be a radical conclusion in the context of mainstream entrepreneurship research.

4.2.6 Gendered Work Spheres

This chapter has examined the interface between unpaid/care and market work in entrepreneurship literature. The reader will recall that two additional themes emerged from this SLR: the predominance of "work-life balance" and "lifestyle choice" frameworks as a primary means through which to engage unpaid/care work, and the gendered division of labor between unpaid/care and entrepreneurial work. The

latter has already been referenced extensively throughout this chapter, but a short treatment of findings is useful as a postscript to the section.

To begin, recall feminist economists' emphasis on the importance of the gendered division of production from reproduction. In the course of examining entrepreneurship literature for this analysis, it became evident that this gendered division of labor is extremely pronounced in this scholarship. Of the 35 articles analyzed in depth for this review, unpaid/care work was explicitly stated to be of primary concern to women in 29 pieces. Seventeen of the articles simply appear to assume women's primacy in the sphere of unpaid/care work. Twelve appear to come to this conclusion through some empirical means, though often an assumption of the gendered division of labor is apparent in the texts. No article assumes men to have primacy for unpaid/care work, nor did any article specifically investigate the impact of unpaid/care work on men's entrepreneurial ventures or the impact of men's market work on their ability to engage in unpaid/care labor. Of the remaining six articles not assuming women's primacy in unpaid/care work, family was mentioned in general terms without specific reference to gender. Across the 35 articles, fewer than five made even a passing suggestion that men might participate in unpaid/care work. Entrepreneurship research manifests strong and gendered norms presenting the entrepreneurial sphere as separate from and opposed to the sphere of care and obligation. In order for it to become a fruitful tool for the achievement of social goals including women's empowerment, it is possible that these norms will need to be reconsidered.

Chapter 5: Case 2: International Women's Coffee Alliance (IWCA)

I was the first licensee of Fairtrade coffee in the United States… But it was driving me nuts, that even with the Fairtrade premiums, you couldn't really see the changes [for women]… And then one day, I just thought, 'What if I just took a bunch of women, maybe if they see what I see, they would wake up'… We ended up with traders, importers, exporters, roasters, buyers; all segments of the [coffee] industry… We did [Central America] first… I didn't even know what we were in for at this point, to tell you the truth. Seventeen women went including… the first woman ever allowed in a [coffee] cupping room in the United States, she's in her nineties now…

… Our first stop is in an all-women's co-op, women and children, the men are gone… the war had wiped out half and the others had gone off to the U.S. to earn money. Powerful women running this community… We learned a lot as we went… Then, as we were leaving, the ladies [from the co-op] stood up and said, 'We don't want to shake hands; we want you to line up because we're going to all have hugs, but before we hug we also want you to know that we are no different from you people from the [coffee] consuming countries. We just want to do business with dignity, and put our children through school, we are no different than you.' Everybody is just blown away [by that]…

…So towards the end of the trip we say, 'What are we going to do, we can't go home and do nothing.' So we said, 'Well the only time we can get together is to all meet at the next Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA) annual meeting… Every single person on the trip showed up, along with seventy more women [from the coffee industry] who heard [about the trip]. And the SCAA Executive Director came to me and says, 'What the heck are you selling and why don't I know about it?' Because everybody in this conference wants to know where this meeting is taking place. So IWCA was born.

Interviewee 22, IWCA Co-Founder

When I started going to coffee growing countries . . . I'm going to the fields. I'm going in the processing mills. I'm going in the trading offices. I'm going in the little cafes. And I'm seeing women everywhere. But when I'm going to the [industry] leadership conferences, I'm not seeing them on the stage. I'm not seeing them on the boards of directors of their local organizations. And I asked myself, 'What's wrong with this picture?'… So there was a group of us who started to talk to each other and ask, 'What if we looked at the global supply chain? What if we could connect women from seed to cup?'... If you look at the resources that some of the women who work in the global industry have… there really should be tremendous support available.

Interviewee 27, IWCA Co-Founder

5.1 Organizational Background

The International Women's Coffee Alliance is a non-profit founded in 2003 by a cadre of women coffee buyers, importers, roasters, and retailers, each of whom have

developed an interest in the issues facing women in their industry. IWCA has no paid staff. Its members and partners, counting among them numerous highly influential women from the coffee industry across the globe, are known to pay for their own travel and share hotel rooms at events in order to advance the group's work. IWCA thus presents an exemplar case of a corporate-led approach to women's empowerment. While support for women's entrepreneurship forms a crucial aspect of IWCA's efforts – and many in the organization's leadership are themselves prominent women business owners – IWCA's activities touch upon women's experiences with all aspects of work in the coffee supply chain. Analysis of how IWCA stakeholders appear to perceive the interface between production and reproduction thus provides insight into how paid work, entrepreneurship, and unpaid/care work are understood by an initiative seeking to empower women in a global industry.

Though IWCA's founders and current leadership have decades of experience in the coffee trade – mostly based out of North America – many designate their involvement with the organization as the outcome of a sort of "awakening" of the kind Interviewee 22 describes in her extended quote introducing this chapter. In this sense, IWCA also represents an archetype case of corporate and entrepreneurial actors seeking to engage their industry to advance a pro-social goal, that of women's empowerment, principally through supporting women's engagement with entrepreneurial activity and paid work.

Indeed, although stories emphasizing visits to coffee-producing communities (colloquially known as "coffee origin") are widely retold in IWCA organizational narratives, the group in fact seeks to "empower and advance women in the coffee

industry from seed to cup"[73]; that is, at every stage in the global coffee supply chain. For example, IWCA stakeholders tend to articulate eagerness to see an increase in the number of women coffee exporters and owners of major production or processing facilities as well as those serving on national coffee boards and in senior leadership of established brands. Due to the nature of the coffee industry, a great many actors across the value chain are entrepreneurs who own and operate their own businesses, for example exporting, importing, roasting, or commercializing coffee. Along with their work with entrepreneurs and executives in the coffee industry, IWCA also aims to be attentive to the need to ensure that women working in least globally visible aspects of coffee production do so in safety while earning a reliable, living wage, an ongoing struggle in the industry.[74]

In pursuing these goals, IWCA has employed two main strategies. First, stemming from the organization's launch and continued annual presence at the influential Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA)[75] convention, women executives and entrepreneurs connected to IWCA have sought to use their industry knowledge and professional contacts to establish partnerships with influential players

[73] International Women's Coffee Alliance website, http://www.womenincoffee.org/, accessed 10 September 2016.

[74] By trade, coffee is one of the most valuable agricultural commodities in the world. It is particularly central to the economies of countries in which it is grown. Because it grows best at high altitudes in tropical climates, it is cultivated in an equatorial belt stretching from Colombia to Cameroon to the Philippines and Papua New Guinea. Many coffee-growing areas face political instability and battle the ever-present threat of agricultural blight, drought, or flood, each of which can devastate communities in a single season. Coffee can be cultivated in multiple settings: on large plantations where picking is mechanized, on mid-sized farms where it is picked, sorted, and dried by hand by teams, or on small household lots managed by a single family.

[75] References to the "coffee industry" in this thesis typically apply to "specialty" coffee. Specialty coffee is the fastest-growing, highest-value segment of the coffee market. According to the Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA), "'specialty coffee' refers to the highest-quality green coffee beans roasted to their greatest flavor potential by true craftspeople and then properly brewed to well-established SCAA developed standards. Specialty coffee in the green bean state can be defined as a coffee that has no defects and has a distinctive character in the cup, with a score of 80 or above when graded according to SCAA Standards." Source: SCAA Coffee Terms and Definitions, accessed at www.scaa.org, 3 August 2014.

in the trade, men and women alike. The coffee industry is somewhat uniquely crowded with causes, characterized by an ever-proliferating range of branded activism on a range of social and environmental issues. Nevertheless, IWCA leadership has attained non-trivial levels of awareness and recognition for their efforts across the industry. Second, IWCA works with women-owned coffee enterprises and with individual entrepreneurs across the globe to establish organizational chapters in coffee producing and coffee consuming nations. These chapters are required to register as legal, independently governed entities in the countries in which they work, a process that allows women to interact with their local government and market in a collective manner. A chapter typically comprises a leadership team of between four to eight women with significant commercial experience in their country's coffee trade. Established chapters in producing countries tend to have several hundred members made up of exporters, business owners, and producers. As of September 2016, IWCA had chapters in 18 coffee-producing[76] and three main coffee consuming[77] countries (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 IWCA Country Chapters*

Chapter type	Objectives	Countries
Producing country	• Overall: Empower women to achieve meaningful and sustainable livelihoods and connect with IWCA networks • Create a global, regional, and national chapter identity • Promote IWCA's work and mission • Develop, retain, and expand chapter membership • Promote women in coffee throughout home country • Work with consuming country chapters on joint projects (e.g. commercial, cultural, and information exchange) • Support chapter members' participation in the sector, including via increased voice in country coffee policies.	Brazil, Burundi, Colombia, Costa Rica, Democratic Republic of Congo, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Kenya, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda

[76] IWCA classifies a country as a "producing country" if the majority of local coffee industry activities include growing, milling, processing, or exporting coffee.

[77] IWCA classifies a country as a "consuming country" if the majority of local coffee industry activities include importing, roasting, distributing, or retailing coffee.

Consuming country	• Overall: Empower women to achieve meaningful and sustainable livelihoods and connect with IWCA networks • Create a global, regional, and national chapter identity • Promote IWCA's work and mission • Develop, retain, and expand chapter membership • Promote women in coffee throughout home country • Work with producing country chapters on joint projects (e.g. commercial, cultural, and information exchange) • Support chapter members' participation in the industry, including via increased voice in country coffee policies.	Canada, Japan, United States of America
Provisional	• Partner with IWCA Chapter Relations Committee to complete chapter formation following IWCA protocol.	Ecuador, Ethiopia, European countries (various), Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Yemen, Zambia

*Adapted from International Women's Coffee Alliance, http://www.womenincoffee.org/chapters/, accessed 19 September 2016

For coffee producers, access to training and land are key ingredients for success. Because of coffee's importance as an export crop, governments in almost all coffee-producing countries dedicate extensive resources to agricultural and, to some extent, commercial training for coffee producers. However, research suggests that such programs frequently have a difficult time reaching women (Stanculescu, Gibson & Shole 2011; United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2010), a finding that is resonant with IWCA's experience via many of their country chapters. This is despite the demographic reality that women are increasingly at the heart of coffee cultivation, as is also the case with many other agricultural products (De Schutter 2012).

IWCA chapters have sought to compensate for such failures by targeting women in coffee-producing countries – for example, women who export coffee but would like to improve their product – with an array of skills training, information, and networking opportunities. These have ranged from tactics on how to negotiate better prices with international buyers to high-level trade skills including coffee "cupping". Cupping involves brewing samples of coffee, deeply sniffing them, and then sharply slurping the coffee so that it spreads to the back of the tongue, revealing subtleties of

mouth feel, sweetness, acidity, flavor, and aftertaste. The process is not unlike tasting wine, and individuals with cupping skills are highly influential in the coffee industry. Just 7%[78] of "Q Graders", a sought-after industry designation held by the most advanced coffee cuppers, are women based in coffee producing countries.[79] One IWCA leader described the "cupping" trainings the organization conducts via country chapters, recounting:

> [Before cuppings] women [in producing countries] may say, 'This coffee is great because I grew it. It's from my garden. It's great.' And then they taste it, but they taste it against other coffees, and they hear the Q Graders in the room talk about the differences in the coffee, and they realize that they're operating in a vacuum, and that, 'I don't quite get it. There are buyers out there who look for things that I don't even know about.' (Interviewee 40)

Despite their relative lack of access to training and industry-related skills, the labor required to grow coffee is mostly supplied by women. The Coffee Quality Institute, a leading industry body, summarizes their assessment of women's participation in coffee production as follows:

> Women do much of the work on smallholder coffee farms[80], including key cultivation and processing activities that affect coffee yields and quality. In addition to the millions of women members of coffee-farming households, an increasing number of single women heads of household depend on coffee farming for their families' livelihoods. Despite their contributions, women are often excluded from decision-making processes and enjoy less access to resources, including land, credit, agricultural inputs, training, information, and leadership opportunities (Coffee Quality Institute 2015).

---

[78] The Coffee Quality Institute provided this statistic in a personal communication 30 June 2014.

[79] According to the Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA), "At the backbone of the Q Grading System are Licensed Q Graders, professional cuppers accredited by the SCAA and Coffee Quality Institute (The charitable trust of the SCAA). These Q Graders must pass a rigorous three-day exam to earn their certification, comprising 22 sections on coffee-related subjects, such as green grading, roast identification, coffee cupping, sensory skills and sensory triangulation. There are currently (as of 2010) 872 Licensed Q Graders worldwide. Along with providing grading services, Q Graders will support the arbitration process of the Green Coffee Association (GCA). Source: SCAA Coffee Terms and Definitions, accessed at www.scaa.org, 3 August 2014.

[80] The International Coffee Organization estimates that 80% of global coffee production comes from smallholder farms.

Systematic, global research on this topic is still emerging. Yet, findings of a pioneering study (International Women's Coffee Alliance Kenya 2012) commissioned by the IWCA Kenya chapter (see Table 5.2: Who Owns the Coffee?) were dramatic: women and children performed the work until the crop was taken to market; from there, men tended to take over. Existing industry data support this version of events in many key coffee producing countries (Coffee Quality Institute 2015). In this sense, IWCA feels there is a gap in entrepreneurial activity for women in the industry; in order to move from occupying almost exclusively non-commercial roles in the value chain, IWCA reasons, women need to gain skills and experience engaging with market aspects of coffee production.

Table 5.2 Who Owns the Coffee?*

Who is responsible for each of the following roles in coffee production? Please pick one.	Responses (%)			
	Men	Women	Girls	Boys
Cultivating for coffee bushes	5	74	11	9
Picking coffee	7	54	20	19
Sorting coffee at home	4	60	29	7
Sorting coffee at the factory	9	45	31	14
Taking to the factory for processing	7	44	27	22
Taking it to the market	33	54	8	5
Collecting the money from coffee beans sales	87	13	0	0
Who owns the coffee?	95	5	0	0

*Source: International Women's Coffee Alliance Kenya 2012

IWCA's platform as an industry group devoted to the social and economic empowerment of women has also allowed the organization to establish partnerships with governments, multilateral, and regional bodies. A crucial partner in this process has been the Geneva-based International Trade Center (ITC). ITC, a subsidiary of the World Trade Organization and the United Nations, provides policy advice and technical assistance to support export industries in less industrialized countries. Data pointing to low representation of women entrepreneurs in a range of export sectors led

ITC to form the Women and Trade Program, which provides funding and access that greatly facilitates IWCA's work. Of this collaboration, a senior executive from ITC detailed:

> Why is ITC involved in coffee? Today more than 100 million people are involved in the growing or processing of coffee across more than 60 developing countries. And 80% of our coffee supply is produced by small coffee farmers all over the world. Europe accounts for 40% of the world consumption of coffee, the United States 25%. Typically, over 80% of coffee production is traded internationally. But coffee producing countries earn very little from sale and export of their produce coffee exports.[81] [Women] coffee producers are increasingly prevalent within the industry, and are particularly economically disadvantaged. (Interviewee 38)

In 2008, IWCA and ITC partnered with the African Fine Coffees Association (AFCA) to host the first-ever gatherings for women working in the coffee industry in East Africa. Of these events, a then-AFCA staffer described:

> [We] had women who are farmers, we had women who are exporters, we had women who are roasters… the whole value chain of coffee was represented… we had experts from IWCA coming to train on coffee tasting, so women farmers who had never known how their own coffee actually tasted[82], got a chance to participate in that… by the time each woman was leaving this training, they had enough material to set up a mini lab: all the green coffee charts, tasting spoons, weighing scales… so in terms of capacity, that helped a lot, because the women were able to kind of understand the depth of what quality and what the product actually is and what the market demands. (Interviewee 31)

[81] Significantly, coffee roasting facilities are rarely available in countries where beans are harvested; most coffee beans are still green when shipped. Once roasted, coffee quality begins to decline, adding incentive to roast beans closer to the point of consumption, after the unpredictability of global shipping has been overcome. Thus, the majority of value is added to coffee at the point of roasting and branding, that is, almost exclusively in non-coffee growing countries.

[82] Because coffee is typically exported unprocessed, many coffee-growing countries do not have a strong tradition of domestic consumption. It is not unusual that farmers on smaller farms have never tasted the beverage their beans were used to make. This inexperience with the final product creates a further inequity in exchange. Because coffee, like wine, varies in its attributes and requires a cultivated palate to evaluate its quality for commercial purposes, those with little or no taste exposure to coffee are at a distinct bargaining disadvantage. In this situation, coffee producers lack a strong basis on which to evaluate the quality of their product and, therefore, the price it can command. Further, without the ability to discern nuances in taste, it is difficult for growers to effectively improve coffee as it is cultivated and, in so doing, increase the desirability of their output.

This type of intervention is typical of IWCA's activities, emphasizing women's technical skill and commercial ability to navigate coffee markets.

IWCA has learned that women are increasingly taking up leadership in all aspects of coffee production and sale, as those traditionally male roles are left unfilled by a variety of push and pull factors – including urbanization, climate instability, and globalization – which draw men away from many agricultural settings across the globe.[83] IWCA has found that women often lack relative expertise in coffee production and market skills, and place an emphasis on supporting women through this aspect of their work. One IWCA member from East Africa ruminated on her first experience offering coffee she had grown to a buyer:

> I took my coffee into the city and got a buyer to meet with me. But right away he asked 'How much fertilizer have you applied to your coffee and what type of fertilizer and at what interval did you apply it?' and then, 'And how much coffee do you expect to collect this year?'… 'How much coffee is each tree expected to produce?'… That's quite specific… it's not easy to have farmers record that kind of information in that kind of detail. For a start, not all [coffee farmers] are literate. (Interviewee 16)

Reflecting on IWCA's work, one IWCA board member and longstanding[84] US-based coffee importer emphasized:

> So many things prevent women from being where they need to be… From the basic level, getting permission and childcare to be able to go attend training, to the high-level, how to really get business done. Opportunity has not been available to them to gain information, let alone confidence that, 'I know how to get this done.' Few women are there. Few women understand how to get success in trade relationship. (Interviewee 40)

[83] In agricultural communities across the globe, men are migrating from the countryside to cities, leaving women to cultivate farms, whatever the crop. Women, therefore, will become even more central to coffee production going forward (Coffee Quality Institute 2015). However, because they often have little access to training or market experience, women can be even more vulnerable to the vicissitudes of agricultural livelihoods than men (De Schutter 2012).

[84] This informant recently became the seventh woman in over one hundred years to be appointed to the board of the National Coffee Association in the United States.

While IWCA remains an organization that places emphasis on women's market engagement with the coffee industry, it has become increasingly aware of additional issues and themes facing women across the coffee value chain, in consuming and producing countries alike. These include, for example, challenges associated with women's time and physical mobility, industry skills and visibility, access to and control over resources (including income, land, and assets), and women's personal safety. While maintaining a clear focus on women's market and entrepreneurial activities related to coffee[85], many within the group's leadership nevertheless endeavor to remain attentive to this wider set of issues in IWCA's activities. Through analysis of extensive interviews with IWCA leaders and key stakeholders from around the world, this chapter examines the tacit or explicit interface between market activities and unpaid/care work as reflected in IWCA's approach. This chapter contributes to the aim of this thesis to explore industry-led initiatives emphasizing women's empowerment through interventions focused on entrepreneurship and market work.

5.2 Findings from Empirical Data

Data for the IWCA case was collected via events hosted by the organization, including its key global gathering held in Guatemala, on coffee farm field work with the organization's affiliates in association with this event, and via iterative in-person and Skype interviews with dozens of senior stakeholders, board members, and chapter presidents based around the world (full interviewee list is provided in Chapter 3). Data from International Women's Coffee Alliance provides unique insight into how the

[85] As one interviewee put it, "We are a coffee organization, not a social work organization. But we find that some of these social issues turn out to have a big impact on women working in coffee" (Interviewee 24).

interface between production and reproduction is represented among key stakeholders of the organization. Analysis of this data reveals several striking features regarding how the nature of work is situated and represented within IWCA's activities. Most conspicuous perhaps is the manner in which work emerges as gendered, with reproduction and production existing in separate, gendered spheres (Section 5.2.1). Equally notable is the impression given across the data of unpaid/care work significantly influencing market work (5.2.2), yet remaining an invisible, unspoken, or even taboo form of work within a range of industry contexts (Section 5.2.3). Consistent with findings regarding the interface of production and reproduction as presented in the entrepreneurship literature (see Chapter 4), unpaid/care work characteristically appears in IWCA data as an activity dichotomous to market work (Section 5.2.4). Similarly, IWCA data tend to reify a presentation of unpaid/care work as existing in ontological conflict with market work (Section 5.2.5), though important institutional contributors to (and ways to overcome) the status quo of conflict are articulated by multiple informants.

5.2.1 Gendered Work Spheres

That work is divided into gendered spheres is one of the most apparent outcomes of IWCA data analysis. This section explores key themes regarding *how* work is gendered in the words of IWCA informants, with particular emphasis on the following subjects: gendered tasks, women's associated relative specialization in unpaid/care work and/or reproductive labor, small numbers of women in formal leadership roles, systemic and cultural themes perhaps best shorthanded to patriarchal

norms[86], a perceived lack of support for women in formal leadership roles, and finally, themes around men and the commercial sphere.

Gendered tasks

The production and commercialization of coffee is frequently a labor-intensive, highly technical process. Observations around the gendered division of coffee production related tasks were a conspicuous feature of interviews with IWCA respondents. In many cases, gendered task allocation was explicit and highly specific. Straightforward assertions that "women do the sorting [of coffee beans]" (Interviewee 5) in a Central American context were matched by observations from other geographies, including from a well-known exporter and researcher in East Africa who summarized:

> Basically, men work with tools, women work by hand. Weeding and mulching and harvesting, women do. Our data shows that a lot of women are involved in those tasks, but, for example, they're not involved in pruning. Men are doing the 'tool tasks'. (Interviewee 42)

An IWCA leader based in another East African country provided another perspective:

> At the farm level, nearly everything is done by women. At the processing factory where they do the wet milling [of coffee beans], most of the labor is provided by women. Now, when it begins to get to marketing and exporting, that's where the reverse happens. Then there are more men in the value chain than women. So, women are mostly concentrated on production and in processing. (Interviewee 18)

A Latin America-based IWCA chapter founder provided an anecdote regarding gendered task allocation in her context, recounting her impressions upon attending

[86] Patriarchy is a contested, widely discussed, and widely employed term, defined simply by Miriam-Webster dictionary as, "a family, group, or government controlled by a man or a group of men". It refers to a social arrangement in which males predominate (relative to females) in e.g. political roles, areas of social privilege, and the control of property. The word comes from the Greek meaning "the rule of the father", but can refer to any male (or "father") figure's control over, in particular, females and children.

regional coffee awards ceremonies in which she noted that "only men" tend to take the stage to receive accolades:

> Once we were in one of these ceremonies and my cousin whispered in my ear as the [male award winner] took the stage. She said 'You know it's always the wife who dries the coffee, she's responsible for the dryer'. And it's true. Women are there around the clock, watching the coffee drying in their nightgowns, you know. Like baking a cake for two weeks straight… But it's men who walk onstage… and get the prize. (Interviewee 21)

Sorting, milling, and drying coffee beans are examples of demanding, repetitive tasks which must be conducted with precision in order for coffee to reach a quality level high enough to fetch a strong price on the specialty coffee market. Drying is a twenty-four hour a day job, requiring constant supervision of bean temperatures and humidity levels. Relatively few producers have access to dryers; much drying is conducted on flat surfaces using the sun. In such cases, coffee beans are moved every several hours, around the clock, with constant vigilance for rain. As one informant described of the process, "even as a woman sleeps, she will jump out of her bed if she hears rain and put plastic over the beans" (Interviewee 21). Skilled completion of such tasks is vital to the sale price of green coffee, the staple source of income for those who rely on coffee for their livelihoods. Crucially, these tasks can often be conducted at home, or close to home. However, they do not represent highly visible aspects of the coffee industry, and they are disconnected from tasks associated with the commercialization of coffee.

IWCA data indicate that gendered work within the coffee value chain is not limited to farm contexts or coffee producing countries. Multiple informants noted, for example, a relative lack of women green coffee buyers and roasters in key coffee markets including the United States and Europe. Many also suggested that the demands of frequent industry-related long-distance travel might be a factor in

women's relative lack of representation in such roles. As one well-known woman North American coffee roaster recounted:

> My experience is there's an assumption that a woman would not want to travel if she has small children. So those assignments that require travel, that's probably not something [a manager is] going to offer her. There's a perception, 'She probably wouldn't want to, so we won't even ask'. When I do ask for assignments that involve travel, people are surprised, like, 'Oh, you would? Why would you want to go to Europe?' Well, because I speak German and I know marketing. I think a few people [in the industry] have had their stereotypes changed when I start explaining the things that I'd like to do. (Interviewee 42)

Another North America-based coffee roaster and sought-after speaker to industry leaders, notable for her service on the specialty coffee trade's most prominent boards, signaled another potentially gendered aspect of work in coffee importing countries:

> It really is related to what we expect people to do in our industry and how those tasks are pretty gendered. One issue that's come up a lot more recently [at industry meetings] is this concept of 'emotional labor'…For [specialty] baristas, there's so much emphasis placed on empathy and consumer care. It can end up being sort of imposed on women more than men to perform that sort of emotional labor, which can be tiring, lead to a lot of fatigue… and to boundary crossing… The customers coming in to your café every day are pretty much strangers and [in specialty coffee] you're really supposed to connect with them. It's resulted in some really unsafe emotional and physical situations. Yet, as an industry, we're putting this expectation on women to be the more consummate hosts of a retail space than we do men. (Interviewee 8)

Each of these examples from the IWCA data provide insight into ways in which gendered task allocation and expectations may contribute to the endurance of gendered work spheres within various aspects of the global coffee industry.

Women and Unpaid/Care Work

IWCA data also indicate that women's specialization, relative to men, in unpaid/care work may help perpetuate the existence of gendered work spheres within the coffee industry. For example, informants with extensive experience in coffee production settings described women as responsible for household and care related

tasks, notwithstanding their responsibilities directly related to coffee production. One Latin America-based IWCA leader simply described women working in coffee production in her home country as, "very, very active… they still have to do the cleaning and the cooking in addition to helping on the farm" (Interviewee 44). Another respondent with experience studying gendered time use in key global coffee producing countries concluded:

> I would say that what generally came out as the majority phenomenon across cultures [from our workshops in Africa, Asia, and Latin America] was that women are still responsible for a majority of the household and unpaid care work… But on top of that, they have a burden of performing coffee field activities… [As a result] women are [often] pretty much working seventeen-hour days and men maybe six-hour days… [In all the countries we studied] women were definitely more in charge of family, cooking, sewing, laundry, taking their children to the school, and even paying the school fees, which complicated the household dynamic a lot in some instances as it could lead to gender-based violence [as women lobbied men family members for money for school fees]. (Interviewee 8)

When asked for her observations about how men's unpaid/care work might interface with their coffee-related work, the same respondent replied, "I have not seen men who are expected to take [primary] care of their families in all my research and travels. I've never interacted with a widower, for example, who needs to take care of his family" (Interviewee 8). This respondent made the telling assumption, based on her experience, that a man holding primary responsibility for unpaid/care work within a household might most naturally be a man whose wife was no longer alive.

As with gendered task allocation, IWCA data indicate that a gendered split between market activity and unpaid/care work is not limited to coffee producing countries. One former Executive Director of a key North America-based industry body reflected on her experience working in coffee in corporate settings:

> Oh, men love their children, you go to their offices and they have the school pictures up and stuff… And [many men] care deeply and want to be partners and support their wives and their families and their partners, but I think the cultural default is so often towards the woman. You know, the child is sick,

> who takes the child to the doctor? The woman. It's kind of like that's the default. Now there are men [in corporate leadership roles] who would perhaps go a little bit above and beyond that, they're there in spirit and they're probably doing more than their fathers did, but I think still the heavier burden is on the woman. (Interviewee 27)

A similarly senior woman North America-based member of the IWCA board noted:

> It's difficult to go out and work and manage the family because there's always this sense that it really is your responsibility at home. And even when you work with men… you realize that they don't seem to carry that same level of responsibility back home. I'll hear them talk to their wife because the kids are having a meltdown and they're on a business trip, but at the same time they don't feel the true full responsibility. They're a voice in that situation. But I don't think they have the sense of guilt, for lack of a better word, that the women I know well feel from the time your kids are small to the time they've grown up... Yes, I think men feel maybe like a voice in the situation as opposed to carrying the full burden. (Interviewee 40)

Women's specialization in unpaid/care work relative to men thus manifests itself in IWCA data both pertaining to women in coffee producing settings, and occupying rarefied senior positions in corporate settings in Western nations.

Small Numbers of Women

Another aspect of gendered work spheres recurrent across IWCA data is the theme of small numbers of women in formal leadership positions in the coffee industry. Across the world, many IWCA leaders have been the first or one of few women to lead coffee companies or sit on key industry boards. As the CEO of one large North America-based coffee company observed of his peers, "a lot of [coffee] businesses are male dominated, and I think there is a need for women's groups... to deal with that" (Interviewee 13). A woman roaster involved in export to major markets echoed the sentiment that, "the [coffee] industry is male dominated. And it doesn't have to be" (Interviewee 5). A Latin America-based chapter leader maintained that, "the industry in general is a male environment; it's not a female-friendly environment" (Interviewee 21). Still others described, "travelling with almost all men

when I worked as a [North America-based] coffee buyer" (Interviewee 8), an influential national coffee board with "one woman in the board and 22 men" (Interviewee 5), or another "fifty year old board, and it's all male. [An IWCA member] was the only [woman] ever on that board, and that was years ago, there hasn't been another female representative" (Interviewee 33).

Other respondents signaled the phenomenon of small numbers of women in leadership positions through colorful anecdotes, including one regarding the IWCA board's first visit to an East Asian country to visit the head of "one of the world's biggest coffee buyers":

> The male [head of the company] had all the women who worked for him lined up in the lobby of his offices as [IWCA board members] walked in, to show us he had equality. He didn't, of course. And he knew he was in the wrong. But he wanted to show us he was doing something. (Interviewee 34)

In a similar spirit, the first woman member of a prominent national coffee board in Central America recounted her experience with her first board meeting:

> [The board meets in] this big, beautiful boardroom. It had two restrooms. Both restrooms had always been used for men. They had to change that for me… I remember my introduction during my first board meeting, 'Well, gentlemen, we just want to remind you that from now on, the one on the left is going to be the women's restroom,' and I was just laughing in front of them! Laughing and teasing, and I said, 'Yes, men. I don't want any of you in my restroom!' (Interviewee 24)

A North America-based coffee buyer with seats on several industry boards volunteered this description of her experience with some board meetings in North America:

> I go to a meeting and the men want to put me with their wives. They'll say 'We're going to play golf; [our wives] are doing something at the house.' And I'm supposed to hang out with the wives. And these men are very successful. The focus of their wives… seems to be more on the household and the activities of the children. The last thing they want to talk about is coffee. They may want to talk about a business trip they went on to a foreign country with their husband. (Interviewee 40)

Golf is, of course, famously euphemistic for male corporate networking in many countries. This informant followed her remark about board meetings with a comment about numbers of women in key commercial networks in coffee producing countries, noting:

> What I see in producing countries is that [business] growth is dependent on a network and [men] tend to have very strong networks. Women don't tend to have strong networks and they're not necessarily allowed into networks. It's a critical mass sort of thing. If you are used to seeing people who look like you, of the same race or the same gender, you feel that that's the way that it should be. (Interviewee 40)

IWCA data thus persistently point to small numbers of women in leadership positions as a significant aspect of gendered work spheres across the coffee industry.

Patriarchal Norms

IWCA data also suggest that a set of complex, deep-seated patriarchal norms also maintains the gendered separation of spheres within the coffee trade. In one revealing anecdote, a senior North America-based respondent confided of one of her peers, the family co-owner of a longstanding well-known North American roaster, "[She] always introduces herself as the 'third brother'. But trust me, she's been in there as much as her two brothers" (Interviewee 27). In an unrelated interview, that "third brother" herself described how:

> [It sometimes feels like] women are almost like second class citizens. I have seen this many times as I go from country to country buying coffee. We are the buyers, and [yet] sometimes when people come to see us, I notice that if there is a man with me, they see me – a woman – and they will address the man, even though I am the one who can make the purchase decision. (Interviewee 23)

Of such subtle gendering of work, one Latin America-based exporter opined, "You know, we still live in a macho Latin culture" (Interviewee 44).

Still other examples of the potential influence of patriarchal norms were more specific, as in the experience of an East African coffee trainer who struggled to get women to sign the attendance book for training sessions, "because it is the husband who is supposed to sign". This gendered practice made it difficult to track women's participation in training and to contact them afterwards with follow up materials (Interviewee 31). An East Africa-based IWCA chapter founder and one of the most celebrated woman coffee quality judges in Africa signaled even more entrenched norms through recounting her experience launching the IWCA chapter in her country, working through an established network of male gatekeepers to identify women who were "free" from male opposition to joining the burgeoning group:

> I reached out to each [male] president of each coffee federation in all the regions of [my country]. I asked each to select women from his area who are clever, who are willing to work, and who are free to come to meetings without facing pressure from her husband. Especially widows or women without a husband… Because I know husbands to stand in the way of our women… Also, I needed women with access to land. Because women [in our country] usually don't own land; we have to work on the land of the family. If your husband is OK to let you do the work, that is good. After several years, I had more than 40 such women… Our IWCA chapter is mostly widows or women without a husband. (Interviewee 15)

This quote implies that patriarchal norms wield palpable, continued influence on the shape of this IWCA chapter. Another IWCA leader described norms and customs in the country in which she works as follows:

> Our [coffee] value chain is not woman-friendly. It has not embraced women. There's been a lot of men dominating what is happening in the industry. Especially on the end side, where the earnings [from coffee] are being shared. So women are putting in a lot of labor, but they're not getting their rewards. Their rewards are going to the men…. We want to inform women they can take up… leadership in the coffee institutions, they can own their own land, grow their own coffee bushes, determine what happens to their coffee. (Interviewee 18)

Still another recounted the impact of gendered norms and custom on women's ability to participate in crucial industry training sessions in her country:

> Unfortunately, either the relatives or the husbands do not allow the women to go for training… They don't like the women to travel in the bus and they don't like the women to be classmates with other people… [when I became] the first woman ever on the board of directors of the national coffee board [of my country], I asked if [national trainers] could [come to my farm and] give the training there; and that's what they did. But that was an exception. They had never done that. So the thing is, how do we convince the husbands and the relatives to allow women to attend training? That is the problem. (Interviewee 24)

IWCA data suggest that, in a variety of geographies, patriarchal norms and institutions ranging from law to custom appear to contribute to the gendered division of work spheres in the coffee industry.

Lack of Support

IWCA data also indicate that a perception of lack of support for women may contribute to the ongoing gendering of work in the coffee industry. One respondent, describing the decades-long process towards achieving her current status as the only woman coffee roaster in her Central American country, expressed: "I struggled the entire way... I felt like I was just talking to walls. Nobody wanted to give me information… nobody is going to give you a hand… it is that way, I think particularly for women" (Interviewee 5). A North America-based coffee importer opined, "I can also believe that people tend to nurture other people who look like them, who they're more comfortable with. So it's very easy for a man to nurture another man and to sit on the board of any trade organization" (Interviewee 40). This respondent reflected on her experience serving on the most influential coffee board of a major coffee importing country:

> What they saw on this particular board was women would drop out after a while. They felt that because of women's [family] responsibilities… I found it interesting that they thought that the problem was with [the women], not with them. Since I've been engaged with them, what I've found is it's not the travel.

> It's not the workload. It's the isolation that a woman feels when she's with that group. It's the sheer isolation, it's the fact that you're going to be having lunch by yourself, and you're not going to be in on the jokes. When someone is talking and they need to explain things that they think are a little bit difficult, they're going to look directly at you. What I found is that women don't want to put up with the bullshit. And that's the real truth. (Interviewee 40)

Family ownership remains an important feature of the coffee industry. Lack of support emerged in IWCA data both in corporate settings, as above, and in family settings. For example, one respondent described the situation of a colleague, a prominent coffee exporter, noting, "she had to wait for her brothers to say they didn't want to do the coffee before they let her take over the farm. And she's done an amazing job turning that place around" (Interviewee 27). Another now-prominent owner of an established family roaster recounted:

> My father didn't think women belonged anywhere near the coffee part of things. And so I had a real negative experience with him on that. It was really sad, because all I ever wanted to do was be involved [in the family business]. As my sons became older, all of a sudden he was listening [to me] again. But I could never approach him directly, it always had to be through one of my boys, even if they were ten or twelve years old. (Interviewee 34)

A sense of lack of support for women, particularly in leadership, emerged in IWCA data as a contributor to the gendered separation of work spheres.

Men and Money

Coffee is a man's crop, but it is the women who look after it. (Interviewee 16)

[Men] get the paycheck and women do the work. That's kind of the way it works. (Interviewee 34)

IWCA data paint a picture of work throughout the coffee industry as governed by gendered spheres. Data analysis also suggests a key feature differentiating the spheres in which men and women tend to undertake coffee-related activities: the sphere in which men's activities take place tends to be formally remunerated. In other words, access to money – rather than, for example, the significance of tasks to coffee

end quality or the number of hours worked – appears to form a qualitative difference between the gendered spheres of work described in IWCA data.

