ORGANISING CSR FOR GENDER EQUALITY: INSTITUTIONAL WORK IN THE COCOA VALUE CHAIN

LAUREN McCARTHY, MA.

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THESIS ABSTRACT

This research addresses the burgeoning practice of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programmes and policies which aim to promote gender equality in global value chains. In recent years there has been a small but growing number of CSR scholars theorising the realm of business as not just an arena for promoting gender change, but as active agents to do this. Yet we know very little about how 'engendered' CSR is organised, or how it may impact on men and women's lives, especially pertinent given contestation over how businesses from the global North impact on the places in which they operate, often in the global South.

The research first presents a conceptual framework for studying gender change within CSR. Drawing upon a conceptualisation of gender as an institution, made up of everyday gendered practices (Lorber, 1994), and the theory of institutional work (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006), it presents an interdisciplinary means of understanding how institutional (gender) change may happen within CSR, in the context of the cocoa value chain.

An in-depth embedded case study provides rich empirical data. Employing a mix of qualitative research techniques, including in-depth interviews, observations, documentary analysis and visual participatory research techniques, individuals from three partnered organisations are consulted: a UK chocolate company, a Ghanaian cocoa supplier and a UK NGO, as well as forty-eight Ghanaian cocoa farmers. Drawing on data spanning twenty years, the study interrogates how gender is translated into 'engendered' CSR practices, and how understandings and experiences of gender may be altered by such practices.

The research shows how actors across the three organisations engage in institutional work in an attempt to disrupt the institution of gender, an enduring structural and discursive element of social life. Work includes 'valorising' the role of women in the value chain, and 'legitimising' this value through a business case. The use of a business case means those enacting CSR practices approach gender in a one-dimensional manner: understanding gender as 'sex' and 'women's empowerment' as limited to economic growth. The data illustrates that whilst engendered CSR programmes are successful in securing some women positions of power, they do little to challenge pervasive inequality.

Furthermore, actors engage in resistance to institutional work. Resistance work consists of 'blocking' and 'distancing' practices, effectively hindering change. Yet resistance work can also be productive, through the provocation of 'questioning work', which leads into another cycle of efforts towards change. These findings contribute to our knowledge on how organisational actors may disrupt or maintain institutions by describing the *processes of* institutional work,

its unintended consequences and by highlighting the subjective nature of institutional success and failure.

Following from such analysis, it is posited that the institutional work required for such 'big-tent' institutional change, such as gender, necessitates a closer look at the level of individuals' sense of self, power and knowledge. Drawing on Feminist Foucauldian notions of productive power, and using vignettes drawn from the empirical data, it is argued that the subjective experience, and identities of, actors affecting and affected by institutions is central to the process of change. Thus, one contribution of the thesis is that we are reminded that CSR, and the actors performing it, are bound up in much larger systems of power relations that are observable right down to individual thought.

The research makes three further contributions. First, it contributes to the gender and CSR literature, by applying a gendered institutional lens to studies of gender in the value chain. Such a focus avoids structurally deterministic conceptualisations of gender change in preference for the study of processes, therefore opening up the 'black box' of CSR organising (Rasche, de Bakker and Moon, 2013). Second, the research provides an empirically-grounded narrative of institutional change and unintended consequences through CSR practices, a contribution to the institutional theory and CSR literature. Third, the research contributes to institutional work theory by empirically demonstrating how actors may engage in resistance against institutional work, highlighting the unpredictable, ambiguous and iterative nature of institutional change, and positing the need to theorise at the level of the actor's sense of self nested within systems of power relations.

The research also has implications for those wishing to provide more equitable experiences for female and male farmers in the value chain. It outlines the steps taken to affect changes within a value chain, whilst showing how there are limits to how far we can call these changes successful, and how change around gender is messy, and hard to predict. Specifically, the research demonstrates the importance of shared understandings of gender across CSR partnerships. Yet paradoxically shared understandings are difficult to achieve given the tight-connections between identity, gender and power, made all the more complex by the global nature of value chains.

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Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my father Rob McCarthy. He taught me from an early age to think of others, to think critically, and to work hard. Although he passed away just four months into my PhD studies, he was already immensely proud of me. I like to think he would be over the moon to see the finished result.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

The following publication relates to, and arises from research carried out for this PhD:

1. McCarthy, L. 2014. 'Resistance to Institutional Work: Power and Gender in the Fairtrade Cocoa Value Chain', *Academy of Management Proceedings*, January 2014. Doi:10.5465/AMBPP.2014.202

This paper also won 'Best Student Paper' for the Critical Management Studies Division at the 74th Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management, Philadelphia, USA, August 2014.

The empirical research detailed in this paper can be found in Chapters Five and Six of the thesis.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

Abbreviation/Acronym	Term
ACA + number	Peer-reviewed academic articles (relating to case study data)
Adwenkor	Acronym for the Ghanaian cocoa cooperative in the case study
AR + number	Annual Reports (relating to case study data)
BCC	Braithwaite's Chocolate Company, the British chocolate company in the case study
Blog + number	Blog (relating to case study data)
Coop	Cooperative
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
ETI	Ethical Trade Initiative
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization (UN)
FLO	Fairtrade Labelling Organisation
FMCGs	Fast-Moving Consumer Goods
GALS	Gender Action Learning System
GES	Gender Equity Seal
GPN	Global Production Network
GRI	Global Reporting Initiative
GVC	Global Value Chain
ID + number	Internal Documentation (relating to case study data)
ILO	International Labor Organization (UN)
MNC	Multinational Corporation
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NGO + number	NGO reports and policy documents (relating to case study data)
NP + number	Newspaper Report (relating to case study data)
TradeFare	Acronym for the British non-governmental organisation partner in the case study
UN	United Nations
UNGC	United Nations Global Compact
WEPs	Women's Empowerment Principles

CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION

Business and feminism, with their ostensibly competing concerns for profit and people, have for many years seemed poles apart. For some, these spheres remain incompatible (Fraser, 2013). For others, the twinning of business with the political aims of equity and equality make perfect strategic sense (Coleman, 2002). For myself, there is a pragmatic need to explore the dimensions of gender in the value chain, and the role of corporate social responsibility (CSR) within this (Margolis and Walsh, 2003). This is founded upon the knowledge that businesses are beginning to look upon women as key stakeholders, and are increasingly designing CSR programmes with women at their heart (McCarthy, Kirk and Grosser, 2012). 'Engendering CSR' (Karam and Jamali, 2013) means putting gender equality on the CSR agenda and developing programmes, policies and practices that aim to promote fairer business society relations. How business organisations do this, how successful they may be in achieving change, and what lessons we may learn from early experimentations in this area form the background concerns of my thesis.

Despite repeated statements of urgency by international institutions and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) alike, gender equality is far from being achieved in many countries of the world. Indeed, this includes women in so-called developed countries, where global economic recession has pitched progress towards equality backwards (Seguino, 2009). In all industries, women are found to be extremely disadvantaged in terms of opportunities for decent work, remuneration and asset ownership (The World Bank, 2011). Many women face the threat of, and the reality of, violence and harassment at home, at work and in the street (The World Bank, 2011). Women may lack access to resources such as services (education, healthcare, banking, credit), goods

(cash, land, affordable food, tools, etc.) and political representation (in local and national governments, and trade unions). These socio-cultural, economic and political imbalances between men and women mean that women over-represent the number of poor (The World Bank, 2011), and are thus more likely to be impacted upon, both negatively and positively, by businesses and their CSR. For this reason, whilst my thesis focuses on gender (and thus women *and* men), often women's particular experiences take centre stage.