This tension was reiterated by multiple respondents, such as one who described:

> Women look after the coffee in the farming, in the garden, in picking it, in taking it home, pulping it, washing it, drying it. Women do that. The men, they own the land, they plant the coffee, and then that is all. Women harvest the coffee. Then, the men take an interest again. They take the coffee and they sell it. (Interviewee 16)

This same respondent described what she perceived as a recurring situation in which coffee had become less profitable, and therefore men abandoned cultivating it, leaving women to take over. But, that as women managed to improve coffee quality and earnings, men then, "take a lot of interest, and they overthrow the women" (Interviewee 16). Another detailed her observation that, "women help with the farm, they do all the work and then when it comes to the commercialization, the man goes there and sells without considering her opinion" (Interviewee 21). Still another related:

> Women are more responsible for cleaning the land, tilling the land, and harvesting. But men are generally still in charge of the marketing of the coffee, so they're the ones that are receiving the income… Sometimes the income is seen as shared and sometimes it's really just seen as the man's income or the husband's income… So you find that the women, regardless of their context, are doing household labor and coffee farming activities and then in some instances are not even being remunerated at all for those activities. And again it depends on their context, whether it's seen as work… or if [their work] is more like donation to the family cause. (Interviewee 8)

This same respondent disclosed a phenomenon she observed in workshops for men and woman coffee producers in an East African country, recounting:

> Women were saying, 'I love my family, I love taking care of my family, I don't like asking my husband for money, I don't like that he beats me when I ask him for money'. And men would also say, 'What I love about being a man is having access to money. I don't like giving my wife money. I also don't like beating her, but I have to [because she asks me for money].' Yes, often that

> was the result of not sharing income, having really scarce resources… and having income not be accessible by a family that needs it, just having one person in charge of it. (Interviewee 8)

As an IWCA leader from another country reasoned:

> Things would change if more men trusted their women and paid them for the farm work they do... The woman should earn from her labor. But [men] take [the work women do] for granted. Therefore, she can labor so much, and yet she remains very poor. But she should be able to gain from her labor. (Interviewee 16)

Several respondents linked this phenomenon to men's work identity, positing that, "Men are expected to be the main income providers" (Interviewee 8). Still other informants detailed their perception of differences between how men and women perceive their work and earnings, as did one Fairtrade executive who recalled:

> [We did] a workshop for [men and women] coffee producers in [a Latin American country]. We asked them to write or draw their dreams for their farms. It was really interesting. The women who wrote their dreams, they didn't want better houses or vacations, they just wanted their kids to get educated and come back and work with them one day. The men seemed to see the farm itself as something to make a profit from, to enable… a better house, a better car. Better material standards. They wanted a motorcycle, the latest technology, or a new truck. (Interviewee 17)

Certainly, the gendered dynamics illuminated by IWCA data on this topic appears to point to a state of affairs one respondent summarized in noting, "The woman is the one in charge of work at farm, but she doesn't really own it" (Interviewee 23). IWCA data suggest that access to and ownership of assets represent powerful potential contributors to the perpetuation of gendered work spheres in the coffee industry. One respondent outlined her understanding of the link between gendered asset ownership and gendered work in her country:

> When you marry, you go and have a family. They have a land. This is land for your husband. It belongs to your husband. You are not the owner. You can work on it, but you can't decide what to do with it. For example, if you have coffee, you sell the coffee, but the money, the men have to manage. He will say, 'This is for my cousin, this is for my beer'. Women have to wait… to see what is left over. (Interviewee 15)

This respondent noted that in her primarily agricultural economy, low levels of women's land ownership made it difficult for even aspiring businesswomen to access finance, due to lack of collateral. Another respondent described the customary system around land ownership in her country as follows:

> In some cases, the husband can give a portion of the land to the women. But she is not the real owner [of this land]. It is like user rights... If the man passes on, his sons may take over. Or the woman's son may take the land. It is vulnerable. And there are women who also willingly give land to their husbands. Because traditionally, the woman still believes that inheritance is by the man. So a wife should be happy if a husband inherits land. (Interviewee 16)

A respondent from another coffee producing country echoed this observation, adding that, "in coffee cooperatives, membership is often restricted to the owner of the land. So it isn't really possible for women to participate" (Interviewee 18). A North America-based coffee buyer with experience across multiple producing regions observed:

> [You see] a big difference between the countries where women's land ownership is legal and part of the custom and those where it's not. A woman who's selling [coffee] cherries off of a tree that's planted on land that's owned by her husband, that's it for her. I mean that's it. There's nothing she could pass on to a daughter… It's just [coffee] cherries. (Interviewee 40)

Money and assets appeared in IWCA data as a prevailing differentiator between men's and women's gendered spheres of work. This tendency was manifest in gendered differences in land ownership and market access, as well as in more subtle areas such as what one North America-based Fairtrade executive and IWCA leader observed as a tendency for men – but not women – coffee producers to request remuneration for attending coffee-related trainings. She described:

> Based on my seven years with the IWCA, plus my sixteen years in coffee, I know that if there's a training happening… men tend to question what the compensation is going to be for going to the training. Because they just assume that going to the training is going to replace whatever work they might have done that day. And I don't see women thinking that way. (Interviewee 17)

IWCA data suggest that gendered work spheres are a pervasive feature of the global, multi-faceted coffee trade, and that access to assets and resources represents a defining feature of the differences between men and women's work spheres. In the words of one North America-based respondent:

> I don't think there's any answer to this that's new or unheard. I think the truth of the matter is that society… has been established for [men] to run a business and it's also created pathways where there's fewer obstacles, including family and community, that allow them to get to success. So it's not to say that, you know, men don't have challenges with their families in the growth of their business, but that if you decide to do [business] as a woman, just understand that society has not been established for that, so there's a whole system that exists around you that actually works against that. (Interviewee 40)

Women in Formal Spheres

IWCA data also highlight the gendered nature of work spheres in terms of women's formal leadership. As one senior respondent observed of her travels to coffee producing communities, "[I noticed] how few women were in formal leadership roles. From an officer in a coffee cooperative… to a role with a national coffee board… the way I interpreted it is, 'Women aren't leaders [in this industry]'" (Interviewee 27). Attention to the gendered work spheres associated with leadership was a point of particular emphasis across IWCA data, as respondents continually expressed a desire to increase numbers and visibility of women in such roles. As one noted, "It's about having women step from behind the men to say, 'Wait a minute. I need to vote here. I need to be a part of decisions'" (Interviewee 40), and, as another reasoned, "Even if nobody else ever appointed a woman to coffee industry leadership [in a particular country], the IWCA chapter would" (Interviewee 27). That same respondent reflected on her experience leading a prominent industry group:

> [Once, for a presentation] I just looked at websites of key [coffee] organizations around the world to see how many women were in what I would call 'the power group', the board of directors, the executive committees, and it

> was very few. I asked myself, 'What's wrong with this picture?' What was wrong was that... [in many countries] it just wasn't expected that there'd be a woman on the board of directors. (Interviewee 27)

This respondent also volunteered a connection between gendered work spheres in terms of leadership and the interface between unpaid/care and formal work, postulating:

> [When] men are the leaders and decision makers, women play a supporting role in business. Women lead in the family and the care-giving, they raise the children, take care of the extended family, are the primary care-givers or make sure that elderly parents or relatives are getting care… Are women not perceived as leaders partly because the traditional role of women is so based on caregiving? If I was drawing a picture of a woman, what's her number one role? Caregiver. Draw a picture of a man: number one role, in [North American] language, is breadwinner. (Interviewee 27)

5.2.2 Unpaid/Care Work Influencing Women's Pursuit of Market Work

Respondent*: Most of the workers [on our farm] are women.*
Interviewer*: Why is that?*
Respondent*: Because they're more available. Men usually like to go into construction because they get more money. Even the coffee pickers, most of them are women. They come with their babies, and they put little hammocks between the trees, and they put them to sleep there, and they put a little fire and warm the beans and the tortilla, which is their main meal, and that's how they live.* (Interviewee 3)

The role of a woman in her family and her society means that coffee is only a small part of what faces a woman in her daily life… How much time does a woman possibly have on her hands to attend training and still do everything else that her domestic situation demands without some level of flexibility? (Interviewee 31)

IWCA data indicate that work in the coffee industry is strongly divided into gendered spheres. It also suggests that women's engagement with coffee-related work is significantly impacted by their unpaid/care work. Particularly for women in agricultural settings, respondents painted a picture of coffee production and care for children, for example, as "deeply interconnected" (Interviewee 17). IWCA respondents also pointed to the manner in which unpaid/care work shapes the ways and means through which women pursue work in coffee, with examples from coffee

producing and coffee importing countries alike. For example, on the theme of children, one respondent described:

> [In coffee production] when the woman is figuring out how to start the day, she also has to figure out, 'What am I going to do with my children, are they coming with me to the farm, are they staying home? If they're with me at the farm then what do I do with them?' (Interviewee 17)

Another detailed:

> [Coffee production] is very labor-intensive… and women just do it with a four-month-old strapped to them, and break to breastfeed their child because that's what's needed… And I'm sure that slows them down. (Interviewee 26)

One respondent with long experience in Central America signaled the difficulty presented by children, "too big to carry and too small to [reliably] pick [coffee]" (Interviewee 34), noting that women in coffee production need to simultaneously supervise children in this age group until they were old enough, in the words of another respondent, "not necessarily to pick, but at least to put coffee beans into sacks or other simple tasks" (Interviewee 44).

Multiple interviewees emphasized that, for women, "the lines between family and farm are pretty blurred" (Interviewee 17), with unpaid/care work mediating the type of work women take on and how this work is implemented. One North America-based respondent with significant experience in coffee producing communities concluded:

> I've watched many women farm owners where the farm is their child as much as their children are. There's no difference, their day starts with 'I have a farm to take care of and I have a child to take care of', twenty-four/seven. It's not like you take the kids and drop them off somewhere and then only worry about work. (Interviewee 17)

Because, "children are very much part of the [coffee] production process" (Interviewee 43) in many settings, IWCA data suggest it is often difficult to impossible for women in coffee producing settings to disentangle market work from unpaid/care work. This integration of unpaid/care and market work could highlight the

importance of unpaid/care work, as one North America-based respondent implied when she recounted a conversation with a Latin American coffee producer:

> [He told me] the work that women do at home in terms of cooking and cleaning is inseparable from the work that they do on the farm. These are mainly garden farms or their farms are right on their land. So [men] will say, 'We can't separate [these activities] because if my wife wasn't doing this, then we would have no farm'. (Interviewee 8)

However, of this comment, the respondent went on to remark:

> It's still a very gendered way of looking at things. So, these activities need to be done, if [they] didn't happen, then you wouldn't be able to perform on your farm. But is it your wife that needs to do all those activities? That [question] still hasn't come through. (Interviewee 8)

While IWCA data highlight the ubiquity and significance of care/unpaid work for families in coffee production, it does not suggest that this work is necessarily widely acknowledged or valued. This little-discussed form of work appears to shape at least some women's engagement with the coffee industry work in fundamental ways, a tendency not limited to women conducting direct agricultural labor. For example, women farm owners communicated ongoing struggles with time poverty[87] due to unpaid/care work, as one Central American farm owner who had taken over after her husband's departure to North America highlighted, "I need to have time to raise my kids, to see to my house, to do the [coffee-related] work" (Interviewee 25). As another respondent pointed out, "[a woman might be] working in the mill, as a production assistant, or any other role, but she'd do her job better if she could know her kids were in a safe place" (Interviewee 27). Another described the challenges contributing to low women's turnout for coffee training programs in three East African countries:

[87] In their discussion of time poverty, Abdourahman (2010) notes that "one form of inequality that has… major adverse implications for accessing economic rights relates to gender-differentiated time-use. The allocation of time between women and men in the household and in the economy is a major gender issue…" (Abdourahman 2010). Time poverty has also been described as "working long hours and having no choice to do otherwise" (Bardasi & Wodon, 2010).

> We were asking to have balance between men and women [training] participants, and a lot of the [men] leaders of [coffee] cooperatives said, 'Women have to deal with domestic issues… They cannot attend the training.' So we had to tailor these trainings… to incorporate women's activities and schedules in their farms. Initially there was [pushback], the men saying 'So you mean you are going to be starting training at 11a.m.? It should start at 8a.m.'. But we knew that three hours will make a big difference… because that is the only way we can get women to participate… And it worked in all the three countries. It turns out that women are indeed very happy to come to trainings; they just need a different type of support. But if their work at home is not acknowledged, then nothing is ever going to change. (Interviewee 31)

IWCA data also indicate that unpaid/care work impacts women's pursuit of market work in corporate coffee industry settings. One North America-based coffee buyer concluded that many of her women colleagues are, "always balancing, thinking 'What can I do with my kids?'". In a similar vein, an executive in a major industry body observed of her peers, "the most obvious thing you hear women say, is 'Yes, something has to suffer'. If that's career, it means they took a break or an easier job with a lower salary" (Interviewee 26). Of women's advancement in the corporate coffee trade, another North America-based woman executive argued, "flex time and technology are the two big things that allow it to work" (Interviewee 43). However, an industry expert observed of her experience with a large North American corporate coffee buyer:

> There is some paid maternity leave and then… a period of time you're allowed to work part-time. But that could endanger your career. And any woman I knew who tried that option ended up working far more than part-time, anyway… In today's twenty-four/seven world, it is the rare woman who really uses her days off… Women know, 'They're really expecting me to continue pretty much at the same level', but having the… HR policy helps in case you need to take your child to the doctor, let's say. It gives the woman that right, though I think most often it gives the company the right to get some extra work that they aren't paying for. (Interviewee 27)

Women corporate respondents also signaled more subtle ways in which reproductive work might impact women's productive work, as one executive noted:

> Women do become prominent coffee tasters… but it's not always so easy to have a job as a green [coffee] buyer if you've just had a kid… For example, the normal [buying] process is that you would go to the country that you're going to purchase the coffee from, as it's being harvested. You would cup it right then and there, and take your notes. You come back, and once it's fully harvested, washed, and processed, it gets delivered to you. You try it again and compare your notes… But if you're pregnant, your tastes can change… and once you have the child, can they keep up with that type of position? It's not easy to be the travelling mom… A lot of [women who are buyers] including myself, we've taken our own moms on coffee trips so our kid can travel with us. You have to do what you have to do. (Interviewee 26)

Several corporate IWCA respondents signaled the perception that their workplaces expected clean separation between reproduction and production, but posited that this separation was not always achievable for women:

> There can be a lot more separation for men between home life and work life than for women, and especially when the babies are infants. And if you're pregnant or breastfeeding. It's pretty hard to separate at that point. (Interviewee 42)

As another North America-based executive noted, some women develop increased awareness of the difficulty of keeping production and reproduction separate when they themselves become caregivers, "I'd never thought about it until I was going through it, breastfeeding and trying to pump at work and then go back to meetings. It's a lot to handle. No wonder lots of people don't do it" (Interviewee 26).

IWCA data indicate that unpaid/care work and reproductive work impact women's engagement with market work in important ways across the coffee value chain, further contributing to the gendering of work spheres in this industry.

5.2.3 Unpaid/Care Work as Invisible/Unspoken

[Men at the grassroots] don't seem to see how much women work at home and "help" with the production. I am saying "help" in quotes when I say this, of course. (Interviewee 21)

[It's well known that] we don't have enough women competitors in the barista competition arena, but the bigger question is 'Why aren't they competing?' We discuss [lots of reasons] but [don't] really go into anything like, 'I made a sacrifice

for my family, so I'm not going to do it'. Nobody ever says that. But I think people do make those sacrifices all the time. Like you ask a woman, 'Why didn't you open your coffee business?' and the answer may be 'Well, I needed to have my retail shop with my husband because we have kids… But [people need] help actually saying those statements out loud. (Interviewee 26)

Thus far, this chapter sets out that IWCA data imply that unpaid/care work is a substantial type of gendered work with perceptible impact on women's experience with market work across the coffee value chain. And yet, rather than accredited as productive labor, this work is typically unremunerated and may be "taken for granted" or considered "help" akin to a "donation to the family cause". IWCA data also suggest that unpaid/care work is not widely acknowledged in the coffee industry, remaining an unspoken, gendered aspect of the experience of work associated with the coffee trade.

As previously discussed, multiple respondents signaled a perception that the gendered division of work spheres left women to perform low visibility tasks often crucial to coffee production. Reflecting on findings from time use diary workshops conducted in various coffee producing countries, one respondent pointed out ways in which women's unpaid/care work might increase men's quality of life and ability to network:

> It was very clear [from the time use diaries] that the women worked pretty much before the men got up and then until after they went to sleep. Getting water, firewood, doing on-farm activities, doing household activities, and the men would generally wake up, eat – women had to cook so that the men could eat – go out in the fields, come back, eat and then do more social activities with other men in the community. Sometimes drinking alcohol and gambling. And the women would be doing household activities, taking care of children. So what we've seen from the workshops is it's the support that [men] are getting at home from women taking care of the family and everything else that increases their ability to be in the social sphere. (Interviewee 8)

Training and competitions have already been mentioned in this chapter, and on the invisibility of unpaid/care work, they appeared to represent a particular sore point, as with one respondent who underscored:

> When there's a training [session]… [women] have to figure out how to make sure the kids are taken care of, their work is taken care of, the home is taken care of. Nine times out of ten they're not compensated for the training at all. But a lot of times it prohibits the woman from attending, because she has to figure all that stuff out. (Interviewee 17)

The issue of gendered, invisible work as manifest in industry competitions was accentuated by another respondent who recounted:

> I was interviewing an award-winning producer in [Country X], and I asked 'How often do you go to the farm? And he explained that he doesn't go to the farm every day, his wife does. She supervises all the work, he goes once a week… but (a) she's not paid and (b) the husband is considered the farmer because he is the one who's the president of the cooperative... And goes to the cooperative meetings and drives around in his nice car and does interviews with foreign visitors like me. (Interviewee 42)

The theme of invisibility and competitions was taken up by another respondent who described:

> I was the [regional industry body] liaison for the national competitions in coffee with all the producing countries; I would attend the national competition and the people coming for training were men. But I would see women all the time, picking and sorting beans… [It's] one of the things that was difficult to come to terms with; I can see when I go to these countries that the women are putting in a lot of work and time in this product, but when a winning coffee is announced, the people coming forward to receive the credit, more often than not, are men. So [IWCA] works to counter that, to say, 'Yes, this is the winning coffee for Country X, and this is the effort that the women have put into it. Do not ignore that part of it.' We are not adding something that is not there; we are just also bringing it to the fore… how can [women] be putting in all this effort and labor and time, and have it totally ignored when it comes to the final product and what is selling on the market? (Interviewee 31)

This industry body executive also instituted the practice of collecting gender data on training attendance. As she emphasized, "when you see the data, you realize how bad the situation is". The link between data collection and the visibility of women's work was also stressed by another respondent, who affirmed:

> I find it really disturbing that hardly anybody knows how many women there are [working in coffee] because they're not counted… [This] became clear to me during some of my early roles with IWCA. I was trying to help them do an impact assessment… and I wanted to know, for example, how many women coffee producers are there in Country X? And nobody

> knows. And I thought, 'Somebody must know, let's ask the International Coffee Organization'… They have amazing statistics and databases, and sure enough, they also have no idea... So this became kind of a rallying cry with the [IWCA] board and I decided to take it on as a research project… [It] bothers me to no end that we are left with anecdotes whenever we're talking about gender because we don't have the data. (Interviewee 42)

IWCA respondents offered a range of examples of gendered work they reported to be of high significance in coffee, but of low industry visibility. Examples of such activities – which might be considered "help", rather than productive work – include the process of grafting, a tedious procedure used to fortify coffee plants in some producing regions. One IWCA leader recounted her reasons for launching a national competition to celebrate a process known as coffee tree grafting:

> Grafting is huge in [Country X]… [it's a woman's task] and pretty much every plant that's planted in the country has been grafted by hand... The skill set required for this is unbelievable… and it's something that's totally undervalued… I thought it was beautiful to take a skill that is usually in the background, that's not noticed or valued, and make it professional. Grafting is really the foundation of our industry. (Interviewee 24)

Another respondent offered:

> Let's just talk about just the normal day-to-day when you get in to harvest season. There's a lot that takes place that doesn't get counted for women, either. You're trying to sell your coffee, right? So you have people coming to your farm. Well, [women] have to make sure the place looks presentable, right? And that they have a story to tell. And usually she doesn't have any marketing skills behind her but nine times out of ten she's the one that's thinking, 'How do I tell a story about my farm, our farm?' And as we know, especially in coffee, the story is crucial. So they have buyers coming in, and the husband might be the one to do the tour, but she's the one who has to make sure the place looks presentable and that there is appealing food and meeting space, the whole host experience. And she's generally not given any credit for that. It's sort of invisible, it just has to be done. (Interviewee 17)

Several IWCA respondents made the point that when particular forms of work are invisible, they may be less efficient. As one pointed out, misperceptions regarding women's contributions to tasks such as drying or grafting can lead to misalignment of

resources, for example by donor or government-sponsored training programs for coffee producers:

> [Women's role in coffee drying] is not widely recognized. [So often] women don't get training for this. [Extension workers] are training the wrong people, they invite the men to train but they are not the ones who really do the job. (Interviewee 21)

Other respondents, including Interviewees 24, 25, and 27, cited the important efficiency gains that could be garnered from better visibility in gendered tasks such as water collection and processing:

> [A large foundation] is now giving [coffee farm owners] money to buy water filters for women in the farms… [they] were so excited to learn that they don't have to go out and find firewood to boil water anymore. It's just a matter of adding water, and the filter is doing its job, and that's it. It's very easy and simple for them in their regular schedule. (Interviewee 24)

Improved recognition of their work was cited as a key driver for women's involvement in IWCA, as one respondent explained of her experience with the country chapter formation process:

> The first thing is just to see women realize what they should be getting from the work that they put in, and that it is actually possible to be in a group that gets together and helps them make sure their efforts don't go to waste. (Interviewee 31)

Such comments came from senior coffee industry respondents, many of whom work within their areas of influence to bring attention and visibility to gendered tasks within the coffee industry. However, these same respondents affirmed that explicit discussion of the impact of care/unpaid work on women's performance in the coffee industry was largely absent. When asked whether major industry bodies sought to include discussion of unpaid/care work in their events and public communications, respondents unanimously claimed this was not the norm. One board member of the organization replied, "No, not at all, I think that's way too evolved for this industry" (Interviewee 40), and another observed that the topic made its appearance at industry

events, “during side conversations, not on panels’ (Interviewee 43), despite being, as another described, “a topic of conversation at breaks all the time” (Interviewee 27). For executives working in the coffee industry, added the first respondent, discussion of unpaid/care work, “is hard because it’s often so personal” (Interviewee 40). The second respondent emphasized her experience with corporate cultural norms, “In many offices, you’d call in sick yourself before you’d call and say your kid was sick” (Interviewee 43).

IWCA emphasizes increasing market and formal leadership opportunities for women throughout the coffee industry. Because of its commercial focus, respondents indicated that discussion of unpaid/care work rarely featured on its agenda or that of its partners. As the Executive Director of one key IWCA partner explained:

> [Our focus is on] connecting women to markets, ensuring women understand market needs, changing their production methods to create better quality, differentiating their products. This is critical in anything that we do [with women]. We start from the market and work backwards. (Interviewee 38)

However, data from IWCA interviews suggest that while unpaid/care work tends to exist in a gendered, separate sphere from remunerated coffee work, it nevertheless has a substantial impact on women’s engagement with market work. While unpaid/care work may be little acknowledged by industry, and even by IWCA’s own formal programming, respondents clearly articulated tensions they observed between unpaid/care work and their organizational aims of women’s advancement. On consideration, several respondents expressed concern that when unpaid/care work remains an unspoken or invisible aspect of women’s experience, they observed this work was often offloaded to – typically female – children (Interviewees 3, 6, 8, 11). Contemplating her work with IWCA, one board member reflected:

> [IWCA] have tended to take [unpaid/care work] as a given constraint [for

> women with whom we work] and adjust our [program] expectations from there. I've really never thought about questioning that constraint [through our programs]. But we could and we should. (Interviewee 40)

The differential visibility of gendered forms of work – and the unspoken issue of unpaid/care work – appeared in IWCA data from coffee production and corporate settings alike. This finding gives weight to the observation of one respondent of her relatively new IWCA chapter in Latin America. She stated, "we have nothing to offer except visibility, and that's a lot" (Interviewee 21).

5.2.4 Unpaid/Care Work as Dichotomous to Market Work

Unwittingly or not, unpaid/care work is often cast as dichotomous to and separate from market work within IWCA data. A key conceptual difference between unpaid/care and market work appears to be the receipt of money in exchange for the latter, as one respondent seems to imply when describing that, in many coffee-producing communities, "[A lot of] the men will go off and somewhere else to go *work and make money*, while the women are *taking care* of the farm" (Interviewee 26, emphasis author's). The omission of the word "work" to describe the activities of women left in charge of coffee farms suggests a kind of dichotomous schema between activities done in exchange for money – which appear to be relatively straightforwardly categorized as "work" across IWCA data – and the unpaid/care activities frequently undertaken by women. IWCA data reveal at least six categories of descriptors for unpaid/care work, examples of which are detailed in Table 5.3. Many are gendered in nature, and each eschews the use of the word "work".

Table 5.3 IWCA Data: Words Used to Describe Unpaid/Care Work

Description Type	Duty	Contrasting Roles	Care/ Family	Support/ Help	Potential Negative	Misc./ Activity
Examples	Childcare responsibilities Familial duties Her responsibilities Household duties Making sure [her] home is taken care of Responsibilities Responsibility for family	Being there for your family but yet doing your work as you want to do it Caregiving, as opposed to breadwinning Coffee roles vs. other roles Drop off children to be watched while I go take care of my work The role women play Women's role There are times you can focus more on work and times you need to focus on family	Caring for children Senior care Taking care of family Taking care of kids The family element	A help Helping your children Preparing your children for what they will face in life Support system Supporting role Helping kids with schoolwork	A burden A worry Coping with childcare Day care challenges Elder care issues I've just absorbed [tensions between family and work] Sacrifices Struggle Women's challenges, working moms' challenges	Activities at home Community, giving back Domestic life Domestic issues Household details Cooking, doing stuff around the house Work-life balance

The use of the terms "work" or "labor" to describe women's unpaid/care activities was not commonplace in IWCA data. Just two interviewees, both industry-based researchers with a longstanding expertise in gender, referenced unpaid/care work unprompted, as one did when she – exceptionally – detailed the efforts she was making in quantifying unpaid labor in her industry research. However, this respondent also noted that while she was, "very focused on giving a value to the unpaid household labor that is required to farm coffee… what I am not including, interesting enough, is any consideration for who is doing the care labor

of the family" (Interviewee 42). This respondent's direct use of the term "care labor" was highly unusual across IWCA data. More typical references to unpaid/care work included terms suggestive of roles, responsibilities, or another of the six description types set out in Table 5.3. IWCA data thus tend to cast unpaid/care work as an activity separate from and dichotomous to market work.

Across the data, the apparently taken-for-granted dichotomous nature of unpaid/care and market work – and concurrent inadvertence to refer to unpaid/care as work at all – appears to be supported by a perception that work means money. For many IWCA leaders, this stance was explicit, as for one of the organization's most senior leaders who described her mission for IWCA succinctly by stating, "we want women to get the money" (Interviewee 12). The head of one of the organization's most significant supporters concurred, stating, "The issues we're concerned about, of course, are particularly women's earning capability. [In some regions] women do most of the work, but they don't get the money" (Interviewee 38). Still others emphasized the importance of women's engagement in activities leading to pay, as did one when she observed of aspiring women industry leaders in North America: "Childcare is expensive… A woman has to generate a lot of money to make it worth her while to stay in the market" (Interviewee 34). An industry executive emphasized the danger of women undervaluing their time, failing to "ask questions about compensation" due to a lack of expectation that, "what they do in a day should be paid for" (Interviewee 17).

The emphasis on payment for market work within IWCA data has a clear organizational rationale. First, IWCA leaders and partners tend to express a strong link between women's financial advancement and their achievements in other areas, as a key IWCA supporter described when she detailed:

> [Our organization] is looking for women's economic empowerment. And we understand that with this in place, we can then address social issues in partnership with other organizations. (Interviewee 38)

IWCA stakeholders also offered a variety of anecdotes in support of their conviction of the need for women's advancement in paid work. For example, a North America-based buyer recounted a memorable experience accompanying another, more prominent Europe-based buyer to visit a women's coffee cooperative in East Africa:

> [We went] to purchase coffee from women who have formed this organization… only to find out that they were totally unprepared for trade. They were used to producing coffee, but… they didn't understand the quality aspects, how to work together to get the volumes needed. So here they had a buyer saying, 'Here, I want to buy your coffee,' and there's nothing they could do with that. (Interviewee 40)

She went on to recount how she and several other IWCA members had initiated discussions with these cooperative leaders, providing them with guidance on how to prepare their harvest to fetch the best market price. To their shock, it quickly became apparent that:

> These women had never understood they had the power to negotiate a price… They had no clue that that was an option; they would just go say 'Here you go. Here is [our coffee]. What's the market price today?'… And the [larger buyer] who was with us, he said, 'You should never tell people [how to negotiate]. Maybe that will work in some places, but it won't work in this country, anyway.' Right, because he doesn't want anyone negotiating with him! He knows how he works. He knows what he wants to buy for. (Interviewee 40)

Such experiences have left many IWCA leaders convinced of the importance of women's empowerment in the economic sphere, as one of the organization's co-founders articulated when she stated, "When women succeed in business, men respect them. The minute that first paycheck comes in, men look at them differently"

(Interviewee 22). Indeed, an executive of one of IWCA's major partners pronounced her commitment to "women's economic empowerment"[88] in no uncertain terms:

> [Policymakers] rabbit on endlessly about [women's] empowerment, empowerment, empowerment. What they don't talk about is economic empowerment and that's where the real difference is made… Every time you see the words 'structural reform' in anything that has to do with policy [on women's empowerment], just stop yourself short from flushing your head down the toilet… Economic empowerment is very precise. Indicators on income are very precise. That's where the real change is. (Interviewee 32)

IWCA respondents tend to share a concern about women losing out on formal market opportunities relative to men. They are also inclined to strong conviction about the positive effects of women's economic empowerment, which most typically implies an increase in women's ability to earn, manage, and control money and assets. IWCA programming is therefore built around an emphasis on women's market work. These efforts have an unintended inclination to reify unpaid/care work as dichotomous to and separate from market work, apt to remain invisible or unarticulated. Yet, IWCA data also suggest that unpaid/care work shapes engagement with market work in significant ways, materially contributing to the gendered separation of work spheres for myriad aspects of the coffee industry.

5.2.5 Unpaid/Care Work in Conflict with Market Work

For trainings, we ensure women have transportation and that the children have care, so those things could be removed from their mind. [Women] can just go and say 'Alright, I'm going to just learn… I don't have to worry about the kids' lunch for today, I don't have to worry about where they're going to be taken care of, it's all being handled for me'. With all of our trainings, that's how we think because we have to. (Interviewee 17)

Though it is frequently cast as extraneous to and detached from market work, IWCA data indicate that unpaid/care work in fact shapes market work across the

[88] For IWCA and WEConnect respondents alike, the term "women's economic empowerment" is typically used to refer to an increase in women's ability to earn, manage, and control money and/or financial/capital assets.

coffee industry, most often through an experience of tension or conflict. Gendered work spheres mean that this impact appears to be particularly salient for women. One woman owner of a successful Central American coffee farm described her experience and that of her peers in a similar situation by stating, "[We don't] have just one job but two jobs, we're moms and so time is really of the essence" (Interviewee 25). A North America-based coffee buyer, commenting on the interface between unpaid/care and market work in her industry experience, also signaled a sense of tension between the two activities:

> [What I see] as far as the impact on the family is that either [you as a woman] suffer or your kids, your community, they all have to [take second place] to the business, because that's what your focus is. (Interviewee 40)

The same respondent went on to detail her assessment of the interface between unpaid/care and market work for her peers, mainly women buyers with their own firms in North America or Europe:

> [When women decide] to think about the impact their work has on their family… the work is really going to be constrained, to be honest. Her business is not going to be as large because she's filtered the whole family element in there, as far as taking care of the elderly, serving the community, taking care of your immediate family, your extended family. And when you throw all of that on top of work, something is going to give… Is [her business] going to [get to] the same level of impact financially as that of a male counterpart? I don't think so. (Interviewee 40)

In this comment, Interviewee 40 points to a tension between unpaid/care work and financial returns from entrepreneurial endeavors, suggesting that, when unacknowledged, unpaid/care work acts as a source of constraint on business growth. IWCA data thus tend to present unpaid/care and market work as existing in tension, a conflict mediated by time, mobility, and gendered experiences of work.

Time represented a recurrent contributor to tension between unpaid/care and market work in IWCA data. At the production level, one respondent explained how this tension might have particular salience in farm settings seeking to access high-

value, specialty markets, given the labor and time intensive steps such production processes demand. She described:

> [Unpaid/care work] is constantly an added burden and barrier to [women's] performance as it relates to [production] practices that are more time-intensive and generally lead to higher quality… And for areas where women are mainly in charge of [production]… this obviously has an impact based on what kind of activities they have to do at home. [Our research showed] very obviously that [time] was an issue for [women] being able to attend trainings to learn about better production practices, as well as spend more time on the farm doing such practices. (Interviewee 8)

Another senior executive of an industry body posited:

> [Maybe it's] kind of the chicken and the egg, maybe the reason we don't see more women [in leadership] is because, given the options they have today for child and family care, they just can't get out of that circle, especially in producing countries. (Interviewee 27)

However, IWCA data suggest that time does not simply contribute to conflict between unpaid/care and market work for women in coffee producing countries. Rather, the data contain a remarkable range of examples of time-associated conflict in North America, for instance. Two senior respondents signaled that, in these contexts, the industry demands, "a high level of volunteerism", including via industry associations as well as, "a lot of additional training and unpaid research". One detailed:

> For example, formal barista competitions are [really important]... And there's actually been a lot of public questioning of whether or not these competitions are gender-biased based on partly the amount of time that is required to enter and win… We've never had a world champion barista that was a woman… So [our industry body] is looking into: are women just not competing or why aren't they winning? And in terms of why aren't women competing, there's a number of people that speculate it's because of a time poverty issue… and barista competitions are indicative of the larger issue [in our industry] which is that you need to be… constantly educating yourself and constantly putting in more work in order to be competitive even within your own company. (Interviewee 8)

The other emphasized, "in coffee in particular you have guilds, you have associations and alliances and these are always proliferating, ways to share knowledge and

experience and your skills and to hone in on bettering yourself" (Interviewee 17).

Time-based conflict also appeared to exist in customer-facing management roles:

> I would say it's really difficult [for women to manage specialty cafes]. I've not come across somebody that had been caring for children at the same time as being a manager. Actually, I did once. But she didn't last very long. She just couldn't. She had two small children and really the toll the job took… she wasn't able to work it out with human resources. (Interviewee 8)

Another respondent holding a senior role with a key North American industry association emphasized, of her experience: "A lot of [my women colleagues] are realizing that if they want to have kids… somebody's going to have to do maybe home-based work or a more flexible schedule" (Interviewee 26). This respondent credited her own career advancement to the provision of unpaid/care work by her mother and husband for her young daughter, reflecting, "Honestly I don't know how my daughter would have been raised [without them]… I couldn't be advancing in the career that I have in the coffee world" (Interviewee 26). According to IWCA data, gendered time poverty in the coffee industry does not appear to be constrained by geography, nor to individuals with young children. Unpaid/care work for elderly parents formed a salient aspect of conflict between unpaid/care and market work, as one senior corporate respondent recounted:

> This is the pattern I'm seeing with my friends' parents: they're doing good, then there's a health incident, they go in to kind of assisted living, then rehab, they never make it out of rehab and then they go to nursing care… And [women tend to] spend a lot of time researching options… it can become a full-time job. I think it's really underestimated in terms of the burden that it's creating. There's women, young women with children, and then there's women who you would argue many might be 'at the apex' of their career now facing the elder care issue. (Interviewee 27)

Not limited to care for children, nor to a specific geography, IWCA data suggest that time represented an important contributor to gendered conflict between unpaid/care and market work in the coffee industry.

IWCA data also identify mobility as a significant aspect of gendered conflict

between unpaid/care and market work. One respondent with long experience in specialty coffee and Fairtrade noted that unpaid/care work might inhibit women from engagement in the commercial side of the coffee industry in producing countries:

> [Commercial activities] tend to… require you to be away from home. So if [women were] able to be more free and have more training – because [the commercial side] does also require training – I think women would be more involved. But [women] tend to take on the roles that will allow them to also be mother, and if she wasn't hindered in this way, she probably would have the time to do other things. (Interviewee 17)

Women's relative specialization in unpaid/care and production tasks close to the home environment persisted as a theme throughout IWCA data, impacting women's ability to gather and organize, as one IWCA chapter leader based in East Africa recounted of founding her IWCA chapter:

> [The women I was trying to recruit] all asked me 'How can we meet together'? This is a problem because… they cannot leave the family behind to [take a long bus trip] to come meet. (Interviewee 15)

In a similar vein, an exporter based in another country pointed to gendered barriers to production tasks due to unpaid/care work-related mobility constraints:

> [Women] will not walk to the washing station to actually sell their coffee cherries… [They] just have too many household duties and are coping with childcare… And I've often wondered whether if the coffee fields are more than half a kilometer away from the household, if it's a lot harder for the [woman] to get there and do a really careful job picking the cherries, which is what specialty coffee requires. (Interviewee 42)

The recurring theme of women's differential access to crucial industry training sessions in coffee producing countries emerged repeatedly in data related to mobility and conflict between unpaid/care work, as one Latin America-based exporter narrated:

> I was at [an industry meeting], and a guy said 'We do trainings and the women never show up'. And [a woman from another producing country] was furious; she said, 'Of course they don't, you're holding the training at the wrong time for them. Why don't you don't ask them what is a better time for the training courses?' So she was making that point, that it's [often] difficult for [women] to travel. (Interviewee 21)

Unpaid/care work based constraints around mobility were also raised by respondents speaking to their experience with women's advancement in the coffee industry in corporate settings in coffee consuming countries, primarily due to the high amounts of travel required of those within industry leadership. As one North America-based executive stated:

> Because coffee is not grown here, it's not something that you can [drive and go] visit… you have to go visit the next continent or other countries. And so there is a lot of time away actually from your family. That comes with the territory. (Interviewee 17)

She went on to surmise:

> One [issue] is continuously going to be one that gives women some pause. And that's that in order to really learn this industry well, you have to be able to spend time at [coffee] origin, you've got to be able to learn [coffee] right from seed to cup, literally. And I think [some women] simply don't feel they can commit to that [kind of travel]. (Interviewee 17)

IWCA data present time and mobility as non-trivial contributors to experiences of conflict between unpaid/care and market work. Without doubt, these sources of tension can be salient regardless of the gender of the person engaged in these two forms of work. However, IWCA data suggest that the conflict between unpaid/care and market work has a highly gendered component, and associated gendered effects. One executive noted of years of observations in coffee producing settings:

> I think that in many instances if [women] didn't have such a strong responsibility for the family, they would be able to be more involved in the business aspect [of coffee]. Because the data show that women are more involved in the picking and the sorting… which can be done closer to home, but they're not involved in the trading aspect or finally commercializing and getting [the coffee] to market. (Interviewee 17)

This same respondent highlighted her impression of the gendered impact of conflict between unpaid/care and market work as seen via influential industry events, noting:

> It's been a concern [our industry association] has had for a while. We have a producer aspect of our annual event… we bring in between two and three hundred producers a year, they get access to… industry updates and

> knowledge, and yet it's the men that come, not the women. So we started to probe and ask the questions [about why women aren't coming], and [male] producers told us, 'It's because they have to figure out childcare', and we wanted to ask, 'Well, why don't you men have to figure that out, you know, they're your kids too?' (Interviewee 17)

Another respondent emphasized the connection between gendered work spheres and the gendered experience of conflict between unpaid/care and market work in coffee producing countries:

> I feel like women are less likely to sacrifice their family – I mean their familial duties – for their on-farm activities. Men are more likely to make that sacrifice, particularly because they understand that someone else will do that work for them. I mean it's relegated to sort of the female sphere, the domestic sphere. (Interviewee 8)

IWCA data contain similar assertions regarding the gendered nature of conflict between unpaid/care and market work in corporate coffee settings, as suggested by one senior corporate respondent:

> [If women] have to choose between going to the office to make a major presentation or taking care of a child who's sick… unless you have an au pair or some kind of top of the line childcare, you're going to probably choose to stay home with your sick child. So I think your family's basic needs and your childcare responsibilities kind of need to be taken care of before you can do anything else. (Interviewee 27)

Another executive commented, of her experience:

> Working moms just have their challenges regardless… Day care challenges, the whole work life balance, being there for your family but yet doing your work as you want to do it, and over time you realize that there are sacrifices… And I know plenty of people also in a situation where they need to provide senior care, too… that's super tough. (Interviewee 43)

IWCA data indicate that constraints related to time and mobility contribute to a gendered experience of conflict between unpaid/care and market work across the coffee industry, in production settings and corporate environments alike. However, additional data suggest that this conflict is by no means inevitable. Rather, respondents provided numerous examples of changes to norms and institutional arrangements that appear to mitigate such conflict in meaningful ways. At their most

straightforward, such adjustments overcome the invisible, unspoken nature of unpaid/care work, attending to, as one respondent put it, "the other side of life":

> [It really helps to have] organizations that deal with the other side of life, wanting to dig bore holes, provide water closer to the woman, so she doesn't have to… take a whole morning or a whole day doing that, or getting firewood. All these ideas on bio-gas energy, provision of potable water, building of health centers that enable women to deal with maternal issues in a much better way… they all create a much better environment for the woman to accomplish not only her coffee roles, but her other roles as a woman and makes her a better domestic person… it gives her better ability and opportunity to do everything else that she is supposed to do, just because everything else is also working to her advantage. (Interviewee 31)

IWCA respondents cited a litany of similar examples acknowledging unpaid/care work as a pragmatic constraint on market engagement, and providing solutions. One buyer compared her perception of women's engagement with market work in various coffee producing regions:

> [In one region] we saw there were far more women engaging as professional coffee producers. And, you know, they relied a lot on their family to help with the household activities, or sometimes they had more resources available to them to make their work a little more efficient, like if they had electricity or if they had a road, a vehicle or access to a vehicle… Those sorts of things obviously will decrease the amount of time that they need to spend, whereas in [other regions] women were still collecting a lot of firewood and collecting water. (Interviewee 8)

This same respondent posited:

> If you have an entrepreneurial, motivated woman who is able to receive training or able to adopt some of the more labor-intensive production techniques and she has the right incentives and support, then maybe she could rely on other individuals within the household to do some of the [unpaid/care] work. (Interviewee 8)

Another corporate respondent summarized her experience with women with substantial commercial achievements in coffee producing countries in a similar vein, noting:

> [The few women in producing countries] who are already [doing well] in business [tend to] have money and they have resources and they can travel, they have people to take care about the kids, you know, they don't have challenges like others do… they have choices. (Interviewee 17)

Similarly, of women's experience with industry in corporate coffee settings, this same respondent emphasized the gendered impact of current norms and institutions around support for unpaid/care work, surmising, "[A woman's business travel] is highly dependent on what your support system is. Whereas [many men] don't have to think that way" (Interviewee 17). Other respondents emphasized the important role of "support" and "household structure", as well as "economic means" which allow unpaid/care work to "not be as big of a burden" (Interviewee 40). The theme of structural and institutional support for unpaid/care work was recurrent across IWCA data, as in the case of one North America-based corporate respondent who reflected that unpaid/care work need not present a "barrier" to women's market advancement, "if the mother has family support right there to help with the kids" (Interviewee 43).