Whilst the gendered struggles of farmers' lives have been documented by International Development scholarship for many years (e.g. Boserup, 1970), business, including CSR, studies have been slow to follow suit. Gendered organisation scholars have tended to focus on women in the global North, whilst CSR scholars have by and large ignored women as stakeholders in all senses of the word (Larson and Freeman, 1997; Marshall, 2007; Grosser, 2011; Coleman, 2002). In practice, businesses and their CSR activities have until very recently neglected the issue of gender (Prieto-Carrón, 2008). Yet the myriad ways that business intersects with society are gendered: in the workplace, in the value chain, in advertising and consumption, and in communities and homes.

In this thesis I concentrate on just one of these dimensions, that of the value chain. In this thesis I define 'the value chain' as 'interorganizational networks clustered around one commodity or product, linking households, enterprises, and states to one another within the world-economy' (Gereffi, Korzeniewicz, and Korzeniewicz, 1994: 2). Importantly, these networks are imbued with power relations, social processes (Henderson, Dicken, Hess, Coe, and Yeung, 2002) and gendered experiences (Barrientos, 2014).

For this thesis, I take the network around the production of a well-known consumer good, the chocolate bar, as my value chain under focus. Specifically, I look at practices in the UK (in terms of selling the chocolate bar) and in Ghana (in the coordination of buying, and the growing of

cocoa) and the ways CSR and gender intersects with these activities.[1] I describe a qualitative, embedded case study of Braithwaite's Chocolate Company (BCC)[2], their Ghanaian supplier Adwenkor, and their NGO partner TradeFare, who together have been engaged in 'engendered CSR' for over twenty years.

The case study acts as a revelatory case (Yin, 2009), since whilst there is a large and established literature detailing the lives of women and men in value chains, there is very little we know about how CSR practices impact on them (Barrientos and Smith, 2007). We know even less about the design, implementation and realities of attempting to 'engender' CSR in the value chain. I am particularly interested in *how* different actors across a network of partners (business, NGO and supplier) attempt to change deep-seated ideas, understandings and practices of gender through CSR. What strategies do they use? Are there well-rehearsed narratives? Who is included in conversations? What does 'empowerment' actually translate to in a value chain context?

Generating data from in-depth interviews, observations, documents, focus group discussions and participatory diagramming research techniques drawing from the Gender Action Learning System (GALS) methodology[3], I explore how actors across these partnered organisations engaged in CSR attempt to promote gender equality in their cocoa value chain. In so doing, I address gaps in our knowledge about how CSR is enacted within the 'black box' of the organisation (Rasche, de Bakker and Moon, 2013), and the everyday meaning-making, decisions and practices of organisations so often absent from value chain analysis (Coe, Dicken and Hess, 2008).

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[1] I do not undertake research into the processing or manufacture of the chocolate bar, i.e., the addition of the milk and sugar, packaging and so forth. Nor do I examine the gender dimensions of the purchase and consumption of the product. I explain why this is further in Chapter Four.

[2] I use pseudonyms for all organisations and actors throughout the thesis for reasons of anonymity and confidentiality. See Chapter Four.

[3] GALS is a development studies participatory methodology combining group discussions, observations and drawing diagrams as individuals, but in groups. I use it to get a sense of 'gender' in the cocoa value chain. See also Chapter Four.

I contribute to discussions of 'transnational business feminism' (Roberts, 2012) by critically exploring the emerging phenomenon of 'engendered' CSR (Karam and Jamali, 2013). This means unpacking what we mean by 'gender', and how it is understood and translated into practice in a real-life, business context. I conceptualise gender as a social construct, and as an institution (Martin, 2004; Lorber, 1994). Gender is not a static category that matches with a person's biological status, but a shifting, contested and important dimension of social and organisational life. 'Changing' gender in this case does not mean changing sex, but rather a shifting of the status-quo when it comes to men and women's roles, opportunities, possibilities and ascribed expectations. Therefore, 'engendering' CSR, with the aim of achieving 'gender change' entails not just rethinking policy and programme design, but a complicated re-calibration of how actors themselves think, feel and act in regards to both gender and equality.

Keeping 'gender' central to my thesis, and drawing upon sociological theories aids our understanding of social change in an organisational context. I marry this with the concept of institutional work, in order to further elucidate how it is that actors in organisations may change, or maintain, gender through CSR. Cognisant with a view of gender as an institution, institutional work theory posits that actors purposively disrupt, maintain or create institutions through everyday micro-practices (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). A growing number of studies detail the forms, the processes, and outcomes of this 'work' (Lawrence, Suddaby and Leca, 2009), and help understand how an emerging field of ostensible social change, CSR, occurs in reality (Slager, Gond and Moon, 2012). I identify different forms of institutional work that actors perform in order to attempt to change the gender institution: valorising (including moralising and contextualising work) and legitimising. I also identify a strong stream of resistance work, broken down into 'blocking', 'distancing' and 'questioning'. These practices appear to hinder changes around

gender equality in the cocoa value chain, although in discussion I show how such institutional work is rarely sequential or predictable.

Applying a gender lens to institutional work, in the cross-cultural context of cocoa trade helps to garner new insights on 'thorny' institutional change, particularly in terms of the unintended consequences, failures and resistance that goes hand in hand with disruptive institutional work. Ultimately this helps us reflect on, and possibly plan for, how actors and organisations develop more equitable working practices.

Having presented a broad introduction to the thesis and topic, in the rest of the chapter I expand on my personal motivations for studying gender and CSR in value chains, and introduce more specific research aims, objectives and questions. I then give a more substantive overview to the thesis, laying out the content and flow of the chapters. Finally, towards the end of the chapter, I summarise the contributions of the thesis.

1.1. PERSONAL MOTIVATIONS

This research is inspired by lives past and present. Introduced to feminism by an enthusiastic A Level sociology teacher, I carried this new-found way of looking at the world with me to university. I read Art History and English Literature for my undergraduate degree, and looking back over my essays, with titles as grand as 'Rethinking Postmodern Art: Feminism After Kristeva', it is now clear that throughout my diverse interests one element has held true: the role of gender in social life.

During my bachelor studies I also worked at an Oxfam bookshop, and won the chance to undertake research in Sierra Leone with Oxfam, interviewing staff and 'beneficiaries' in post-conflict villages with a desperately low-level of infrastructure. One of the many programmes we visited was a public-private partnership between private sector business, local government, community groups and Oxfam. After graduating I

returned to the UK and began to research multi-stakeholder initiatives, and CSR.

I was studying for my Master's degree in CSR, when a meeting with Dr. Kate Grosser (then a PhD student at the ICCSR) brought my interests full-circle. She was investigating the role of CSR in gender equality and organisational change, and helped put me in touch with friends back at Oxfam who were looking for someone to research gender, value chains, and CSR. The process of working on the Oxfam paper (McCarthy, Kirk and Grosser, 2012) revealed that at the time, few organisations thought about the gendered impacts of their business beyond workplace walls. It also brought into stark reality the invisibility of the women workers sewing clothes, assembling electronics and growing crops.

My PhD research is thus borne out of a personal motivation to attend to the on-going and deep-seated inequalities involved in value chains, and business society interactions at large. I am an optimist, and a feminist, and in some senses a 'tempered radical' (Meyerson & Scully, 1995) trying to walk between the worlds of business, and gender and development, and trying to strike a critical, yet progressive stance on the interface of business and society relations (Grosser, 2011). My feminism thus informs my topic, my research aims and objectives, and to some extent my analyses[4], but is tempered by a very practical desire to understand better what it is that organisations (and the people within them) *actually do* to affect more equitable working experiences for men and women in the global South.

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[4] In Chapter Four, I discuss further the needs to reflexively position myself as a researcher within the researched world, and particularly any 'bias' I may exercise in data generation, analysis and discussion. Taking a social constructionist worldview, I don't think I can remove myself from any one of these research dynamics, instead aiming to reflect on my presence and subjectivity throughout the thesis.

1.2. RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

My research aims are therefore driven by a practical wish to understand better the emerging phenomenon of 'engendered CSR'. The aim of this thesis is to detail *how actors enacting CSR may or may not affect gender change within the global cocoa value chain context.*

As mentioned previously however, instead of focusing primarily on the women and men producing cocoa, and the effects of CSR upon them, I am just as interested in the understandings, meaning-making and translation of ideas into practices. As such, the objectives of the thesis are:

- To explore understandings of gender in an organisation (and its value chain partners) engaged in CSR practices with the aim of promoting gender equality ('engendered CSR').
- To explore how these actors affect the design and implementation of 'engendered' CSR practices.
- To explore the types of 'engendered' CSR practices.
- To explore how 'engendered' CSR practices may influence gender for farmers in the value chain.

As such, and in line with my personal motivations for PhD study, I retain an interest in how well such practices impact on those they are meant to help, but couch my levels of enquiry mainly in the organisation, and the actors within this.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

From the gaps in our knowledge around the emergent phenomenon of 'engendered CSR' the following main research questions were developed, followed by three research sub-questions (RSQ) which unpack some key enquires around this:

How do business organisations translate gender into CSR practices, and how may this influence the understanding and experience of gender in the value chain?

- **RSQ1:** How do actors translate gender into CSR practices in the value chain?
- **RSQ2:** How do engendered CSR practices influence understandings of gender?
- **RSQ3:** How do farmers in the value chain experience gender as a result of these practices?

The research question focuses on 'understandings', 'translations', 'influence' and 'experience' of actors. This is because I conceptualise organisations as built up of individual people, with their values, interests, and practices representing what an organisation is and does (Deetz, Tracy, & Simpson, 1999). To this end, my research design employs a qualitative design that best gets close to actors' understandings, practices and experiences. I am interested in capturing both the tangible translations (i.e. changes in CSR programmes) but also the intangible, such as changes in meaning and influence (i.e. changes in how gender is talked about in relation to CSR). Furthermore, I recognise that experience, understandings, and practices are fluid, processural and iterative. I capture a 'story' at BCC, Adwenkor and TradeFare, but point out the dynamic nature of what unfolds and will continue to unfold in the case context.

In answering my research questions I first draw upon literature reviews of CSR, value chains, and gender in the Ghanaian context. I then develop a conceptual framework for understanding gender and change, drawing on institutional work theory, which fits with the stress on the dynamic nature of change and human practices. I employ a qualitative, interpretive methodology sympathetic to my research questions and cognisant with my topic. Finally I present research findings and discussion

pertaining to each research sub-question. In the section below I present a brief overview of the whole thesis.

1.4. THESIS OVERVIEW

Business responsibilities have long-included reference to employment rights and working conditions. The 'industrial paternalism' of Victorian British industries focused on healthy workers, local communities and economic growth (Moon, 2014: 9). Interestingly enough, some of the first to explore the conditions of their product's manufacture were confectionary firms, such as Cadbury's, Rowntree and Fry's (Higgs, 2012). In **Chapter Two** I introduce the concepts of CSR, and value chain networks. I demonstrate how CSR is conceptualised as a set of practices enacted by individuals in business organisations who wish to limit harm, and ostensibly contribute to the good of society (Gond and Moon, 2011). Thus, it is not just activities carried out by the 'CSR department', but a range of practices emanating across divisions and responsibilities, such as advertising, sourcing, and finance. In contrast to the philanthropic, paternalism of Cadbury et al. in the nineteenth century, today's CSR increasingly operates in networks: whereby businesses work with a plethora of social actors including governments, NGOs, consumer groups, the media and so forth (Rasche et al., 2013). Accordingly, the case study at the centre of this thesis also includes a central partnership between a business, an NGO and a long-term supplier.

Chapter Two also unpacks the misleading nature of the 'value chain'. Drawing upon theories of Global Value Chains (GVCs) (Gereffi, 1994) and Global Production Networks (GPNs) (Henderson et al. 2002), I explain how value chains are best conceptualised as (again) networks of many actors, and as sites of power relations. I draw on the work of Barrientos (2014) and others to begin to unlock the gendered dimensions

of these 'chains', exploring the issues affecting women and men in value chains, in the particular focus of my thesis: Ghanaian cocoa chains.

Whilst the International Development literature has been replete with documentation of gender inequalities in the global South, management studies have remained 'gender-blind' (Calás and Smircich, 2006). Organisational studies have depicted what Joan Acker (1990) calls 'ideal' workers: people without gender, background, and ethnicity; indeed, people abstracted from their own bodies completely. Removing signifiers of identity achieves two things. It enables management theory to speak to a homogenous mass of 'workers', and limits our understanding of why, how and in what ways business organisations inflict harm on individuals, and how we might overcome this. Bringing identities, such as gender, back into theorisations on the role of business in society is thus an important task.

Gender is more than an identity, however. It is a key organising category of social life, in almost all societies, throughout time (Thelen, 1999; Mead, 1928). In seeking to understand how gender has remained so entrenched in our lives, a theory of practice has helped to position gender as a process; as part and parcel of its own continuation and evolution. 'Doing gender' (West and Zimmerman, 1987) is how we perform, reify and pass on what notions of 'femininity' and 'masculinity' are (Butler, 1990).

In Chapter Three I unpack an understanding of gender as process, practice and ultimately, an institution in its own right, signifying the theoretical weight of the concept. The concept of Gender-as-an Institution (Lorber, 1994; Martin, 2004) forms the basis of my conceptual framework. In this chapter I explain how current approaches to the study of gender and CSR fall into three distinct camps: rights-based, strategic and critical feminist perspectives. Analysing the literature along the lines of their conceptualisation of gender, power and equality, I find that these approaches flip-flop between a focus on the individual woman as saviour of economies, or of women as victims in over-arching patriarchal society. I

posit that an institutional approach to understanding gender and CSR in a value chain context is a valuable addition to the field. Applying a gender lens to institutional work theory allows for an understanding of gender (as an institution) as practice, and thus of actors' agency within this. Furthermore, the resultant framework allows for a more nuanced approach to relational power, sympathetic to the complexities of gender, and change. Finally, it also allows for the uncertainty, unforeseen consequences and 'messiness' of institutional change to be acknowledged.

Chapter Four sets out my research design, ensuring a fit between my conceptual framework, research philosophies and techniques. I introduce the details of my embedded case study design, describing BCC, Adwenkor and TradeFare, and key actors. The importance of the partnership between these organisations, and the uniqueness of their approach to 'engendered' CSR, is a particular focus here. I outline the research techniques I used with such actors in Ghana and the UK, and why they were suitable for my enquiries. I describe how I analysed the ensuing mountain of data, employing grounded theory techniques to let the data speak for itself, whilst drawing boundaries around the study.