Such comments may be understood, in part, as optimistic, in the sense that they do not embrace conflict between unpaid/care and market work as a natural and inevitable state of affairs. However, affirmation that mothers (as opposed to parents) will benefit from family support as well as the range of solutions presented in this section may also be interpreted as tacit acceptance of the gendered nature of conflict between unpaid/care and market work, in that they do not challenge the gendered division of work spheres. Furthermore, solutions involving the provision of unpaid/care work by family members do not explicitly challenge the invisibility of unpaid/care work in market settings, rather, perhaps, taking their work-dichotomous nature as given. IWCA data does suggest, nevertheless, that solutions to gendered conflict between unpaid/care and market work exist and may be expanded.

5.3 Discussion

The International Women's Coffee Alliance represents an exemplar case of an industry-led movement to support gender empowerment, primarily through market mechanisms including skills training, access to networks, and commercial opportunities. This chapter opens with an overview of IWCA's work and mission. Next, through analysis of interview data collected from the organization's key informants – including its founders, board members, country chapter leaders across the globe, and core funding partners – the chapter seeks to provide insight into how the interface between production and reproduction is situated and represented among key stakeholders in IWCA's strategy and programming.

Analysis of this data reveal, first, that IWCA stakeholders tend to perceive themselves as operating in a work context that is highly gendered, with women clustered at the bottom of industry hierarchies, holding leadership positions relatively rarely as compared to men. This perception was emphasized by a majority of IWCA interviewees, who provided an array of illustrations in support of their perspective. IWCA data also paint a picture of a less frequently discussed – but nevertheless evident – aspect of the gendering of work, that is, of reproductive and productive labor existing in separate, gendered spheres. The data provide several key insights into the *way* in which gendered divisions of work are preserved, including via gendered task allocation, women's relative specialization in reproductive work, persistently small numbers of women present in formal leadership roles, the existence of patriarchal norms and practices, a sense of low levels of support for women in formal leadership roles, and, significantly, the division of work into a monetized men's sphere and unremunerated women's sphere. While the data contain memorable illustrations of each of these phenomena from coffee producing settings, they also present noteworthy

examples of each based on women's experience in corporate environments in coffee consuming countries. Thus, throughout the findings from IWCA data analysis discussed in this chapter, care must be taken not to assign gendered phenomena related to work to a particular geography. Rather, the data suggest that these trends manifest across industry and place.

Never is this truer than in regard to a second impression given across the data of unpaid/care work as an invisible, or at least little-acknowledged, form of work within a range of industry contexts. When asked about the interface between unpaid/care and market work in their industry, informants were often readily able to speak to their observations and experiences of the phenomena within producing country contexts. Many expressed surprise to also be asked to comment on the same set of questions in their own corporate or industry context. Multiple informants noted that the topic is "not discussed" or "off the table" in their day to day formal work experience. Once prompted, however, respondents often spontaneously offered rich and highly personal reflections on the topic, noting with some chagrin that the subject initially felt either taboo or detached from their gender empowerment aims. Several among IWCA leadership echoed this sense of vexation regarding the organization's own lack of emphasis on unpaid/care work in its programming. Third, and consistent with outcomes regarding the interface of production and reproduction as represented in the entrepreneurship literature, unpaid/care work is typically cast in IWCA data as an activity dichotomous to market work. Fourth and relatedly, narratives within IWCA data do not tend to overtly challenge a presentation of unpaid/care work as existing in fundamental and necessary conflict with market work, though important alterations to norms, structures, and relationships are identified throughout the IWCA data as ways to mitigate – if not eliminate – such conflict.

IWCA interviewees emphasize gender empowerment through market-based interventions, and tend to consider gender equality in roles across the value chain to be a compelling aim unto itself. Yet, despite its market emphasis, IWCA data also demonstrate that the organization places important weight on the positive, non-market knock-on effects of women's economic empowerment. With striking regularity, IWCA stakeholders reiterate the effects associated with what can be called the "virtuous woman", that is, a woman who directs her earnings from formal work towards positive outcomes for her business, family, and community. One of IWCA's most prominent partners summarized the viewpoint as follows:

> Why do we invest in women? Because we understand that women actually do invest more of their money back into their families than men [do]. There is lots of data to show this. The World Food Program estimates that 90% of women as compared to 30-40% of men put their money back into their families through… spending on health and education. (Interviewee 38)

This cycle, often termed the "multiplier effect" (Interviewee 38) suggests that achievements in women's income and market work translate not only into business growth, but also community and social benefit. Across interviews, IWCA respondents echoed their confidence in this phenomenon to a remarkable degree, noting, for example, "When men get more income, the first thing they think about is wheels, a motorcycle, or a car. Women refurbish the roof or buy shoes for the children, or pay for education" (Interviewee 21), or "[IWCA] understands that the only way to [eradicate poverty] is to get the money in the women's hands, because if you get it in the men's hands… it won't be invested in the family (Interviewee 9). This "virtuous woman" narrative appears to be influential with IWCA corporate stakeholders, as well – particularly those for whom arguments based around gender may not be immediately compelling. As the CEO of a large North America-based coffee buyer noted:

> In the coffee industry, you definitely hear the stories of the men working for a few days, and they get paid, and they go to town, and they make bad choices with the money, and then they come home and work again. And then the family is left struggling because the money has been wasted. Obviously, hearing stories like that is not good… And IWCA are saying, ultimately, if you get money in the hands of the women, then much better decisions are made on how to spend the money. That's compelling to us [as a company]. (Interviewee 13)

Another partner from a large corporate coffee roaster commented:

> [Our company] looks to fund [IWCA] programs not because they're necessarily gender specific. [We are] certainly not opposed to gender specific – especially given all the data that says if you can support women, those women actually make sure that their children get educated and families get fed. That's all very aligned with what we are doing [as a company]… within coffee growing communities. I mean, if you have the opportunity to make people's lives better, and you use women as the vehicle to do so because it's their natural inclination to better the lives of their families, it's very difficult to argue against that. (Interviewee 2)

The mechanism of the "virtuous woman" makes up a fundamental aspect of how IWCA makes gender visible and palatable for many of their industry partners. It also provides the link between increases in women's achievement in the economic and market sphere and impact in the family or social sphere. However, in contrast to the comment from Interviewee 2, narratives around the "multiplier effect" can be critically examined. It is important to emphasize that, in such a narrative, the vehicle for social impact is women themselves. This fact raises tensions. As one IWCA respondent mused, "When you relate women to social impact… will it mean that they get more support? Or it will mean that they will have another task?" (Interviewee 21). This respondent highlights an important aspect of the "multiplier effect" narrative: its reliance on women enacting tasks and roles associated with unpaid/care work in what remain highly gendered work spheres, in order to achieve social good. Unpaid/care work remains, in most cases, unacknowledged as work. In this sense, arguments for women's economic empowerment based on the "multiplier effect" do not challenge the gendered division of work spheres. Women's reproductive labor remains obscured

from industry, while men's potential role in catalyzing positive social change and engaging in unpaid/care work is ignored, at best, or outright discounted.

IWCA's experience thus highlights potential tensions between corporate aspirations and corporate action in light of a challenge such as gender empowerment. For example, even when a need to attend to the impact of unpaid/care work on industry outcomes (e.g. volume or quality of coffee production) becomes apparent, or a moral or normative case is successfully made around a concern such as women's empowerment, constraints including cost pressure, individuals' time, and the ongoing need to make a clear "business case" may constrain action. As one interviewee reported of her experience gathering support for IWCA from senior managers and executives of her large North America-based firm:

> I know that a lot of them just don't know a lot about the organization, and it's not that they wouldn't be interested or they wouldn't want to know. It's everybody's competing for the same amounts of time. (Interviewee 2)

Another executive reflected in a similar vein:

> Industry leaders, including [four key North American industry organizations], all recognize that there is this gender disparity [within the industry]. They clearly recognize it. They've come out and said it, they know it, [they say], 'We need to invest in women, we need women to be more involved, included and valued and blah, blah, blah'. They've all said those words. Yet the only people [within industry] working on it are volunteers [like IWCA]. The only people trying to address what we consider to be a major issue to get to being able to be a sustainable industry that is doing well, leading, being progressive, all the things we claim to be and want to be, are volunteers. And that's really interesting. It's not part of anyone's job description or their incentive plan. And that's what it would take to get it on people's radars that are not in volunteer positions. (Interviewee 17)

One more respondent detailed:

> I was a coffee buyer for a pretty high-end company for about five years, and we assumed, because [we're paying] really high premiums for high quality coffee, production is becoming more equitable and sustainable. But after a while, I just thought, 'This isn't true'. I ended up applying to [graduate school]… that's when I first got introduced to the concept, for example, of a household not being a unitary actor. Just because we were paying more didn't

> mean that was getting to women or translating into community improvements. (Interviewee 8)

She went on to suggest the importance of highlighting the "win-win", that is, the ways in which investments in gender can translate into business benefit:

> I think the people that are paying attention understand why we need to start thinking about the differences between men and women in [our industry], and how lack of awareness [of gender] is detrimental to our [industry] goals of sustainable livelihoods and improvement of coffee quality… People understand that but nobody really knows how to do it… There's not a real obvious easy win for [companies] on this issue.

IWCA interviewees in fact suggest a range of possible interventions and innovations which have the potential to influence the gendered experience of work spheres in the coffee industry. The quote from Interviewee 8, however, signals the importance of identifying specific, actionable steps firms and industry bodies might take within a market context. IWCA data also suggest that advances in awareness or acceptance of gender as an issue of relevance to industry do not necessarily signal concurrent change in terms of visibility for unpaid/care work as work.

Much of this challenge, of course, has to do with an additional observation around corporate and industry-based efforts at gender empowerment coming out of the IWCA data; that is, the question of which topics are visible to the market, and palatable or compelling to influencers within industry. For example, analysis of the IWCA case emphasizes the importance of measurement and data in increasing the visibility of issues within industry. As one informant reflected:

> An easy option is just getting the role the women play in this industry on the radar screen. I think that's where we're starting to see some success. People at some companies are asking, 'Do you know if women are represented on the boards at these local [coffee] organizations?' I wrote an opinion piece for a trade journal… called 'Let's get some gender-based data on coffee'… Why do big [North American] companies measure minorities and women in positions of power? Because they have to report it to the government. Don't tell me you can't measure that. Unacceptable response.... Coffee organizations across the world can ask… their members the simple question, 'How many women own farms?' (Interviewee 27)

IWCA's experience also demonstrates that an economic or business case around the issue forms a fundamental aspect of gender becoming visible and palatable within industry. As a key IWCA partner maintained in a speech at an IWCA event:

> And I quote from [the Secretary General of the United Nations] who said investing in women or girls has a profound effect on productivity and sustains economic growth. Investing in women is not only the right thing to do; it's a smart thing to do… By increasing women's economic participation, and enhancing their efficiency and productivity, we can have a dramatic impact on the competitiveness and growth of our economies. [The Secretary General] also says, 'If it's good for women, it's good for trade'…when we first mentioned women within the World Trade Organization (WTO), there was a big push back from some members and staff wanting to understand why we would bring women's issues into the WTO. They said, 'We're not concerned about these issues'. And today I can tell you that it's a mainstream issue that's being discussed. (Interviewee 38)

In a subsequent private interview, this same informant remarked:

> With women's issues… I never make the human rights argument. I get right down to what are the economic benefits that can come from women's empowerment. You have to not be a bleeding heart, and get to the business case. That's very, very important in moving this mission forward. Otherwise you just won't get anywhere.
> (Interviewee 38)

As this respondent went on to acknowledge, the combination of a business case for women's empowerment and assertion of social benefits to be garnered from this empowerment via the aforementioned "multiplier effect" form the core of IWCA's approach – along with data and metrics – of making gender visible and compelling to industry. She asserted, "In our partnership [with IWCA], we seek to achieve a positive impact on economic and human development" (Interviewee 38). A Central America-based IWCA chapter leader articulated a similar sentiment, stating:

> They say, 'You teach a man, you teach a human being. You teach a woman, you teach a family'. [Because of violence and migration] we have a lot of single moms [in our country]. So now gender is on the table, the government and everybody is now in the same place that helping women is important because actually they are the engines of our economy. (Interviewee 25)

An interviewee from a large North America-based firm summarized her view of her involvement with IWCA, asserting:

> Whether you are involved with IWCA because you really believe in the mission of making women's lives better or you just believe in the mission of making people's lives better, IWCA is able to accomplish the same thing by making women's lives better. By giving them more access to resources and training and things like that, you improve the lives of the entire family, including the men. It becomes less of a gender issue as it becomes a human being issue. I think that that's where I fall most… (Interviewee 2)

By framing gender as a key to both business benefit and positive human impact, IWCA manages to make the issue visible to an increasing number of coffee industry stakeholders. In addition, their approach contains an important aspect of making issues around gender not just visible but also palatable and persuasive to a range of actors associated with the coffee trade.

On this topic, core to IWCA's approach to engaging gender in the coffee industry appears to be ensuring that the issue is not perceived as threatening or, as one interviewee described, "dangerous". As one North America-based executive illustrated:

> Now I see people [in the industry] are really more open [to the topic], but you know, [we women in the industry] couldn't burn bras and do things like that, [we had to] raise ourselves up to where we didn't embarrass ourselves in a room with men, we needed to be able to speak to the same subjects… and raise our understanding of the technical. (Interviewee 34)

A Central America-based chapter founder maintained:

> I never insist on trying to change things for gender. I don't believe in that. I don't like fanaticism in any form. I always try to be very professional. [When I was the first woman on our national coffee board] I just tried to show [the men on the board] that I was not that dangerous. That was my strategy… I was not a fanatic. I didn't want to change things. I was just there to learn and to give my opinion… They didn't know what to expect from a woman… They didn't have any reference for me. I thought, 'Well, they are probably afraid of me. It's the very first time in 50 years that they have a woman there, so I really have to behave and show them that I'm normal. I will not do anything bad.' (Interviewee 24)

Of this approach, this interviewee reported that, during her years on the board, "[the men on the board] learned to respect me. They learned that we can work together". Another East Africa-based industry leader narrated her view of positive change from IWCA's approach, describing:

> Initially it was like, 'What are all these women going on about? Why do they want to divide the whole industry into men and women?'… But the beauty is that… when [they can see the] losses that there are when you do not recognize, acknowledge, and reward the efforts of women… it affects the overall bottom-line. Then it's not about what we are doing, it's about… the whole coffee industry in our country and our economy... So it sort of had to come from that angle… [We have] facts that support the cause, and it's not about men or women; it's really about the facts… about the potential of having women included and recognized and rewarded. (Interviewee 31)

In the process of gaining acceptance of gender-related concerns within industry, IWCA engages in trade-offs in terms of which aspects of gender to emphasize, and which to downplay. The data suggest this process is partially conscious and strategic, as in the case of emphasis on data-based arguments, the "multiplier effect", and potential economic benefits of women's increased engagement in the coffee value chain. At the same time, the data suggest that other aspects of women's experience with work – unpaid/care labor representing a powerful example – are easily overlooked. IWCA's experience suggests that market-based approaches to women's empowerment may reify perceptions of work as a gendered activity, leaving fundamental tensions between unpaid/care and market work unacknowledged or under-explored, despite clear suggestions that unpaid/care work makes up a formative aspect of many women's engagement with market labor.

Before concluding, several caveats to the discussion of the IWCA case are in order. First, it is clear that the case is fraught with gendered generalizations, to a degree neither the author nor, it would seem, all of the interviewees would necessarily intend. In spite of custom and tradition, individual men can and do take on important

unpaid/care work, and men who do so are likely to face tensions with their market labor. At the same time, many women do not engage in unpaid/care work to any substantive degree, or at all. This chapter by no means wishes to cast all women as carers, nor to argue that all differences in women's labor market performance are due to gendered engagement with unpaid/care work. What the chapter does wish to argue is that unpaid/care work is frequently obscured from discussion of women's market or entrepreneurial work, and that this omission may be due to a perception of unpaid/care work as a gendered activity unrelated to work itself. Analysis of the case of IWCA lends insight into what may be immediately invisible to and – even inadvertently – disregarded by processes seeking to make gender perceptible and persuasive to industry stakeholders through market means. This does not represent a critical exhortation to IWCA to become all things to all people; rather, it presents potential lessons for IWCA and other industry-based actors regarding areas in which taken-for-granted norms may impact their work and efforts, and to which dedicated attention may be required.

5.4 Conclusions:

This thesis sets out an analysis of the interface between productive and reproductive work in the entrepreneurship literature, signaling that, for this body of scholarship, work tends to be cast as existing in gendered spheres. In these spheres, unpaid/care work tends to be classified as an activity distant from market relevance, rarely dignified as work at all. When the reproductive and productive spheres do meet, they appear to do so in conflict due to their irreconcilable nature. This chapter examines the interface between productive and reproductive work in the case of an entrepreneurship and market-led effort to empower women across a global, multifaceted industry which enjoys wide familiarity with consumers.

IWCA works to raise visibility of the gendered nature of the coffee industry, specifically highlighting contributions from women to the industry which are frequently overlooked, and gender-based gaps at the leadership level across the coffee value chain. It also works to build a compelling case with industry stakeholders for investments, policies, and practices in favor of women's advancement within the industry. As one key IWCA supporter articulated of her organization's partnership with IWCA, "We are a trade organization. We start from the market and work backwards. So we need [partners] who speak the same language" (Interviewee 38). Indeed, IWCA represents a potentially powerful partner for work on gender empowerment from a market-based lens. But, due to extant industry constraints, norms, and practices, not all aspects of women's experiences with work, for example, will be equally visible to actors working to pursue gender empowerment through market-based means.

Findings from empirical research suggest that, while IWCA articulates a serious commitment to women's economic empowerment, its work does not necessarily challenge – and may reify – conceptions of productive and reproductive work as belonging to dichotomous, gendered spheres, fundamentally existing in conflict with one another. To be sure, such a perspective indeed appears to describe the status quo in a range of situations across the coffee industry. However, it tends to take the dichotomous, conflictual nature of reproductive and productive work for granted, neither emphasizing unpaid/care activities as a form of work themselves, nor provoking reflection about how norms and institutional arrangements may exaggerate the gendered, apparently disconnected nature of the two activity types. When asked about the topic, IWCA informants were quick to point out ways in which women's unpaid/care work might act as a barrier to women's economic activity in coffee

producing contexts. However, despite widespread agreement about the relevance of unpaid/care work to achievements in the market sphere across individual interviews, IWCA does not address the topic directly in their programming. IWCA data indicate that unpaid/care work is rarely mentioned in industry forums, but neither does it gain attention from IWCA strategy or operations. Thus, because of its ostensible inconsequence to market activities, the issue rests largely obscured, remaining an unspoken challenge to women's economic empowerment that individual interviewees appear to readily acknowledge, but organizational efforts almost comprehensively overlook.

IWCA is of interest to this research because it is an effort embedded within industry to pursue advancements in the area of gender empowerment. The organization provides a clear example of an initiative that emphasizes women's engagement with the market as a means to empowerment. Analysis of the interface between production and reproduction in light of IWCA's commitment to market mechanisms, and position within industry, lends insight into possibilities and tensions extant in market-led approaches to women's empowerment. IWCA's experience also highlights potential limitations such approaches may face. While market-based initiatives offer a powerful potential tool to engage a wide range of women across the coffee value chain, the organization's direct impact is also necessarily limited to women who both require support and are "help-able", that is, who are already positioned to respond to offerings of skill training, networking, and access to commercial opportunity, for example. As multiple interviewees noted, many women face challenges which prevent them from gathering in groups (Interviewee 15), attending training, or accessing and controlling resources. The source(s) of these barriers frequently pertain to the context in which women's market activities are

embedded, including challenges related to law, custom, physical safety, as well as time poverty and unpaid/care work related demands. When not taken into account, such obstacles may result in increased inequality between women who are well-placed to embrace market-based approaches to empowerment, and those who find themselves unable to access these opportunities. Without doubt, an organization like IWCA must make strategy and trade-offs based on its core competencies, and cannot be reasonably expected to attend to all sources of gender-based inequality present in the coffee industry "from seed to cup". However, given the prevalence of tensions related to unpaid/care work which manifest across IWCA data, an argument can be made that the organization's lack of attention to challenges related to unpaid/care work in the industry represents an opportunity missed.

Chapter 6: Case 3: WEConnect International

I think the historical approach [of]… trying to establish that women had human rights has certainly underpinned our work and taken us very far. But now, shifting the focus to look at the economic potential of women is another way of making the argument because, unfortunately, we need every good argument we can muster on behalf of the changes that we seek. (U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, ICWBL Inaugural Meeting, 24 January 2012)[89]

We taught [corporations] how to speak, how to understand the women's issue… as [an]… economic issue… We gave them the language with which to discuss it. (Interviewee 36)

[We want ideas about]… what can help us boost growth, [mobilize] untapped resources… follow smart strategies to increase productivity, and add new value to companies and economies. Now, everyone is searching for answers to those questions, but not enough people realize that… a large part of the answer lies with women. (U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, ICWBL Inaugural Meeting, 24 January 2012)

6.1 Organizational Background

WEConnect International was founded in Washington, D.C. in 2008, as a, "corporate led non-profit that helps to empower women business owners to succeed in global markets".[90] The organization seeks to identify entrepreneurs across the globe, certify their businesses as 51% owned, managed, and controlled by one or more woman[91], and increase the success of these enterprises in accessing the supply chains of WEConnect corporate member companies. Collectively, WEConnect member companies represent more than USD$700 billion in annual purchasing power[92] and count among them many of the world's most readily identifiable multinational

[89] As part of field work, I represented Professor Linda Scott on the Access to Markets Subcommittee of then-U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's International Council on Women's Business Leadership hosted at the U.S. Department of State. WEConnect senior leadership sat on the same subcommittee. ICWBL documents and transcripts of ICWBL meetings are in the public domain, and therefore are not anonymized here.

[90] WEConnect International website: https://www.weconnectinternational.org/en/media-news/press-releases/women-are-the-next-emerging-market-and-buying-for-impact-how-to-buy-from-women-and-change-our-world-is-your-compass, accessed 3 August 2013.

[91] WEConnect International website: https://www.weconnectinternational.org/en/womens-business-enterprises/certification, accessed 3 August 2013.

[92] WEConnect International website: https://www.weconnectinternational.org/en/about-us/who-we-are, accessed 3 August 2013.

corporations. WEConnect operates with approximately USD$4 million annual revenue from grants, including from corporate members, foundations, and entities including the United States Department of State, as well as some program revenue (Interviewee 60). The organization's primary emphasis is gaining "access to markets" for women-owned businesses, and raising awareness of procurement from women-owned firms in policy and corporate forums. The organization also acts as a key convener for corporate, government, and civil society actors with an interest in women's enterprise, as well as "women's economic empowerment"[93] more generally. WEConnect's leadership features regularly at exclusive forums including the Clinton Global Initiative (CGI), high-level federal government events across the globe, and the United Nations Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment (UN HLP), to name a few. The organization's board is comprised of senior representatives of well-known multinational firms.

WEConnect therefore represents a unique exemplar case of an entrepreneurship-led approach to advancing women's empowerment aims, deeply embedded within industry, and characterized by an emphasis on women's contributions in the formal economic sphere. Analysis of how WEConnect stakeholders engage the interface between production and reproduction thus provides insight into how entrepreneurship, formal work, and unpaid/care work are conceptualized by prominent corporate and policy actors as well as by women business owners.

WEConnect has its roots in the "supplier diversity" movement in the United States. Supplier diversity, a legacy of the U.S. civil rights movement, is a procurement

[93] As noted in Chapter 1, for the actors investigated in this thesis, the term "women's economic empowerment" is typically used to refer to an increase in women's ability to earn, manage, and control money and/or financial/capital assets.

mechanism through which U.S. companies and government agencies are encouraged (though not legally required) to seek to satisfy their organization's needs for goods and services through procurement from business owners who are certified as belonging to legally recognized social groups. These categories may include entrepreneurs who are veterans of the U.S. armed forces, business owners with physical or mental disabilities, or "women and ethnic minorities". An extensive ecosystem of certifications, conferences, and professional organizations around procurement from each of these groups has existed in the United States for many decades, and major U.S. corporations typically employ teams of supplier diversity professionals tasked with achieving certain levels of "spend" with suppliers who represent specific groups. This context has encouraged major corporations in the U.S. to develop at least some level of granular insight into the suppliers from which they buy. Companies who publicly demonstrate progress in sourcing from "diverse" suppliers may receive accolades from the national press or from high-profile industry organizations such as Diversity Inc.

In the United States, certification of a business as, "owned, managed, and controlled by one or more woman" is most frequently conducted by the Women's Business Enterprise National Council (WBENC). WEConnect has established a mechanism through which women entrepreneurs based outside of the United States can become certified using WBENC's strict criteria. Prior to the formation of WEConnect, WBENC-level certification was only available to U.S.-based women entrepreneurs. In a context of globalization, this had multiple implications, not least that companies lost out on the ability to track procurement spend on women-owned businesses outside the United States, and that women entrepreneurs around the world received no preferential treatment for access to the supply chains of U.S. firms.

Despite WEConnect's efforts, the barriers to offering a WBENC-level certification to women entrepreneurs across the world remain immense. WEConnect's founding was, predictably, a source of controversy for some WBENC stakeholders, concerned that global competition would make their already-challenging mission of increasing U.S. women entrepreneurs' access to major buyers even more difficult.[94] Additionally, U.S.-based procurement teams are not typically resourced to manage additional demands such as those represented by WEConnect's innovation. As one WEConnect corporate member described:

> [U.S.-based companies] don't have systems in place to care [about the diversity of their non-U.S. suppliers]. Procurement databases don't even have the right tickboxes for that. So the problem is that if you want to benefit from current supplier diversity initiatives, you need to have a U.S. ZIP Code. (Interviewee 98)

Finally, procurement spend on "diverse" suppliers outside the U.S. can still not typically be counted towards the diversity and inclusion goals a company may report to the U.S. government, for example. Even reporting on spend on U.S.-based "diverse" suppliers is not a legal requirement. As one WEConnect corporate member described, "There's more robustness on reporting if you're a federal government contractor, but in general with supplier diversity, there's no one coming back to say, 'You're doing a bad job'" (Interviewee 98).

In the same way that many entrepreneurial organizations might emphasize access to business skills training, networks, or finance, WEConnect's view of the world is characterized – in addition to these – by a focus on "access to markets". In the organization's view, this "new and emerging concept" focuses on boosting sales

[94] One WEConnect stakeholder described a memorable experience in connection with WEConnect's founding: "I was at [a major U.S. supplier diversity event] and I was so shocked to have a key actor [in that movement] come up to me and say, 'I am not your friend. I do not support bringing women from abroad to compete with U.S. women-owned businesses'. Now I'm pretty used to this pushback, to people asking me, 'How can you do this to us? We have worked so hard to get certified as women-owned businesses in the U.S. and now you're bringing women [from around the world] to compete with us?'" (Interviewee 30)

for "growth-oriented" businesses that are verified to be women-owned, managed, and controlled (Interviewee 60). WEConnect leadership maintains that their approach to "access to markets" is unique for three reasons. First, women's ownership, management, and control of businesses is verified "by a human being" following established criteria (Interviewee 60). Second, because WEConnect aims to work with "growth-oriented" businesses, they prefer the entrepreneurs within their network to incorporate following local protocol. As a senior WEConnect interviewee reasoned:

> Women are too often stuck in the informal sector. Our approach to access to markets requires transparency on all levels. It creates transparency about how big players source, when they buy, how to access their procurement channels. It's all about increasing transparency across supply chains so the same people don't get left out of opportunity again and again. (Interviewee 30)

Third, WEConnect argues that because of their emphasis on procurement, purchases from women-owned businesses by the organization's member companies have the potential to serve as a "powerful measure of impact" (Interviewee 60). While the organization's understanding of the meaning of impact will be discussed further in this chapter, it is worth noting WEConnect's conviction that:

> While small and medium enterprises (SMEs) fail often, they are a key to increasing diversity in the supply chain… and helping corporates to become more focused on making their spend count in a social way. This can really create a cascade effect and leverage to smaller companies. (Interviewee 30)

That is, women's entrepreneurial success is believed to provide benefits beyond those accrued by the individual woman business owner.

In this spirit, WEConnect engages both women-owned businesses which are certified and have paid a membership fee[95], as well as those who self-register as

[95] Membership fees for individual businesses range from approximately £200-£1,700 annually, depending on the geographical location of the business (Interviewee 60).

women-owned.[96] While data from self-registered businesses is predictably difficult to verify, WEConnect estimates that 60% of self-registered businesses have between 1-10 employees, and that 80% have revenue under USD$50,000/year, with large variation according to industry and geography (Interviewee 60). WEConnect reports that certified businesses in their network tend to have annual revenue between USD$500,000 and USD$2 million, and employ between 50-200 people (Interviewee 60). The bulk of WEConnect's work is focused on certified businesses, though initiating contact with a critical mass of self-registered firms is one of the organization's key strategies through which to enter new countries and geographies. As of September 2016, WEConnect had 19 global programs[97], membership from 69 corporate supplier diversity initiatives[98], and reported 5,446 self-registered and 682 certified women-owned businesses in their network.[99]

WEConnect was launched with – and continues to enjoy – high-level support from influential policy organizations including the U.S. State Department, national

[96] WEConnect encourages women to attend an event in their local area before being recognized as self-registered, in order to be able to ensure that such women are fully aware of WEConnect's offerings and have some access to their local WEConnect network (Interviewee 60).

[97] WEConnect's global programs include Australasia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, India, Indonesia, Israel, Jamaica (also responsible for the English-speaking Caribbean), Mexico, The Netherlands, Nigeria, Peru, Portugal, South Africa, Turkey, as well as the United Kingdom and Ireland.

[98] WEConnect corporate members include: Accenture, Access Bank, AIG, Anthem, American Express (Europe), Apple, Avis Budget Group, Barclays, Baxter Storey (Europe), BDC (Canada), BMW (Europe), BNY Mellon, Boeing, Boyner Group (Turkey), Bristol-Myers-Squibb, Cargill, Chevron, Ciena, Coca-Cola Company (Europe), Cox Automotive (Europe), CRGlobal Law (Costa Rica), Cummins, Dell, Delta, Dun & Bradstreet, ECOLAB (Europe), Enterprise Holdings, Ernst & Young, Estee Lauder Companies, Exxon Mobil, Garanti (Turkey), Goldman Sachs, Hewlett Packard Enterprise, Hilton Worldwide, IMB, Ingersoll Rand, Intel, Interpublic Group (Europe), Johnson & Johnson, Johnson Controls, JPMorgan (Europe), Knoll (Europe), Marriott, MasterCard, Merck, MetLife (Europe), Microsoft, Monsanto, Morgan Stanley (Europe), Nokia (Canada), PepsiCo, Pfizer, PG&E, Procter & Gamble, Roche (Europe), Royal Bank of Scotland (Europe), Sodexo, Superior SDI Limited (Europe), TDBank (Canada), TransCanada, Turkish Economy Bank (Turkey), UPS, Verizon, Walmart, Walt Disney Company, Westpac (Australasia), Wells Fargo, Wyndham Worldwide.

[99] WEConnect International website: https://weconnectinternational.org/en/, accessed 28 September 2016.

governments across the world, and C-level leadership of multinational firms. During my extended field stay at their headquarters in Washington, D.C., the organization was preparing for an announcement at the Clinton Global Initiative in which a group of multinational corporations and NGOs[100] would commit to track at least USD$1.5 billion of procurement spend on women-owned businesses outside the United States, and provide support including training, mentoring, and certification to 15,000 women entrepreneurs across the globe. WEConnect reported that the actual total expenditure by their CGI partners one year later surpassed US$3 billion, and that the latter effort had reached more than 40,000 women.[101] WEConnect regularly leads such commitments and actions at CGI and similar high-profile events. A leader instrumental in the founding of WEConnect informally described the organization's mission as, "building the business case for women", recalling that, initially, many women may express reticence about self-identifying as such in the eyes of corporate buyers: "They tell me, 'I don't want to identify as a woman-owned firm, it's like saying you are an incompetent business'" (Interviewee 30). Countering the perception – by women entrepreneurs, policymakers, or corporate actors – that women's businesses are a subsidiary matter for the economy has provided a shared rallying point for WEConnect and many of its high-profile partners. An interviewee who brokered early collaboration between WEConnect and the U.S. Ambassador for Global Women's Issues recounted, "I pushed [the Ambassador and her team] not to

[100] The commitment was made in September 2013 by companies and organizations including: Accenture LLP, The Boeing Company, Cherie Blair Foundation for Women, Coca-Cola Company, DLA Piper, Ernst & Young, Exxon Mobil Corporation, Freeport-McMoRan Copper & Gold Inc., Goldman Sachs 10,000 Women, IBM, Intel Corporation, The International Center for Research on Women, The Inter-American Development Bank, Johnson Controls Inc., Marriott International Inc., Pfizer Inc., The Rockefeller Foundation, The Royal Bank of Scotland plc, the U.S. Department of State, and Wal-Mart Stores, Inc.

[101] WEConnect International website: https://weconnectinternational.org/en/about-us/clinton-global-initiative-commitment, accessed 15 September 2016.

limit their thinking about women to microfinance, base of the pyramid initiatives, and providing rural women with clean cookstoves" (Interviewee 30). This interviewee went on to recount her related insistence that, "there was all this emphasis on increasing finance to women and giving them business skills and education, but then there was nowhere for them to sell their products. So we need to talk about access to markets" (Interviewee 30).

WEConnect estimates that, globally, women are full or partial owners of around one third of businesses in the formal economy, but that less than one percent of procurement spend by the world's major corporations and governments is directed to women-owned suppliers (Interviewee 29). WEConnect's emphasis on women's access to markets and business performance is a key aspect of their shared platform and ongoing partnerships with policy institutions and corporations; WEConnect corporate members and policy supporters tend to express a shared commitment to dissemination of an instrumental argument (Interviewee 86) for women's empowerment, i.e. one that makes the case that women are an untapped or inadequately tapped source of economic growth. To this end, WEConnect has shared the stage with the Inter-American Development Bank, U.S. Department of State, regional organizations including Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), UN Women, and corporations with high-visibility programs on women's economic empowerment including Goldman Sachs, Walmart, and others. Each of these actors has pivoted in recent years to emphasize the economic potential of women in formal economic roles, and the possibilities for sustainable economic growth as a result of women's economic participation. As a WEConnect leader reasoned:

> Microfinance made the business case that women are a good investment. But once microbusinesses grow, they have other financial needs. Do they then graduate to traditional banking? Do microfinance banks continue to serve them? Is there an incentive for them to stay small? Does being women-owned

> necessarily equal small business? Once you go one step beyond women and microfinance, all these discussions begin to emerge. (Interviewee 30)

As policymakers and corporate leaders have increased their interest in the economic growth potential of women, a concurrent appetite for measurement of women's economic achievements has emerged. WEConnect argues that sourcing from women-owned businesses became primary not because, "we wish to ignore other issues", but because, "this was an area we felt we could realistically influence, and, as important, measure" (Interviewee 30). The requirements of becoming a supplier to multinational corporations necessarily mean that WEConnect is far from reaching the informal sector (Interviewee 30). But the organization maintains that their greatest impact is twofold: making the "business case for women" in key policy and corporate spaces, and increasing transparency around procurement by large organizations. As a key WEConnect informant described:

> Transparency means convincing companies to share exactly how they source and how a potential supplier can approach them. This is very sensitive information, but it's the key to demystifying the [procurement] process for a small business. We also want [buyers] to get a better handle on what they buy, and from whom. Better data can only be good for communities, and for the Earth. Right now, there's not much transparency in procurement, but we know women are not getting a lot of this pie. The better data we can start to get, the more we can speak to these issues. (Interviewee 30)

WEConnect stakeholders tended to liken women's economic participation to a sort of "canary in the coal mine" (Interviewee 86), reasoning that when women's businesses succeed, it, "signals other good things about a society" and that, "when companies are buying from women it signals good things about the corporate world", likening initiatives that result in more procurement purchases from women-owned businesses to disability laws, "that actually make sure stairs and doors are working well and are more safe for everybody" (Interviewee 30). The commitment by WEConnect's stakeholders to women's advancement in formal economic spheres, coupled with its

close relationship with industry, makes analysis of the WEConnect case a productive route through which to gain insight into how industry and market-led approaches to women's empowerment might conceptualize the interface between work in the productive and reproductive spheres.

6.2 Findings from Empirical Data

Data for the WEConnect case was collected via high-level, invitation-only events hosted or co-hosted by WEConnect across the globe, on field work with the organization in Washington, D.C., and via interviews with dozens of senior stakeholders from policy organizations and corporations about the strategy behind WEConnect's work. In addition, the data used to present empirical findings in this chapter comes from in-person interviews with women entrepreneurs associated with WEConnect in Chile, Peru, and Mexico (full interviewee list is provided in Chapter 3). Data from WEConnect provide unique insight into how the interface between production and reproduction is represented among key stakeholders of the organization, as well as how it is experienced by women entrepreneurs with whom WEConnect conducts its work. To emphasize, this is not to imply that unpaid/care work is by any means the only challenge to business performance faced by entrepreneurs associated with WEConnect. WEConnect is a strongly entrepreneurial organization, and the policymakers and partners with whom it works have often pioneered the case for entrepreneurship as a vehicle for women's empowerment from within the organizations in which they wield influence. Rather, this chapter examines whether and how the classical definition of work is manifest in how WEConnect and their partners build strategy around women's empowerment through market work, and

the extent to which unpaid/care work appears to have significant influence on women's entrepreneurial and commercial outcomes.

WEConnect data strongly suggest that, for the organization and its stakeholders, production and reproduction are presented as dichotomous from one another, and reproductive work framed as distant from business concerns (6.2.1). At the same time, the data reveal that unpaid/care work may influence women's pursuit of market work in important ways, influencing why women pursue entrepreneurship, the type of business they may found, and their tenure as business owners. All this suggests that unpaid/care work represents an important but under-acknowledged aspect of women's engagement with market work (6.2.2). Analysis of the data indicate that unpaid/care work may also present substantial sources of conflict with formal work for some women business owners, but that the perception of unpaid/care work as dissociated from market concerns may lead these conflicts to remain unaddressed, or addressed at the level of the individual, rather than in a systemic manner (6.2.3). With these observations in place, the chapter then moves to explore the context in which WEConnect and its stakeholders conduct their efforts. Data suggest that WEConnect operates in a formal work context that is characterized by highly gendered spheres, with barriers to women's advancement existing at multiple levels of industry, and unpaid/care work characterized by a largely female sphere (6.2.4). The context in which WEConnect operates is explored further in a subsequent section summarizing findings regarding women and supply chains, noting salient challenges faced at the corporate level and at the level of would-be women-owned corporate suppliers (6.2.5). With a clear view of the findings on the difficulties presented by sourcing from women-owned businesses across the globe, the following section sets out WEConnect's commanding use of an instrumental economic argument

for women's empowerment in order to drive engagement with their work from key prominent actors in business and policy (6.2.6). Finally, and with the aims of this thesis in mind, section 6.2.7 explores how WEConnect's use of the instrumental argument for women's empowerment appears to lead to the implication that work is necessarily defined by economic growth, as opposed to other factors. The section concludes that this tendency may reify, rather than contest, perceptions of unpaid/care work as distant from productive activity and of limited economic importance.

6.2.1 Reproduction and Production as Dichotomous

That unpaid/care work is dichotomous to market work is one of the most apparent outcomes of WEConnect data analysis. This section explores ways in which WEConnect data appear to present reproductive and productive work as separate, and examines how the same data tend to cast unpaid/care work as an invisible or obscured form of labor. Most noticeably, the organization's dedication to underscoring the importance of market access for women-owned businesses appears to emerge in tandem with a tendency to downplay, overlook, or de-emphasize other aspects of women's work and experiences. As one WEConnect corporate member mused on a panel at one of the organization's events:

> Talk about work-life integration too often comes off like, 'Let's shame and blame [corporations]'. And in any case, there are problems faced by women who are single, divorced, or don't have kids. There can be too much emphasis on women who want to have it all. I'd sometimes like to ask, 'Why are we spending time talking about personal concerns when we could be convening women to talk with powerful buyers who have real [market] information?' (Interviewee 37)

The felt urgency of WEConnect's mission to increase women's market access can lead issues not related to women's market work to appear trivial, irrelevant, or even like an unhelpful distraction. The basis of this framing appears to be, as the

commentator above suggests, that unpaid/care work is not work, rather belonging to a category of "personal concerns" best kept separate from discussions which have the potential to advance women's market performance.

The dissociation of unpaid/care and market work is manifest across the WEConnect data. At times, interviewees suggest that this disconnect is conscious and strategic, necessary for the organization to achieve its aims within the context in which it conducts its work. As one senior North America-based WEConnect stakeholder described, "When I was building my career… I never had a picture of my kids or my husband in my office, ever. You're really trying to make [your corporate colleagues] forget that you're a woman" (Interviewee 9). This interviewee went on to discuss her perception of the difficulty of bringing economic arguments for women's empowerment together with feminist work, opining:

> Feminists are very uncomfortable with economists, and even though there is an International Association for Feminist Economists, they only want to talk about domestic work and that kind of stuff, and their language, frankly, is inflammatory, and very business-unfriendly. (Interviewee 9)

Again, this interviewee appears to imply that discussion of, "domestic work and that kind of stuff" is neither relevant to discussions about economic matters, nor couched in terms with which business can engage. A senior WEConnect interviewee emphasized the need to maintain emphasis on women's roles in the formal economy in order to further the organization's mission, pointing out:

> For most of recent history the focus [has] been on women as mothers, as caregivers, as people who were at home, and maybe as consumers. But we didn't have a lot of conversations around women in the economy, as business leaders, as job creators. Finally, I feel like we're having some traction – with major policymakers, with corporate leaders, with top multilaterals – looking at women beyond women as victims and as those responsible for care work... (Interviewee 30)

This interviewee went on to allow that, "maybe it's like a pendulum… you finally make some progress on women in the economy, in the labor force and as

entrepreneurs, and then it could be time to bring in the other roles that they play" (Interviewee 30). As this comment illustrates, WEConnect stakeholders tend to express hesitance about raising issues related to unpaid/care work, for fear of losing hard-won "traction" and "progress" with senior corporate and policy stakeholders, or appearing to be "business-unfriendly". This anxiety leads unpaid/care work to remain obscure within work by WEConnect stakeholders, taken to be dichotomous to and separate from market labor.

Additional WEConnect data suggest that the omission of unpaid/care work from the organization's programming and communication can also be unpremeditated. Queried about her discussions with WEConnect corporate members on the links between women's market access and their unpaid/care work, a senior WEConnect interviewee replied:

> I don't spend a lot of my time discussing that issue with the corporations. In fact, it's rare that I have this conversation, for better or for worse. You know, I'm at a conference and I'm talking with corporations, and they're speaking on supply chain. And if someone is talking about labor force and care work and this kind of thing, it's usually someone else from that corporation on a different panel somewhere. (Interviewee 30)

For this respondent, the status quo organizational context in which she operates contributes to her sense that unpaid/care work would be unrelated to her topics of organizational interest. Similarly, reflecting on whether WEConnect initiatives engage the question of links between unpaid/care work and women's market work, a senior respondent from one of the organization's key NGO collaborators mused:

> It's so interesting because… quite honestly we have no formal way to discuss [unpaid/care work], so we actually don't [do so]… You're raising such an interesting question because we just don't talk about this very often. Which I think is interesting and is now making me wonder why we don't. We're certainly not [driving] programming looking at this issue… But yet when we bring together… small cohorts of women leaders… naturally [family issues] come up without exception in every conversation… not in our actual programming, but more in side conversations. (Interviewee 43)

While formal programming by WEConnect stakeholders appears to unfold in a manner that grants little to no visibility to unpaid/care work, data analysis suggests that the topic is far from immaterial to many of the women with whom the organization engages. The presentation of unpaid/care work as dichotomous from market work – while categorically characteristic of WEConnect data, thus appears to be a site of potential tension.

Indeed, WEConnect data imply that, in some cases, the separation of unpaid/care and market work may be reflexively ideological at first pass, but that a desire to bring the former into conversation with WEConnect's work may also be hampered by an inability to find compelling language through which to do so. A narrative from one of the organization's key collaborators reflects the arc of this phenomenon:

> My initial thought is that these two issues are pretty different. I think it might be better to keep them separate. We're talking about how we bring women into supply chains, get corporations to invest in women, and about the difference that that makes. Not just from a 'do the right thing' point of view, but from a business profit point of view… I think this and the [the unpaid/care issue] are two very different arguments. But then, as I think about it, I also think they're both very, very important [issues]. I just get lost at the connection between the two... We've worked hard to establish this idea of women as a source of [economic] growth. For lots of companies now, that's kind of a no-brainer… But no one's making the connection between [that and unpaid/care work], or at least I don't yet see how business might be made to care about [unpaid/care work]. (Interviewee 1)

This extended comment illustrates both an initial reticence to sully discussions of "women as a source of economic growth" by raising topics related to unpaid/care work with WEConnect stakeholders. Yet, the remark also suggests that the dichotomy between unpaid/care and market work reflected across WEConnect data is not necessarily accepted by all stakeholders. In some cases, it may result from a paucity of language and conceptual tools through which to align the former with "the business profit point of view", rather than any philosophical commitment regarding a specific

definition of work. Reflecting on the organization's lack of attention to unpaid/care work, one senior WEConnect informant offered:

> I think that what actually happens when women have time together, whether it's in the margins or as a formal topic at these major economic forums on business ownership or women in the labor force… [is that] increasingly [unpaid/care work] comes up because of the significant impact it has on the ability of women to play roles as employees or as employers. So it's a topic that… was the only subject for a long time… and we finally got to move more recently into having economic conversations about women. But maybe now we need to start to wonder, how do you do the economics without addressing these persistent challenges? (Interviewee 30)

While WEConnect data systematically present reproduction as disconnected from production, unquestionably obscuring unpaid/care work in the process, analysis suggests that reasons for this range from the rhetorical to the normative for stakeholders associated with the program.

6.2.2 Unpaid/Care Work Influencing Market Work

While data analysis demonstrate that unpaid/care work is presented as dichotomous from market work and remains distant from WEConnect's formal discourse and programming, it also establishes that unpaid/care work is no insignificant variable for many women in their path towards "access to markets". The data suggest multiple ways in which unpaid/care work may influence women's pursuit of market work. For example, the need to accommodate unpaid/care work may present challenges to certain types of global sourcing. Recounting her multiple conversations with a colleague leading the effort to source from women in one of the world's most identifiable corporate women's economic empowerment programs, one WEConnect corporate member observed:

> I think companies can face huge internal challenges [on this point]. [My colleague] is a great example. She gets why it's important [to source from women], she gets the value, but communicating that to her ethical sourcing team… The conversations that they had to go through to get their sourcing

> people on board with the fact that they're going to sell bowls…. that are made in some hut in some place in [Africa]…Where women are probably breastfeeding while they work, and their children are helping. How do you get ethical sourcing to certify that? (Interviewee 43)

The data also contain multiple illustrations of how unpaid/care work influences women business owners. To start, interviews with women entrepreneurs associated with WEConnect suggest that unpaid/care work influences the kind of work some women pursue at the outset. As one Chile-based founder summarized, "For me, making my work compatible with my family was an absolutely fundamental condition of starting my business" (Interviewee 15). Another Mexico-based business owner recollected:

> I had a great job… with ninety people reporting to me across five states. But I spent a huge amount of time on the road. When I got pregnant, I said to myself 'I need to give up what I love because I need to care for my child. I won't work, I won't travel'… But then I had my baby and I felt the walls were closing in on me. I needed to do something else. So I opened my own office, on my own terms. (Interviewee 110)

A business owner from Peru related:

> I founded my business because of my family… I was raised by my grandmother while my mother supported [our family] financially... I saw my mother in the mornings and at night, but there were many times she [could not be available]. So I always said to myself, 'When I have my own children, I want to raise them'... But I didn't want to let every other side of myself just fall to the side. My business lets me do both, which I think is a great example for my daughters. (Interviewee 71)

A Chile-based business owner summarized:

> Making my business compatible with my family and children is very important… I think you'll see this is a common theme as you do these interviews… It's a shared concern; we're all women and we have a home and an office… There are times you need to balance your books and there are times you need to be at home putting together a [costume for your child's school play]. (Interviewee 15)

Similar comments emerged across interviews with entrepreneurs associated with WEConnect. One of the organization's partners, a well-established network for women business owners in Chile, noted of their membership:

> We know from statistics that most of our members are under 45 years old, and 65% have a spouse or [domestic] partner. So we know that many of our members are at a stage in life when establishing their family and their business are very important, so the balance between family and work is a key issue for them. (Interviewee 32)

Second, WEConnect data suggest that unpaid/care work influences not only the kind of entrepreneurial work women might pursue, but their reasons for pursuing entrepreneurship at all. For example, divorce or breakdown of domestic partnership was cited repeatedly as a spur towards entrepreneurship, particularly for women who maintained primary financial responsibility for dependents. As one Chile-based founder recounted:

> I was married, and when [my husband and I separated], he gave my daughter and I basically nothing to live on. We couldn't pay our bills, our rent, for groceries... I needed a new plan…so I took my [retail] business, which had pretty much been a hobby, and I grew it. (Interviewee 16)

Similar stories emerged across WEConnect interviewees, as with one Peru-based founder who recounted starting her business after her marriage to her "first and only love" ended when she was 40 years old and had several young children (Interviewee 34), or a Mexico-based entrepreneur who set up her business as a means to support her three children after her marriage ended:

> I had a tiny baby and two young kids, and my husband and I started to have problems… What was I supposed to do? Cry? End my life? No. When these things happen you have to move forward… get up on your feet again and… remember that your kids are… depending on you. (Interviewee 91)

A Peru-based founder recounted in a similar vein:

> I fell in love, I had a baby. But after the baby, things changed… I quickly realized my [domestic] relationship would end badly, and I needed to take matters into my own hands... Soon I was a single mother… I founded the business I'm still running now, fifteen years later. (Interviewee 89)

WEConnect data suggest that just as marriage and domestic partnership breakdowns may spur venture founding, the unpaid/care work associated with ongoing marriage and domestic partnerships can also shape women's pursuit of entrepreneurial work.

One Chile-based business owner described moving the city in which her business was based, and shifting to more flexible working hours for these reasons:

> [My furniture business was based] in a beautiful rural area… but [living there] wasn't compatible with my marriage. [I moved the office] and re-arranged and outsourced things to make the whole business work better for my family and five children… (Interviewee 74)

A Peru-based founder recounted how her experience with unpaid/care work connected to her entrepreneurial pursuits, detailing, "When I was living [abroad] due to my husband's work, I was at home with my baby daughter full time. When we moved back to Lima, I was ready to start something of my own" (Interviewee 71). This business owner went on to describe that her business partners were both mothers seeking entrepreneurial work that could be done around their own unpaid/care work.

Third, WEConnect data suggest that the interface between unpaid/care work and their businesses is a significant factor in whether and how women continue to pursue their entrepreneurial activities. One Mexico-based business owner expressed this with clarity when she described:

> I didn't have children when I started my business… but I always built it in a way that would work when I did… And the truth is it's worked very well. My eight year old has her own desk in my office, she spends afternoons there, she plays and draws… I have a little bed for her and if she wants to take a nap after school, she can. My clients know that in the afternoons, my daughter is there. If someone calls me and they hear a little voice singing in the background, it's no problem… My business has made all this possible… One of my staff is pregnant now, and I'll offer the same to her. (Interviewee 2)

A Peru-based business owner emphasized that the ability to pursue her business and attend to unpaid/care work allowed her to "maintain her priorities", opining, "What good does it do you to kill yourself working if you can't take the time you need to care for your children and your own parents?" (Interviewee 89). Another Peru-based business owner shared her impression of the importance of unpaid/care work to many of her colleagues, describing:

> Most [women business owners I know] wonder at some point, 'Am I neglecting my children, my parents, my family [because of my business]?' Even though they're the ones… organizing everything [at home], getting up early, going to bed late... I'm lucky that because I'm my own boss I can allocate my own time… if I need to take my son with me to a client, I do it… but I'm always thinking 'Is he OK? Does he need anything?'… I'll be honest, the doubt is always there and if I felt one day I was… sacrificing too much [of my family], I would make a change [to my business]. (Interviewee 20)

Though it is not acknowledged by the organization itself, contributions from WEConnect interviewees thus paint a picture of unpaid/care work influencing market work in substantial ways for many women business owners.

Unpaid/care work appears to impact pursuit of market work in non-trivial ways for some women entrepreneurs, yet it remains obscured from programming via WEConnect to support market access for women's businesses. Poignantly, one WEConnect partner detailed their effort with another, unrelated program to raise the prominence of women's unpaid/care work, describing a campaign they had supported in a Middle Eastern country:

> [Our aim was to] make women's [unpaid/care] work visible. [We wanted to show that] women are doing the work, but it's not seen. Women [we interviewed in this country after the campaign] would articulate [our campaign message] in funny words like, "It shows that women [in our country] are fighters; that we're contributing to the economy". We found that [when phrased this way], men were very respectful of it. (Interviewee 39)

However, in the contexts in which WEConnect operates, unpaid/care work is typically overlooked. It appears to be tacitly understood to be dichotomous to market work, despite its apparent role in shaping some women's market engagement. As one senior WEConnect interviewee nevertheless pointed out, the tendency to omit attention to unpaid/care work in formal settings may be linked to the fact that this work is not conducted for remuneration:

> [Women] continue to just volunteer our time and effort, and that's what keeps the issue off the table. Why would the world pay for childcare and eldercare and other types of care if we keep offering it up for free? Why would the market pay for – or even concern itself with – something that it gets for free? It won't. (Interviewee 30)

In a session on women's business leadership hosted by then-U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and attended by WEConnect and several of the organization's key stakeholders, one panelist directly addressed this issue, stating:

> You made reference, Madam Secretary of State, to the fact that the [care] work that women do… is uncompensated… I think that we should think about insurance products that can protect women and compensate women for work that they do to bring up children... I think that there are insurance products that can be created to try and respond to some of these issues so that we level the playing field… (Wendy Luhabe, ICWBL Inaugural Meeting, 24 January 2012)

WEConnect's efforts are characterized by a firmly stated commitment to, "level the playing field" for women business owners across the globe. However, because unpaid/care work is typically perceived to be dichotomous to women's market work by the organization and its partners, its potential relevance to WEConnect's aims are not emphasized. Thus, rather than pursuing, supporting, or proposing innovative solutions to improve the interface between unpaid/care and market work for women, the topic remains largely untouched by WEConnect programming and communication.

6.2.3 Unpaid/Care Work in Conflict with Market Work

My general sense is that the women that we work with figure out a way to make it work, but it kills them in the process.
(Interviewee 43, on the interface between unpaid/care and market work)

Though it is frequently cast as extraneous to and detached from market work, WEConnect data suggest that unpaid/care work can in fact shape entrepreneurial endeavors in non-trivial ways. For some, the interface between unpaid/care and market work appears to be characterized by conflict. For others, entrepreneurship appears to offer a means through which to attend to unpaid/care work and market work simultaneously, though – as this section will discuss – interviews also place a

notable emphasis on reliance on paid domestic work in order to accomplish this. Some WEConnect stakeholders appeared to hold the view that unpaid/care work represents an area of personal choice or lifestyle. This, and its unremunerated status, appears to cause the issue to either fall from view for many WEConnect stakeholders, or to be cast as dichotomous to entrepreneurial activities more readily recognized as work. This section explores these facets of tension or conflict in further detail.

Analysis of interviews with WEConnect-associated entrepreneurs reveals multiple examples of conflict around time and competing tasks associated with unpaid/care work. One informant, a WEConnect stakeholder with long experience with women entrepreneurs in Chile, noted of work with the women entrepreneurs in her network:

> You learn to have a different eye for things. If you want to identify women entrepreneurs, don't hold your meetings at 8a.m.… Women won't show up… They have children; they have things to take care of at home… You need to work with them on scheduling, make some small changes, have a gender lens, and adapt to women's realities. Business [settings] who can't learn that won't keep women around. (Interviewee 32)

Time emerged as a fundamental source of tension between women's unpaid/care and entrepreneurial work across interviews. One U.S. government-based WEConnect stakeholder expressed surprise at the extent to which the issue appeared to crop up in programs supporting women entrepreneurs around the world:

> I thought it was a developed country problem, women working and not having time to balance their kids, get home for dinner, all of that. I thought, 'Women [business owners] across the world are already running businesses. So what's the problem? They don't have a time use problem, because they have businesses, they're already doing it.' But… data I found and data people showed me helped me see that time is a constraint for them after all. The real factor is the options a woman has for outsourcing her responsibilities: cleaning, childcare, etc. I saw that women [with whom we're working] mention this issue even without being asked… [These experiences have made me reflect on] what [women business owners] value, and what they can afford to value. There are trade-offs between family and business. (Interviewee 3)

In this extended quote, this WEConnect stakeholder reflects the view that unpaid/care work is dichotomous to and of limited relevance to market work, and subsequently expresses surprise at the extent to which conflict between the two types of work may act as a constraint for women. She eschews the use of the word "work" to describe women's unpaid/care activities, instead casting these as "responsibilities" or personal "values". Notably, she also settles on a narrative of inevitable "tradeoffs" between the two apparently dichotomous, conflictual realms, rather than verbally exploring solutions. While WEConnect-associated entrepreneurs articulated numerous instances of time-based conflict between unpaid/care work and their market labor, they also noted ways in which this conflict might be overcome. As one Chile-based entrepreneur described:

> [Technology] saves me time which helps me with my family. I don't need to spend hours at my office… I can get home at 4p.m. if I need to, be with my children, go onto our office [cloud server], make corrections and phone calls, and go back to my children. I'm still connected to my office. (Interviewee 15)

Another Mexico-based business owner recounted how her previous employer's flexibility with her schedule allowed her to maintain her career and professional contacts prior to launching her venture: "When I was pregnant with my first child, I went to Human Resources to quit my job… And they told me I could change my hours to work [part of the day]. So I did that for [four years]... before launching my business" (Interviewee 91).

Not all reflections on time-based conflict between unpaid/care work and enterprise were so rosy. As one Chile-based founder conveyed, attention to both forms of work represented a source of ongoing potential tension for many, "I don't picture the CEO [of an organization] running around [during work hours] because the baby needs to be nursed, she has to call the babysitter, all of that… But that's what I ended up doing" (Interviewee 16). This same interviewee signaled another time-based point

of tension when she shared her desire to have another child, but that because, "there will be days I will be sick" it was difficult to envision how she could, "work as much as I do… my business is taking off right now, but I'm not that young anymore…" (Interviewee 16). A Chile-based interviewee leading a network of women entrepreneurs commented on the same theme, noting that her country's women business owners tended to be close to 40 years old, older than global averages. "We don't know why", she mused, "But we think it has to do with motherhood" (Interviewee 32). Tensions between unpaid/care and market work were also highlighted in the personal biographies of WEConnect corporate stakeholders, such as one who described her move from a U.S-based leadership role with supplier diversity, stating "I led the program for two years, had a baby, shifted into a team member role, and then left the organization" (Interviewee 25). In an interview with one of WEConnect's most senior U.S. government supporters, this informant recounted her recent candid discussion with the Dean of one of the world's leading business schools:

> He told me, 'I look at our graduating class, and I know [some of the] women are going to have kids. And they should and that's good. But I know the professional world will not allow it. I personally think, why can't they take time off and come back and still make partner? But when I talk about this, I get shot down, so women have to talk about it'. (Interviewee 86)

Pushing the burden to individual women as opposed to innovating on systemic solutions, this influential leader gave this WEConnect stakeholder pause, causing her to consider what might be done to alleviate some of the conflict between unpaid/care work and women's market achievement. Another senior WEConnect stakeholder, speaking to her own observations of leading women in her network, observed:

> The most exceptional women that we work with, when they face these sort of… additional burdens that are placed on them, they figure out a way to achieve their ultimate leadership goals and visions… But the toll that it takes on them is massive… There's a higher burnout rate because of it, definitely. (Interviewee 43)

When analyzing data on conflict themes between unpaid/care and formal work, it is essential to consider the context of WEConnect-associated entrepreneurs interviewed for this research. Interviews were conducted with entrepreneurs based in urban areas in Chile, Peru, and Mexico; each middle-to-upper income Latin American countries (World Bank Databank: Latin America and the Caribbean 2016). This region is characterized both by high income inequality (World Bank Databank: GINI Index 2016) and a globally significant preponderance of domestic employment. The International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates that domestic employment[102] makes up 1.7 percent of all wage employment worldwide, and 11.9 percent of wage employment in the Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) region. The same research estimates that 92 percent of LAC domestic workers are women (International Labor Office, 2013). The importance of support from domestic workers (often called *nanas*) featured strongly as a mitigating factor with regards to conflict between women business owners' own unpaid/care work and entrepreneurial endeavors. As one Peru-based interviewee acknowledged:

> Peru works because of *nanas*. Not everyone can afford one… but from middle class and up… women are free to pursue [their work] because of domestic help… We all depend on someone. [And]… there are lots of women, the *nanas*, who can't develop themselves as much [as their domestic employers can]. (Interviewee 71)

Chile-based interviewees echoed this observation, observing of themselves and their peers:

> It's commonplace [here] for women with children to also work [outside the home]. But, we have the advantage here in South America of domestic help. That doesn't exist in Europe anymore, I know. Here it's a huge advantage, enormous… If I didn't have [a *nana*], my work would be much more difficult. Not impossible, because you still have to make it happen… but I have four children and… I have a woman at home who helps me… If not, I would go crazy and I would be able to work much less… If you ask them, I would guess

[102] Article 1 of the Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189) designates that "domestic work" refers to paid work performed in or for one or more household(s).

> that more than 90 percent of the women you interview [here] will tell you the same thing. (Interviewee 15)

Another Chile-based founder described her relationship with her *nana* by saying:

> She's my right hand; without her, I can't work. It's fundamental. You have to have a trusted person who knows you, knows your children, and knows that your work is sometimes hugely demanding. [It's what allows me to] go to work early, stay late, travel. (Interviewee 95)

WEConnect data suggest that, for the entrepreneurs interviewed for this research, conflict between unpaid/care work and enterprise exists strongly, and can be mediated. It is clear, nevertheless, that this mediation frequently appears to take human form in the shape of a *nana*, typically another woman, employed in the domestic context. The prevalence of paid domestic work as a solution to conflict between women's unpaid/care work and entrepreneurial advancement presents additional tensions based, for example, on class, race, and other factors. The emphasis on *nanas* in the WEConnect data thus signals that conflict between women's market work and unpaid/care work can be a site of veiled but significant contestation and tension, with implications beyond the individual women business owner. These findings harken to a comment emerging from another field work event on women's business leadership hosted by then-U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, where a cadre of high-profile women argued the following:

> Studies have identified work-life balance challenges to be one of the… major barriers preventing women from rising to leadership positions. To this end, it is important that child- and elder care support is demanded by governments and provided by both public and private alternatives, accessible and affordable to all. (ICWBL Subcommittee on Leadership, Letter to Secretary Clinton, 13 August 2012)

This emphasis on collective solutions to conflict between unpaid/care and market work stands in contrast with solutions – such as the hiring of *nanas* – that emphasize an individual and ad-hoc approach to the tension.

However, because unpaid/care work is often cast as dichotomous to and separate from market work, WEConnect data suggest that it is also likely to remain in the realm of individual concern. The data contain, for example, multiple references by senior stakeholders to unpaid/care work as a matter of lifestyle or personal choice. This framing is problematic – not least in the context of the issue of elder care mentioned above – but nevertheless present. As one U.S. government-based respondent opined:

> There is a lot of debate about the extent to which we are talking about women's individual personal preferences and choices… or formal barriers [to business]. What we try to do is increase the options available to women, make it possible for them to pursue a wider range of paths, but then I feel we need to stand back and not interfere further… Once the barriers are removed and the rights and choices are there, we can't assume that means there will be parity between men and women. It may be that women are still constrained in terms of business performance because they don't want to pursue businesses of a certain type or in a certain sector. That's an individual choice at that point. I don't see how we can act on that from a policy perspective. We don't have [gender] parity here in the West anyway, so who's to say that when you take away constraints [globally] that women will perform like men? Just because we see women still making different choices even after constraints are removed, we can't assume that means there's something there that needs to be fixed. Once we've removed the [economic] barriers our job is done. (Interviewee 3)

This extended quote is noteworthy due to its emphasis on individual-level explanations for gender-based differences in entrepreneurial performance, as well as its implication that gender based "constraints" have been removed in Western contexts. It appears to take conflict between unpaid/care work and market work largely as given, mediated by gendered individual preferences. However, this view was challenged by other WEConnect stakeholders, such as one who critiqued a well-known report on global finance for women's businesses:

> There's something that didn't quite add up. The report essentially concludes that there *isn't* a *credit* gap [between men's and women's businesses]. The gap is more that… women *leave* the formal economy, *leave* the workforce to have a more flexible period of life when they have their children. That's when they take on small businesses, and… they just keep a more conservative perspective

> [and don't seek to grow]. That line of argument didn't convince me. (Interviewee 39)

The tension between individual level explanations of women's engagement with unpaid/care work and systemic approaches to the same is manifest in WEConnect data. One Chile-based respondent suggested she could be at least partially compelled by both:

> It takes all kinds. Some women decide to stay in [the business world] because they… want to find that balance between work and family… Others leave because their families are growing and they want to [care for their children]… But I believe the majority [leave] because [formal work] doesn't give them the right opportunities, or because they make less than men, or they're tired of working with all men. (Interviewee 32)

In summary, WEConnect data suggest that the interface between unpaid/care work and formal work is a site of significant potential contestation. First, tension exists regarding the nature of the conflict between unpaid/care work and market work; an interaction which appears to be strongly mediated by a range of factors including socioeconomic status. Second, a tension is present between perspectives that cast pursuit of unpaid/care work as a matter of individual choice or lifestyle, and those which give weight to more systematic, institutional factors. To be sure, unpaid/care work is not explicitly recognized by WEConnect's efforts, and perceptions that this form of labor belongs to a private realm of personal values or individual choice indeed makes it difficult to build the case for attention to it from corporate or policy influencers. Notwithstanding, WEConnect data suggest that conflict or tension between unpaid/care work and women's market endeavors is no insignificant factor in women's pursuit of market access, even though it is not often acknowledged as such.

6.2.4 Gendered Work Spheres

Though WEConnect conducts their work in ostensibly globally elite spheres of corporate leadership and policymaking, data analysis demonstrates that the organization's efforts nevertheless unfold in a gendered work context. This section explores key themes regarding *how* work is gendered in the context in which WEConnect operates, with particular emphasis on the gendering of spheres associated with formal work, and on the gendered nature of unpaid/care work. It concludes with a brief comment on ways in which money and remunerated labor appear to mediate the gendering of work.

Entrepreneurs associated with WEConnect highlighted numerous instances in which they encounter gendered work spheres. One recounted her sentiments regarding eating out in the Mexican city in which she operates:

> I'm now used to going into a restaurant and seeing 90 percent men… It'll be businessmen out together, and the few women with them are just alongside socially, they're not participating [in the business conversations]. And you see this even when it's not school pickup hour or whatever other times might be difficult for women. Recently I went to a business breakfast, and I was the only woman in the room. OK, there was one other woman there. She was the event host's assistant. (Interviewee 110)

Another Mexico-based founder echoed this experience with gendered socializing related to her engineering business:

> Modesty aside, I have gained certain respect [from the men with whom I work]… But at first, it's terrible… I don't talk about football or get drunk with them, which is pretty much the mechanism through which they socialize and make business connections. I have to keep up on the teams and who won, otherwise I have nothing to talk about… It's a real challenge. They don't trust [women] from the outset... I've been able to break through by inviting them for a barbecue, going out to eat with them… but when it gets to be past 11pm and they head off to another thing together, I'm not part of that. But I've tried to integrate. You have to compromise a bit. Because there are very few women in my field, that's just the way it is. (Interviewee 33)

Another WEConnect stakeholder originally from Guatemala reflected that, "In Guatemala, deals close in the bar after hours… we as women, as mothers with families, we can't be part of that. So we need to get better at making our own networks" (Interviewee 75). While these stories may be striking, gendered networking does not necessarily appear to be limited to a particular geography. A U.S.-based senior WEConnect stakeholder recounted her experience seeking to establish her business in the construction trade:

> I had a million dollar credit line, but that just allowed me to have products. Getting access to a buyer was still important. I went to [construction brand's] open buying days how many times? They used to call me the 'plastic lady' because my products are made out of polycarbonate. They all knew me, but the problem was… the good old boys' network. My competitor salespeople were all men… They were the ones that played golf with the buyers, and… a golf game pretty much [sealed the deal] for them. (Interviewee 29)

Another U.S.-based WEConnect stakeholder signaled in a meeting that she felt an alternative to gendered networking was possible, if not yet normative:

> [My colleague] made a comment this morning about high-powered, accomplished women at [top U.S. business school] wanting to know if they needed to play golf in order to succeed. And there was a part of me that felt, 'Ewww,' because I know all these men do that, and I used to think the same thing. But I've now decided I absolutely do not have to do that, thank God. (Susan Fleishman, ICWBL Inaugural Meeting, 24 January 2012)

Gendered business networking activities aside, WEConnect data also present multiple assertions regarding straightforward low numbers of women in business contexts. For example, the Chile-based founder of an architecture firm reflected that:

> I would say the majority of outstanding architects in Chile are men… There are excellent women architects, but the best-known are men, for sure. At the same time, [architecture] is not like banking… where [a client] might look at [a woman] and think 'She won't know what she's talking about'… Architecture values innovation, and that's an advantage [for women]. (Interviewee 15)

Another Chile-based stakeholder and founder of a women's business network recounted:

> We founded [the network] because… nobody talked about women in business. Nobody… There was almost no female presence [at high levels] in the business world. The business associations, the chambers of commerce: all men… [Things are changing slowly], but there are few female leaders in typically male sectors. In Chile, university graduates are about fifty-fifty men and women… but they get jobs and soon, in executive roles, we have about 23 percent women… at the director level, about 2 percent women. So something happens and women get lost along the way. (Interviewee 32)

North America-based interviewees also emphasized concern with low numbers of women in business leadership positions, as did one influential WEConnect partner who reflected on her concern about, "how to deal with women who are trapped at 'mezzanine level' of leadership". She went on to recount her experience at the World Economic Forum (Davos), where she observed:

> The challenge is to get women at Davos who are not spouses – there is a spouse track... and then there is the issue of [Facebook COO] Sheryl Sandberg there [at Davos] telling women to 'lean in' from an organization with no women on its board. (Interviewee 97)

Another North America-based WEConnect corporate member opined, "there's a lack of recognition that women [still] face challenges [in business] due to their gender" (Interviewee 47), a sentiment echoed by another North America-based stakeholder who observed, "although women have opportunities to climb up the ladder in business, it is really, really tough" (Interviewee 29). A United Kingdom-based WEConnect executive reflected, "[Firms in the UK and Europe are] still trying to work out how they hire women, promote them, get them coming back after maternity leave, all of that" (Interviewee 64).

WEConnect data suggest that multiple factors contribute to low levels of women in leadership positions and certain sectors, including what one WEConnect stakeholder called "pressures" on men regarding their career identity and performance. She detailed:

> There are so many pressures on men… For example, I'm in a relationship with an amazing guy who gave up this huge career at [elite organization] to [move cities] and be with me… But he didn't like to tell his colleagues that that's why he left, because [their reaction would be] 'What? Really? Who the hell are you? What the heck happened?' (Interviewee 1)

WEConnect data suggest that stereotypes also play a role in the gendering of work spheres in the context in which WEConnect operates. One Peru-based founder recollected her experience seeking finance for her venture:

> I approached [major national bank] with my project, and they said it was excellent but they couldn't support me because I was a woman. They said this to my face! They said… 'Women start things and don't finish them'… I met them right there and said 'Yes, you're right. Unfortunately that is sometimes the case. But a serious [businesswoman] does not act that way. You can call me when you understand that.'… Six months later, one of the men in that meeting invited me to lunch… he said he was impressed with my response, and they ended up supporting [my business]. (Interviewee 34)

Still other interviewees emphasize women's clustering into, "sectors that are services, cottage industry, things that require little investment". Reflecting on a WEConnect corporate member's struggle to source from women owned businesses, one U.S. government stakeholder detailed:

> We've been working with [large multinational] to try and look at what it would mean for [this firm] to be sourcing from women at scale… One issue appears to be… a gap between what women tend to make and what companies need to buy… [a large telecommunications manufacturer] needs a lot of copper wires, not baskets. (Interviewee 44)

Other informants accentuate how lack of experience may leave companies on the back foot when it comes to forming strategy around engaging gendered work. One United Nations-based informant described her discussions with a large multinational seeking to include more women in its supply chains:

> We [looked at the company's] whole value chain together… and I said to them, 'Why don't we do something around your [specific type of] factories?' And they said, 'Why? There are only men [working there]?'… They said 'Let's start in [another area of the value chain], because there are a lot of women [there]'. I said, 'Yes, you will be able to impact more women if there are already more women [in that area], but we also want to change the sectors

> in which women are engaging. We don't want them only to be in their traditional sectors. We want them to have equal opportunity'. This was pretty much a revelation. (Interviewee 5)

WEConnect data indicate that gendered work spheres impact the context of WEConnect stakeholders and entrepreneurs in a range of ways. This finding suggests that empowerment prescriptions involving formal work unfold in gendered spheres, touching on a range of deep-seated normative and institutional dynamics as well as on perceptions and stereotypes. In some cases, these challenges appear to complicate straightforward narratives around individuals' entrepreneurial efforts as a means to broad-based women's empowerment aims.

While maintaining a primary emphasis on women's market access, WEConnect's formal programming and communications do engage some aspects of the gendered nature of work mentioned above. The topic of gendered work as related to unpaid/care labor, however, does not tend to be acknowledged. WEConnect data suggest that women's unpaid/care work in fact represents a significant contributor to the preservation of gendered work spheres. As one Mexico-based business owner pronounced, "Once you are a mother, you're always a mother. Or a wife. [Regardless of what's happening with your business], you're still the one doing the laundry and the cleaning, taking care of the kids" (Interviewee 103). A Peru-based founder echoed this appraisal, stating:

> Men worry about work. They don't worry about the home. I, however, worry about both. My husband calls me 'the household manager'… I worry about kids' clothes, about groceries, about the kids' school, I take them to the doctor… From the moment I wake up I'm thinking about their lunches and all that… Men worry about waking up, getting dressed, eating breakfast, and getting to the office… that's it. And when they come home, they worry about eating dinner and going to bed… Men have fewer obligations… They can help you with specific tasks, particular errands. But you need to give them very clear directions. You're the manager… I get to my office at 9am and I've done a whole host of things since 6am, my brother arrives at 9am and he hasn't done anything else. (Interviewee 20)

A Chile-based business owner described a comparable experience, suggesting:

> If the baby has a fever, a man checks it in the morning and then goes off to work. And for him all day, it's work, work, work, until he comes home and asks 'How is the baby?'… Women, on the other hand, are checking in every hour or so [with the *nana*], saying 'The baby needs this or that medicine', calling to get a doctor's appointment, popping out [of the office] to take the baby to the doctor, running back to the office... Because of this, I'm much more strict [than my male colleagues] about how I spend my time at the office. I do go in and out… but when I'm at work, I'm not wasting any time. (Interviewee 15)

Women business owners from Chile, Peru, and Mexico articulated a similar dynamic with striking frequency and uniformity, arguing that, as one Chile-based founder summarized, "Men have issues around work and home pretty much [sorted out]. Women never do, because [home and children] are their responsibility" (Interviewee 16). This same respondent voiced her view that, "Few men [in Chile] will excuse a woman putting her work first; they'll say 'Your first responsibility is here at home and your job shouldn't interfere with that'" (Interviewee 16). She signaled her perception of the role of mothers-in-law in perpetuating this view, citing that, "Their mothers say to them, 'Oh, my son, [your wife] is off at work again? She doesn't cook for you properly, she doesn't keep up the house, your shirt is not well ironed'" (Interviewee 16). Such comments were not limited to WEConnect interviewees based in one particular region. One senior WEConnect respondent reflected on her experience with women in corporate settings in North America:

> [Women] take on more work responsibilities and travel, but [we] also make sure that while we're gone, all of the sandwiches are ready, the laundry's been done, the schedules have been set for [kids'] pick-up and drop-off. And even though you might have an equal partner who's probably capable of taking on all these things, we still anticipate them all... We want [things] one hundred percent perfect, defined as how we want it done and how we care for people and how we keep the house clean and how we do transportation… I think we have control issues and [because] we're responsible for the health and safety and happiness of the people around us, we've taken that on and we take it very seriously. I don't know if it's because we're hardwired or the environment in which we're raised in makes us this way. (Interviewee 30)

Another North America-based WEConnect stakeholder recounted an anecdote from one of her corporate mentors, relating:

> I think companies are cognizant of the fact that they need to create policies that allow for their employees to deal with the other elements of their lives… But [my mentor] says it beautifully: the challenge is you can have a company with flex time and sixteen weeks' paid maternity… on the books… but if you're in a team that hasn't created a culture that allows you to take advantage of those opportunities or made you feel like you can [do so] and still advance and be valued, then those policies don't mean anything. So [my mentor] created a policy where her team could work from home every Friday… and she required her team to do it, both women and men. Because she said, 'It's always the women who take advantage of [these policies] and then you get all the guys in the office talking about how the women are at home not working'. So she mandated it for everyone on the team; she said, 'You need to tell me why you *can't* do it'. And that created a kind of equilibrium… it removed the stigma. (Interviewee 43)

WEConnect data indicate that women's relative specialization in unpaid/care work compared to men may shape their experiences with formal work in substantive ways. This finding was not limited to women entrepreneurs, but articulated by senior stakeholders of the organization working in corporate settings. Nor was the phenomenon cleanly constrained to a particular geography. The data suggest that, despite the lack of explicit attention to unpaid/care work in WEConnect's formal programming and communications, this work exercises not insignificant impact on women's engagement with market opportunities.

Men and money

WEConnect data paint a picture of work characterized by gendered spheres. In addition to the features of this gendering already discussed in this chapter, data analysis also indicates that money and remuneration may also play a mediating role in this context. This overlaps with other forms of gendering, as one Mexico-based business owner described when observing:

> The main issue women face here has to do with family, without doubt. The norm is still very linked to the idea that women are at home and men work.

> Men say, 'If women work, it's under the condition that my kids and my house are still taken care of, otherwise she needs to stop [working]. I'll keep managing the money because [women] don't know how to spend wisely, her credit card needs a limit because otherwise she'll bankrupt me'. (Interviewee 110)

Another Peru-based business owner described her personal experience with men's refrain that, "'I don't want you to work; I want to work for you.' But that means he's the one [with the salary]" (Interviewee 79). From a corporate context in the United Kingdom, one WEConnect interviewee shared what she called "a very scary example" about women and money from her experience with a recruitment search in a major European media company:

> They put a job out, really interesting job, and they advertised the salary that, 'We're looking to pay,' which was £90,000. They didn't really get anybody applying that was right. They are guys applying, and a handful of women… They didn't get anybody that was right. So they put the same job back out but advertised the salary at £60,000. There were loads of women applying. They were all perfect… But they didn't apply for the higher salary job. (Interviewee 64)

This anecdote is, of course, just that – an anecdotal experience that nevertheless made an impact on the interviewee, and points to potentially complex dynamics around women's engagement with paid work. WEConnect data suggest that tensions around remuneration may have an important role to play in the gendering of work spheres, as well as, potentially, in women's relative specialization in unpaid/care work. As one WEConnect interviewee ruminated:

> No one wants to admit that empowering women economically is hard, and that technology might not be enough [to make it happen]. [Many people have] been trying to do this for several decades and we still see that money is so often not ending up in women's hands. I wonder sometimes, do we need to go back to Marx? Do women simply need to control the means of production? (Interviewee 60)

WEConnect data present a picture of work as gendered, with unpaid/care work existing in a rarely-acknowledged realm *vis a vis* women's entrepreneurial activities. Market work is positioned as dichotomous to unpaid/care work, despite strong

evidence that the latter indeed shapes women's experience with market work in important ways. The interface between unpaid/care work and market work appears to be a site of tension for many WEConnect interviewees, though WEConnect formal programing does not acknowledge this tension. Where individual women do manage to reconcile conflict between unpaid/care work and market work, socioeconomic class and access to paid care or domestic work appear to be important mediating factors. Discourse around women's empowerment through entrepreneurship as reflected in WEConnect's programming tends to obscure these areas of potential contestation. In the remainder of data analysis, attention will be paid to possible reasons for the lack of emphasis on these more entrenched contributors to gendered work, with an eye to understanding what might be learned from this about WEConnect's experience of the definition of work.