Empirical results are presented in two chapters, roughly split between 'institutional work that disrupts' (Chapter Five) and 'resistance to institutional work' (Chapter Six). The chapters also tell the story of 'engendering' CSR in a traditional, chronological narrative, whilst stressing the reality of the iterative, recursive nature of institutional work and human practices. **Chapter Five** therefore begins by outlining the seeds of gender-awareness, and conversations, within the organisation. It details how actors across the three organisations engaged in institutional work in an attempt to disrupt the institution of gender, an enduring structural and discursive element of social life. This work included *valorising* the role of women in the value chain, and *legitimising* this value through the development of a business case. Gender is translated into CSR practices through this business case, leading to a one-dimensional understanding of

gender (largely as sex), and of 'women's empowerment' (through economic growth). Fieldwork illustrates that whilst gendered CSR programmes are successful in securing some women positions of power, they do little to challenge pervasive inequality and cultural norms.

Chapter Six details how actors also engage in forms of resistance against institutional work, such as *distancing* and *blocking*. I show how resistance obstructed and complicated the translation of gender into CSR practices, effectively blocking change. Yet resistance work can also be disruptive, through the provocation of questioning, leading to the potential for further institutional change. These findings contribute to our knowledge on how organisational actors may disrupt or maintain institutions, by describing the *processes of* institutional work, and highlighting the subjective nature of institutional success and failure.

Following from such analysis, in **Chapter Seven** I argue that the institutional 'work' required for 'big-tent' institutional change, such as gender, necessitates a closer look at the level of actors' sense of self, power and knowledge. Drawing on Feminist Foucauldian notions of relational power, and using vignettes drawn from the empirical data, I offer the view that the subjective experience, and identities of, actors affecting and affected by institutions such as gender is central to the process of change. Thus, one contribution of the thesis is that we are reminded that CSR, and the actors performing it, are bound up in much larger systems of power relations that are observable right down to individual thought.

I conclude the thesis, in **Chapter Eight**, by stepping back from theory to muse on the practical implication of my thesis and contributions, briefly summarized in the section below. I also acknowledge the limitations in the present study and offer suggestions for future research, aiming to spur on further research in a demonstrably important area of intellectual and ethical enquiry.

1.5. RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

My thesis makes a number of contributions along theoretical, conceptual and methodological lines. I explore these contributions in more depth within the main body of the thesis, but here I summarise the ways in which my research makes a contribution to knowledge.

First, my conceptual framework contributes to the gender and CSR literature, by applying a gendered institutional lens to studies of gender in the value chain. Using the concepts of institutional work, and gender-as-an-institution, provides a well-founded conceptual framework for studying gender, institutions and change. It is open to the uncertainty and nuanced power relations within institutional creation, maintenance and change.

Second, while studies into gender and organisations have existed for more than forty years (Townsley, 2003), there remains little insight further 'down' the value chain (Acker, 2006; Holvino, 2010), something my research aims to address. Expanding the horizons of what corporate responsibility might look like with regard to gender, out of the normal discussions of boardrooms and flexible working, is a key future issue for CSR (Grosser, McCarthy, and Kilgour, forthcoming). This thesis is a contribution to that conversation. Furthermore, the thesis contributes to the call to include more 'Southern voices' in how we understand organisational and management practice (Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman, and Nkomo, 2012). Specifically, it attempts to subvert stereotypical assumptions around 'African' management and leadership (especially women's experiences) (Nkomo, 2011) to better capture the realities of a globalised value chain.

Third, in attempting to bridge organisational studies with the field of gender and development, my methodological approach has had to be fine-tuned. Whilst GALS is not a new methodology, my use and application

of it to the field of CSR scholarship is. In particular, the use of drawing to unpack dimensions of the gender institution, in the mostly non-literate context of cocoa farming, provides an exciting new technique which arguably promotes increased participation, credibility, sensitivity and challenges power relations in the research environment. This is a particular contribution towards CSR research into more marginal, or 'fringe' stakeholders.

Fourth, the research provides an empirically-grounded narrative on the processes and practices *behind* CSR, making a stronger contribution to both our knowledge of CSR and gender in value chains, and to the theory of institutional work in relation to CSR. I identify two forms of institutional work that are necessary to begin re-orientating CSR towards gender equality goals: *valorising* and *legitimising*; and explore at the micro-level how institutional change may happen through this work. Generating data pertaining to the day-to-day 'organising [of] CSR' (Rasche et al., 2013) contributes to a growing scholarship seeking to explore the 'how's' and 'why's' of CSR implementation. In other words, whilst whether the gender programme at Adwenkor 'worked' or not is of interest, the main enquiry is in how the programme, as an outcome itself of institutional work, came to exist and exist in its current form.

Fifth, the empirical work also contributes to our knowledge on the intended and unintended consequences of institutional work. I show how CSR practices and goals which are intended to promote gender equality may actually provoke unexpected behaviour; unintentionally maintaining the status-quo. I further elaborate on this in Chapter Six, where unintended consequences are most visible in the form of Resistance Work. This is also a contribution to the theory of institutional work, as I identify three forms of work which resist institutional work to disrupt gender: *distancing, blocking* and *questioning*. I explain how each resistance work counteracts the arguments and goals laid down in the organisation's past, and how the enactment of resistance at the micro, and micro-micro levels

influences actors' understanding of gender. The unpredictability and cyclical nature of institutional work is captured here, highlighting how work that is purposive in its objectives may play out in diverse and unexpected ways. These insights have utility not just for theorists of institutional work, and CSR, but for those who wish to promote gender equality within any number of cross-cultural contexts.

This leads to the sixth contribution, again to institutional work theory, where I theorise how actors' sense of self, their thought and identity, are also important considerations for how they may create, disrupt or maintain institutions. Drawing on feminist Foucauldian notions of productive power relations helps explain how institutions are sites of constitutive power relations, closely connected to our sense of self. This suggests the need to theorise at the level of individual subjectivity nested within systems of power relations.

Finally, a gender lens on institutional work and CSR can bring out power relations and disempowered voices further (Mackay, Kenny and Chappell, 2010). Importantly, using institutional work theory to explore the pressing need for gender equalities ensures that the theory gets back to addressing important social issues (Lawrence, Leca and Zilber, 2013). The research has implications for those wishing to provide more equitable experiences for men and women farmers in the value chain. It outlines the steps taken to affect changes within a value chain, whilst showing how there are limits to how far we can call these changes successful, and how strategising change around gender is much messier than both industry, and academic theories, allow. Specifically, the research demonstrates the importance of shared understandings of gender but shows, paradoxically, how shared understandings are difficult to achieve given the tight-connections between identity, gender and power, made all the more complex by the global nature of value chains.

CHAPTER TWO:
CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND GENDERED VALUE CHAINS

Business organisations are increasingly involved in community development, policy shaping and social and environmental protection under the umbrella of CSR. They are ostensibly trying to limit the damages that business can (and does) inflict on people and planet in the pursuit of profit. While these damages are numerous and diverse, gender inequality has been pervasive across all industries and geographic contexts, but has, until very recently, received scant attention in business literature or practice (Coleman, 2002; Grosser and Moon, 2005a; Hearn and Parkin, 1983). Value chains are much discussed in CSR, but their gendered aspects have remained largely ignored in academia and in practice (Barrientos, Kabeer, and Hossain, 2004). It is only in the last few years that business organisations, NGOs and international bodies such as the World Bank have begun to include gender equality and/or equity as an agenda for CSR.

Since my focus is on gender, CSR and value chain contexts, this chapter introduces the concepts and theories around value chains and CSR in relation to gender. I begin by unpacking the concept of CSR and defining its use within the thesis (Section 2.1.). I then move onto definitions of the 'value chain', exploring different ways in which value chains have been theorised- as 'Global Value Chains' and 'Global Production Networks' (Section 2.2.). In so doing I underline the importance of networks of actors and power relations within the study of global production. I then briefly introduce the particular context of the Ghanaian cocoa chain, before turning to the second main body of the chapter, where I review the gendered nature of global value chains (Section 2.3.). Again, while reviewing key gendered issues, I draw upon the context of Ghanaian cocoa

production where possible, to begin to draw a picture relevant to my particular case study focus.