6.2.5 Women in Supply Chains

We have a target in the United States [federal government] that dictates that women-owned businesses need to get five percent of procurement opportunities. But we have never reached that target. Never.[103] (Interviewee 29)

Women-owned small businesses face common barriers that often limit their access to corporate supply chains. These barriers can include a lack of proven business track records and reduced capacity. The size, sustainability, and financial history of a supplier are key requirements that can be difficult for women-owned small businesses to meet. In addition, preferential treatment is often given to large, established suppliers.
(International Council of Women's Business Leadership 2012)

WEConnect's foremost goal is to increase the access of women-owned businesses across the globe to major corporate supply chains. To the organization's reasoning, their corporate members represent over USD$700 billion in purchasing

[103] The goal of 5% spend on government procurement was reached for the first time in 20 years in 2016. For detail, refer to Forbes: http://www.forbes.com/sites/eilenezimmerman/2016/03/03/after-20-years-women-owned-small-businesses-finally-receive-5-of-federal-contracts/#583ffdb15dfc. Accessed 5 September 2016.

power, and yet their own research suggests that less than one percent of this procurement spend is directed to women-owned businesses (Interviewee 10). In short, WEConnect's work presents a significant opportunity and equally enormous set of challenges. WEConnect data suggest that, perhaps, this demanding context may contribute to a lack of emphasis on the part of the organization to complex issues including the gendering of work and women's relative specialization in unpaid/care work. The remainder of this chapter will examine potential contributors to WEConnect's representation of the definition of work, and how these might lead unpaid/care work to be obscured from the organization's formal communication and programming.

To start, analysis of data from WEConnect's corporate members suggests that few firms are positioned to track their spending with women-owned businesses across the globe. In some cases, as one corporate member pointed out, corporate spend is decentralized, "We need to get to a place where [people in our firm] understand, 'If I'm going to spend money, I need an RFP (request for proposals), I need to engage procurement, and I need to consider diverse suppliers'" (Interviewee 6). At the same time, multiple interviewees pointed out that procurement itself, "is stacked towards inertia… [because] to put a new vendor in place is a lot of W-O-R-K and R-I-S-K. If things go wrong, it's [the buyer's] fault" (Interviewee 29). In addition, procurement mechanisms rarely accurately capture complete information on the gender of suppliers, and would struggle to do so on a global scale. As one former WEConnect corporate member described:

> One example of how difficult it is to understand your vendors is from [a well-known hotel] in Times Square in Manhattan. They wrote a letter to 40,000 of their vendors asking them to self-identify as women. Of course, even though you might have that many [suppliers] on your books, you do eighty percent of your spend with 50 of your vendors… [But still] currently there is no truly

> systematic way to tell what is spent on women-owned businesses, and that tracking is certainly not happening at a global level. (Interviewee 88)

While tracking mechanisms and incentives to increase procurement spend with U.S.-based women-owned businesses exist in some firms, this is not the norm, and tracking spend outside the United States was signaled repeatedly as a source of difficulties. As one WEConnect corporate member described: "Measuring the actual inclusion of women-owned businesses in our supply chain means not just what we buy directly, but what our second and third tier suppliers are doing as well… and trying to come up with a dollar amount from there" (Interviewee 47). Another corporate member pointed out, "[I can easily get agreement to increase] our U.S. tier one [supplier] spend, because there's a goal in place, and compensation... [efforts beyond that]… are kind of lacking" (Interviewee 25). As the previous interviewee stressed, "Supplier diversity initiatives are lamentably under-resourced. If the same [handful of] people who run [a company's] U.S. supplier diversity program is then expected to lead a global one, how much can they really do?" (Interviewee 47).

Some corporations who were not WEConnect members also expressed more fundamental doubts about the value of the organization's gendered "access to markets" proposition. One Europe-based procurement executive ruminated:

> We are concerned about poverty [in our supply chains] and sources of supply chain risk. But by emphasizing gender in the supply chain, are we really driving for the right thing? And in any case, we don't count women-owned businesses, because what if the ownership changes?[104] Women in our value chains are typically at the bottom of the value chain anyway, so a focus on ownership probably misses them out. (Interviewee 26)

Another interviewee, speaking from her experience in senior leadership of a company that maintains a high-profile women's economic empowerment initiative, also

[104] WEConnect certification commences with a site visit and ensures that ownership, management, and control of a business are held by one or more woman. Certification holds for three years and is renewed annually without a site visit. Renewal in every fourth year requires a site visit.

outlined the potential practical difficulties she encountered with a value proposition like WEConnect's:

> [We went through] a process of trying to identify how we would measure success [in our women's economic empowerment program] and how many women-run businesses were [in our global value chain]… It was a little hard to get at [that number], because… many of [of these businesses] aren't even formal, you don't really know who owns them. So we had best estimates from our [global partners] about who was running [the businesses with whom they work], how many of them seemed to be run primarily by a woman. [And that estimate] turned out to be globally on average about 40%. (Interviewee 11)

WEConnect's rigorous certification process and emphasis on women's business ownership, management, and control is a boon to some firms, but presents clear challenges to others. Firms sourcing from agricultural smallholders, for example, may struggle to meet WEConnect's women's ownership requirement, and the up-front costs of certification – as well as the size of the project in large, global value chains – cause some firms to self-exclude from participation with the organization. WEConnect faces additional challenges due to the scale of their aims. As one U.S.-based corporate member explained, "If you look at the number of [U.S. based] suppliers WBENC have in their database, I'm going to say roughly 10,000. WEConnect has been far from that. They have a bigger territory, the world" (Interviewee 6). As they expand their operations, WEConnect must undertake a granular, resource-intensive process of identifying women-owned businesses that are able to supply multinational companies. One WEConnect stakeholder described the process of identifying such businesses, noting that, in many contexts, "women are just not connected to the extent that they should be in anyone's [corporate] databases… they're not connected to the power structures or the key commercial and economic structures" (Interviewee 9). Connecting women to a database like WEConnect, this interviewee described, can be demanding:

> [In one country], you're going to think I'm making this up, but there were no women in our databases… We actually had to go out and travel [across the country]… moving from one network to another [in order to find them]. My experience [in most countries]… is that these steps are going to be the same. [We] had to go out and find [women-owned businesses], and we did [find them]!... But it had to be us going [to them]. (Interviewee 9)

The contextual challenges in which WEConnect operates are deeply entrenched, existing, for example, at the level of resource allocation, custom, and corporate practice. Change in these areas is laborious, resource-intensive, and often features over a long time horizon. It is for these reasons, perhaps, that WEConnect data appear to reveal an emphasis on change by individual women through training, confidence building, and developing "the perfect pitch" (Interviewee 37) to buyers. Such input can be powerful, as one Mexico-based business owner expressed when she described her experience with a co-sponsored training session in advance of a buyer-seller matching event:

> We had a workshop [prior to the event], and honestly my legs were shaking I was so nervous [about pitching my business to corporate buyers]. The workshop… was excellent; it taught us about trying to find the 'win-win' in a negotiation, how not to let a potential buyer hem you in and instead push back on them, saying, 'Wait a minute, are you trying to tell me X or Y? That doesn't seem fair to me; I don't agree with this part of what you're proposing.' With that, you get yourself back on top of the negotiation right away. (Interviewee 91)

Despite such favorable reviews of initiatives aimed at increasing the skill and capacity of specific women business owners, a tension within WEConnect data nevertheless remains between such individual-level interventions emphasizing ways in which women can change their behavior in market contexts and those which attend directly to the more entrenched processual and institutional barriers to women's "access to markets". WEConnect data suggest that the message to individual women from the organization is relatively clear, stressing the imperative for women to, "be reliable, seek opportunities at the second-tier supplier level, and sell confidence – then you'll

sell your product" (Interviewee 37). Acknowledgement of thornier issues including the interface between gendered work, unpaid/care work, and market labor, the data suggest, tends to get shorter shrift.

Plainly, WEConnect data suggest that the organization faces a range of obstacles in its mission to increased sourcing from women-owned firms across the world by major multinationals. Difficulties in identifying and certifying women-owned businesses, reticence on the part of companies to embrace the cause, and operational barriers to implementing the actions advocated by WEConnect represent challenges that are ongoing and significant. Against this context, WEConnect data suggest that the organization has opted not to further complicate their work by tackling, for example, issues around the gendering of work spheres and women's unpaid/care work. Rather, the organization's programming reflects an emphasis on women's market labor activities, largely to the exclusion of other issues. This is despite the fact that, as data analysis demonstrates, the gendering of work and women's engagement with unpaid/care work appear to have a non-trivial impact on pursuit of market work. While women's business endeavors tend to be presented by WEConnect as dichotomous to and disconnected from their work in unpaid/care, data analysis highlights multiple ways in which these two forms of activity are closely linked, and may be difficult to disconnect experientially.

6.2.6 Instrumental Argument for Women's Empowerment

There has been a trajectory [here at the World Bank] from women's employment to measuring the positive impact of gender inclusion on business to now women and supply chains. A few years ago, we were talking about women and finance in investing in women through micro-finance, but now supporting SMEs and women-owned businesses is the next horizon (Interviewee 105)

Women are less than 20 percent of business owners in the United Kingdom, so… I want to help them grow and put economic wealth in the hands of women… They say

that if women set up businesses at the same rate as men in the UK, there'd be a million new entrepreneurs in the UK all contributing [to the economy], and all potentially employing people.
(Interviewee 64)

Against the challenging backdrop in which they conduct their efforts, WEConnect's commitment to "access to markets" for women is driven by a formidable instrumental case regarding the economic potential associated with advances in women's empowerment. Transmitted by authoritative actors in highly visible platforms, this argument emphasizes that, in the words of then-U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton[105] speaking at a WEConnect co-sponsored event:

> [Empowering women] is not just the right thing to do; it is the smart thing to do. It is an economic argument. It is about return on investment. And that resonates with business… [W]omen – half the world's population – are the untapped economic engine for growth. ('Power: Women as Drivers of Growth and Social Inclusion', 16 October 2012)

Another U.S. government-based WEConnect stakeholder echoed, "This work is important because there is unrealized potential in terms of women's enterprise, and this is inefficient. Inefficient in terms of GDP growth and in terms of employment" (Interviewee 3). And, in the words of the then-U.S. Ambassador for Global Women's Issues, "SMEs are the missing middle and women-owned SMEs are key to economic growth" (Interviewee 86). Data analysis confirms that this instrumental economic argument is powerfully articulated by WEConnect leaders and key stakeholders, who emphasize the unrealized potential represented by women's economic participation. In the words of one prominent stakeholder, citing Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on the topic, "no country, no company can compete if half of their people are left behind" (Interviewee 1). Another White House-based informant argued:

> [For example], you will never have economic prosperity in the Arab World unless you harness the economic potential of women… [The most] striking

[105] Formal statements by then-Secretary Clinton made during her time in office are in the public domain, and therefore will not be anonymized in this thesis.

> approach to this narrative is tying the economic wellbeing and prosperity of countries to the women's rights agenda. (Interviewee 13)

The theme of lost economic potential rings clear through the instrumental argument for women's empowerment that characterizes WEConnect's work, resulting in striking assertions including one from a key U.S. State Department convening in which it was stated that, "Women-owned SMEs are the forgotten middle. Their unmet financial needs are estimated around USD$260-320 billion each year. So the potential for [economic] progress from this group is really great" (Interviewee 86).

In the same vein, interviewees point out that, "getting more women involved in the economy" has emerged as a, "huge priority for governments around the world", who have become convinced that women's economic participation is, "part of a long-term strategy [countries] have to be able to [pursue] in order to stay competitive" (Interviewee 94). Informants note that the post-2008 economic context has also given weight to the instrumental case for women's empowerment, citing, as did one corporate member:

> The economic downturn… [caused people] to look more closely at why economies are struggling and what will improve them, and women's role in that. [People started] recognizing that when women have it together, if we empower them and give them tools that they need, they could really help us move [the economy] forward. (Interviewee 98)

Then-Secretary Clinton put forth a similar argument, stressing her view that, "globally, women's [economic] participation… has to be key to all of our efforts for [economic] recovery" ('Power: Women as Drivers of Growth and Social Inclusion', 16 October 2012). The post-2008 context also appears to contribute to an emphasis by WEConnect and their stakeholders on women's empowerment *through entrepreneurial and market work.* As one WEConnect stakeholder articulated, "fostering women's entrepreneurship is key in a world where paid employment is

scarce and where successful entrepreneurs themselves create jobs" (International Council of Women's Business Leadership 2012). As the then-U.S. Ambassador for Global Women's Issues argued:

> [Women's empowerment] is about economic statecraft. One of the biggest challenges that we face all over the world is how to grow economies, how to create jobs and ensure shared prosperity… If we want to unblock a vital source of growth to power our economies for decades to come, we must tap the potential that women represent. (Interviewee 86)

This emphasis on women as key to economic growth represents what one White House official described as "new thinking" on women's issues. Of her role promoting the economic case for women's empowerment through policy, this interviewee stressed, "I came in [to this role] feeling like we had to play catch up… I don't want to just be ahead of the curve. We want to make the curve" (Interviewee 13).

This interviewee's reference to "new thinking" signals another feature of the instrumental case for women's empowerment; that is, the way it differs from what WEConnect interviewees tend to cast as more established, rights-based arguments for women's advancement. WEConnect data reflect a contention that rights-based arguments for women's empowerment, while important, are less effective than a "business case" at gaining support for women's empowerment from key actors, as one U.S. government-based stakeholder opined when she stated that:

> [The argument that women's empowerment has intrinsic value] is never going to get anywhere. Especially not with corporations and financial institutions. They won't be interested… There has to be a business case for them to get involved… [Until we can]… prove there are strong returns to be had from banks for financing women's businesses… it's all very nice, but it's peanuts to them. (Interviewee 3)

Another longstanding WEConnect stakeholder argued, "When you're stuck in that rights-based thought process, it's very difficult to move into thinking about empowerment that's linked to the economy" (Interviewee 9). She went on to describe

how she and her peers have learned, “In [speeches], to say [women’s empowerment] is the right thing to do, but [say that] last. Say it after [you talk about] new jobs, new [economic] growth, and the different sectors in which women work” (Interviewee 9). Reflecting on a high-profile co-sponsored WEConnect event in a Latin American country, one staff member of the organization lamented:

> [We were] frustrated that the event was framed in the Ministry of Social Inclusion. Why should a women's event be necessarily related to poverty and social inclusion? [We had a session planned] on powerful women leaders [but it] was cut short. [So the] the overall effect [of the event] was the take away that women are victims… [Even some of our staff] sometimes slip and say we are there to empower women in emerging markets. And I remind them that we work in the UK, Europe, China, and Australia, too. We are empowering women to access global supply chains... Of course there is a need for [work on] poverty alleviation, but [I am] tired of women's businesses only being seen through a rights and poverty lens. (Interviewee 60)

Interviews with key stakeholders from the World Bank and governments concurred that “our main focus” (Interviewee 51) or “our primary objective” (Interviewee 92) is, “establishing the business case for women’s empowerment”. Such actors tend to articulate an insistence that advancement of the instrumental case for women’s empowerment is crucial to building this business case. As one senior stakeholder reflected, “How did corporations and policymakers converge on [the topic of] women’s empowerment? Because [it was framed] in terms of capital, markets, skills, and leadership, rather than in terms of rights” (Interviewee 36). One high-profile WEConnect collaborator described her own experience in similar terms:

> I had my own epiphany moment when I accepted that, to make change on the status of women and girls, I needed to be able to talk to the private sector – and specifically to C-level executives – in a way they understand. People have been working tirelessly for decades on women’s empowerment and making very little progress. To overcome this and change the game, you need to engage private sector. Not everyone in the women’s movement is ready to do that, but now I’m working with a lot of people who a decade ago would have said, ‘No way in hell am I collaborating with [a large oil company]’ and now they’re doing just that. (Interviewee 97)

WEConnect interviewees stress the extent to which arguments based on a business case for women's empowerment have allowed them to bring attention from new actors and resources to the topic. Frequently, they also recount hurdles faced in attempts to gain support for women's empowerment without resorting to instrumental arguments based on economic growth. One WEConnect stakeholder recounted of a colleague's experience raising gender issues within an influential area of the World Bank, "they laughed at her, at that point they were still questioning whether [women's empowerment] made any difference [to economic growth]" (Interviewee 9). The same stakeholder recounted her own similar experience while working for a major bilateral donor, describing:

> I spent 18 months there, trying to bring gender into their economic growth policy, somehow. I [finally] managed to anchor it on entrepreneurship. It seems to me that entrepreneurship is something people can always understand. Supply chains, they can also picture. You have to get them beyond thinking about women's business as sewing machines and microfinance. That's a challenge. Entrepreneurship helps you anchor [the argument]. (Interviewee 9).

Another U.S. State Department WEConnect stakeholder offered, of his time working with Secretary Hillary Clinton:

> Talk about GDP growth gets policymakers' attention. So when Hillary Clinton became Secretary of State, she felt she wanted to pull women's issues into the mainstream of foreign policy. She felt they were always side conversations in small rooms, not core to the processes and goals of government. She wanted to mainstream women's issues. (Interviewee 51)

His colleague echoed, of the same effort:

> Why did we work with women entrepreneurs and make this our focus? It was a way to focus on lowering barriers for women, but also framing women's issues in terms of skills and economic contribution. This let us open up conversations about topics like the need for changes to law across the globe in a business friendly manner, in fact in a manner that kept the private sector right alongside as a partner in our efforts. (Interviewee 36)

WEConnect interviewees recount how the instrumental argument resulted in "huge interest" from corporate actors in issues related women's empowerment, citing that,

"all of a sudden, they [corporations] were approaching us" (Interviewee 36)[106]. As another stakeholder evoked:

> At one point, I figured out I could rivet male attention on women's issues. I could do it, but I had to pitch the issues as economic issues. I had to say, 'This is not about women. This is about export trade. This is about finding new growth opportunities in [our country]… women are the key to new, untapped economic resources.' And then I had it. Once I was able to pitch it in that way, the rest has been history. (Interviewee 9)

A WEConnect corporate member reflected:

> [Interest in women's empowerment] has been ongoing with NGOs, the United Nations, and economic development ministers and development agencies within some countries. But I think the big 'a-ha' we brought to the table was that this could be linked to global corporate procurement… [then] there could be… this market-maker opportunity to link the women-owned businesses with corporate opportunities in the supply chain… [and this got] economic ministers around the world excited. (Interviewee 47)

WEConnect data contain dramatic examples of the ways in which informants perceive that pursuit of the instrumental case for women's empowerment has advantaged their cause, allowing them to enlist support from new actors to the point that one of the world's largest corporations, in a WEConnect co-sponsored event, can assert, "[Our company] believes that women are powerful drivers of job creation and economic growth", and then-Secretary Clinton could note, to corporate leaders gathered at the same event, "Those of us who are here today understand the importance of women having the opportunity to fully participate in society and in economies" ('Power: Women as Drivers of Growth and Social Inclusion', 16 October 2012).

Analysis of WEConnect sources also illustrates the extent to which quantitative data has played a key role in allowing stakeholders to construct and circulate the instrumental argument for women's empowerment among new actors. As one WEConnect corporate member observed, "We now have fabulous and powerful

[106] This comment came from a now-senior executive at WEConnect, reflecting in particular on her time at the U.S State Department's Office of Global Women's Issues.

metric-based reports that when you read [them], you can't help but realize how critical it is to take action to economically empower women as the economic engines of their communities" (Interviewee 47). As another collaborator asserted, "The ability to make the arguments we do about women and the economy… was driven by the data. For example, data from McKinsey, Goldman Sachs, and the World Bank suggested that there was significant GDP growth to be found in empowering women" (Interviewee 51). Data-based arguments from sources with high reputational legitimacy in business and policy appears to have been crucial to the establishment of the instrumental economic argument for women's empowerment for WEConnect and their stakeholders, allowing senior proponents of the organization's work to state, as then-Secretary Clinton did at a co-sponsored event:

> We know now with hard data and scientific studies that women are the global force for economic growth… For many years now, I would assert that women's rights are human rights and that we needed to open the doors of opportunity, and I could see some eyes glazing over. In my own head, I could also hear [leaders] saying, 'Yeah, that's nice, but what does it have to do with me?' Well, today, we have quantified what it has to do for all of us. Limitations on women's economic participation are costing us massive amounts of economic growth and income in every region of the world. ('Power: Women as Drivers of Growth and Social Inclusion', 16 October 2012)

Data appear to allow WEConnect stakeholders to bolster their instrumental argument for women's empowerment, and make authoritative and far-reaching claims, as the then-U.S. Ambassador for Global Women's Issues did when she stated that:

> We also know particularly from research by Goldman Sachs that women who own small and medium-sized businesses – the World Bank calls the 'missing middle' – are the lowest-hanging fruit to pick if you want to grow GDP. Yet, [these women] face barriers to access to markets, to leadership, and certainly to finance and this often keeps [that growth] from being unleashed. (Interviewee 86)

The same informant made the case that, "women have already driven substantial economic growth, economists [have] pointed out that just in the last decade in the

developed world, women have [led to] more global growth than China has" (Interviewee 86).

WEConnect data illuminate how such a compelling economic case can lend urgency and legitimacy to instrumental arguments for women's empowerment on the part of the organization's leaders and partners. The instrumental argument appears to be widely embraced, with only a handful of informants volunteering that some aspects of the line of reasoning left them uneasy. In one rare such moment, a WEConnect partner noted:

> When I'm within my [NGO], I don't communicate in that way about [economic growth and women's empowerment]. I mean, these are all the women that we serve [references photos of women leaders on her office walls], and you start to feel like they're your product… It feels very much like you own them in a weird way, so you have to sort of temper the way that you use that [economic] language. (Interviewee 43)

6.2.7 'Work' Means Economic Growth

Data analysis provides insight into how the interface between production and reproduction is situated and represented among key stakeholders in WEConnect's strategy and programming. While WEConnect data indicate that the instrumental economic argument for women's empowerment forms a crucial backbone of support for the organization's efforts, propagation of the argument holds inevitable implications for how WEConnect conducts their work. One notable consequence of the dominance of the instrumental argument for women's empowerment is the implication that work appears to necessarily be defined by economic growth and job creation. As one U.S. government-based WEConnect stakeholder contrasted, "we want to work with women's businesses that go beyond microfinance, self-employment, lifestyle businesses, and necessity-driven businesses… to businesses [with growth potential] that will create jobs" (Interviewee 3). A Chile-based

WEConnect partner echoed this distinction, emphasizing her prioritization of women-owned businesses, "with high potential for economic growth… that's what's going to impact employment and our economy". She maintained, "We're not looking for the woman who owns a hair salon employing four people, we want the woman who has a salon chain that can expand across all of Latin America" (Interviewee 32). The contrast between women-owned businesses that are growth-oriented and those which are not is made with regularity across WEConnect data, notwithstanding the notorious difficulty of identifying growth potential and entrepreneurial motives ex ante. The inference, then, across the data, is that meaningful work is necessarily defined by an orientation towards economic expansion.

That work is fundamentally defined by economic growth and associated job creation appears, from data analysis, to be largely taken for granted by senior WEConnect staff and global stakeholders. As one senior staff member stated:

> The women-owned businesses [with whom we work] need to be growth oriented…When it comes to economic growth, it's not up to men to create jobs; it's up to all of us to create jobs. That is what we are trying to get women [business owners] to understand. (Interviewee 30)

Addressing women business owners at an event in Chile, another WEConnect staff member noted that the organization sought to work with, "businesses that are growing at higher rates than the national averages", and, at the same time, that they hoped young women in the country would, "choose careers with high economic growth potential from the moment they start university" (Interviewee 10). One interviewee chose a powerful illustration of her understanding of how the definition of productive work is tied to economic growth, recounting an experience in conversation with a woman business owner in Latin America:

> She said to me 'In my mother's generation, women used to work for rice and beans. That's all they ever got – rice and beans. They just worked all day. They were like mules. Whereas now, we are working and generating our own

> money, we are managers… things have moved forward and we have to keep that going'. (Interviewee 39)

Despite the emphasis on work necessarily implying economic growth and job creation on the part of WEConnect stakeholders and staff, not all WEConnect women business owner interviewees appeared to share this narrative. Few expressed a desire to hire more employees, and only one (Interviewee 89) mentioned expanding throughout Latin America or beyond. Rather, the aspirations of one Chile-based women entrepreneur were more reflective of the women business owners interviewed for this research. She stated:

> Of course you always want your business to grow, but I'd like to grow in a sustainable manner. In the future, I'd like to be known as a socially and economically responsible business. Not as a monster. I'd like to be a small business with satisfied workers who are working towards their best. That's my goal. (Interviewee 20)

In a similar vein, a Peru-based business owner also couched what might be considered "too much" business success in negative terms, instead emphasizing her interest in the wellbeing of the people in her company:

> I'm not interested in making a huge load of profit if it means that everyone [with whom I work] secretly wishes I were dead because I'm so cruel or because they don't seem to matter to me at all. I believe the best businesses are those in which everyone working there can feel fulfilled, at ease within the organization. (Interviewee 34)

Data suggest that similar perspectives on growth are authentic to many of the women business owners interviewed for this research. The fundamental association with women's work and economic growth, however, appears to remain a key component of programming and communication associated with WEConnect and its stakeholders. The prominence of economic growth and employment outcomes resulting from women's entrepreneurial work has, as previously discussed, facilitated crucial support for WEConnect from a range of influential actors including corporate members, financial institutions, and senior policymakers. This instrumental argument

for women's empowerment depends on a conflation between work and economic growth, and has facilitated a context in which, for example, a senior executive of one of the world's largest firms might state that, "entrepreneurship is a blessing that is going to happen on the African continent; it means big companies don't need to create all the new jobs" (Interviewee 12). As another WEConnect stakeholder reflected:

> I do think it's a natural fit for a big corporation to want to support [initiatives that lead to] economic growth. They understand that very naturally… And my biggest job is to help [companies] sell [women's empowerment] internally, so [the question is], how do we talk about [it] in terms of return on investment?... We're still far away from getting to an actual rigorous, 'Here are the metrics; here's the impact we've seen over the years....' We still sort of don't know, quite honestly. (Interviewee 43)

In contexts where corporate engagement with women's empowerment is novel and untested, this interviewee stresses the value of being able to link women's entrepreneurial work with economic growth and job creation for the purposes of gaining corporate support for WEConnect and related initiatives. Another NGO-based WEConnect stakeholder echoed this sentiment when describing her engagement with major financial institutions on women's empowerment topics:

> [The banks with which I work]… never talk about 'empowerment'. They're talking about business opportunity. 'The female economy is $X trillion, etc'… [Banks want to] see the business case… and that's it. They don't even need to bring up the empowerment topic. They don't get money from donors, so they don't have to pretend to be empowering anybody… [They understand that] women are half the economy… [They'll say,] 'We want a way of catalyzing the economic potential of women' and so on. It's fine with me. I say, whatever works! (Interviewee 39)

A senior U.S. government-based stakeholder articulated her understanding of a key bank's interest in women's empowerment-related issues, summarizing, "[This bank] wants to engage barriers to women's economic performance; otherwise there are too many women out there who are never getting beyond owning one single cow" (Interviewee 86). Such framing signals an outlook that meaningful work is defined not

by hours of engagement or significance to livelihood, but by its connection to scalable economic growth.

This perspective, while facilitating support from a range of authoritative actors, also complicates engagement with broader women's empowerment aims. This tension is not unfamiliar to WEConnect and their collaborators. As one stakeholder raised in a meeting with then-U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton:

> [An emphasis on growth businesses] means we're not only dealing with the poorest of the poor… [We want to support] women who make roads and own buildings and large coffee farms. Women who own medium-sized enterprises are successful and they employ more women, that's how we link women and trade and economic development goals. (ICWBL, private comment, 27 November 2012)

An emphasis on work as tantamount to economic growth and job creation may nevertheless lead to contestation. As another WEConnect stakeholder stated simply, "[We need to identify] women who need help, but who are also 'help-able'" (Interviewee 3). This informant went on to detail:

> We are looking for businesses who will hire more people and who will grow the economy. But when we do this in a gender blind way, it seems that not many businesses run by women get involved… That's very different to, for example, microfinance. They had real scale there; you're talking about lending to thousands of clients at once. There's a much smaller pool of women [across the globe] with significant businesses, who are business savvy, have a risk appetite, who want to take their business to the next level… [We can't deal with women who] need so much support and guidance that it becomes undoable. With [another corporate women's entrepreneurship program]… that's the problem they faced. They would be in a country, and they would reach a certain number of women, and then what? There is a limit to what they could do and still have the program be a success on their own terms. (Interviewee 3)

These comments signal tensions that may be present in a perspective on entrepreneurial work as a means to gender empowerment, particularly when work is tacitly or explicitly linked to economic growth outcomes. Another World Bank informant opined:

> Most people avoid the question of 'Are we picking winners when we pick women who will create jobs and growth?'… I feel we need to continue to assess: What is the development case for women's entrepreneurship? How can we meaningfully identify constraints to women's entrepreneurship? There is a clear tension between the needs of poorer women and scalable women entrepreneurs. (Interviewee 61)

Some WEConnect staff acknowledged these apprehensions, as did one who noted:

> Of course we talk about growth, but the fact is that it can take a decade to grow a business… A lot of women [in our network] are working their butts off for many years in order to make that happen… I am concerned sometimes that we don't want to admit that [growing a business] is hard. It is not the sexy story [many of our stakeholders] want to get out there… At the same time, one tension [our stakeholders face] is that in order to change incentive structures in organizations, they need to make a very strong business case… But [we're also learning that] they can't go around about claiming the great virtues of sourcing from women because it can be really hard for us to find such women. We make the case that big business should be sourcing from [women across the globe], but we can't guarantee that they will be able to do so. (Interviewee 60)

And yet, in no small part due to the momentum created by the instrumental argument for women's empowerment, WEConnect and its stakeholders may sometimes to find it difficult to caveat their claims. As one NGO partner described:

> More and more, [our work is] being pushed towards looking at women entrepreneurs… It's being pushed that way because corporations and banks want to move women's empowerment more squarely in the economic space, I think quite honestly because they're just more comfortable [in that space]. We try and push them in other directions, eventually, but it's a challenge. (Interviewee 43)

A view of work that is synonymous with economic growth forms a pillar of the instrumental argument that distinguishes WEConnect's work in the eyes of their stakeholders. However, such a perspective on work also presents complications. Data suggest that stakeholders in corporate and policy settings are still navigating these potential tensions, as one informant based in a major multilateral institution admitted when reflecting on a pilot program on women's market access in a Middle Eastern country:

> We are doing an assessment of the story, but laying low as it may not be a success. And that would be very inconvenient, because we are looking to build the business case for women's empowerment through entrepreneurship and the issue of access to markets… We have become an 'odd advocate' for women because we had a hunch the business case for women might be true, but we need [the chance to] look at the data. (Interviewee 105)

While advancement of the instrumental economic argument for women's empowerment is a key aspect of WEConnect's influence and current success, complex issues around work are obscured by this perspective. An emphasis on work as defined by economic growth may not only contradict women's own motivations and experiences with entrepreneurship, but may also create expectations with corporate members and policy stakeholders which are difficult for the organization to meet. Powerful new actors such as well-recognized global companies and influential policymakers appear to be remarkably compelled by the instrumental case for women's empowerment, particularly when it is presented alongside supporting data from respected sources. But such data are often at an early stage, and the conflation of work with activities that necessarily lead to economic growth is wont to obscure more complex dynamics around women's engagement with formal work. WEConnect data analysis demonstrates that far from being straightforwardly connected to economic returns, for example, work exists in gendered spheres characterized by gendered stratification within formal settings (including corporate supply chains) and by gendered work allocation between unpaid/care and formal work spheres. These more contested aspects of formal work appear to shape the experience of WEConnect-associated women business owners, at least in part, and sometimes to a significant extent. They are, however, not addressed by WEConnect's formal programming and communications, presenting potential gaps between the promise of women's market access and its reality. In addition, lack of attention by WEConnect and its stakeholders to women's unpaid/care work, for example, tends to reify a view of this work as

dichotomous from and disconnected to market work, an outcome whose impact is highly gendered in its effects.

6.3 Discussion

WEConnect International represents a powerful example of an initiative aimed at women's empowerment through entrepreneurship, working in concert with an impressive range of prominent corporate and political actors. This chapter introduces WEConnect's work and organizational purposes, and presents findings from interview data gathered via the organization's founders, leadership, and core collaborators in business and policy. Through data analysis, the chapter examines how the interface between production and reproduction is represented among key stakeholders in WEConnect's programming and communications.

Analysis of WEConnect data reveals, perhaps most strikingly, that reproduction and production chiefly appear to exist in dichotomous realms for WEConnect and its collaborators. Unpaid/care work is not addressed in the organization's programming or communications, and frequently appears to be either a non sequitur or a taboo in the contexts in which WEConnect leaders and senior stakeholders conduct their work. Data analysis suggests the omission of unpaid/care work from WEConnect's initiatives may be either by default or by design. In some cases, informants articulate an active choice to strategically limit discussion of unpaid/care work, citing the topic as "business unfriendly", too apt to cast women as "victims", or simply as a trivial matter to economic arguments. In other cases, informants acknowledged the potential importance of the interface between unpaid/care and formal work to women's business achievements, but felt unable to raise the subject in a manner which key collaborators in corporate and policy settings

would find coherent. In any case, WEConnect data suggest that the reproductive and productive spheres are presented as relatively straightforwardly separate by the majority of WEConnect influencers.

Data analysis also suggests that such a tidy divide between reproductive and productive work is, for many women business owners, less clear. Almost uniformly without prompting, interviewees offered countless examples of the manner in which their market labor is shaped by unpaid/care work. Unpaid/care work appears to have significant impact on the decision of WEConnect-associated entrepreneurs to start a business at all. It may also influence the type of businesses women pursue, and also appears to hold some sway over how long they remain in business. Far from an irrelevance to women's pursuit of market opportunity, WEConnect data suggest that unpaid/care work can shape women's entrepreneurial endeavors in lasting and important ways. That it remains obscured from policies, communications, and programming aimed to support women entrepreneurs across the globe is significant.

WEConnect data also demonstrate that, for many in the organization's sphere of influence, unpaid/care work presents a non-trivial barrier or source of conflict with market advancement. Women business owners, on multiple occasions and typically unprompted, voiced areas of conflict or tension between unpaid/care and market work. The data suggest that WEConnect leaders and senior stakeholders are less likely to volunteer comment on areas of potential tension between unpaid/care and market work. However, when asked directly about the topic, many acknowledged the interface of unpaid/care work and market work as a site of potential gendered conflict. The data also suggest that, nevertheless, unpaid/care work is not typically framed as work among WEConnect stakeholders. Rather, it tends to belong to an individualized realm of personal choice. Conflicts between market and unpaid/care work are not

infrequently cast as a matter of prioritization of private values or personal life orientation. Women business owners interviewed for this research place a noticeable emphasis on their reliance on female paid domestic labor in the form of *nanas* in order to reconcile conflicts between their business and unpaid/care work. Such individualized solutions to conflicts between unpaid/care and formal work may be costly, both in financial terms and in terms of costs related to inequality and social welfare. WEConnect data nonetheless suggest that when unpaid/care work is considered to be disconnected from market work, a matter of mere personal preference or lifestyle choice, it is likely to remain obscured from economic agendas. At the same time, arrangements to mitigate potential conflict between unpaid/care work and market work are likely to remain ad hoc, organized at the level of the individual business owner.

WEConnect data provide insight into the ways in which work is gendered in the context in which the organization operates. This gendering of work relates to vertical gendering, i.e. low representation of women in formal economic settings including global supply chains, as well as horizontal gendering, i.e. the gendering of work spheres including that of market work and unpaid/care work. The data suggest that gendered experiences with and expectations about remuneration contribute to this gendering, as do stereotypes, perceptions, social and familial expectations, and a lack of organized support for presence of unpaid/care work. As mentioned at the opening of this chapter, the aim of this analysis is by no means to suggest that unpaid/care work is the only source or even always a primary source of women's relative lack of access to economic advancement, e.g. through contracts with the supply chains of major global companies. WEConnect data point to multiple potential barriers to women's corporate "market access", including access to finance and networks,

internal challenges with corporate procurement, and women's sector specialization, to name a few. These are explored in depth and in an ongoing manner in the work of WEConnect and their corporate and policy partners. Unpaid/care work, however, is notable in its absence from WEConnect's formal agendas, a topic the data suggest to be potentially highly relevant to women's market engagement in at least some cases, but one which continues to receive short shrift.

WEConnect data suggest good reasons why unpaid/care work might continue to pass mostly unremarked by the organization and its partners. WEConnect's primary aims are to make fundamental changes to the global sourcing practices of prominent multinational corporations, and to increase interest in women-owned businesses on the part of influential corporate and policy actors. Neither aim is a humble one. This chapter discusses findings from WEConnect data regarding challenges presented by increasing sourcing from women in major global supply chains. It also outlines findings from data regarding the core importance of the instrumental economic argument for women's empowerment advanced by WEConnect and its collaborators. In the challenging context in which WEConnect operates, the organization has found it not just expedient, but essential to emphasize the potential economic growth and job creation benefits to be gained from women's empowerment, emphasizing access by women-owned businesses to global supply chains as a crucial aspect of achieving these highly desired benefits. In order to advance this argument, data suggest that the organization and its collaborators have found it necessary to adopt a laser focus on articulating the "business case" for women's empowerment, a move which appears to be vital to gaining and maintaining support for their work from a range of influential corporate and policy actors. As one NGO collaborator noted of their experience working on sourcing from women for a major global corporation, "We are still doing

the dance with them… even executives who cry at our meetings, whose hearts are open… literally a week later will be beating the cr*p out of us for price, for deadlines, for everything" (Interviewee 48). Indeed, the constraints and business imperatives faced by even the most devoted WEConnect members as this quote suggests, are apt to remain substantial.

These "new actors", interviewees suggest, are compelled by data-driven arguments regarding the economic impact of women's business advancement; arguments that may be construed as harkening to rights-based or other "non-economic" aspects of women's experience are felt to be irrelevant or even counterproductive. While pragmatic, this strategy cannot come without costs. One outcome of the organization's commitment to advancing a view of women's empowerment that does not engage unpaid/care work, for example, is the reinforcement of the perspective that work is tightly linked to – or even necessarily defined by – remuneration and income. The tacit or explicit understanding of work as defined by its contribution to economic growth is a defining feature of the WEConnect organizational narrative, a perspective that carries with it important gendered effects. In this sense, data from WEConnect suggest that the organization's approach to women's empowerment may carry important gendered costs, but that these do not tend to be readily acknowledged.

Data analysis establishes that WEConnect and its stakeholders exhibit a strong commitment to upholding instrumental economic arguments for women's empowerment. While advancing the argument is demanding, dedication to the strategy appears to stem from a conviction that corporate actors in particular can powerfully influence norms. As one interviewee stated:

> When you have [major multinational corporations] on your side of an issue, it really does change the game… If you had asked me a decade ago how to empower women around the world, I would have said, 'Implement the laws that are on the books in countries to protect rights, put pressure on governments.' Now, I would say that the way to change the game is for corporations to step up and get on board [with the issue], because this cultivates a huge change in culture and values. (Interviewee 1)

She went on to say that, in her view, corporations act as "legitimizers", and also form a crucial aspect of "getting men alongside as allies" on women's empowerment issues (Interviewee 1). A senior U.S. government stakeholder echoed this perspective, opining that that, in his experience, "the presence of corporate partners alongside… [NGO and government] work on women's [empowerment] is 'mutually legitimizing'" (Interviewee 51). He detailed:

> Corporate presence supported the case that women's issues are indeed core to growth goals. At the same time [work with NGOs and governments] legitimizes corporate activity [on women's empowerment]… rather than it simply being seen as a self-interested move to boost their business… [Corporations] were often already interested in women's issues… we gave them the language with which to discuss it. (Interviewee 51)

WEConnect stakeholders contend that buy-in from corporate partners represents a crucial boon to arguments in support of women's empowerment. As one staff member noted to women business owners at a high-profile event in Chile, "we may start with multinationals, but they're setting the example that Chilean companies will follow [on women in supply chains]" (Interviewee 10). Speaking out of their Washington, D.C. headquarters, another staff member emphasized his view that, "things change when companies see what their peers are doing" (Interviewee 88). Overall, WEConnect leaders and stakeholders express dedication to the notion that corporations are strategically positioned to change norms, and norms around women's empowerment in particular. As one WEConnect partner articulated:

> As the corporate sector [engages women's empowerment], they do so in a very high profile way and meaningful way… Because they speak the language of economics, you begin to see a shift in culture… In my mind, that's the greatest

> unfinished business: advancing… the way in which women are valued around the world… Violence against women still is in every country [because women are not valued]… [Corporate support]… changes the game in terms of culture... It's not just about women and their businesses, but about changing the way that people think about women. (Interviewee 1)

Corporate support for women's empowerment, WEConnect and their partners reason, represents a key to advancing fundamental changes to women's status across the world. Because instrumental economic arguments appear to have substantial purchase with corporate partners, WEConnect remains committed to advancing such arguments as a core aspect of their work and strategy.

While data analysis suggests that WEConnect's approach may be, in many ways, highly effective, it is important to critically examine the ways in which instrumental arguments may privilege certain understandings of work, for example, and obscure others. In the case of WEConnect, data suggest that emphasis on instrumental arguments for women's empowerment are associated with an emphasis on some aspects of support for women business owners, but not others. For example, the organization's programming and communications tend to emphasize a classic triad for boosting entrepreneurial success: access to networks, to finance, and to training. In the case of women, training may likely extend to content including women's self-confidence. WEConnect data suggest that some women business owners find these forms of support helpful, but the emphasis on economic growth also introduces tensions around, as one informant put it, "who needs help and who is help-able". Women facing barriers to business advancement that fall outside this standard entrepreneurial prescription may find it difficult to voice their needs, let alone have them met. Data analysis suggests that unpaid/care work certainly falls into this category for at least some women business owners, representing a factor in their

business performance that is often hidden in plain sight, yet perceived to be irrelevant or taboo vis a vis their interaction with WEConnect.

WEConnect data outline a powerful process through which the instrumental economic case for women's empowerment functions to make gender palatable, and to legitimate the issue in the eyes of key influencers in business and policy. The process, as one World Bank informant described, consists not only of programs and evaluations, but of "strategic theater" characterized by high-profile events featuring key influencers. As multiple interviewees noted of this particular process, "We can't not talk about Hillary Clinton" (Interviewee 39), referencing the then-Secretary of State's role in proliferating the instrumental economic case for women's empowerment. WEConnect staff and partners traced a similar narrative in which Clinton put "a huge amount of pressure" on institutions ranging from the World Bank to the OECD to improve their research on women and economic growth (Interviewee 9). Former colleagues described how she carried the message of women as core to economic growth to key policy platforms, working with senior economic advisors to ensure that her speeches, "strategically designed to be paradigm shifters" were "economically watertight" (Interviewee 51). The former Secretary's work fed into WEConnect's[107], and indeed coincided with a proliferation of interest in the potential economic impact of women's empowerment from influential spokespeople including, "Goldman Sachs, McKinsey, and *Harvard Business Review*" among others (Interviewee 39). The result, as one WEConnect collaborator described, was that:

> A few years ago, [our NGO] mapped out, 'How do you influence the dialogue on women's empowerment?' Part of it was, 'If we can get an Op-Ed in *The Economist*, if we can get a piece in *New York Times*, the buzz will start'… It seemed to me that all those things we mapped out as necessary suddenly started happening. (Interviewee 39)

[107] WEConnect sustains collaboration with the U.S. State Department's Office of Global Women's Issues, appearing at shared events and also receiving financial support for projects.

Another WEConnect stakeholder, speaking from a department of the World Bank, noted that:

> There are two areas of concern when companies think about women-owned businesses: a real and a perceived risk. The real risk is that women's businesses might not be viable. The perceived risk is that women's businesses won't be viable, even when that's not true. We can work on the real risk, and we can also play an important role in legitimizing women and reducing perceived risk, as well. (Interviewee 105)

A U.S. government WEConnect partner noted the value of emphasizing the instrumental economic case for women's empowerment, "in cultures that don't want women to be empowered", noting that:

> If the largest employer in [a Middle Eastern country] decides they're going to give women certain opportunities and freedoms, that changes the conversation. It allows [us] to come in and start asking about making such changes more widespread. We couldn't do that on our own; it would be seen as prescriptive. (Interviewee 51)

Each of these comments represents a piece of the process of making gender palatable and legitimate in the eyes of new and prominent stakeholders. As one senior WEConnect collaborator described, the instrumental economic case for women's empowerment through entrepreneurship provided essential grounding for this process:

> We wanted everyone to have the same sheet music in hand, [to be] going to the same meetings and speaking the same language, whether they were from governments, finance institutions, or companies. We wanted the agenda to be about increasing women's voice and agency and emphasizing the importance of women's leadership in politics and economic life. A women's entrepreneurship framing allowed us to do all that. (Interviewee 36)

The process of making gender both palatable and legitimate in the eyes of new actors required a shift from standard arguments for women's empowerment. As one senior collaborator noted, the emphasis on women's enterprise allowed arguments in favor of women's empowerment to "move from [looking at] women as victims… or as beneficiaries of assistance, and instead as… agents of change and necessary

contributors to… economic growth" (Interviewee 13). This process, one Chile-based WEConnect collaborator opined, "gets you away from ideological arguments about gender and lets you talk about something concrete… it's not all about women suffering… it's about women breaking free economically" (Interviewee 32). The pivot in emphasis on women as agents of economic change represented a pleasant surprise for many strategic influencers, often allowing them to engage with gender-related issues for the first time. Recalling the reaction of economic ministers gathered at a key regional event in Asia to a speech by then-Secretary Clinton about women and economic growth, the then-Ambassador for Global Women's Issues recounted, "After the speech, ministers came up to me in pure amazement. They said 'You talked about economic growth!' This really started to change minds" (Interviewee 86).

WEConnect and its collaborators have participated in a remarkable shift in the narrative around women's empowerment. The instrumental argument for women's empowerment, particularly through entrepreneurship, appears to have elicited an unprecedented level of interest in the topic from a wide range of prominent actors in policy and business. The organization and its stakeholders have built what appears to be a highly effective process through which to legitimize discussion of gender issues in a way that these new actors find palatable and compelling. The result has been that, in many business and policy forms, "even leaders who are newly in place can be counted on to be reading from the same script" (Interviewee 86). As this informant noted, "We need to broaden who's included in the conversation [about women's empowerment]; that's why we use the language of economics and self-interest" (Interviewee 86). This process of legitimation, while undoubtedly effectual on its own terms, presents costs as well as benefits. As multiple informants emphasized, a powerful aspect of the instrumental argument for women's empowerment is that, "it's

not just about rights" (Interviewee 51). However, the argument also leaves issues beyond rights outside the conversation.

Most striking for the purposes of this thesis is the way in which the instrumental argument for women's empowerment appears to necessitate the conflation of women's work with economic growth. Such a perspective takes unpaid/care work, for example, for granted both in theory and in practice. At a theoretical level, such an argument appears to imply that unpaid/care work is not a form of labor, belonging instead to the non-economic sphere of personal choice, moral obligation, or custom. As a practical matter, this perspective tends to perpetuate the invisibility of unpaid/care work in the eyes of business and policy, placing arrangements around the interface between unpaid/care work and market work at the feet of individual business owners and their dependents.

In one conversation, a senior U.S. government supporter of WEConnect noted that, while the instrumental argument appeared to have wide purchase with key global corporations, she was concerned that conversations about gender at recent high-profile events had, "sometimes become the predictables talking to the predictables" (Interviewee 86). This may be true, and precisely because of the wide embrace of the instrumental argument for women's empowerment, it is also possible that such conversations between actors with potential influence may remain limited to predictable topics. That leaders in business and policy find arguments based on economic growth and job creation compelling is hardly surprising. However, such framing may perpetuate the exclusion of other salient topics, such as unpaid/care work, from such forums, precisely because such issues are perceived to be "non-economic" in nature. What is less clear is whether this is due to a true-life separation between the unpaid/work and formal work spheres as experienced by women business

owners, or to a lack of imagination around which topics can be made to be palatable and legitimate in the eyes of powerful actors.

WEConnect data suggest that unpaid/care work, unacknowledged as it may tend to be, continues to hold influence over at least some women's experience with the gendered spheres of formal work. The demand for unpaid/care work is not going away. When this work goes unrecognized, the impact of that omission may be highly gendered. Women business owners associated with WEConnect emphasized the enduring effects of unpaid/care work on their engagement with entrepreneurial work, often contrasting their own position to their perception of that of men who are entrepreneurs. As one Peru-based women business owner asserted, "If I were a man, the confidence that my wife and kids are home together, well taken care of, would be an incredible weight off my mind. I'd be able to go out every day and go in for the kill [with my business], really fight for it" (Interviewee 89). In iterative conversations on the topic, senior WEConnect staff allowed for a potentially growing need to address the issue of unpaid/care work, as did one who reflected:

> This [issue of the] integration of work and family, how do we do that effectively, what is the role of women in that, what is the role of family, of community organizations, of NGOs and of government… [is] coming up in both OECD and non-OECD economies. [The question of]… care centers for the elderly and the young and for others that need the support… [for] the first time [recently] I'm seeing more serious conversation on the role of the private sector and what corporations do to lead the way and being a part of the solution [on that]. [I'm seeing] a major problem for… women as business owners… – really for all women and men – is the care issue… **It do**esn't matter in what region of this world [you are], this issue is ever-present. (Interviewee 30)

While rare across WEConnect data, this admission signals the ongoing concern presented by unpaid/care work, and its potential to complicate instrumental economic arguments for women's empowerment through entrepreneurship. Yet, this informant also expressed reluctance to engage the topic in the organization's work, noting her

concern that doing so could, "put women back into that low-paid, low profit potential space" (Interviewee 30).

At the same time, women's continued relative specialization in unpaid/care work forms a core aspect of another important claim by WEConnect stakeholders: that is, as then-Secretary Clinton stated, "when women enjoy greater [economic] access and opportunity, there is a ripple effect" ('Power: Women as Drivers of Growth and Social Inclusion', 16 October 2012). This "ripple" or "multiplier effect" refers to the social and community benefits of women's empowerment through entrepreneurship, and holds that, as one WEConnect staff member described:

> Market access by women-owned businesses yields a double benefit, because women reinvest 90 percent of their earnings into the wellbeing of their families via accessing better healthcare, education, and nutrition. This makes communities stronger and society at large benefits in the long term. It's a benefit for their whole countries. (Interviewee 10)

This narrative of the "multiplier effect" is reiterated across WEConnect data, including by one United Nations collaborator who argued, "Women's empowerment is so critical to achieving any sustainability goal" (Interviewee 55) and one corporate leader who asserted, "We need to stay focused on the end belief that economically empowered women will change the world" (Interviewee 19). As another senior stakeholder opined:

> It's good to empower women economically because you know all the data say that… they make such a difference in terms of poverty. Right away, in one generation you can eradicate poverty. If you can figure out how to put control over income in the hands of a woman or at least have her influence it, the wellbeing of children, families, and community just skyrockets. It's so damn logical. I don't understand why we're stuck having to repeat this argument to people. (Interviewee 9)

This argument, passionately advanced by many WEConnect stakeholders, relies heavily on the notion of the "virtuous woman", that is, one who is productive in terms of economic growth while at the same time, opting to invest her earnings in a manner

conducive to social benefit, particularly for her dependents. This line of reasoning obscures various potential tensions regarding unpaid/care work, not least eluding potential real tradeoffs between investment in continued business growth versus the needs of family and community. In addition, the narrative of "virtuous women" contributing both to the formal economy and to the wellbeing of those for whom they care continues to obfuscate tensions between unpaid/care work and market work, and how these may impact women's experience with formal labor in gendered work spheres. While women's disproportionate specialization in unpaid/care work is not openly acknowledged, it is taken for granted that their work in this area will be sustained, even in the face of increased business demands. Such claims are either highly essentialist, or take for granted women's position of relative marginalization from market work. Pressed on this point, one WEConnect stakeholder with long NGO experience admitted:

> I'm convinced we have quantitative data that tells us women... prioritize [spending on] health and education. They do. But maybe as the world becomes more equal, they won't. I'm not saying they're more virtuous. I think it's about their position. (Interviewee 39)

The purpose of this discussion is to highlight that arguments about the wider social benefits of women's economic advancement depend heavily on women's unpaid/care work for their fulfillment. Against a backdrop of the instrumental economic argument for women's empowerment, which tends to overlook women's work in unpaid/care, this dependence appears paradoxical. It appears to suggest that women's marginalization from market work in fact produces a valuable resource, but, contrary to the aims of empowerment, it does not seek to redress this marginalization, rather relying upon it for benefits to those beyond women themselves.

Poignantly, a framing of women's marginalization as resource in part underpins both the instrumental economic and "multiplier effect" arguments for women's empowerment. The former depends on a view of women as an untapped economic resource; the latter as a tool of social advancement through their continued work in the informal, unremunerated sphere of care. Occasionally, WEConnect interviewees address the issue of marginalization as resource directly, as did one NGO-based informant who noted:

> The advantage to being historically left out is that [women] forge our own way with fewer resources and less formal power… The financial crisis has absolutely been a wakeup call. People began turning to women to clean things up, look at [IMF head] Christine Lagarde… I don't think that's so bad that women are seen as the ones who come in to clean up a mess or get things done right… because I feel that we have such a long way to go in terms of [gender] parity. (Interviewee 1)

Such comments imply that viewing women's marginalization as a resource is not necessarily problematic. Regardless, dependence on women's marginalization in order to make a form of instrumental case for their empowerment does complicate the narrative of women's straightforward empowerment through market work. Instrumental economic and "multiplier effect" arguments tend to downplay the interface between women's unpaid/care work and their market labor, while at the same time depending on women's continued relative specialization in unpaid/care work.

Prior to the conclusion of this chapter, several qualifications regarding analysis of the WEConnect case are apposite. First, despite the case's emphasis on women's relative specialization in unpaid/care work, individual men can and do take on this work. Those who do may face challenges similar to those outlined in this chapter. Second, the chapter is characterized by conspicuous generalities regarding gender, for example the contention by many informants that women are expected (or expect

themselves) to prioritize family life over their activities in paid work, for example. While such generalizations unquestionably reflect the data collected from interviewees, it is important to note that such descriptions will not necessarily reflect the experience or perceptions of all men and women. Many women experience little or no engagement with unpaid/care work, for example. While women's relative specialization in unpaid/care work compared to men was a remarkably apparent feature of WEConnect data, this chapter does not aim to suggest that all women are carers. Nor, as previously mentioned, is it the intent of the chapter to claim that all gendered differences in labor market performance are related to women's engagement with unpaid/care work. Rather, the chapter emphasizes that unpaid/care work often remains invisible to industry or even taboo in light of discussion of women's entrepreneurial work, and that this exclusion may emerge from an understanding of labor that discounts unpaid/care work as a form of work. In the process of making gender both more palatable and visible for industry, the WEConnect case suggests that salient aspects of gendered work experience may be systematically excluded from discussion, even by actors dedicated to breaking new ground with regard to gender and industry. While cognizant of the limitations and constraints under which WEConnect operates, this chapter nevertheless points out one set of potential costs and trade-offs – that related to unpaid/care work – associated with advancement of market-based arguments for women's empowerment.

6.4 Conclusions

A core aim of this thesis is to examine the interface between productive and reproductive work, particularly within the entrepreneurship literature and enterprise-based approaches to women's empowerment. Drawing on an analysis of the entrepreneurship literature, the thesis points out that this research tends to cast unpaid/care work as dichotomous from market work, an activity more appropriately belonging to the realm of "lifestyle" or personal choice. This research also tends to present unpaid/care work as fundamentally in conflict with market work, and to take for granted the gendering of work spheres. This chapter analyzes the interface between productive and reproductive work in the case of a high-profile entrepreneurship and industry-based effort to empower women in global corporate supply chains.

WEConnect endeavors to increase access by women's businesses across the world to the procurement channels of multinational corporations. Alongside an impressive array of influential policy and industry collaborators, the organization seeks to advance a view of women-owned businesses as a source of abundant economic potential. It works to equip and enable women-owned businesses to secure major corporate contracts for their goods and services, and, secondarily, advocates that increases in women's earnings will represent not only a boon for economic growth, but also for social wellbeing of families and communities through the "multiplier effect". In short, WEConnect works to build the "business case" for supporting women-owned businesses, both in the eyes of corporate leaders and policymakers. WEConnect thus provides an exemplar case of a market-led approach to women's empowerment through entrepreneurship. However, due to the framing of

the arguments that underpin the organization's success, not all aspects of women business owners' experiences are given prominence in their efforts.

WEConnect and its collaborators advance instrumental arguments for women's empowerment that are, without doubt, groundbreaking on many counts. Data analysis illustrates how the case for the economic growth potential represented by women's empowerment in the business sphere, for example, has served to draw attention to the issue from a remarkable range of new actors in positions of notable influence. However, data analysis also makes evident that, while WEConnect's work is characterized by unwavering advocacy for women-owned businesses across the globe, its programming and communications tend to take as given a view of economically productive work as disconnected from and distinct to unpaid/care work. The instrumental economic argument for women's empowerment, which characterizes the organization's work, carries an implication that meaningful work is necessarily defined by economic growth. The potential gendered consequences associated with this view of work do not tend to be explicitly addressed. Data analysis demonstrates that WEConnect's activities unfold in a context of highly gendered work spheres, and that unpaid/care work may represent a site of non-trivial tension for women with whom the organization works. Yet, WEConnect stakeholders do not tend to emphasize or design programming to address these aspects of the backdrop in which they operate. This omission, which manifests across the data as both tacit and strategic, leads the interface between unpaid/care work to remain overlooked in work associated with WEConnect. While WEConnect is unquestionably dedicated to reframing narratives around women and advocating for new types of engagement with women's empowerment from a range of novel actors, these innovations do not extend to advocacy for re-examination of the interface between entrepreneurial and

unpaid/care work. Rather, reproductive and productive work are taken as dichotomous, and the organization does not seek to embolden re-examination of how norms and institutional arrangements may amplify the gendered, ostensibly separate nature of the types of activity.

WEConnect is of interest to this research because it is an industry-based initiative seeking to advance gender empowerment through market means. The organization represents an exemplar case of an effort to parlay women's engagement with market activity as a means towards their own empowerment. Analysis of WEConnect's activities reveals that the organization's use of instrumental economic arguments for women's empowerment appears to allow their work to gain significant purchase within industry and policy circles. This phenomenon, however, also draws attention to areas of contestation and paradox potentially associated with market-led approaches to reducing gender inequality. As a cause becomes more widely accepted, it can also become transformed. In the case of WEConnect, while instrumental cases for women's empowerment have acted to make a subset of issues related to gender more palatable to new actors in business and policy, infusing the topics with fresh legitimacy in the eyes of influential stakeholders, this process appears to come with costs. In particular, reliance on instrumental arguments for women's empowerment seems to require – or at least be linked to – disregard for unpaid/care work, and a view of work as necessarily defined by economic growth outcomes. Work as a means of provisioning the demands of human life, for example, is not considered. In a context characterized by gendered work spheres, lack of attention to unpaid/care work may result in increased inequality between individuals who are well-placed to embrace market-based approaches to empowerment, and those who find themselves more constrained.

While market-based initiatives may hold substantial potential to engage new audiences with the cause of women's empowerment, there is a need to be attentive to what is lost or downplayed as such processes unfold. In the context of this thesis, there is a particular need to be attentive to the – tacit or strategic – proliferation of definitions of work that obscure unpaid/care work. Indisputably, organizations such as WEConnect are faced with the pragmatic need to pursue communications and programming that allow their aims to flourish in an often-challenging context. It is not the aim of this thesis to suggest that such organizations should be answerable for all possible contributors to gender inequality in formal market settings. However, unpaid/care work emerges across the data as a non-trivial aspect of many women's engagement with entrepreneurial advancement in the context of WEConnect's work. The lack of engagement with the issue by WEConnect is, therefore, striking. WEConnect's work has helped pioneer new narratives about women's empowerment in a remarkable range of new spaces. Yet, on the point of the definition of work and the interface between unpaid/work and entrepreneurship, the organization has yet to apply similar levels of innovation.

Chapter 7: Case Analysis and Implications for Research

7.1 Discussion of Comparative Findings

Scholarship from the field of feminist economics persuasively draws attention to the interface between reproductive and productive work as a site of potential gendered contention. Historical work from this field also points out why understandings of work which systematically exclude or discount unpaid/care work may be particularly problematic for women, presenting a challenging critique. With this scholarship as a lens, this thesis examines three empirical manifestations of the interface between reproductive and productive work. Each of these cases is characterized by an emphasis on women's market and entrepreneurial activity. First, the thesis examines the mainstream academic entrepreneurship literature via a systematic literature review stretching across several decades. Second, it evaluates the case of the International Women's Coffee Alliance, an industry-led effort to advance women's entrepreneurial and market work across the global value chains of the coffee industry. Third, it examines the case of WEConnect International, an industry-led effort to improve the position of women business owners in global procurement by multinational companies. In each case, attention is paid to the implicit and explicit features of the definition of work as manifest via analysis of qualitative data, and to the ways in which unpaid/care work is represented within the same.

While findings from data analysis across these three cases reveal important areas of distinction and uniqueness, they also present points of striking similarity. Table 7.1 presents key themes from each of the cases in very broad terms. It is important to note that, in each of the three cases, analysis of the framing of unpaid/care work was nuanced by the fact that the term and its analogues were almost

never used directly by interviewees. Explicit reference to "care", "care work", "unpaid work", or "provisioning" was largely absent from both the literature reviewed and the two organizational cases examined. Language around "family" and "responsibility" was more prevalent across all three cases – as I point out in Table 5.3 in Chapter 5 on IWCA, for example – but even these themes were underemphasized across the three cases. The extent to which this held true across the three is worthy of note and provides further reinforcement of the need for management researchers to examine the interface between reproductive and productive work, as the cases suggest that the former may be systematically overlooked in theory and practice. This chapter offers a comparative discussion of each theme across the three cases, and then suggests potential implications for research through the introduction of a novel theoretical framework for examining the interface between unpaid/care and market work in market-based interventions.

Table 7.1 Interface between Production and Reproduction across Three Cases

	Work appears as gendered phenomenon	Production/ reproduction appear as dichotomous forms of activity	Production/ reproduction appear as in ontological conflict	Unpaid/care work appears as unacknowledged – yet salient – influence on market work	Market norms appear to contribute to the invisibility of unpaid/care work
Entrepreneurship Literature	X	XX	XX	X	X
IWCA	XX	X	X	XX	XX
WEConnect	XX	XX	X	XX	XX

Key: Yes = X, No = N, Strongly so = XX, Not at all = NN

7.1.1 Work as Gendered

Each of the three cases examined as part of this research provides a view of work as a form of activity enacted within gendered spheres. The nature of this

gendering varies only slightly across the cases. Overall, each reflects gendering as regards unpaid/care and market work, with women's relative specialization in the former emerging as both taken-for-granted (as is not infrequently the case in the entrepreneurship literature, for example) or empirically grounded (for example, in data collected from business owners associated with WEConnect). The cases are also characterized by reference to hierarchical gendering within the market work sphere. While both organizational cases span a good breadth of global geography, touching on communities characterized by varying customs and cultural norms, it is important to note that the gendering of work does not appear to be limited to particular geographies. WEConnect and IWCA data offer ample examples of gendered work spheres from Western corporate contexts, for example, and entrepreneurship research is almost exclusively characterized by investigation into businesses operating in Europe or North America. This is significant because the three cases that make up this research problematize views of entrepreneurship and market work that assume gender neutrality, for example; rather, this research supports a view of work as an activity which is gendered in pervasive and fundamental ways.

Across the three cases, gendering of work between unpaid/care and market work spheres is often made evident by a straightforward lack of reference to men's engagement with unpaid/care work. For example, systematic review of the entrepreneurship literature demonstrates that this research contains a longstanding line of inquiry related to how individual women entrepreneurs manage – or attempt to manage – the interface between their "business" and their "family". The same review did not identify any article dedicated to how men business owners do the same. In the majority of articles included in the final review for this research, unpaid/care work was explicitly stated to be of primary concern to women business owners. Most

articles presented a tacit or taken-for-granted acceptance of women's primacy in the sphere of unpaid/care work, and no article presented men as assuming primacy in unpaid/care work. Nor did the review identify research into the impact of unpaid/care work on men's entrepreneurial ventures. Research on how men's market work influenced their ability to undertake unpaid/care work was similarly absent, and only a small minority of articles made even a cursory reference to men's potential participation in unpaid/care work. In several such cases, the mention was made only to establish that men's unpaid/care work was secondary to that performed by women.

These trends were not dissimilar in the organizational cases. IWCA data make clear that unpaid/care work shapes women's experience with the coffee industry to no insignificant extent. Gendered task allocation and women's relative specialization in reproductive work contribute to gendering of work in the industry, across the value chain. The result is a division of work into gendered spheres, with unpaid/care work appearing to fall squarely in women's sphere of activity. While informants provided colorful and creative examples of women's engagement with reproductive work in a variety of industry settings, narrations of men's unpaid/care work were almost entirely absent from data collected from interviewees. As in the entrepreneurship research, men's unpaid/care work tended not to be mentioned, or was cited only to note that it was almost an irrelevance. Reflecting on her experience with how men's unpaid/care work interfaced with their market work in coffee production, one industry leader memorably mused that she found it difficult to recall a meaningful example of the phenomenon, adding that she might be able to do so if she had come across a widower in a coffee producing country. Data on women's experience with corporate and leadership settings in the West also tended to reflect the phenomenon of women's prevalence – or men's relative absence – from unpaid/care work, as one senior leader

implied when she described her impression that many men with whom she worked merely acted as a "voice in the situation" when, for example, phoned by their partners regarding a concern about children. She contrasted this with her impression of her women colleagues, who held the "full responsibility" for unpaid/care work.

Data collected from women business owners associated with WEConnect presented a similar view, as women emphasized the need to ensure that their work in the productive sphere did not interfere with their unpaid/care work. Again, through striking and memorable anecdotes about their experience, women detailed their engagement with unpaid/care work, typically mentioning men in this context only to clarify their relative lack of engagement in the reproductive sphere. The trend of obscuring men's potential engagement with unpaid/care work also extended to data collected from senior WEConnect organizational stakeholders, whose use of instrumental arguments for women's empowerment – both regarding economic growth and the "multiplier effect" to be gained by income generated by and for women – resulted in an almost complete lack of mention of men's engagement with unpaid/care work. Overall, a shared finding across the data is that the gendering of work appears to result in men's unpaid/care work dropping from view, with reproductive labor remaining squarely in the remit of women.

In addition to gendering of work between productive and reproductive work spheres, each of the three empirical cases examined as part of this research reflects a hierarchical gendering of work. On this count, entrepreneurship research tends to examine women's underperformance relative to men in terms of venture size, hiring of employees, or profit (note this tendency has more recently been critiqued by Henry et al. (2015), among other scholars). Multiple authors suggest that men tend to possess a stronger risk appetite or personal interest in profit as compared to women

entrepreneurs, who may be more strongly motivated by "lifestyle" or "balance" concerns, resulting in reduced financial performance. Similarly, the two organizational cases suggest that both WEConnect and IWCA stakeholders tend to perceive the context in which they work as hierarchically gendered, with women holding leadership positions relatively infrequently as compared to men. IWCA data point to several facets of hierarchical work gendering in the coffee industry, including the presence of relatively small numbers of women in formal leadership roles across the value chain and a perceived lack of support for women in formal leadership roles within the industry. Such points were raised in a particularly salient manner by interviewees with experience in corporate settings at senior levels of industry.

WEConnect data also contain multiple proclamations regarding the low levels of women in senior business contexts, in both corporate settings and among women entrepreneurs based across the globe. These data point to low levels of access to procurement contracts from multinational corporations by women-owned businesses, and to challenges faced by women in terms of business advancement in a variety of contexts. Pointing to the role of male networks, "pressures" on men regarding their career performance, as well as of custom and stereotype, WEConnect interviewees with long experience in senior corporate settings mused about a paucity of women-owned businesses operating at the scale necessary to engage corporate procurement contracts, and to a phenomenon one interviewee described as women, "stuck at the mezzanine level" of leadership in influential organizations. Both WEConnect and IWCA data contain suggestions that contention around compensation contributes to the gendering of work spheres, as well as, potentially, to women's relative specialization in unpaid/care work. This theme was not absent from the

entrepreneurship literature, which as previously mentioned, reflects a tendency to emphasize men's relative "wealth orientation", in the words of one set of scholars.

Across the three cases, findings regarding hierarchical gendering of work and the gendered allocation of work between unpaid/care and market spheres are robust, suggesting that empowerment via formal work advances in gendered contexts. This outcome suggests that, in some cases, gendered norms and institutions attendant to market work may serve to confound – or at least complicate – entrepreneurship as a means to advance gender empowerment aims.

7.1.2 Reproductive Work as Dichotomous to Productive Work

Entrepreneurship literature and the two organizational cases tend to present unpaid/care and formal work as separate, dichotomous forms of activity. As a result, in all three cases, attention to women's market engagement appears to coincide with a tendency to disregard other aspects of women's work and experiences. This phenomenon appears to be driven at least in part by a predisposition across each of the three cases to invoke the use of "work-life balance" or "lifestyle choice" frames as the dominant means to engage unpaid/care work. "Family" is used as shorthand to reference reproductive work across the three cases, and in each case "family" is characteristically taken to refer to unpaid/care work for one's own children, most typically of pre-school age – an unquestionably narrow view of family and care. Discussion of elder care, for example, was rare, emerging in only a handful of instances in the two organizational cases – and not in the entrepreneurship literature at all. None of the three cases systematically addressed wider forms of unpaid/care work including that for older children, dependents with special needs, or for individuals lacking a biological relationship with the caregiver. Because of the emphasis on

unpaid/care work as a matter of lifestyle or personal choice, reference to institutional and systemic approaches to the interface between reproductive and productive work was generally limited across the three cases.

Of the three cases, entrepreneurship literature was perhaps the most blatant in its tendency to frame unpaid/care work as dichotomous to market work. The literature contains multiple allusions to "family" and "work" as two basically distinct activities pursued by individuals driven by opposing personal value systems. The literature reflects a tendency to frame "business growth" as existing in what appears to be necessary opposition to "family pursuits", and tends to take their ontological opposition as given. Few articles illuminate the nature of the activities associated with "family" that would make it necessarily opposed to business, and attention to the institutional and customary factors mediating this opposition is scant. Rather, the literature tends to treat engagement with unpaid/care work as the outcome of a reflection of individual preference or personal values, not as, for example, enactment of another form of valuable work.

Unpaid/care work is similarly typically cast as dichotomous to and separate from market work within IWCA data. The IWCA case also signals that the distinction between reproductive and productive work spheres is characterized not only by the dominance of personal choice in the former sphere, but also by the receipt of money in the latter. As is the case when the entrepreneurship literature casts business and economic pursuits as dichotomous to "lifestyle" or "family" pursuits, IWCA data reflect a dichotomous conceptual schema between activities conducted in exchange for remuneration – which are straightforwardly delineated as "work" – and the unpaid/care activities undertaken by women in the coffee value chain with regularity. While IWCA data contain multiple references to unpaid/care activities, these are

typically described using the language of "duty", "responsibility", or "caretaking", avoiding the use of the word "work" in their description (refer to Table 5.3).

WEConnect data contain a similar tendency to frame reproductive work as dichotomous to productive work, a propensity that reflected the organization's concern about messaging that could detract from their emphasis on women's market engagement with key stakeholders. In a minority of cases, WEConnect stakeholders acknowledged the importance of unpaid/care work, but also tended to cast this labor as a matter of personal and individual concern. The organization's emphasis on women's economic advancement seemed to carry with it a tendency to frame issues not related to market work as a form of distraction and potential threat. The organization's remarkable success in framing women's empowerment issues within the context of policy and industry leads to anxiety about appearances of "business-unfriendliness". As a result, unpaid/care work is typically cast as dichotomous to and disconnected from women's market pursuits by WEConnect and its key stakeholders, who instead emphasize the "business case" and instrumental economic argument for women's empowerment.

7.1.3 Reproductive and Productive Work as Existing in Conflict

Case analysis for this research suggests that entrepreneurship literature, WEConnect, and IWCA share a tendency to assume that the dichotomous relationship between production and reproduction is one typified by conflict or tension between two intrinsically incompatible and disconnected spheres. The cases explicitly reflect on institutions and norms integral to these spheres only to a very limited extent, most often taking the discordance between "economic" and "non-economic" spheres as given. Variation across the cases exists in terms of the extent to which the exact

features of this incompatibility were mentioned. IWCA data, for example, provide numerous references to the nature of unpaid/care work, including its impact on women's time, mobility, and engagement with coffee industry-related tasks. WEConnect data from women business owners reveal a lesser but approximately comparable level of specificity, though interviews with organizational leadership and stakeholders provide less detailed accounts of the same. With the exception of a smattering of mentions of time use, the entrepreneurship literature features limited reference to the activities associated with "family", the literature's primary analogue for unpaid/care work.

In addition, while entrepreneurship literature is characterized by a longstanding research stream into "work" and "family", the literature also features a propensity to investigate instances of "work-family conflict". Said conflict is typically framed as originating from the "family" side of these two dichotomous and opposing spheres. Women's unpaid/care work with their own young children is perceived as particularly aberrant in light of their entrepreneurial endeavors. Thus, the literature tends to frame conflict between work spheres as an individually guided selection process of one dichotomous sphere over another, with emphasis on unpaid/care work not as work but as associated with personal identity, values, or social role. Because of this, the topic tends to be relegated to discussions of personal motivation or "role management" by individuals and groups of women entrepreneurs. Therefore, while entrepreneurship literature acknowledges that entrepreneurs, especially women, may be faced with conflict between work and family, investigation of the mechanisms by which unpaid/care work inhibits market pursuits is limited. As a result, proposals of novel theoretical frameworks through which to understand the interface between unpaid/care and entrepreneurial work are scarce.

While data from IWCA demonstrate that discussion of unpaid/care work is underemphasized – and even taboo – in a variety of coffee industry settings, the IWCA case does signal specific factors contributing to gendered experiences of conflict between unpaid/care and market work. Mobility emerges as a strong contributor to said conflict for women in coffee producing settings, and also as a source of tension for women seeking to advance in corporate careers in the travel-heavy industry. Gendered time availability associated with unpaid/care work, as well as gendered norms and institutions associated with support for unpaid/care work manifest as salient sources of conflict in corporate and production settings alike, including industry-related trainings and high-profile competitions which are fundamental to advancement in certain industry roles. The IWCA case also offers more than either of the other cases in terms of reference to specific solutions to women's experience of conflict between unpaid/care and market work. This is refreshing across the cases, in that IWCA data does not necessarily automatically present conflict between unpaid/care and market work as an innate and expected condition. However, the data emphasize the benefit that mothers (as opposed to parents or other caregivers, i.e. for the elderly) may glean from such interventions. This emphasis lacks explicit contestation of the gendered division of work spheres, and may be construed as implied acceptance of the gendered nature of conflict between unpaid/care and market work. In addition, as discussed in the chapter on IWCA, the case contains relatively little in terms of overt attempts to increase the visibility of unpaid/care work in market settings, perhaps due in part to the influence of a dichotomous view of the two types of activities among the organization and its stakeholders.

The case of WEConnect – particularly interviews with women business owners – offers examples of conflictual and harmonious relationship between unpaid/care and market work. Where conflict between the two types of work is alleviated, WEConnect data reveal a prominent emphasis on paid domestic work (often through privately employed *nanas*) in order to accomplish this. As in the entrepreneurship research and IWCA case, time and gendered allocation of unpaid/care work appear to shape women's experience with conflict between unpaid/care and market work in fundamental ways. As in the other two cases, WEConnect data reflect a tendency to steer clear of the use of the word "work" to describe unpaid/care undertakings. Among women business owners, unpaid/care work is most frequently described in terms of "duties" or "responsibilities", with a heavy emphasis on gendered expectations derived from custom and culture. While also present among women business owner interviewees, WEConnect leadership and organizational stakeholders are more likely to engage unpaid/care work through a frame of personal "values" or "choice". Regardless, the WEConnect case contains limited reference to solutions to gendered conflict between unpaid/care and market work beyond, for example, the hiring of *nanas*. Such approaches reify an individualized and provisional approach mediating gendered conflict between unpaid/care and market work. However, because the case also tends to frame unpaid/care work as dichotomous to market work, more appropriately situated in the realm of lifestyle, balance, or personal choice, WEConnect data suggest that gendered conflict between unpaid/care and market work is likely to be cast as a matter for individual – rather than industry – concern.

One note before proceeding: in my analysis, I by no means wish to imply that market and unpaid/care work are simply interchangeable. I acknowledge them as two

types of activity that possess distinctive features, often governed by different logics by those who undertake them and attended by distinct sets of norms and institutions. Indeed, they are frequently *experienced* as existing in conflict with each other. The trade-offs demanded of those who engage in both forms of work are well documented across a variety of literatures. With this caveat in place, the point I wish to make is that where the gendered separation of production and reproduction is *taken as given* in theory and practice, feminist economic analysis suggests this is problematic. Production and reproduction may be experienced as distinct and governed by different logics, but this is not because they are entirely ontologically separable in any "natural" sense. While some aspects of reproduction may be incompatible with some aspects of production, others may not be. Norms and institutional arrangements strongly mediate the extent to which these distinctions manifest, and *for whom*. Yet, institutional arrangements structuring the interface between paid and unpaid/care work are given limited attention across the three cases, and explicit reference to, for example, how support for entrepreneurship might be considered alongside childcare policy is almost nonexistent. Because of this, while indeed production and reproduction may possess their own distinctives and tensions, the cases miss the opportunity to extend enquiry and practice into the ways in which the interface between unpaid/care and market work may be contingent and context-dependent.

7.1.4 Unpaid/Care as Invisible Influence on Market Work

It would be perfectly possible – and indeed, uncomplicated – to analyze the three cases that make up this research without engaging unpaid/care work. Each case is rich in potential insights regarding women's engagement with market opportunity as well as the engagement of business and management with gender-related concerns. In each of the three cases, unpaid/care work represents an invisible, or at least strongly

underemphasized, aspect of the agendas of researchers and organizational stakeholders. However, a theoretical lens informed by scholarship from feminist economics makes it possible to examine data from each of the three cases with an eye to what appears to be systematically excluded or missed out from theory and practice, and unpaid/care work emerges quite clearly as one such topic. The cases thus suggest that norms within management research and industry appear to ensure that unpaid/care work remains distant from the research and action agendas of scholars and practitioners alike, an omission that appears to be both unpremeditated and strategic, depending on the context.

In the case of the mainstream entrepreneurship literature, for example, the research appears to be characterized by a tendency to investigate individual traits of entrepreneurs (e.g. motivations and personal values, skill levels, etc.) and of the local context in which their entrepreneurial ventures unfold (e.g. access to training, finance, or networks). Entrepreneurship research, of course, also features a well-established and influential line of inquiry into the impact of institutional and policy context (e.g. business environment, rule of law) on enterprise. However, institutional and policy norms related to unpaid/care work (e.g. policies on care and leave, the nature of professional norms) are rarely included in this body of scholarship. As previously mentioned, this may be due not only to an impoverished view of unpaid/care work as a form of work, but also to a narrow perspective of what unpaid/care work might entail. The literature, as discussed, tends to limit discussion of unpaid/care work to that in the benefit of biological offspring of pre-school age. Care for elderly relatives, older children, dependents with chronic illness or limitations, and those outside the nuclear family – i.e. extended family and community members – receives short shrift. Unpaid/care work, in fact, may be associated with any of the above individuals and

groups. A failure to acknowledge this breadth diminishes entrepreneurship literature's treatment of the topic. As a result, insights regarding the interface between entrepreneurship and unpaid/care work remain underdeveloped, and the relative invisibility of unpaid/care work within the literature persists.

The case of IWCA is distinct from that of entrepreneurship literature in that it contains repeated reference to ways in which women's engagement with coffee-related work may be impacted by unpaid/care work. Unsurprisingly, this is most evident in data related to women's work in agricultural settings, in which coffee production and care for children are framed as "deeply interconnected", with the lines between the two "blurred" for women with regularity. IWCA data also vividly illuminate how unpaid/care work might impact the ways in which women pursue market work in coffee, providing notable illustrations from coffee producing and coffee importing countries alike. However, while IWCA data leave little doubt as to the bearing of care/unpaid work on the coffee industry, it also demonstrates that this work remains relatively obscure vis a vis industry platforms and the work of IWCA itself. Despite repeated affirmations of the impact of unpaid/care work on women's market work in production and corporate coffee industry settings, the topic was still perceived as "too progressive" or inadequately relevant to business to merit systematic engagement and attention. In summary, IWCA data reflect a context in which industry norms appear to expect or demand a clean separation between reproduction and production, despite evidence that such a separation is not necessarily achievable, or even accurate in terms of accounting for the factors exercising meaningful influence over women's performance in the industry.

To a lesser – but still important – extent than IWCA, the WEConnect case provides numerous examples of the impact of unpaid/care work on the market work of

women business owners across the globe. The data suggest unpaid/care work exercises non-trivial influence over the kind of work pursued by women business owners, and may significantly impact their decisions to pursue entrepreneurial work at all. For example, primary financial responsibility for dependents following divorce or breakdown of domestic partnership was referenced by multiple WEConnect-associated women business owners as a key driver of their move into entrepreneurship. WEConnect data also suggest that unpaid/care work may shape women's continued pursuit of entrepreneurship, and the manner in which their business develops. However, despite significant evidence across the data that unpaid/care work may mediate women's market work in important ways, WEConnect reflects the strongest example from among the three cases of conscious, strategic downplaying of the interface between unpaid/care and market work. The organization's dedication to advancing commitment to women's empowerment from actors across industry and policy, it appears, necessitates the use of instrumental economic arguments for women's empowerment. Women's unpaid/care work is thus systematically unnoted in programming and communications by WEConnect leaders and stakeholders. A concern that raising the topic would complicate WEConnect's mission, representing a step backwards in the eyes of important organizational stakeholders, means that the probable significance of unpaid/care work to WEConnect's stated aims remains concealed.