2.1. CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

CSR is a concept that struggles with boundaries. Debates about the business-society relationship have always had a place in social sciences, but the last fifty years has seen a boom in the study of CSR specifically; and operationalisation in management practice (Carroll, 1999; Margolis and Walsh, 2003). CSR has borrowed theories and concepts from a range of disciplines, including politics, economics and business ethics making it 'dynamic, overlapping and contextual' (Gond and Moon, 2011: 3). This means that whilst CSR is a rich area of research, it has struggled with a consensual definition. In fact, CSR is best known as a 'contestable' (Moon, Crane, and Matten, 2005), 'chameleon' concept (Gond and Moon, 2011) with considerable debate about the 'grey areas' where business behaviour ends and socially responsible actions begin (Matten, Crane, and Chapple, 2003).

CSR in this thesis is defined as a set of *practices* connected to the consideration that businesses have a responsibility *to* society (it can be held to account) and *for* society (business should 'do no harm' and contribute to a healthy society) (Gond and Moon, 2011). Such a conceptualisation acknowledges the fluidity and social-construction of the phenomenon (Fourcade and Healy, 2007; Shamir, 2004). In Chapter Three I explain theories of practice in more detail, but in brief, practices refer to the activities, decision-making, communications, interaction and so on carried out by actors within business organisations in their everyday lives (de Certeau, 1984). Practices are 'embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organised around shared practical understanding' (Schatzki, Knorr Cetina, and von Savigny, 2001), in this instance, on the relationship between business, environment and societal

institutions. At their simplest, these practices entail human interaction through talk (meetings, conversations, phone calls, jokes etc.), action (sending letters, signing contracts, attending events etc.) and text (emails, documents, reports etc.) inside, and sometimes outside, the business organisation (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). CSR is understood here to be more than a collection of words on a page, as per a corporate ethics statement, or indeed an academic theory. CSR is arguably constituted by those that embody and enact its essence in their day-to-day life, through 'micropractices' of interaction, communication, talk and action (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006), all of which contribute to CSR's institutionalisation (Bondy, Moon, and Matten, 2012; Slager et al., 2012).

There is a strong argument for expanding a definition of CSR to include not only the reported, discretionary aspects of CSR, but the non-voluntary aspects of CSR, such as providing quality employment, which are embedded into national or cultural institutions and legal frameworks (Kang and Moon, 2011; Gond, Kang, and Moon, 2011). This is pertinent given that the CSR practices within my case study encompass the non-voluntary (i.e. certain internal company policies regarding non-discrimination; compliance with local laws) and voluntary (social programmes on gender equality; quotas for female management). CSR thus involves 'different functions… in different contexts and at different times' (Kang and Moon, 2011: 90), including being renamed, reframed and possibly rejected by individuals working in the area of gender and CSR.

CSR scholarship remains rooted in debates around the normative and ethical purpose of business in society, involving theories of sustainability, normative stakeholder engagement, political CSR and human rights (Freeman, 1984; Matten and Crane, 2005; Moon et al., 2005; Garriga and Melé, 2004). There is also a rise in the 'Business Case' for CSR, meaning that CSR is often justified instrumentally, with a look to long-term financial stability (Bondy et al., 2012). The intersection of gender and CSR has also been studied from all of these approaches: instrumental

(Maxfield, 2007; Ruiz-Thierry, 2007); political (particularly feminist theories)(Grosser, 2011; Pearson, 2007) and ethical (Barrientos, 1997; Marshall, 2007; Prieto, 2003). The application of gender to theories of CSR, and their particular foci, is discussed in depth in Chapter Three.

The growing Critical Approach to CSR is also pertinent to my thesis, authors of which critique CSR on grounds of imperialism (Adanhounme, 2011; Khan and Lund-Thomsen, 2011), sexism (Prieto, 2003), and inappropriateness in a multiplicity of global South contexts (Jamali and Sidani, 2011; Prieto-Carrón, Lund-Thomsen, Chan, Muro, and Bhushan, 2006). There are also those that critique CSR on its real-world impact (or lack thereof), for whom CSR is overly-optimistic at best, or greenwash at worst (Banerjee, 2008; Blowfield and Frynas, 2005; Coupland, 2005; Newell, 2002). Such literature is relevant here as it encompasses questions of power, voice and impact in the context of the global South. Prieto-Carrón et al. (2006) call for approaches that question the 'win-win rhetoric' popular in CSR (Bondy et al., 2012) and instead look at the 'actual impacts of CSR initiatives, the roles of power, class and gender in mediating such interventions' in a 'contextualised understanding of what CSR can and does mean for poor and marginalized groups in the global South' (Prieto-Carrón et al., 2006: 986). They also call for empirical research that goes beyond tick-box exercises to collate real-world statements from such groups. My research answers such a call with its attempt to understand the processes, practices and intended and unintended consequences of 'engendered' CSR in the value chain in the global South context. I also adopt participatory research techniques that champion giving more voice to stakeholder-producers and subvert assumptions about 'African' leadership (Alcadipani et al., 2012; Nkomo, 2011) by focusing on multiple sites of management, both in the UK and Ghana (see Chapter Four).

In summary, my research questions and interpretivist research design support an understanding of CSR as fluid, socially-constructed and

ultimately as a collection of contested practices. I am seeking actors' own understandings and narratives of engendering CSR in the cocoa value chain. To impose a strict limit of what CSR is or should be would undermine the research questions. Instead, a broad definition of CSR enables me to fully explore the understanding and narratives behind practice, specifically when business organisations attempt to apply a gender-sensitive approach to their value chain.

2.1.1. CSR IN GLOBAL VALUE CHAINS

CSR is especially salient when it comes to food value chain governance, given the large number of products sourced from overseas. In the last twenty years many supermarkets and food brands have moved to vertically integrated (hierarchal) value chains; developing closer working relationships with a smaller number of preferred suppliers, meaning that consumers are guaranteed access to quality foodstuffs all year round (Gereffi, Humphrey, and Sturgeon, 2005). This means it has become easier to trace the origins of food from farm to plate (Barrientos and Dolan, 2006) and thus food value chains are particularly sensitive to risks in brand and reputation (Croft, 2006). Concurrently CSR in the food industry, particularly for big name brands, has grown exponentially as a result of these developments (Croft, 2006) (Table 1).

Globalisation forms the contextual backbone of much writing on CSR, value chains and work in the global South (Gill, 2006). Globalisation is described as 'the process of intensification of cross-area and cross-border social relations between actors from very distant locations, and of growing transnational interdependence of economic and social activities' (Scherer and Palazzo, 2008: 415). It can be economic, characterised by an increase in trade and knowledge, with the accompanying increase in use of land, resources, goods and services (Waters, 2001). It also has political implications, including questions of governance, both local and global. Governance is about *those* that steer and *how* they steer communities towards certain goals (Moon, 2002). It is important to this study as I

examine actors involved in everyday practices (the who), and how they enact these practices (the how).