7.1.5 Market Norms and the Invisibility of Unpaid/Care Work

Why might entrepreneurship literature and the two organizational cases examined for this research so systematically reify the invisibility of unpaid/care work? The literature case, of course, speaks to management theory, and the two organizational cases to management practice. Scholarship from feminist economics

would suggest that theory and practice are linked in that, following norms set at the time of the emergence of classical economics, production has been analytically separated from reproduction at the level of theory – a disconnect reinforced in practice by norms within industry and policy. In contemporary management theory and practice, therefore, production and reproduction are typically perceived as separate as a matter of course. The three cases, therefore, highlight important ways in which norms in scholarship and industry reinforce the invisibility of unpaid/care work in the eyes of researchers and practitioners.

Entrepreneurship literature reflects several norms that may contribute to the reification of the invisibility of unpaid/care work from research agendas. For example, while this is changing, the literature has been broadly characterized by a scholarly interest in "what makes an entrepreneur", that is, an emphasis on the personal characteristics of entrepreneurs as opposed to other actors in the formal economy. Such an emphasis is, of course, unsurprising, given that such entrepreneurship research is linked, at least in part, to an action agenda, seeking to identify means to encourage and advance entrepreneurs and their ventures. However, studies of entrepreneurial motivation have tended to abstract individual entrepreneurs from their social and institutional context, which may lead to a propensity to overlook systemic constraints and structural factors contributing to or constraining entrepreneurship. Combined with a tendency to perceive unpaid/care work as dichotomous to market work, and to consequently frame unpaid/care work as a matter of enactment of private preference or lifestyle choice, norms within entrepreneurship research lead to an under-emphasis on unpaid/care work as a systematic variable influencing at least some women's engagement with market work. Contributions from feminist economics can help remind – or inform – scholars of entrepreneurship that unpaid/care work can

be understood not only to have empirical, gendered impact on the market sphere, but also offers important contributions to social, public, and economic goods. Unlike a private hobby akin to seriously taking up golf, unpaid/care work carries with it important consequences beyond the individual. As yet, norms associated with management theory have led unpaid/care work to remain under-acknowledged within this body of research.

The case of IWCA similarly represents an example of norms contributing to an ongoing lack of explicit attention to unpaid/care work. However, the situation in practice within the case is nuanced. On one hand, as has been discussed, IWCA data demonstrate that unpaid/care work has a gendered and significant impact on experience with market work in multiple facets of the coffee supply chain. On an empirical level, respondents signaled that, in many coffee production settings, for example, women's unpaid/care work may be crucial to economic advancement within the industry, but that it is not infrequently cast as "help" or a "donation to the family cause", rarely acknowledged as productive labor and duly compensated. Women's relative specialization in unpaid/care work and non-remunerated work related to coffee production appears to act as a source of gendered disadvantage, and may hinder their economic advancement within the industry. However, even with these observations in mind, the IWCA case also illustrates that unpaid/care work remains largely taboo and unacknowledged at all levels of the coffee industry, a norm that both results from and reinforces the gendered division of work spheres and the relative lack of women's economic advancement across all levels of industry, not just production settings.

While aware of the potential impact of unpaid/care work on women's market advancement in production settings, industry norms are such that IWCA respondents

largely lacked a strategy through which to mediate conflicts between unpaid/care and market work in production settings, and also admitted that open discussion of the interface between unpaid/care and market work was uncommon within the industry. Despite providing multiple illustrations of how unpaid/care work might impact the advancement of women in formal work even at the level of corporate coffee industry leadership, respondents articulated that industry norms mean addressing the interface between unpaid/care and market work directly is perceived as atypical, and is therefore something they rarely if ever attempt. Citing their experience with corporate and industry norms, respondents also expressed concern that initiating discussion of unpaid/care work might further disadvantage women, risk raising concerns that were "difficult" or "too personal", or simply be met with ambivalence.

Like WEConnect, IWCA's influence is drawn from its position as an organization embedded within and working closely with industry. As one influential WEConnect stakeholder emphasized in her description of the need to, "start from the market and work backwards" in the organization's work, IWCA has tasked itself with an ability to maintain a commercial focus, translating the case for women's empowerment into language and programming that seeks to be compelling to industry. As a result, the organization tends to emphasize women's market work, focusing on classical prescriptions for entrepreneurial support including skills training and networking. The experience of IWCA also emphasizes the importance of building a "business case" around women's empowerment in order for that issue to become palatable and legitimate to key industry actors. The case contains multiple references to the need to ensure that women's empowerment is perceived not only as commercially relevant, but also nonthreatening or, as one interviewee described "not dangerous" in the eyes of industry gatekeepers and decision makers. The case thus

provides illustration of how industry norms may function to silence or obscure direct reference to unpaid/care work. These same norms may lead important aspects of the interface between unpaid/care and market work to therefore remain systematically underexplored, despite the fact that unpaid/care work may appear to impact the industry in important ways.

Similarly embedded within and seeking to influence industry, WEConnect also provides powerful insight into how industry norms might act to perpetuate the invisibility of unpaid/care work in market settings. WEConnect faces multiple challenges in their work, not least gaining attention and resources from senior leaders of major multinational firms, and seeking to garner support for their message from prominent policymakers. In this context, WEConnect maintains a firm focus on building support for increased "access to markets" for women-owned businesses, a case buttressed by their use of instrumental arguments for women's empowerment. Because these arguments emphasize the economic potential and knock-on community benefits associated with women's advancement in market spheres, it relies on a view of women as an untapped "economic engine", a potential key to increased GDP growth in a context of post-2008 slow or stagnant economic performance. Instrumental arguments for women's empowerment frame it as "smart economics", placing urgent emphasis on the assertion that, "no country, no company can compete if half of their people are left behind".

Such arguments have irrefutably facilitated support and visibility for WEConnect's efforts from an extraordinary range of global influencers in business and policy, allowing the organization's stakeholders to "rivet attention" on women's issues they perceive to have been historically marginalized. Data from reputationally rich sources including elite consultancies and multilateral organizations setting out the

economic potential of women's advancement in the market sphere has bolstered the arguments advanced by WEConnect and their stakeholders, as well. In a deliberate move to distance themselves from conventional, rights-based arguments for women's advancement, WEConnect instead works to build an impactful "business case" for women's empowerment in the eyes of industry. This framing, which emphasizes women's access to capital, markets, skills, and leadership, is perceived to be fundamental to the organization's success. The WEConnect case reflects anxiety about engaging "non-market" concerns – ostensibly including unpaid/care work – in their organizational programming and communications, for fear of losing support from industry, casting women as victims rather than agents of change, or weakening the force of the business case for women's empowerment that has been so fastidiously formed and disseminated by the organization and its partners.

Given its diagnosis of industry norms, WEConnect perceives its strategy as essential to its advancement. The case represents a powerful example of how industry norms can function to ensure that unpaid/care work remains unseen and unaddressed by market actors. In a manner that harkens to the classical definition of work as that which produces a good that can be exchanged for a money price, instrumental economic arguments for women's empowerment tend to invoke the norm that work is tantamount to activities directly contributing to economic growth. Rather than defining work in terms of significance to livelihoods or what feminist economists might call "provisioning", industry norms appear to prescribe that work be defined by its connection to scalable economic growth. This perspective has proved to be a powerful tool in the advancement of WEConnect's work, but it may obfuscate proactive engagement with broader women's empowerment aims. To be sure, in the context in which WEConnect operates, industry norms appear to strongly contribute to

the continued invisibility of women's unpaid/care work, and to a lack of attention to the interface between this labor and women's market work. This is significant because data from the WEConnect case also suggest that a narrow definition of work as defined by economic growth may controvert women's own experiences with entrepreneurship. This may leave unpaid/care work to remain an unaddressed source of tension with entrepreneurial work for at least some business owners, not only reifying a perception of unpaid/care work as dichotomous to market work within industry but also potentially hampering WEConnect's ability to deliver on its stated aims.

7.2 Conceptual Model and Implications for Theory and Practice

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is not germane to all the activities of WEConnect and IWCA, nor – to be sure – to the analysis of gender and work contained within the entrepreneurship literature. However, efforts to empower women through industry-led initiatives including entrepreneurship often contain an important CSR-related element. CSR can be understood as an as activity which, "recognizes the social imperatives of business success and addresses its social externalities" (Grosser, Moon 2005). Although the "scope and application of CSR are essentially contested" (Moon & Vogel 2008), and a single definition of CSR is neither possible nor necessary (Carroll 1999; Moon & Vogel 2008), CSR is often taken to refer to the economic, legal, ethical, and discretionary/philanthropic expectations that society has of organizations (Carroll 1979; Carroll 1999). It can be understood as an enduring yet dynamic "cluster concept" which, situated in particular social, political, and economic contexts, helps draw attention to the range of impacts business does or could have on society (Frederick 1986; Freeman 2010; Matten & Moon 2004). Gender, of course, represents a fundamental feature of social arrangements, impacting on the full range

of institutions to which CSR scholarship seeks to be attentive (Marshall 2007). With this in mind, this chapter closes by drawing on theoretical work originally developed, in part, for CSR scholarship, noting the relevance of this work for scholars wishing to engage the interface between productive and reproductive work.

By way of background, it is useful to note that the study of CSR is characterized by a rich diversity of conceptual approaches. Crane, Matten, and Spence (2013) offer what they consider to be six possible "core characteristics" of CSR. These include an understanding of CSR as containing a *voluntary* component (i.e. not one required by law), attentive to *manage externalities* associated with business activities, possessing a *multiple stakeholder orientation* (in contrast to a single orientation i.e. towards shareholders), seeking *alignment of social and economic responsibilities*, oriented towards the *practices and values* of organizations and groups, and encompassing the core activities of a business, i.e. going *beyond philanthropy* towards CSR as "built in" rather than "bolted on" everyday business practice. To be sure, CSR calls into question easy distinctions between what is a business issue and what is not, engaging the ethical position of businesses vis-à-vis their market relationships, workplace relationships, as well as relationships with communities and natural environments onto which their operations have an impact (Grosser 2009). As Grosser reminds us, "while CSR is about what companies are, or are not, doing to behave responsibly towards society, [CSR] is not limited to company actions" (Grosser 2009). Rather, CSR is irrevocably situated within variegated forms of societal governance, which of course include government and civil society as well as business institutions (Moon & Vogel 2008).

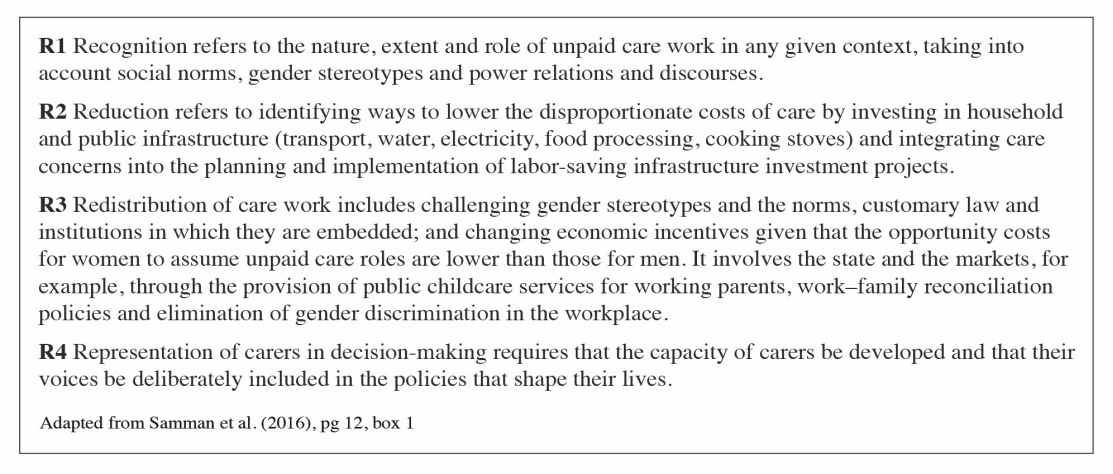
While gender concerns did not form a principal feature of the study – or practice – of earlier work on CSR (Barrientos, Dolan & Tallontire 2003; Coleman

2002; Grosser & Moon 2005; Thompson 2008) more recently scholarship on CSR and gender has been increasing within CSR-related literatures (Cudd 2015; Grosser 2016; Karam & Jamali 2015, Karam & Jamali 2013; Kilgour 2013; Marshall 2007; Pearson 2007; Prieto-Carron 2008; Prugl 2015; Said-Allsopp & Tallontire, 2014). For example, work by Karam and Jamali (2013) posits the potential of CSR to contribute to, "positive developmental change supporting women" both in the Middle East and in "developing countries" more generally (Karam & Jamali 2015). Barrientos et al. (2003) and Prieto-Carron (2008) examine ethical issues surrounding women and supply chains, and Grosser (Grosser 2016, Grosser 2009) explores the possibilities held by CSR to advance the impact of policy instruments around gender mainstreaming and gender equality as well as via women's NGOs.

With this in mind, and drawing on an additional "4R" framework (Figure 7.1) for analysis of unpaid/care work (Samman et al. 2016)[108], I propose a framework (Figure 7.2) that attends to the *recognition* (R1), *reduction* (R2), *redistribution* (R3), and *representation* (R4) of unpaid/care labor within the context of women's entrepreneurship. This is a tool for theory building that draws attention to the potential dichotomous, conflictual, and gendered nature of the relationship between production and reproduction.

[108] Samman et al. (2016) highlight the 4R framework, which has evolved with contributions from various scholars. Further discussion of the origin of the 4R framework can be found in Chapter 1.

Figure 7.1 4R Framework for Analysis of Unpaid/Care Work



R1 Recognition refers to the nature, extent and role of unpaid care work in any given context, taking into account social norms, gender stereotypes and power relations and discourses.

R2 Reduction refers to identifying ways to lower the disproportionate costs of care by investing in household and public infrastructure (transport, water, electricity, food processing, cooking stoves) and integrating care concerns into the planning and implementation of labor-saving infrastructure investment projects.

R3 Redistribution of care work includes challenging gender stereotypes and the norms, customary law and institutions in which they are embedded; and changing economic incentives given that the opportunity costs for women to assume unpaid care roles are lower than those for men. It involves the state and the markets, for example, through the provision of public childcare services for working parents, work–family reconciliation policies and elimination of gender discrimination in the workplace.

R4 Representation of carers in decision-making requires that the capacity of carers be developed and that their voices be deliberately included in the policies that shape their lives.

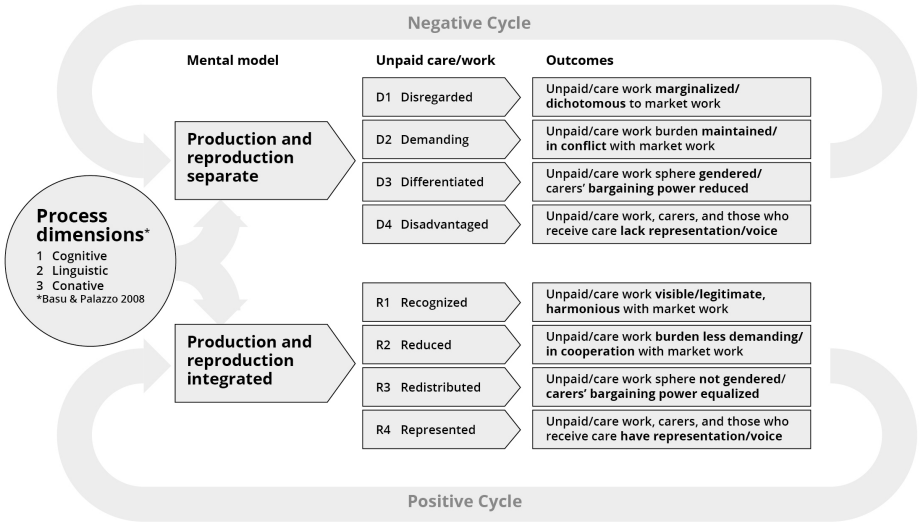
Adapted from Samman et al. (2016), pg 12, box 1

Such an understanding of the relationship between productive and reproductive work constitutes what Basu and Palazzo (2008) call a "mental model" in their work on CSR and sensemaking. Sensemaking is a well-established field of study in management and organizational research and can be understood as a process through which individuals – particularly within organizations – create a means through which to interpret their surroundings and, having done so, construct a response. It is, according to Ring and Rands (1989) "a process by which individuals develop cognitive maps of their environment". Within the management literature, sensemaking is closely associated with the extensive work of Karl E. Weick, who, along with scholars Kathleen Sutcliffe and David Obstfeld, has posited that sensemaking processes allow actors to translate complexity, e.g. regarding the meaning of a term (i.e. "women's empowerment") or a person or organization's role in a state of affairs (i.e. "empowering women"), into a situation that is "comprehended explicitly in words and that serves as a springboard into action" (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005). Sensemaking is thus broadly presented as the "social process of meaning construction and reconstruction through which managers understand and interpret and create sense for themselves and others" (Rouleau 2005). While this

thesis does not represent a study of sensemaking as such (as mentioned in Chapter 3), the theoretical grounding provided by work on sensemaking forms an important aspect of Basu and Palazzo's contribution, on which this thesis builds.

Working from a sensemaking perspective, therefore, the shape of CSR activities is determined for Basu and Palazzo not as a result of, "external demands, but instead from organizationally embedded cognitive and linguistic processes" (Basu & Palazzo 2008). Thus, "mental models" which lie beneath sensemaking, "influence the way the world is perceived [by organizations]" (Basu & Palazzo 2008) and shape organizational responses to stakeholders and phenomena. In short, Basu and Palazzo set forth that, "decisions regarding… activities are taken by managers, and stem from their mental models regarding their sense of who they are in their world" (Basu & Palazzo 2008). In particular, the framework Basu and Palazzo put forth is concerned with three process dimensions: cognitive, linguistic, and conative (behavioral), i.e., "what [CSR] thinks, says, and does" (Basu & Palazzo 2008).

Figure 7.2 Production and Reproduction: Analyzing Process Dimensions



To build my conceptual model, I use the 4R framework to draw attention to outcomes related to Basu and Palazzo's process dimensions, with particular attention to mental models related to the separateness or integration of production and reproduction (Figure 7.2). In this model, outcomes follow a framework I call the "4Ds", which manifest when the "4Rs" are absent or weak. In this case, process dimensions of e.g. conceptualizing women's enterprise result from a mental model in which production and reproduction are perceived to be inescapably separate. This in turn leads unpaid/care work to be *disregarded* (D1) where it could be *recognized* (R1). Overlooking unpaid/care work means the burden of this work remains *demanding* (D2) where it could be *reduced* (R2). A perception of production as separate from reproduction perpetuates processes and structures in which responsibility for unpaid/care work is *differentiated* (D3) between genders, when in fact it could be *redistributed* (R3) between men and women. Finally, when the performance of unpaid/care work is understood not *as work* but a matter of duty, culture, or economically trivial individual "lifestyle choice", unpaid/care work – as well as anyone who depends on or performs it – tends to be *disadvantaged* (D4) instead of *represented* (R4) in public forums including corporate programming, communication, and management research.

The model describes outcomes associated with each of the 4Rs and 4Ds, and identifies the circular interaction between processes and outcomes. For example, when mental models (cognitive processes) characterized by the perceived ontological separateness of production and reproduction influence researchers or managers, unpaid/care work is likely to be unnoticed or *disregarded* (D1) within scholarship as well as within the operational (conative) and communication (linguistic) aspects of organizational programming. The outcome of D1, in this

case, is that unpaid/care work is overlooked while theory and practice related to women's enterprise emphasize – ostensibly dichotomous – market activities such as business training, networking, or finance. At the same time, marginalization of unpaid/care work within linguistic and conative processes reinforces the mental model of distance between production and reproduction within cognitive process dimensions of theory and practice, and thus the cycle perpetuates. It is this iterative, implacable character of the connection between processes and outcomes related to unpaid/care work in particular that the model accentuates. Equally, the model also points to a way forward: where cognitive processes in theory and practice acknowledge unpaid/care work as a relevant aspect of work, it can be *recognized* (R1) as a visible, legitimate, and valuable endeavor with important implications for market endeavors. Communication (linguistic) and conative (programmatic) activities in turn reify the status of unpaid/care work – and those who benefit from and perform it – away from that of a business non sequitur.

Data collected for this thesis suggest that the discursive and conceptual framing of "work" within management scholarship wields important influence on the development and proliferation of norms and institutions associated with both the theory and practice of management. In this sense, the model presented in Figure 7.2 is beneficial in that it draws attention to both cognitive and linguistic processes as core contributors to outcomes around unpaid/care work on the programmatic/action level. Scholarship by feminist economists points out, for example, historical processes in which unpaid/care work became ideologically alienated from the understanding of what "work" entails, citing examples of the Industrial-era emergence of the census category of the "dependent housewife" and the assertion that wages for women should not "tempt" them to disregard their unpaid/care

"duties" in favor of remunerated labor. Correspondingly, data from contemporary entrepreneurship research make evident that the tendency to exclude unpaid/care work from research agendas continues to present itself alongside a propensity to employ "non market" language related to "work-life balance" or "family responsibilities" when discussing unpaid/care work. These linguistic processes, which map onto cognitive schema that appear – from the data collected for this research – to be widely held across management theory and practice, withhold the designation of "work" from application to unpaid/care activities, reifying a perception of such undertakings as separate from and or even undermining to economic work. As analysis conducted for this research makes evident, cognitive and linguistic processes associated with taken-for-granted definitions of work are therefore vital contributors to change (e.g. via the 4Rs), or to the perpetuation of the status quo (e.g. via the 4Ds).

Data from the organizational cases in particular provide abundant examples of how cognitive and linguistic processes might contribute to action/outcomes in the context of the 4Rs/4Ds. For the sake of an economy of words within this thesis, I will examine one example for each of the 4Ds, and then briefly comment on the potential positive outcomes related to the 4Rs associated with each. First, and most basic is the contention that a mental model of separateness between production and reproduction is likely to result in privileged attention to market work, leaving unpaid/care work absent or marginalized from research and practice agendas (D1). For example, data from the IWCA case establish that industry norms cause unpaid/care work to be treated as a topic of little importance to the coffee industry. This is despite the fact that the same set of data also provides evidence that unpaid/care has significant impact on – particularly women's – engagement with

the industry in both agricultural and corporate settings across the globe. Because a mental model of production and reproduction as separate appears to pervade within the industry, unpaid/care work paradoxically remains relegated to a realm of individual concern, considered to be "too personal" or simply immaterial to industry outcomes. Conversely, were a mental model of integration between production and reproduction to permit unpaid/care work to be recognized (R1) as having material impact on the coffee industry, the industry could begin to address ways in which the gendered distribution of unpaid/care work impacts on the quality of coffee production, as well as on social outcomes many associated with the industry appear to hold dear.

When unpaid/care work is disregarded (D1), the model I present in this chapter suggests an associated negative cycle emerges: unpaid/care work remains demanding (D2) – most frequently for women – and may result in sustained and profound gendered experiences of conflict with market work. Data from the IWCA case provide abundant examples associated with D2. Perhaps most resonant across the IWCA data is the finding that unpaid/care work may systematically prevent women from attending key industry gatherings, including those crucially related to training, networking, business development, and career progression. The case provides numerous examples of this phenomenon from coffee production and corporate settings alike, many of which suggest that the perpetuation of D2 may impede women's advancement at multiple levels of the coffee industry. The negative cycle associated with D2, the model proposes, could be overcome by an integrated approach to production and reproduction that seeks to explore how the burden of unpaid/care work on individuals can be reduced (R2). For example, multiple interviewees point to the crucial importance of innovations in terms of care

provision both at industry events and on a sustained basis within production and corporate settings. Additional innovations including flexible work, family leave, and the development of career pathways that take unpaid/care work into account are also signaled within the data as changes that, while not reducing the burden of unpaid/care work itself, indeed may reduce the experience of conflict between unpaid/care and market work in important ways. The outcome of R2 is, therefore, that unpaid/care work can be experienced as integrated and in cooperation with market work, rather than existing in stubborn conflict with it.

Data collected for this thesis also suggest that the understanding of production as separate from reproduction contributes to a state of affairs in which unpaid/care work remains gender differentiated (D3), with women specializing relative to men in such work. This is an important complement to D2. Demand for unpaid/care work is not diminishing, and redistribution (R3) of unpaid/care work between genders emerges across the data as a theme of significant promise. Under D3 in the WEConnect case, for example, women business owners identify the gendered distribution of unpaid/care work as a key contributor to the perpetuation of gendered work spheres. Women business owners interviewed for this research suggest that the gendered differentiation of unpaid/care work and market work contributes to low levels of female leadership in corporate and industry settings and a resultant lack of voice for unpaid/care related concerns in market contexts. Because unpaid/care work appears to endure in the realm of "women's concerns", WEConnect interviewees articulate, it remains a topic around which it is difficult to gather momentum and interest from economic and policy decision makers, and contributes to potential negative stereotypes around women's business performance. WEConnect interviewees signal the potential impact of innovations

such as mandated "work at home" days or the ability to bring ones' children into business settings, both moves intended to provoke a shift in men's engagement with unpaid/care work, changing perceptions and practice as a result.

Finally, data collected for this thesis highlight important ways in which cognitive and linguistic processes in particular may lead unpaid/care work to be disadvantaged (D4) in public settings, with associated negative knock-on effects for carers and those who receive or depend on care. For example, data from the WEConnect case again provides intriguing insight into this dynamic. Because of the organization's strong reliance on an instrumental economic case for women's empowerment to advance their efforts, discussion of unpaid/care work is typically perceived to be a counterproductive distraction from the organization's core programming and communication. As a result of this embrace of a narrowly conceived "business case" for women's empowerment, i.e. one which tends to conflate work with economic growth, unpaid/care related topics are – by default or by design – typically silenced or obscured in WEConnect's efforts. Therefore, while WEConnect data indicate that unpaid/care often acts as a significant mediator of women's engagement with market work, this reality is not reflected in the organization's language or action. Analysis of the D4 cycle is particularly resonant in the WEConnect case because of the organization's significant reach and influence in policy arenas across the globe. Were cognitive and linguistic processes associated with WEConnect to reflect a more integrated approach to production and reproduction, the organization could be well placed to effect representation (R4) of unpaid/care work in potentially powerful ways. An approach characterized by R4 rather than D4 could still embrace an instrumental argument for women's empowerment, but one that was more expansively conceived. WEConnect might,

for example, innovate a message around the economic importance of integrating unpaid/care work and market work, or of increasing men's involvement in unpaid/care as a complement to women's engagement in market work. Compelling economic data – the currency of WEConnect's existing instrumental argument – on both topics is increasingly available. By including reference to unpaid/care work in their messaging and programming, WEConnect could be strongly placed to enact R4, ensuring that unpaid/care and those who rely on it have representation and voice in strategic public forums.

The unifying theme across the four 4D/4R case examples I have just provided is that cognitive processes must permit unpaid/care work to be acknowledged and discussed, forming a legitimized aspect of individual and institutional narratives around work. These cognitive and linguistic processes have a cyclical and mutually reinforcing relationship with conative or action outcomes, which can either reify a perception of unpaid/care work as separate from market concerns or integrate the two.

In short, the model I suggest here allows scholars and practitioners to engage questions about production and reproduction in explicit and novel ways. While it is currently little explored in most mainstream scholarship and practice related to women's enterprise, unpaid/care work is receiving increasing attention as a "major human rights issue" (Sepulveda Carmona 2013), corroborating its place as a topic of relevance for scholars and practitioners alike. For example, research suggests that in many contexts, when a female caregiver's unpaid/care work is experienced as incompatible with her market work, female children may be substituted into unpaid/caregiving roles, often to the detriment of their own wellbeing (Sweetman 2014). An estimated 35.5 million children under five years

old are left alone or in the care of a child under ten years old for an hour or more each week across the world – a number larger than the total number of children under five in all of Europe (Samman et al. 2016). Globally, household chores such as fetching clean water and gathering firewood dramatically impact the lives of many women and girls. The United Nations estimates that 90% of the water and firewood provisioning work in Africa is done by women or girls, and that these tasks can demand up to six hours of time daily. Innovations in transport, water infrastructure, and energy can therefore have a significant impact on girls and women (Ferrant, Pesando & Nowaka 2014; Samman et al. 2016; Sweetman & Deepta 2014). For scholars and practitioners with a stated interest in women's empowerment, this context is significant not least because, globally, women spend between two and ten times more hours on unpaid/care work than do men (United Nations Development Program 2006). In addition, female relative specialization in unpaid/care work is linked to higher gender wage gaps, lower levels of female labor force participation, and gender gaps in terms of job quality (Ferrant et al. 2014).

Prominent institutions ranging from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation to Oxfam to the World Bank have recently drawn attention to the topic of unpaid/care work and women's empowerment (Gates, 2016; Hegewisch & Niethammer 2016; Samman et al. 2016; Slaughter 2016; Sweetman & Deepta 2014; Woetzel, Madgavkar, Ellingrud, Labaye, Devillard, Kutcher, Manyika, Dobbs, & Krishnan 2015). Oxfam has identified unpaid/care work as a little- acknowledged contributor to the "glass wall" holding women back from equality in many contexts (Kidder, 2014), and the United Nations has stated that:

> The unequal distribution of unpaid/care work undermines the dignity of women caregivers; makes them more vulnerable to poverty; and prevents them from enjoying their rights—to work, to education, to health, to social security and to participation on an equal basis with men (Sepulveda

Carmona, 2013).

Recent research from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (Ferrant et al. 2014) as well as the World Economic Forum – which recently estimated that women work an average of 39 days more than men across the globe – corroborates such findings (World Economic Forum 2016). Against this backdrop, theory building on women's empowerment through market means requires conceptual frameworks with which to critically engage the interface between production and reproduction. The framework I have presented meets this need by providing scholars and practitioners with a portable tool with which to constructively consider the phenomenon of unpaid/care work.

In this thesis, I have focused on theory and practice emphasizing women's market work, and women's entrepreneurship in particular. However, management theory and practice engage gender in many ways, including via initiatives in supply chain and sourcing, training, and public communication on gender themes, to name a few.[109] The model I propose enables analysis at multiple levels of the cognitive, conative, and linguistic process dimensions associated with such programs and research, and facilitates exploration of a range of important research questions including:

Cognitive processes: Under what conditions do managers' norms, attitudes, and values (cognitive processes) affect the gender outcomes of the programs they

[109] Examples of such programs abound. An example of a supply chain and sourcing program includes WEConnect. Numerous companies with a global production footprint ranging from Exxon Mobil to IKEA to H&M Group emphasize women's empowerment through training programs. Examples of communication and public relations on gender themes includes Gucci's high-profile *Chime for Change* initiative, Nike's *Girl Effect* campaign, and numerous initiatives in partnership with NGOs focused on influencing gender norms in specific country contexts.

support? Which features of gendered experience might be *recognized*/*disregarded* as a result of managers' or researchers' mental models? In what contexts do managers/researchers attend to/seek out information about unpaid/care work in their projects? In which contexts are mental models that aim to *recognize*, *reduce*, *redistribute*, and/or *represent* unpaid/care work able to become normative? When and how might theory or practice unreflectively contribute to unpaid/care work being *disregarded*, persistently *demanding*, *differentiated* between men and women, and *disadvantaged* in theory and practice?

Linguistic processes: What norms regarding the gender-*differentiated* nature of production and reproduction are expressed via management research or industry-embedded communications? To what extent does this communication *recognize* unpaid/care work? To what extent does it *disregard* or even obscure/delegitimize unpaid/care work? How do the stakeholders with whom scholars and practitioners engage interpret messaging about gender norms around work? Under what circumstances might research outputs or industry-embedded communications support the *redistribution* of unpaid/care work between genders? In what contexts can research outputs or industry-embedded communications advocate for the *representation* of unpaid/care work in public settings?

Conative (behavioral) processes: How might research or program operations change when program design *recognizes* unpaid/care work? How do these changes impact theory and industry stakeholders? Are questions about unpaid/care work and/or metrics to capture this labor included in research and program design? In what contexts can industry-embedded programs support innovation to improve efficiency associated with unpaid/care tasks and thus *reduce* the burden of these

tasks so they are less *demanding*?[110] What actions can industry-embedded programs take to enable the *redistribution* of unpaid/care work between the men and women impacted by their initiatives? Which actions can scholars or practitioners take to parlay their strategic influence into increased *representation* for unpaid/care work in public forums?

Management research and practice impact on unpaid/care work through the cognitive, linguistic, and conative processes of researchers and practitioners. When influenced by a mental model of taken-for-granted distance between production and reproduction, unpaid/care work is likely to be *disregarded* and *disadvantaged*, as well as to remain *demanding* and gender-*differentiated* under these processes. However, a different mental model can lead processes of theory and practice to generate more positive outcomes. First, management theory and practice can help unpaid/care work to be *recognized*. This might be accomplished by research and industry-embedded initiatives that create metrics to capture time use and unpaid/care work, seek a deeper understanding of country circumstances including the availability/lack of social safety nets and resources for care available, or raise awareness of the impact of unpaid/care work on market outcomes for women. Second, processes of research and practice might *reduce* unpaid/care work by, for example, innovating to improve task productivity, the organization of care, or by supporting expansion of access to key care infrastructure. Third, management research and practice can encourage the *redistribution* of unpaid/care work between men and women through corporate policies and research design, as well as by engaging men and unpaid/care work as part of theoretical and practical efforts.

[110] Examples of such activities are proliferating among industry-embedded programs, including via improved water collection technology (e.g. Stella Artois and the Coca-Cola Company) and in health/livelihood information provided to women through mobile phones (e.g. multiple operators through the industry association GSMA).

Finally, research and practice can support the *representation* of unpaid/care work via engagement with work of relevance to scholars, educators, leaders, and policymakers on the topic, for example through advocacy to maintain or expand key care-related services.

The model I present provides a conceptual framework through which to examine the implications of the separation of production and reproduction in theory and practice related to women's enterprise. It also offers scholars and practitioners a useful tool for analysis of the status of unpaid/care work in current theory and practice. These contributions are possible because of the premise behind the model: that the relationship between production and reproduction is not given, but rather that it is shaped by norms (e.g., gendering in the sphere of work, a tendency for unpaid/care work to be cast as an irrelevance or even a taboo in market work contexts, or the framing of unpaid/care work as a matter of individual concern related to – especially women's – personal values or to duty), institutions (e.g. the maintenance of production and reproduction in physically and institutionally separate spaces and research/practice agendas as well as poor or absent data collection/research into unpaid/care work by scholars and practitioners of management), and structural factors (e.g. a tendency for law, policy, or corporate practice to assume "work" entails activities undertaken for pay in a market context, the clustering of women's work in lower-value, lower-visibility areas of industry and value chains, low levels of systemic support for unpaid/care work, as well as gender-differentiated access to training, resources, and platforms related to advancement in market contexts). When research agendas and industry-embedded programs are myopic regarding unpaid/care work, it is not implausible that they may fail to advance women's wellbeing, or even detract from it. When influential

arms of research and practice assume production and reproduction to be separate, some women may stand to benefit economically. But, other, typically more vulnerable women – including school-age girls and women of lower socioeconomic status – may take up unpaid/care work, with deepening inequalities as a result. The model helps illuminate cases in which norms in scholarship or industry reify a perception of unpaid/care work as a dichotomous to market work, facilitating more robust analysis of the gendered nature of work and the potential for gendered conflict between the unpaid/care and market work spheres.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Contributions

Unpaid/care work is neither as innately separate – nor as cleanly separable – from market and entrepreneurial work as management theory and practice have typically tended to suppose. Care for the elderly, the young, and those with ongoing illness or special needs is not a "lifestyle choice" akin to taking up golf, an optional "leisure" activity to which individuals can spontaneously opt in or out, and whose economic importance is limited. Rather, unpaid/care work provides the absolutely essential foundations for any other kind of work, market and entrepreneurial work included.

And yet, analysis conducted for this thesis demonstrates that mainstream approaches to management theory and practice may reflect a longstanding, artificial separation of production and reproduction into separate, gendered spheres. In the absence of critical reflection on the dichotomization of these spheres, management research and initiatives appear wont to reflect the internal bias that "work" is that which is done for pay in a market setting, and the rest is "life" or economically trivial personal "choice". Such biases, if they remain unacknowledged, may perpetuate a schema of separation between production and reproduction, in which these two spheres are taken to be innately *dichotomous* and *in conflict*, while at the same time remaining *gendered*. Thus, while unpaid/care work appears to influence market and entrepreneurial work in non-trivial ways, it is prone to remain close to invisible to the theory and practice of management.

The conceptual framework introduced in this thesis demonstrates that, if attuned to issues made evident by feminist economists' analysis of "work", management theory and practice can, in fact, *recognize*, *reduce*, *redistribute*, and

represent unpaid/care work (the "4Rs", featured in Samman et al., 2016), in the service of women's empowerment. Alternatively, when such insights are overlooked, the same research and initiatives may lead unpaid/care work – and those who undertake and rely upon it – to be *disregarded* as the burden remains *demanding* and *differentiated* between genders, *disadvantaged* in public settings (the "4Ds", my own), leading to theoretical blind spots and potentially to deepening inequalities. Thus, the need for greater sophistication among management scholars and practitioners concerning the definition of "work" is evident.

Insights from this thesis may hold interest to at least three audiences: first, to scholars of management, and of entrepreneurship in particular, with particular relevance to researchers studying the gendered nature of market work; second, to growing scholarship investigating the complex and changeable interface between business and social or development objectives; and third, to the work of a rising body of practitioners in strategic corporate, NGO, and policy roles with an interest in women's empowerment through market mechanisms. The two organizational cases examined in this thesis represent exemplar cases of industry-embedded initiatives in favor of women's empowerment, primarily through market mechanisms including skills training, access to networks, and commercial opportunities. Their experience demonstrates the extent to which an economic or business case around such an issue forms a fundamental aspect of a topic becoming visible and palatable within industry. These cases also highlight potential tensions between corporate aspirations and corporate action in light of a challenge such as gender empowerment. As a narrative becomes mainstream and begins to enjoy wide purchase in a new setting, it may also shift, with certain aspects becoming obscured. In industry contexts, pressures

including cost, individuals' time, and the ongoing need to make a clear "business case" may constrain certain avenues of action.

The conceptual framework presented in this thesis is intended to be highly portable, for use by scholars and practitioners. It is not the aim of this thesis to necessarily offer tailored solutions to those designing particular industry-based women's empowerment programs, nor to critique any single such program in depth. Rather, it seeks to establish that, in the absence of a reflexive process regarding taken-for-granted norms, scholars and practitioners may equivocally assume that established theoretical approaches and programmatic strategies from their fields are necessarily well suited to gender equality ends. In some cases, this may risk reifying existing inequalities through the promotion of paradigms and plans that, while ostensibly focused on women, may in fact be blind to important aspects of gender.

8.2 Limitations

As does any research project, this thesis contains some inherent limitations. The purpose of this section is to identify those with the greatest potential to impact the quality of the findings of the thesis. These include time (both place in time and researcher's own capacity), several possible limitations regarding research interviews, and potential limitations regarding generalizability.

First, the research was primarily conducted across 2012-2014, with some data collection efforts continuing following this point as appropriate. As such, it reflects a snapshot in time, situated in this particular political, social, and economic context. I took maternity leave in 2015, for example, and while I kept up with both the organizations and literature relevant to the case research during this time, changes undoubtedly occurred between data collection and write-up. For example, the

influence of Hillary Clinton's tenure as U.S. Secretary of State featured strongly in my field work as a factor that raised the profile of women's empowerment in general and WEConnect's work in particular. At time of writing (September 2016), Secretary Clinton is a U.S. Presidential candidate, and while the work of WEConnect appears to have thrived in the intervening years, the political context in which it operates will have undergone inevitable shifts. My study is not longitudinal, nor did time or resources permit, for example, systematic longitudinal work with women business owners. A longer-term study of their experience with the interface between unpaid/care and market work, for example, particularly in light of support from WEConnect or IWCA, would be a fascinating research project, but not one which was possible to execute within the constraints of this thesis.

Second, the research interviews present several areas of potential limitations. As has already been mentioned, interviewees whose perspectives could be reflected in this research were limited by research access. While initial challenges regarding accessing senior informants in policy, NGO, and business roles were not insignificant, these were overcome during field work. The resultant interviewee list reflects perhaps the opposite weakness of what I initially feared; that is, it features heavy emphasis on senior organizational and stakeholder informants, while interviews with woman business owners were substantial but relatively less frequent. As it turns out, identifying and accessing dispersed women business owners in a systematic manner was a greater challenge than expected. The WEConnect case features interviews with 24 women business owners in Chile, Peru, and Mexico, for example. This number, while not entirely insignificant, was not intended as – nor could it ever claim to be – representative of the experience of all women entrepreneurs in Latin America, let

alone globally. At the same time, shared features across the interviewee narratives gave me confidence that saturation has indeed been reached on this count.

Finally, and not unrelated to the previous points, the thesis has important limitations in terms of generalizability. These vary across the work. Insights from feminist economics regarding critical engagement with the definition of work are eminently generalizable, holding important insights for scholars across a range of disciplines as well as for practitioners. Findings from the SLR are also relatively generalizable in the sense that they signal important areas for attention for entrepreneurship researchers in the first instance, as well as potential areas of conceptual importance for management and organization scholars more widely. The two organizational cases, while holding important potential interest in particular to practitioners engaged in industry-embedded efforts to support women's empowerment – or other forms of systemic change – face more significant generalizability constraints. Findings from data collected with women business owners based in urban settings in middle-income Latin American countries in the WEConnect case, for example, cannot necessarily be generalized globally. Similarly, in order to transfer findings from the IWCA case to industries other than coffee, some adaptations may need to be made.

8.3 Directions for Further Research

This thesis offers multiple avenues for potential further research. For one, because feminist economics is relatively unknown in the mainstream management literature, the SLR conducted within entrepreneurship scholarship as part of this research could be replicated within other subfields of management. A systematic review of corporate social responsibility (CSR) scholarship or research on business

ethics, for example, could yield conceptually fruitful results for each of these fields. A research agenda seeking to bring insights from feminist economics on the nature of work into dialogue with the family embeddedness, work-home, or work-life literatures also presents intriguing conceptual possibilities. For example, in their review of work-life research, Ozbilgin, Beauregard, Tatli, and Bell (2011) identify a systematic failure within this literature to "attend to the impact of historical and structural power imbalances on work-life issues", a finding which is coherent with insights from feminist economics. Similarly, Beauregard, Ozbilgin, and Bell (2009) point out how analysis of work-family within the context of the United States has tended to assume an overly narrow definition of family, consonant with feminist economics concerns regarding the need to expand understanding of unpaid/care work beyond that for one's own pre-school age biological children, for example. Extended inquiry into this body of literature is likely to represent a fruitful avenue of future research

In addition, empirical research explicitly emphasizing the interface between unpaid/care work and market work may hold avenues of potential research interest for scholars of human resources, work and organizations, as well as gender and diversity within organizations. Also, possibilities for exploration of the interface between production and reproduction in industry or geographical settings not examined in this thesis are numerous, and hold promise for novel research insights. Finally, the conceptual framework developed in this thesis may be applied in a variety of research topics and practice settings, the process of which would be likely to expand and refine the model itself in important ways.

References

Abdourahman, O. 2010. Time poverty: A contributor to women's poverty? ***Journal Statistique Africain***, 11.

Acker, J. 2006. ***Class questions: Feminist answers***. Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield.

Agarwal, B., Humphries, J. & Robeyns, I. 2005. ***Amartya Sen's work and ideas: A gender perspective***. London; New York: Routledge.

Ahl, H. 2006. Why research on women entrepreneurs needs new directions. ***Entrepreneurship: Theory & Practice,*** 30(5): 595-621.

Ahl, H., Berglund, K., Pettersson, K., Tillmar, M. 2016. From feminism to FemInc.ism: On the uneasy relationship between feminism, entrepreneurship and the Nordic welfare state. ***International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal***, 12(2): 369–392.

Ahl, H. & Nelson, T. 2015. How policy positions women entrepreneurs: A comparative analysis of state discourse in Sweden and the United States, ***Journal of Business Venturing***, 30(2): 273-291.

Al-Dajani, H., Carter, S., Shaw, E. & Marlow, S. 2015. Entrepreneurship among the displaced and dispossessed: Exploring the limits of emancipatory entrepreneuring. ***British Journal of Management***, 26(4): 713-730.

Aldrich, H. & Cliff, J. 2003. The pervasive effects of family on entrepreneurship: Toward a family embeddedness perspective. ***Journal of Business Venturing,*** 18(5): 573-596.

Aldrich, H., Ray Reese, P., & Dubini, P. 1989. Women on the verge of a breakthrough: Networking among entrepreneurs in the United States and Italy. ***Entrepreneurship & Regional Development***, 1(4): 339-356.

Alsos, G., Carter, S. & Ljunggren, E. 2014. Kinship and business: How entrepreneurial households facilitate business growth. ***Entrepreneurship & Regional Development,*** 26(1): 97-122.

Amatucci, F., Crawley, D. 2011. Financial self-efficacy among women entrepreneurs. ***International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship***, 3(1): 23–37.

Arutyunova, A. & Clark, C. 2013. ***Watering the leaves, starving the roots: The status of financing for women's rights organizing and gender equality***. Toronto: Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID).

Bardasi, E. & Wodon, Q. 2010. Working long hours and having no choice: Time poverty in Guinea, ***Feminist Economics***, 16:45-78.

Barrientos, S., Dolan, C. & Tallontire, A. 2003. A gendered value chain approach to codes of conduct in African horticulture. ***World Development***, 31(9): 1511–1526.

Basu, K., Palazzo, G. 2008. Corporate social responsibility: A process model of sensemaking. ***Academy of Management Review***, 33(1): 122-136.

Battilana, J. & Dorado, S., 2010. Building sustainable hybrid organizations: The case of commercial microfinance organizations. ***Academy of Management Journal***, 53(6).

Battilana, J., Lee, M., Walker, J. & Dorsey, C. 2012. In search of the hybrid ideal. ***Stanford Social Innovation Review,*** 10(3): 51-55.

Baughn, C.C., Chua, B. & Neupert, K.E. 2006. The normative context for women's participation in entrepreneurship: A multicountry study. ***Entrepreneurship: Theory & Practice***, 30(5): 687–708.

Benbasat, I., Goldstein, D. & Mead, M. 1987. The case research strategy in studies of information systems. ***MIS Quarterly,*** 11(3): 369-386.

Berger, P. & Luckmann, T. 1966. ***The Social Construction of Reality***. New York: Anchor Books.

Beauregard, T.A. 2011. Direct and indirect links between organizational work–home culture and employee well-being. ***British Journal of Management***, 22: 218–237.

Beauregard, T.A., Ozbilgin, M., Bell, M.P. 2009. Revisiting the social construction of family in the context of work. ***Journal of Managerial Psychology***, 24:1, 46-65.

Bird, B. & Brush, C., 2002. A gendered perspective on organizational creation. ***Entrepreneurship: Theory & Practice,*** 26(3): 41-65.

Blowfield, M. 2005. Corporate social responsibility: Reinventing the meaning of development? ***International Affairs,*** 81(3): 515.

Blowfield, M. & Dolan C. 2014. Business as a development agent: Evidence of possibility and improbability. ***Third World Quarterly***, 35(1).

Boden, R. & Nucci, A. (2000) On the survival prospects of men's and women's new business ventures. ***Journal of Business Venturing***. 15:4, 347-362.

Brindley, C. 2005. Barriers to women achieving their entrepreneurial potential: Women and risk. ***International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research***, 11(2):144 - 161.

Brush, C., Carter, N., Gatewood, E., Greene, P. & Hart, M. 2004. ***Clearing the hurdles: Women building high-growth businesses***. Upper Saddle River: FT/Prentice-Hall.

Brush, C., de Bruin, A. & Welter, F., 2009. A gender-aware framework for women's entrepreneurship. ***International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship,*** 1(1): 8-24.

Bruton, G. 2010. Business and the world's poorest billion-the need for an expanded examination by management scholars. ***Academy of Management Perspectives,*** 24(3): 6-10.

Bruton, G.D., Ahlstrom, D. & Obloj, K. 2008. Entrepreneurship in emerging economies: Where are we today and where should the research go in the future. ***Entrepreneurship: Theory & Practice***, 32(1): 1–14.
Bryman, A. & Bell, E. 2003. ***Business Research Methods***, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buvinic, M., Furst-Nichols, R. & Pryor, E. 2013. ***A roadmap for promoting women's economic empowerment.*** Washington, DC: United Nations Foundation and ExxonMobil Foundation.

Calas, M.B., Smircich, L. & Bourne, K.A. 2009. Extending the boundaries: Reframing 'entrepreneurship as social change' through feminist perspectives. ***Academy of Management Review***, 34(3): 552–569.

Caputo, R. & Dolinsky, A., 1998. Women's choice to pursue self-employment: The role of financial and human capital of household members. ***Journal of Small Business Management,*** 36(3):8-17.

Carroll, A. 1979. A three-dimensional conceptual model of corporate performance. ***Academy of Management Review***, 4(4): 297.

Carroll, A. 1999. Corporate social responsibility: Evolution of a definitional construct. ***Business & Society***, 38(3): 268.

Carroll, J. & Swatman, P. 2000. Structured-case: a methodological framework for building theory in information systems research. ***European Journal of Information Systems,*** 9:235-242.

Carson, D., 2001. ***Qualitative marketing research***. London: Sage.

Cetindamar, D., Gupta, V., Karadeniz, E. & Egrican, N., 2012. What the numbers tell: The impact of human, family and financial capital on women and men's entry into entrepreneurship in Turkey. ***Entrepreneurship & Regional Development,*** 24(1): 29-51.

Chester Jordan, W. 1994. ***Women and Credit in Pre-Industrial and Developing Societies.*** Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Coffee Quality Institute. 2015. ***The way forward: Accelerating gender equity in coffee value chains***.

Coleman, S. 2000. Access to capital and terms of credit: A comparison of men- and women-owned small businesses. ***Journal of Small Business Management***, 38(3): 37–52.

Coleman, I. 2010. The global glass ceiling. ***Foreign Affairs***, 89(3): 13–20.

Coleman, G. 2002. Gender, power and post-structuralism in corporate citizenship: A personal perspective on theory and change. ***Journal of Corporate Citizenship***, Spring: 17.

Coleman, S., Robb, A. 2009. A comparison of new firm financing by gender: Evidence from the Kauffman Firm Survey data. ***Small Business Economics***, 33(4): 397–411.

Collins, J. & Low, A. 2010. Asian female immigrant entrepreneurs in small and medium-sized businesses in Australia. ***Entrepreneurship & Regional Development,*** 22(1):97-111.

Collins-Dodd, C., Gordon, I. & Smart, C., 2004. Further evidence on the role of gender in financial performance. ***Journal of Small Business Management,*** 42(4): 395-417.

Cooper Maysami, R. & Goby, V. 1999. Female business owners in Singapore and elsewhere: A review of studies. ***Journal of Small Business Management,*** 37(2): 96-105.

Corbin, J. & Strauss, A. 2008. ***Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory***. London: Sage.

Coyne, I. 1997. Sampling in qualitative research: Purposeful and theoretical sampling; merging or clear boundaries? ***Journal of Advanced Nursing,*** 26(3):623-630.

Crane, A., Matten, D. & Spence, L. (Eds.). 2013. ***Corporate social responsibility: Readings and cases in a global context***, 2 edn. London: Routledge.

Crant, J. 1996. The proactive personality scale as a predictor of entrepreneurial intentions. ***Journal of Small Business Management***, 34 (3):42.

Cudd, A., 2015. Is capitalism good for women?. ***Journal of Business Ethics,*** 127(4): 761.

Darke, P., Shanks, G. & Broadbent, M. 1998. Successfully completing case study research: Combining rigour, relevance and pragmatism. ***Information Systems Journal,*** 8: 273-289.

Datta, P. & Gailey, R., 2012. Empowering women through social entrepreneurship: Case study of a women's cooperative in India. ***Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,*** 36(3): 569-587.

Davis, J. Allen, M. & Hayes, H. 2010. Is blood thicker than water? A study of stewardship perceptions in family business. ***Entrepreneurship: Theory & Practice,*** 34(6): 1093-1116.

De Bruin, A., Brush, C., & Welter, F. 2006. Introduction to the special issue: Towards building cumulative knowledge on women's entrepreneurship. ***Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice***, 30: 585–593.

De Schutter, O. 2012. *Women's rights and the right to food: Report submitted by the Special Rapporteur on the right to food to the United Nations Human Rights Council.* United Nations General Assembly.

Demartino, R. & Barbato, R., 2003. Differences between women and men MBA entrepreneurs: Exploring family flexibility and wealth creation as career motivators. ***Journal of Business Venturing,*** 18(6): 815-832.

Demartino, R., Barbato, R. & Jacques, P. 2006. Exploring the career/achievement and personal life orientation differences between entrepreneurs and nonentrepreneurs: The impact of sex and dependents. ***Journal of Small Business Management,*** 44(3): 350-368.

Demirguc-Kunt, A., Klapper, L., Singer, D., & Van Oudheusden, P. 2014. The global Findex database 2014: Measuring financial inclusion around the world. ***World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 7255***, World Bank Group.

Dey, I. 1999. ***Grounding grounded theory: Guidelines for qualitative inquiry***. Academic Press.

Diaz Garcia, M., Carter, S. 2009. Resource mobilization through business owners' networks: Is gender an issue? ***International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship***, 1(3): 226.

Dopson, S., 2011. ***Introduction to Management Research Methods: Case Study Research***. Lecture edn. Oxford: Said Business School.

Dube, L. & Pare, G. 2003. Rigor in information systems positivist case research: Current practices, trends, and recommendations. ***MIS Quarterly,*** 27(4): 597-635.

Duberley, J., Carrigan, M. 2012. The career identities of 'mumpreneurs': Women's experiences of combining enterprise and motherhood. ***International Small Business Journal***, 31(6): 629–651.

Duflo, E., 2012. Women empowerment and economic development. ***Journal of Economic Literature***, 50(4): 1051–79.

Dyer, G. & Handler, W. 1994. Entrepreneurship and family business: Exploring the connections. ***Entrepreneurship: Theory & Practice,*** 19(1): 71-83.

Dyer, G., Nenque, E. & Hill, E. 2014. Toward a theory of family capital and entrepreneurship: Antecedents and outcomes. ***Journal of Small Business Management,*** 52(2): 266-285.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R. & Lowe, A., 1991. ***Management Research: An Introduction***. London: Sage Publications.

Economist Intelligence Unit. 2012. ***Women's Economic Opportunity Index Report***. London: The Economist Group.

Eddleston, K., Ladge, J., Mitteness, C. & Balachandra, L. 2016. Do you see what I see? Signaling effects of gender and firm characteristics on financing entrepreneurial ventures. ***Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice***, 40: 489–514.

Eddleston, K., Powell, G. 2012. Nurturing entrepreneurs' work- family balance: A gendered perspective. ***Entrepreneurship: Theory & Practice***, 36(3): 513–541.

Edmondson, A. & McManus, S. 2007. Methodological fit in management field research. ***Academy of Management Review***, (32)4: 1155-1179.

Elborgh-Woytek, K. 2013. ***Women, work, and the economy: Macroeconomic gains from gender equity***. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.

Elliot, R., Fischer C. & Rennie D. 1999. Evolving guidelines for publication of qualitative research studies in psychology and related fields. ***British Journal of Clinical Psychology***, 38(3): 215-229.

Elson, D. 2008. ***The three R's of unpaid work: Recognition, reduction and redistribution***. Paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting on Unpaid Work, Economic Development and Human Well-Being, United Nations Development Program, New York, November 2008.

Elson, D. 2010. Gender and the global economic crisis in developing countries: A framework for analysis. ***Gender & Development***, 18(2): 201–212.

England, P. 1993. The separative self: Androcentric bias in neoclassical assumptions. In: M. Ferber, J. Nelson. (Eds.). ***Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics***. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 37.

England, P., Folbre, N. 2003. Contracting for care. In: M. Ferber, J. Nelson (Eds.). ***Feminist Economics Today***. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 61.

Fagenson, E. 1993. Personal value systems of men and women entrepreneurs versus managers. ***Journal of Business Venturing***, 8(5): 409–430.

Fairlie, R.W., Robb, A.M. 2009. Gender differences in business performance: evidence from the characteristics of business owners' survey. ***Small Business Economics***, 33(4): 375–395.

Feagin, J., Orum, A. & Sjoberg, G. (eds.). 1991). ***A case for case study***. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Ferber, M., Nelson, J. 2003. Introduction: Beyond economic man, ten years later. In: M. Ferber, J. Nelson (Eds.). ***Feminists economics today***. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1.

Ferber, M., Nelson, J. 1993. Introduction: The social construction of economics and the social construction of gender. In: M. Ferber, J. Nelson (Eds.). ***Beyond economic man: Feminist theory and economics***. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1.

Ferrant, G., Pesando, L. & Nowacka, K. 2014. ***Unpaid care work: The missing link in the analysis of gender gaps in labour outcomes***. Issues Paper. Paris: OECD Development Center.

Fischer, E., Reuber R., & Dyke, L. 1993. A theoretical overview and extension of research on sex, gender, and entrepreneurship. ***Journal of Business Venturing***, 8:151.

Folbre, N. 1994. ***Who pays for the kids?: Gender and the structures of constraint***. New York: Routledge.

Folbre, N. 2009. ***Greed, lust and gender: A history of economic ideas***. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Foss, L. 2010. Research on entrepreneur networks: The case for a constructionist feminist theory perspective. ***International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship***, 2(1): 83.
Frederick, W. 1986. Towards CSR3: Why ethical analysis is indispensable and unavoidable in corporate affairs. ***California Management Review***, 28(2): 126.

Freeman, R. 2010. ***Strategic management: A stakeholder approach***, 2 edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gates, M. 2016. ***Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation Annual Letter***. Available: https://www.gatesnotes.com/2016-Annual-Letter, Accessed 6 April, 2016.

Gatewood, E., Carter, N., Brush, C., Greene, P. & Hart, M. 2003. ***Women entrepreneurs, their ventures, and the venture capital industry: An annotated bibliography***. Stockholm: Entrepreneurship and Small Business Research Institute.

Gioia, D., Thomas, J., Clark, S. & Chittipeddi, K. 1994. Symbolism and strategic change in academia: the dynamics of sensemaking and influence. ***Organization Science***, 5(3): 363-383.

Gioia, D., Corley, K. & Hamilton, A. 2013. Seeking qualitative rigor in inductive research: Notes on the Gioia methodology. ***Organizational Research Methods***, 16(1):15-31.

Gubrium, J. & Holstein, J. 2008. The constructionist mosaic. In: J. Gubrium & J. Holstein, eds. *Handbook of Constructionist Research.* Guilford, pp. 3-10.

Gupta, V., Goktan, A., & Gunay, G. 2014. Gender differences in evaluation of new business opportunity: A stereotype threat perspective. ***Journal of Business Venturing***, 29: 273–288.

Guest, G., Bunce, A. & Johnson, L. 2006. How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability. ***Field Methods***, 18(1): 59-82.

Gray, D. 2009. Doing research in the real world: Second edition. London: SAGE Publications.

Grosser, K. 2009. Corporate social responsibility and gender equality: Women as stakeholders and the European Union sustainability strategy. ***Business Ethics: A European Review***, 18(3): 290–307.

Grosser, K. 2016. Corporate social responsibility and multi-stakeholder governance: Pluralism, feminist perspectives and women's NGOs. ***Journal of Business Ethics***, 137(1): 65.

Grosser, K. and Moon, J. 2005. Gender mainstreaming and corporate social responsibility: Reporting workplace issues. ***Journal of Business Ethics***, 62(4): 327–340.

Hartmann, H. (1979). The unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism: Towards a more progressive union. ***Capital & Class***, 3(2):1-33.

Haugh, H., Talwar, A. 2016. Linking social entrepreneurship and social change: The mediating role of empowerment. ***Journal of Business Ethics***, 133: 643.

Hegewisch, A., Niethammer, C. Forthcoming. ***The business case for childcare***. World Bank International Finance Corporation, Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

Henry, C., Foss, L. & Ahl, H. 2015. Gender and entrepreneurship research: A review of methodological approaches. ***International Small Business Journal***, 34(2): 217-241.

Henry, C., Foss, L., Fayolle, A., Walker, E. & Duffy, S. 2015. Entrepreneurial leadership and gender: Exploring theory and practice in global contexts. ***Journal of Small Business Management***, 53: 581–586.

Hirway, I. (2015). ***Unpaid Work and the Economy: Linkages and Their Implications: Working Paper No. 838***. Levy Economics Institute of Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, NY.

Hisrich, R., Brush, C. 1984. The woman entrepreneur: Management skills and business problems. ***Journal of Small Business Management***, 22(1): 30-37.

Hochschild, A. & Machung, A. 1989. ***The second shift***. New York: Viking Penguin.

Horrell, S. & Humphries, J. 1995. 'The exploitation of little children': Child labor and the family economy in the industrial revolution. ***Explorations in Economic History,*** 32(4): 485-516.

Hughes, K., Jennings, J., Brush, C., Carter, S. & Welter, F. 2012. Extending women's entrepreneurship research in new directions. ***Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice***, 36: 429–442.

Humbert, A., Brindley, C. 2015. Challenging the concept of risk in relation to women's entrepreneurship. ***Gender in Management: An International Journal***, 30(1):2-25.

Humphrey, J. 2012. ***Research and practical analysis on the impacts of business on development and the role of governments, donors and NGOs***. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies.

Humphries, J. 2011. Frontiers in the economics of gender. ***Feminist Economics,*** 17(1): 166-170.

Humphries, J. 1990. Enclosures, common rights, and women: The proletarianization of families in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. ***The Journal of Economic History,*** 50(01):17-42.

Humphries, J. 1987. '…The most free from objection …': The sexual division of labor and women's work in nineteenth-century England. ***The Journal of Economic History,*** 47(04): 929-949.

Humphries, J. & Sarasua, C. 2012. Off the record: Reconstructing women's labor force participation in the European past. ***Feminist Economics,*** 18(4): 39-67.

Hwang, H & Powell, W. 2009. The rationalization of charity: The influences of professionalism in the nonprofit sector. ***Administrative Science Quarterly,*** 54(2): 268-298.

International Council of Women's Business Leadership. 2012. ***Fueling economic growth through women: Report to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton by the Subcommittee on Access to Markets.*** Washington, DC.

International Finance Corporation. 2014. ***Women, business and the law 2014: Removing restrictions to enhance gender equality***. Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

International Labor Office. 2013. ***Domestic workers across the world: Global and regional statistics and the extent of legal protection***. Geneva.

International Women's Coffee Alliance Kenya. 2012. ***Alliance of women in coffee: Strategic plan July 2012-August 2017***. Nairobi, Kenya: Liaison Consulting Ltd.

Jaggar, A. 1983. ***Feminist politics and human nature***. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Jamali, D. & Keshishian, T. 2009. Uneasy alliances: Lessons learned from partnerships between businesses and NGOs in the context of CSR. ***Journal of Business Ethics,*** 84(2): 277-295.

Jayawarna, D., Jones, O., Marlow, S. 2015. The influence of gender upon social networks and bootstrapping behaviours. ***Scandinavian Journal of Management***. 31(3): 316–329.

Jennings, A.L. 1993. Public or private? Institutional economics and feminism. In: M. Ferber & J. Nelson. (eds.) ***Beyond economic man: Feminist theory and economics***. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jennings, J. & Brush, C. 2013. Research on women entrepreneurs: Challenges to (and from) the broader entrepreneurship literature? ***Academy of Management Annals***, 7(1): 663-715.

Jennings, J., McDougald, M. 2007. Work-family interface experiences and coping strategies: Implications for entrepreneurship research and practice. ***Academy of Management Review,*** 32(3): 747-760.

Kabeer, N. 2005. Gender equality and women's empowerment: A critical analysis of the third millennium development goal 1. ***Gender & Development***, 13(1): 13–24.

Kabeer, N. 2011. Between affiliation and autonomy: Navigating pathways of women's empowerment and gender justice in rural Bangladesh. ***Development and Change***, 42(2): 499–528.
Kabeer, N. 2016. Gender equality, economic growth, and women's agency: The "endless variety" and "monotonous similarity" of patriarchal constraints. ***Feminist Economics***, 22 (1): 295-321.

Karam, C. and Jamali, D. 2013. Gendering CSR in the Arab Middle East: An institutional perspective. ***Business Ethics Quarterly***, 23(1): 31–68.

Karam, C. and Jamali, D. 2015. A cross-cultural and feminist perspective on CSR in developing countries: Uncovering latent power dynamics. ***Journal of Business Ethics***. DOI 10.1007/s10551-015-2737-7.

Kelley, D., Brush, C., Greene, P., Herrington, M., Ali, A., Kew, P. 2015. ***Global Entrepreneurship Monitor special report: Women's entrepreneurship***. Global Entrepreneurship Research Association. London, UK: London Business School.

Khavul, S., Bruton, G. & Wood, E. 2009. Informal family business in Africa. ***Entrepreneurship: Theory & Practice,*** 33(6): 1219-1238.

Kilgour, M. 2013. The Global Compact and gender inequality: A work in progress. ***Business and Society***, 2(1):105.

King, G., Keohane, R. & Verba, S. 1994. ***Designing social inquiry: Scientific inference in qualitative research***. Princeton University Press.

Kirkwood, J. 2009. Is a lack of self-confidence hindering women entrepreneurs? ***International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship***, 1(2): 118–133.

Klein, H. & Myers, M. 1999. A set of principles for conducting and evaluating interpretive field studies in information systems. ***MIS Quarterly,*** 23(1): 67-93.

Klyver, K., Nielsen, S., & Evald, M. 2013. Women's self-employment: An act of institutional (dis)integration? A multilevel, cross-country study. ***Journal of Business Venturing***, 28(4): 474–488.

Koch, K., Lawson, S. & Matsui, K. 2014. ***Giving credit where it is due: How closing the credit gap for women-owned SMEs can drive global growth***. New York: Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research.

Langley, A. 1999. Strategies for theorizing from process data. ***Academy of Management Review***, 24(4): 691-710.

Lee, J., Sohn, S. & Ju, Y. 2011. How effective is government support for Korean women entrepreneurs in small and medium enterprises? ***Journal of Small Business Management***, 49(4): 599–616.

Lerner, M., Brush, C. & Hisrich, R. 1997. Israeli women entrepreneurs: An examination of factors affecting performance. ***Journal of Business Venturing***, 12(4): 315–339.

Lewis, P. 2014. Postfeminism, femininities and organization studies: Exploring a new agenda. ***Organization Studies***, 35(12): 1845-1866.

Luck, L., Jackson, D. & Usher, K. 2006. Case study: A bridge across the paradigms. ***Nursing Inquiry,*** 13: 103-109.

Maitlis, S. 2005. The social processes of organizational sensemaking. ***Academy of Management Journa***l, 48(1): 21-49.

Mancuso, J. 1974. What it takes to be an entrepreneur: A questionnaire approach. ***Journal of Small Business Management***, 12(4): 16–22.

Manolova, T., Carter, N., Manev, I. & Gyoshev, B. 2007. The differential effect of men and women entrepreneurs' human capital and networking on growth expectancies in Bulgaria. ***Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice***, 31(3): 407–426.

Marshall, J. 2007. The gendering of leadership in corporate social responsibility. ***Journal of Organizational Change Management***, 20(2): 165.

Martin, L. 2001. More jobs for the boys? Succession planning in SMEs. ***Women in Management Review,*** 16(5/6): 222-231.

Mason, A., King, E. 2001. ***Engendering development through gender equality in rights, resources, and voice: A World Bank policy research report.*** Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

Matten, D., Moon, J. 2004. Corporate social responsibility education in Europe. ***Journal of Business Ethics***, 54(4): 323.

Maxfield, S., Shapiro, M., Gupta, V., Hass, S. 2010. Gender and risk: Women, risk taking and risk aversion. ***Gender in Management: An International Journal***, 25(7):586.

Maylor, H. & Blackmon, K. 2005. ***Researching business and management***. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

McGowan, P., Redeker, C., Cooper, S. & Greenan, K. 2012. Female entrepreneurship and the management of business and domestic roles: Motivations, expectations and realities. ***Entrepreneurship & Regional Development***, 24(1): 53–72.

McGrath Cohoon, J., Wadhwa, V., & Mitchell, L. 2010. ***The anatomy of an entrepreneur: Are successful women entrepreneurs different from men?***. Kansas City, USA: Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation.

McKinsey & Company. 2010. ***The business of empowering women***. London: McKinsey & Company

Meeks, M., Neck, H. & Meyer, G. 2001. ***Converging conversations in entrepreneurship***, Babson Kauffman Entrepreneurship Research Conference.

Miller, J., Arutyunova, A. & Clark, C. 2013. ***New actors, new money, new conversations: A mapping of recent initiatives for women and girls***. Toronto: Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID).

Millman, C. & Martin, L. 2007. Exploring small copreneurial food companies; female leadership perspectives. ***Women in Management Review,*** 22(3): 232-239.

Moon, J., Vogel, D. 2008. Corporate social responsibility, government, and civil society. In: A. Crane, A. Mcwilliams, D. Matten, J. Moon & D. Siegel. (Eds.). ***The Oxford handbook of corporate social responsibility***. Oxford University Press, 303.

Morris, M., Miyasaki, N., Watters, C. & Coombes, S. 2006. The dilemma of growth: Understanding venture size choices of women entrepreneurs. ***Journal of Small Business Management***, 44(2): 221–244.

Nagel, T. 1989. ***The view from nowhere***. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nelson, J. 1993. The study of choice or the study of provisioning? Gender and the definition of economics. In: M. Ferber and J. Nelson. (Eds.). ***Beyond economic man: Feminist theory and economics***. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 23.

Neergaard, H. & Ulhøi, J., eds. 2007. *Handbook of qualitative research methods in entrepreneurship*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Nicholls, A. 2009. 'We do good things, don't we?': 'Blended value accounting' in social entrepreneurship. ***Accounting Organizations and Society,*** 34(6-7): 755-769.

Nicholls, A. 2010. The legitimacy of social entrepreneurship: Reflexive isomorphism in a pre-paradigmatic field. ***Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,*** 34(4): 611-633.

Nikolic, I., Taliento, L. 2010. ***How helping women helps business***. McKinsey & Company. New York: McKinsey & Company.

Nussbaum, M. 2011. ***Creating capabilities: The human development approach.*** Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Oddsdottir, F., Carter, R. & Lucas, B. 2013. ***Mapping corporate commitments to female economic empowerment***. London: Economic and Private Sector PEAKS Partners.

Olson, P., Zuiker, V., Danes, S., Stafford, K., Heck, R. & Duncan, K. 2003. The impact of the family and the business on family business sustainability. ***Journal of Business Venturing,*** 18(5): 639-666.

Ozbilgin, M., Beauregard, T.A., Tatli, A. & Bell, M.P. 2011. Work–life, diversity and intersectionality: A critical review and research agenda. ***International Journal of Management Reviews***, 13: 177–198.

Pateman, C. 1988. ***The sexual contract***. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Patton, Q. 1990. ***Qualitative evaluation and research methods***. London: Sage.

Patton, Q. 2002. ***Qualitative research & evaluation methods***. London: Sage.

Pearson, R. 2007. Beyond women workers: Gendering CSR. ***Third World Quarterly***, 28(4): 731–749.

Prieto-Carron, M. 2008. Women workers, industrialization, global supply chains and corporate codes of conduct. ***Journal of Business Ethics***, 83(1): 5–17.

Prugl. E. 2015. Neoliberalising Feminism. ***New Political Economy***, 20(4): 614–631.

Ratnatunga, J. & Romano, C. 1997. A 'citation classics' analysis of articles in contemporary small enterprise research. ***Journal of Business Venturing,*** 12(3): 197-212.

Ring, P., Rands, G. 1989. Sensemaking, understanding, and committing: Emergent interpersonal transaction processes in the evolution of 3M's microgravity research program. In: A. van de Ven, H. Angle, and M. Scott Poole, (Eds.). ***Research on the Management of Innovation: The Minnesota Studies***. New York: Harper & Row, 337.

Rogoff, E. & Heck, R. 2003. Evolving research in entrepreneurship and family business: Recognizing family as the oxygen that feeds the fire of entrepreneurship. ***Journal of Business Venturing,*** 18(5): 559-566.

Roland Xavier, S., Kelley, D., Kew, J., Herrington, M. & Vorderwulbecke, A. 2013. ***Global Entrepreneurship Monitor: 2012 Global Report.*** Babson College.

Roper, S., Scott, J. 2009. Perceived financial barriers and the start-up decision: An econometric analysis of gender differences using Global Entrepreneurship Monitor data. ***International Small Business Journal***, 27(2): 149–171.

Rouleau, L. 2005. Micro-practices of strategic sensemaking and sensegiving: How middle managers interpret and sell change every day. ***Journal of Management Studies,*** 42(7): 1413-1441.

Said-Allsopp, M., Tallontire, A. 2014. Pathways to empowerment?: Dynamics of women's participation in global value chains. ***Journal of Cleaner Production***, 107: 114–121.

Saldaña, J. 2013. ***Coding manual for qualitative researcher***s. London: Sage.

Samman, E., Presler-Marshall, E. & Jones, N. 2016. ***Women's work: Mothers, children and the global childcare crisis.*** London: Overseas Development Institute.

Sandberg, J., 2005. How do we justify knowledge produced within interpretive approaches? ***Organizational Research Methods,*** 8(1): 41-68.

Saridakis, G., Marlow, S. & Storey, D.J. 2014. Do different factors explain male and female self-employment rates? ***Journal of Business Venturing***, 29(3): 345–362.

Savedoff, W.D. 2012. ***Global government, mixed coalitions, and the future of international cooperation***. Center for Global Development Essay, Accessed 12 August 2013 at http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/1426316.

Secretariat, United Nations Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment. 2016. ***Leave no one behind: A call to action for gender equality and women's economic empowerment***.

Schindehutte, M., Morris, M. & Brennan, C. 2003. Entrepreneurs and motherhood: Impacts on their children in South Africa and the United States. ***Journal of Small Business Management,*** 41(1): 94.

Schneider, E. 2013. Real wages and the family: Adjusting real wages to changing demography in pre-modern England. ***Explorations in Economic History,*** 50(1): 99-115.

Scott, L., Dolan, C., Johnstone-Louis, M., Sugden, K. & Wu, M. 2012. Enterprise and inequality: A study of Avon in South Africa. ***Entrepreneurship: Theory & Practice***, 36(3): 543–568.

Sen, A. 2004. Capabilities, lists, and public reason: Continuing the conversation. ***Feminist Economics***, 10(3): 77–80.

Sepulveda Carmona, M. 2013. ***Unpaid work, poverty and women's human rights***. United Nations General Assembly. A/68/293.

Shelton, L. 2006. Female entrepreneurs, work–family conflict, and venture performance: New insights into the work–family interface. ***Journal of Small Business Management***, 44(2): 285–297.

Shelton, L., Danes, S. & Eisenman, M. 2008. Role demands, difficulty in managing work-family conflict, and minority entrepreneurs. ***Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship,*** 13(3): 315-342.

Shields, S. 2008. Gender: An intersectionality perspective. ***Sex Roles***, 59(5): 301-311.

Silverstein, M., Sayre, K. 2009. The female economy. ***Harvard Business Review,*** September.

Slaughter, A. 2016. The work that makes work possible. http://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/03/unpaid-caregivers/474894/, Accessed 16 April, 2016.

Smith, C. 2010. ***What is a person?*** Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Stake, R. 1995. ***The art of case research***. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Stanculescu, D., Gibson, L. & Schole, M. 2011. ***Microfinance in East Africa: Schemes for women in the coffee sector***. Geneva: International Trade Center.

Stoner, C., Hartman, R. & Arora, R. 1990. Work-home role conflict in female owners of small business: An exploratory study. ***Journal of Small Business Management,*** 28(1): 30-38.

Sweetman, C. 2014. ***Care: From motherhood and apple pie to human rights***. Oxford: Oxfam Great Britain.

Sweetman, C., Deepta, C. 2014. Introduction to gender, development and care. ***Gender & Development***, 22(3): 409–421.

Tellis, W. 1997. Introduction to the case study. ***The Qualitative Report***, *3*(2), 1-14. Retrieved from http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol3/iss2/4

Thomas, G. 2011. ***How to do your case study: A guide for students and researchers***. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Thompson, L. 2008. Gender equity and corporate social responsibility in a post-feminist era. ***Business Ethics: A European R****eview*, 17(1): 87–106.

Trauth, E. 2001. The choice of qualitative methods in IS research. ***Qualitative research in IS: issues and trends***. Idea Group Publishing.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 2010. ***Achieving gender equality, women's empowerment and strengthening development cooperation***. New York: United Nations.

United Nations Development Program. 2006. ***The Arab human development report 2005: Towards the rise of women in the Arab world***. New York: UNDP Regional Bureau for Arab States (RBAS).

United Nations Economic and Social Council. 2016. ***Statement submitted by Make Mothers Matter***. New York: United Nations. E/CN.6/2016/NGO/72.

Venugopal, V. 2016. Investigating women's intentions for entrepreneurial growth. ***International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship***, 8(1): 2-27.

Vincent, S. 2016. Bourdieu and the gendered social structure of working time: A study of self-employed human resources professionals. ***Human Relations***, 69(5): 1163-1184.

Waring, M., 1988. ***If Women Counted***. New York: Harper & Row.

Webb, J., Kistruck, G., Ireland, R. & Ketchen, D., 2010. The entrepreneurship process in base of the pyramid markets: The case of multinational enterprise/nongovernment organization alliances. ***Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice***, 34(3): 555–581.

Weick, K., Sutcliffe, K., & Obstfeld, D. 2005. Organizing and the process of sensemaking. ***Organization Science,*** 16(4): 409-421.

Welsh, D., Memili, E., Kaciak, E. & Ochi, M. 2014. Japanese Women Entrepreneurs: Implications for Family Firms. ***Journal of Small Business Management,*** 52(2): 286-305.

Welter, F. 2011. Contextualizing entrepreneurship-conceptual challenges and ways forward. ***Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice***, 35(1): 165–184.

Werbel, J. & Danes, S., 2010. Work family conflict in new business ventures: The moderating effects of spousal commitment to the new business venture. ***Journal of Small Business Management,*** 48(3): 421-440.

Williams, D. 2004. Effects of childcare activities on the duration of self-employment in Europe. ***Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice***, 28(5): 467–485.

Wilson, F., Kickul, J. & Marlino, D. 2007. Gender, entrepreneurial self-efficacy, and entrepreneurial career intentions: Implications for entrepreneurship education. ***Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice***, 31(3): 387–406.

Winn, J. 2006. Monika Forejtová, Attorney at Law. ***Entrepreneurship: Theory & Practice,*** 30(5): 709-713.

Woetzel, J., Madgavkar, A., Ellingrud, K., Labaye, E., Devillard, S., Kutcher, E., Manyika, J., Dobbs, R. & Krishnan, M. 2015. ***How advancing women's equality can***

add $12 trillion to global growth. New York: McKinsey Global Institute.

World Bank Databank: Latin America and the Caribbean, http://data.worldbank.org/region/latin-america-and-caribbean. Accessed 30 September 2016.

World Bank Databank: GINI Index, http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI. Accessed 30 September 2016.

World Bank Group. 2006. ***Gender equality as smart economics: A World Bank group gender action plan (fiscal years 2007–10)***. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group.

World Bank Group. 2014. ***Voice and agency: Empowering women and girls for shared prosperity***. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group.

World Economic Forum. 2014. ***The global gender gap report 2014***. Geneva: World Economic Forum.

World Economic Forum. 2016. ***The global gender gap report 2016***. Geneva: World Economic Forum.

Wright, P. 1993. The personal and the personnel adjustments and costs to small businesses entering the international market place. ***Journal of Small Business Management,*** 31(1): 83-93.

Wu, Z., Chua, J. 2012. Second-order gender effects: The case of U.S. small business borrowing cost. ***Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice***, 36(3): 443–463.

Yeganeh, M., 2013. ***What is business and development? An annotated bibliography***. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Yin, R. 1994. ***Case study research: Design and methods***. London: Thousand Oaks.

Young, E. & Welsch, H. 1993. Major elements in entrepreneurial development in central Mexico. ***Journal of Small Business Management,*** 31(4): 80-85.

Zahra, S.A. 2007. Contextualizing theory building in entrepreneurship research. ***Journal of Business Venturing***, 22(3): 443–452.

Zavaleta, D. 2007. The ability to go about without shame: A proposal for internationally comparable indicators of shame and humiliation. ***Oxford Development Studies,*** 35(4): 405-430.

Zelizer, V. 1994. ***Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children***. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zelizer, V. 2010. ***Economic Lives: How Culture Shapes the Economy***. Princeton: Princeton University Press.