Table 1: Common CSR Practices in Food Value Chains
Statements of ethics (e.g. a commitment to ethical practice in an annual report)
Codes of conduct (e.g. a list of expected behaviours of employees and/or suppliers)
Membership of multi-stakeholder initiatives (e.g. ETI; see Appendix 1)
Auditing (e.g. independent factory audits by consultancies)
Monitoring and reporting on workforce and environment (in connection with auditing; researching issues and reporting internally and externally on these e.g. through the GRI guidelines)
Policies (e.g. on fair dismissal; equal opportunity hiring)
Social programmes (e.g. Literacy and numeracy training; sexual health awareness; mentoring; skills training for specific tasks; sensitisation training for management)
Improvement in workplace facilities (e.g. toilets; crèches; canteens)
Philanthropic donations (e.g. to local schools; for local charities; towards workers' education)

Adapted from Barrientos and Dolan, 2006; Chan, 2010; Jenkins et al., 2002; ETI, 2014a; SEDEX, 2014a; United Nations Global Compact, 2014a.

While the 'newness' of globalisation and its relationship with business is contested (Whelan, 2012), globalisation sees businesses working in countries covered by little or no national or international regulation (Scherer and Palazzo, 2008). In this context, 'new governance' sees businesses becoming key actors (Moon, 2002), with CSR emerging in part as a response to 'grey areas' of business activity not covered by law (Scherer and Palazzo, 2008; Moon, 2002; Moon and Vogel, 2008)

especially when operating in overseas value chains (Millington, 2008). Thus, many of the CSR practices listed in Table 1 signify a filling of a 'governance gap' where host country laws do not go far enough to protect social and/or environmental rights (Detomasi, 2008).

Paradoxically, globalisation is said to have increased consumer demand for cheap and readily-available products, all year round, such as high-street fashion and seasonal foodstuffs (Dolan and Humphrey, 2000). This has also meant a proliferation of 'captive' value chains (Gereffi et al., 2005) (see Section 2.2.1), where brands can jump from supplier to supplier, or country to country, to seek the lowest costs (Barrientos et al., 2004; Scherer and Palazzo, 2008). Both hierarchal and captive value chain governance give little power to the supplier (Gereffi et al., 2005), meaning a conflict of interest can arise between worker wellbeing and buyer/consumer demand, sometimes resulting in corporate *ir*responsibility (Millington, 2008).

In recent years NGOs have attempted to expose the human cost of fast-moving consumer goods value chains such as fruit, vegetables and flowers (Raworth, 2004; WWW, 2003) by informing consumers through campaigns and advocating for policy changes with both business and government. Campaigns such as these can be said to be attempts at policing the governance gap between business activities and implementation of labour laws which often fail workers, many of whom are disproportionately women (see Section 2.3). Civil society and business interaction is not always confrontational, however (Crane, 2000). CSR continues to shift from a 'corporate-centric' to a more 'corporate-oriented' approach (Rasche et al., 2013), with business now taking on a shared actor role within a wider network of organisations and entities (Moon, 2014; Ruggie, 2004). Such networks work on the basis of collaboration, as opposed to confrontation (Crane, 2000), and have proliferated in areas of value chain governance (Lund-Thomsen & Lindgreen, 2013).

Global standards to which businesses can sign up to and/or be certified against are common forms of CSR within value chains. Over ten standards and codes concerning gender are documented in Appendix 1, a number that continues to grow year on year. The number is extremely small compared to the proliferation of other CSR 'issue' standards, however, and the numbers of companies involved are also low when compared to 'mainstream' CSR standards (Bexell, 2012; Kilgour, 2012). For example, the UN Global Compact has attracted over 8000 business signatories as of June 2014 (UNGC, 2014). In comparison The Women's Empowerment Principles, the gender initiative connected to the Global Compact, has only 808 business signatories as of September 2014 (UN Women and UNGC, 2013).

'Corporate-oriented' CSR (Moon, 2014) is also evident in the connecting of different social actors (e.g. government, NGOs, international organisations, businesses, consumer groups) to achieve CSR goals, often in the form of partnerships (Seitanidi, 2010). Partnerships can involve sharing of funding, expertise, staff or resources. The largest multi-stakeholder initiatives can involve all of these dimensions. For example, the Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI) is funded, managed and supported by a diverse number of actors, including the UK government, NGOs, trade unions and corporations (ETI, 2014). In the development of codes and standards concerning value chain practices, many disparate groups often come together in the writing of the standard, especially with regard to gender (e.g. The Gender Equity Seal (GES) was the result of work between businesses, UN Women Egypt, consultancy Social Accountability International and the Egyptian government). On a smaller scale, most examples of gender-sensitive CSR programmes are the result of partnership between business and NGO expertise (see Appendix 3), including the programme studied within my case study.

Businesses in the global value chain context today can approach CSR reactively (making amends when something goes wrong, as in the

case of the Rana Plaza factory fire), or proactively (taking strides to improve conditions first and foremost). In either case, the response is often to partner, and work in a network to ensure that the social and environmental objectives of CSR can be achieved (Butler, 2013). The realities of the value chain's structure and governance continue to be a source of concern for researchers and practitioners alike, as the boundaries of responsibility are nebulous. What does the value chain consist of? Who or what gets included? The next section unpacks the concept of 'the value chain', to show that just as networks are becoming the preferred way of 'doing CSR', networks are precisely what value chains themselves are constituted of.

2.2. THE VALUE CHAIN

The term 'value chain' is preferred to 'supply chain' in this thesis for a number of reasons, predominantly because (1) a value chain can conceptually capture the 'value-added' of human contributions to the production of a service or good, (2) this human contribution can be analysed along social lines e.g. exploring gender, or power, and (3) a value chain thus becomes better understood as a network of people whereby interchanges of social meaning occur. I unpack these three points further below, through an exploration of two key and influential theories: Global Value Chain (GVC) theory (Gereffi, 1994) and Global Production Network (GPN) theory (Henderson et al., 2002) and the gendering of such an approach: the concept of Gendered Production Networks (Barrientos, 2014).

I retain the use of the phrase 'value chain' throughout the thesis, particularly as it suits the particular case study I explore, based on a relatively simple 'chain' of production (see Chapter Four). However, the case also explores groups of actors across three organisations connected to production, thus it is also imperative to understand the phenomenon of

global value chains and production networks, as discussed below. Furthermore, the case study takes place within the wider context of gendered experiences of production- a context that is inseparable from the meso and micro actions under study.

2.2.1. GLOBAL VALUE CHAINS

Value chains are at their simplest a series of 'products and services linked together in a sequence of value-added economic activities' (McCormick and Schmidtz, 2001: 18). Whilst the origin of 'value chain' (Porter, 1985) focused on economic benefits for business, others have critiqued such a concept for underplaying the social, cultural and geographic contexts which shape what 'value' is, and for whom (Henderson et al., 2002). For example, the value of quinoa has evolved from an everyday subsistence foodstuff in Andean countries, to a highly-sought consumer trend in Europe, with knock-on effects for the prices of quinoa in the very places it is grown (Blythman, 2013). Quinoa is more valuable in an economic sense being sold in a supermarket in the UK, but is arguably more intrinsically valuable as a staple food in the Peruvian highlands. Ramsey (2005) outlines the different meanings of value within business relationships, summarised in Table 2.

Gereffi (1994) and others (Bonacich and Appelbaum, 2004; Kaplinsky, 2000) have explored the concept of the value chain predominantly through an exploration of commodity chains, and their governance. Global value chains (GVCs) are much more complicated than the moniker 'chain' implies, involving many actors and organisations. They are thus described as:

> *Sets of interorganizational networks clustered around one*
> *commodity or product, linking households, enterprises, and states to*
> *one another within the world- economy.... linked together in*
> *networks. Each successive node within a commodity chain involves*
> *the acquisition and/or organization of inputs (e.g. raw materials or*

semi-finished products), labor, power (and its provisioning), transportation, distribution (via markets or transfers) and consumption (Gereffi et al., 1994: 2).

Table 2: Types of Value in the Value Chain		
Value	**Description**	**Example**
Technical (Resource)	The intrinsic worth of the item/service being provided.	A piece of clothing is an essential need in that it covers up the human body and provides warmth.
Organisational (Context)	Value added in the context of manufacture e.g. branding, reputation, ethical standards, quality of product made.	A fair trade t-shirt made with organic cotton has value-added in quality, ethics and reputation.
Personal (Career and Idiosyncratic)	Value-added experiences and associations with the product or manufacturing processes. This pertains to the value of individuals in the value-chain- farmer; manager or consumer.	Farmers producing fair trade cotton for the t-shirt get a better wage; managers working for the company feel satisfaction at the fair trade label; consumers feel altruistic at purchasing the product.

Adapted from Ramsey (2005).

The GVC approach has been useful in that is has surpassed the corporate-centric, product-centric view of value and interaction. It has been adopted by large international organisations looking to improve economic development (e.g. the ILO). It has gone some way to highlighting the inequalities inherent within the production system, mainly by typifying relationships between suppliers and buyers, and showing their power asymmetries. For example, buyer-driven commodity value chains (Gereffi, 1994), characterised by 'captive' value chain governance (Gereffi et al., 2005), are highly competitive and price-sensitive, succeeding through 'just-in-time' production systems where orders may change weekly, or

even daily, putting pressures on factory and farm owners to employ or lay-off employees as quotas dictate (Barrientos, 2001). Many have detailed the high human cost of such value chain governance (see Section 2.3).

There are limitations, however, to the GVC literature. There is little room in Gereffi and others' typologies for what Henderson et al. call 'different forms of capitalism', which are replete with different social norms and institutional arrangements (2002: 441). As the case study in this thesis features cooperative forms of governance, and a Fairtrade agreement, GVC theory does not readily explain such a situation. Furthermore, although power is acknowledged, it is often limited in discussion to relational, overt power struggles between 'lead firms' or 'suppliers' (i.e. Sturgeon, 2008). A more critical conceptualisation of the value chain as Global Production Networks, or GPNs, has been put forward as addressing some of these issues.

2.2.2. GLOBAL PRODUCTION NETWORKS

GPN theory builds upon GVC literature in three distinct ways that are useful to my thesis. First, GPN theory focuses less on commodities and more on the 'social processes' inherent in a value chain. Henderson *et al.* state:

> *There is a need… to re-focus attention on the social circumstances under which commodities are produced and thus avoid the ever-present danger of slipping into a perception of commodities as de-humanised building blocks involved in the making of other commodities* (2002: 444).

The 'social processes' involved in value chains are often gendered, as Section 2.3 expands upon. Valuing the human contribution to production of goods and services is also a cornerstone of much CSR theory and practice.

Second, GPN literature expands on the 'chain' or 'system' of GVC literature to speak explicitly about networks. As well as better capturing the cross-space and cross-organisation interactions inherent in production, the concept of a network contains 'the possibility of conceiving of individual firms incorporated into a production system [as] having room for autonomous action within that system' (Henderson et al., 2002: 444). Thus 'actors struggle over the construction of economic relationships, governance structures, institutional rules and norms, and discursive frames' (Levy, 2008: 944). Ultimately, GPNs are recognized as socially constructed phenomena, a conceptualisation that is in line with my research philosophy (see Chapter Four).

This leads to the third upgrade from GVC literature that the concept of a GPN provides this thesis. This is that the idea of networks allows for non-traditional relationships and partnerships to form, with varying degrees of power involved. These operate outside of geographic spaces as they 'cut through state boundaries in highly differentiated ways, influenced in part by regulatory and non-regulatory barriers and local socio-cultural conditions' (Levy, 2008: 445). This idea of partnerships and relationships forming across diverse organisations is especially pertinent to the study of CSR in a value chain context, where actors such as NGOs, government, buyers, producers, consumers and corporate boards interact with one another, in voluntary and informal ways, such as in the creation of social or environmental standards (Coe, Dicken, & Hess, 2008).

GPN theory complements the GVC literature with its emphasis on networks, social structures and processes around production, and the openness to formal and informal partnerships within networks. GPN and GVC studies, however, have in practice tended to concentrate on 'lead' firms and their interactions with suppliers, with almost no research undertaken into interactions, decision-making and power relations *within* the firm itself. Coe et al. explain that the firm is depicted as a 'black box' within the production network (2008: 277). What's more, although GPN

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theory encompasses non-firm actors such as NGO workers, they are often erased from analysis in reality (Coe et al. 2008).

Barrientos (2014) has also pointed out that both the GVC and GPN literatures remain largely silent on the role of women or gendered dimensions of the global economy. Therefore my thesis addresses these gaps in the GPN/GVC literature, given its aim of exploring the process of 'gendering' CSR in the Ghanaian cocoa value chain. With this in mind, the next section provides a brief introduction to the specific context of Ghanaian cocoa production.

2.2.3. THE COCOA VALUE CHAIN

I begin with a historical note, in the belief that in-depth single case studies must go beyond their immediate empirical boundaries 'to the wider national/cultural canvases in which… organisations operate, including not only current arrangements but also the historical circumstances from which these arrangements occurred' (Cohen and Ravishankar, 2012: 181). The history of cocoa agriculture is bloody and political- mired as it is in slavery, and enforced importation of the non-indigenous cocoa tree to Africa by colonial forces that aimed to supply a 'Western' hankering for sweet treats (Beckman, 1976; Higgs, 2012; Robertson, 2009). As I reiterate in Section 2.3.6., women in particular were affected by the growth of the cocoa trade in Ghana, with knock-on effects for their role in wider society (Robertson, 2009; Allman and Tashjian, 2000). Paradoxically, as a result of this brutal history, three big UK confectioners, Fry's, Rowntree's and Cadbury's, all of Quaker origin, were amongst the first businesses to begin to explore farmers' working conditions overseas (Higgs, 2012; Tiffen, MacDonald, Maamah, and Osei-Opare, 2004).

Cocoa continues to be essential to Ghana's economy (Breisinger, Diao, Thurlow, Yu, & Kolavalli, 2008), and Ghana is the second-largest cocoa producing country in the world (International Cocoa Organization, 2014). Ghana is an interesting case as for many years it has resisted IMF

impositions of free market economics for cocoa production, instead relying on the government's cocoa board (COCOBOD) to set quality rules, minimum prices and export regulations (Ghana Cocoa Board, 2013). Most Ghanaians do not eat the chocolate their crops become, even though over 10% of the population relies on cocoa for their livelihood (Tiffen et al., 2004). Trade unions, however, have located cocoa farmers as outsiders, given that they do not 'work for anyone' in particular, but sell their cocoa onwards to various cocoa buyers (Tiffen et al., 2004). Fluctuating global prices in cocoa over the last two decades saw a rise in the number of cooperatives being founded, and fair trade practices being introduced, as a means to protect the farmer.

At the micro level, the context of Ghanaian cocoa farming is interesting, and complex, as the majority of cocoa is not grown on large commercial farms, but by actors on smallholdings, often in families but also assisted by migrant labour at busier times (Tiffen et al., 2004). Estimates put the number of smallholdings at between 700-800,000, with most owning less than 3 hectares of land (Tiffen et al., 2004). Chocolate companies have to procure cocoa from many thousands of these smallholders, and in the case of fair trade conditions, a premium price.

Figure 1: Processes in Cocoa Bean Growing and Processing
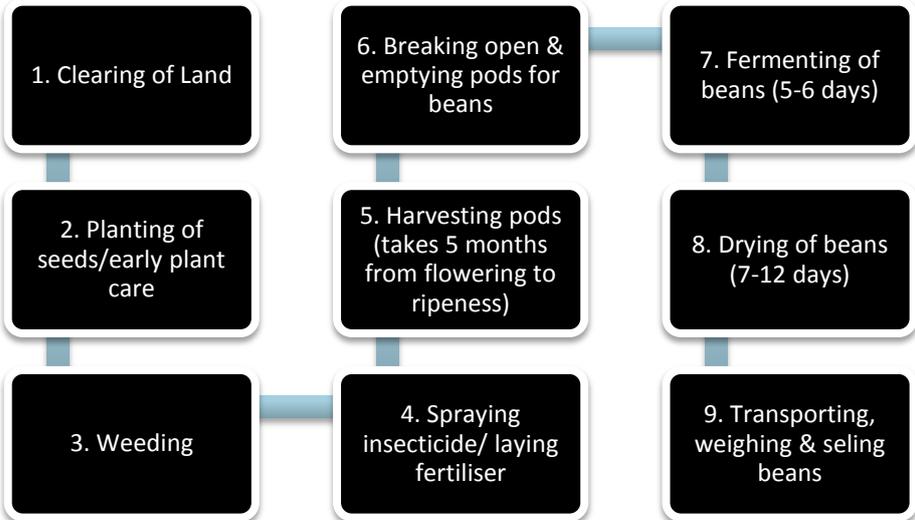
Adapted from Traoré (2009: 22); Barrientos (2014).

There are two main cocoa crops: a lighter crop between May and August; and the main crop between October and May. Each smallholding will have cleared land, planted seeds, weeded, fertilised, and harvested their cocoa pods, before processing them further before selling (Figure 1).

Figure 2: Typical Cocoa Value chain

1. Small scale farmers, on-farm processing, weighing

2. Exporters ship beans from Ghana

4. Cocoa butter & liquor to chocolate retailers

3. Processors grind beans into cocoa products (butter/liquor/power)

5. Finished products go into wholesale

6. Product on sale in shops
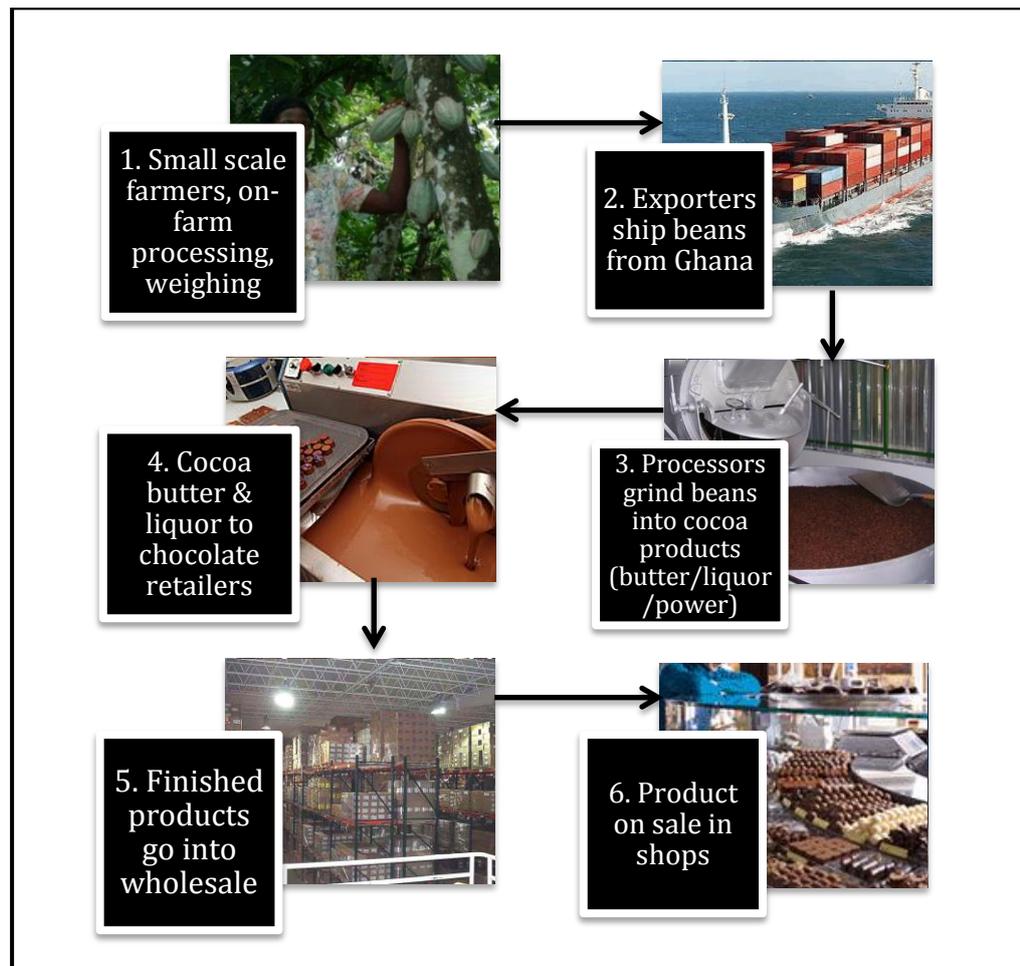
Source: Adapted from Tiffen et al. (2004)

Of upmost importance to chocolatiers are the fermenting and drying stages, which give the best flavours to the cocoa product (Barrientos, 2014). In Ghana fermenting takes place by making piles of cocoa beans and their mucilage wrapped in banana leaves, which are left for 5-6 days and turned once in between. The beans are then spread along sheets or bamboo drying racks for 7-12 days (for optimum flavour) (Barrientos & Asenso-Owyere, 2008). Following the sale of the beans to interim buyers, such as cooperatives, Ghana's export laws mean that many chocolate

businesses then make the chocolate products elsewhere, where other ingredients such as milk and sugar are added. Figure 2 details a typical cocoa global value chain in more detail.

Ghana has to work hard to keep its world-renowned quality (and therefore sales) of cocoa, with productivity levels lower than other producing countries (30-50 per cent lower in some cases) (Capelle, 2009), exacerbated by falling amounts of quality cocoa trees available as the trees age (Kolavalli and Vigneri, 2011; Vigneri, 2008). Some estimates predict that worldwide cocoa demand will overwhelm supply by 2030 (Amajaro, 2011). This is disastrous for chocolate companies for whom securing a quality supply of cocoa for the long-term, whilst appealing to discerning, and increasingly moral tastes is of utmost importance (KPMG, 2012). A number of chocolate retailers and cocoa buyers, including Mondelez (formerly Cadbury Kraft) and Nestlé have recognised that further bringing more women into the cocoa value chain, and/or improving their crops and productivity yields, is a key aspect of achieving sustainable, ethical chocolate (personal correspondence with Nestlé, November 2012; Barrientos and Asenso-Owyere, 2008). This is especially pertinent to the Ghanaian cocoa case, where the average age of cocoa farmers is over 50 years old, and there is a decreasing desire for younger generations to take on arduous physical cocoa farming (Barrientos and Asenso-Owyere, 2008). Young men, especially, are more likely to migrate from rural farm areas to seek education and employment in the ever-growing urban areas of Ghana, leaving women with the farm lands (Chant, 1998; Eyram Dugbazah, 2007). Supporting existing female cocoa farmers, and encouraging more to farm, is arguably key to the sustainability of cocoa, and the chocolate industry (Barrientos, 2014). In the next section, however, I outline the ways in which female farmers within food value chains continue to experience inequalities and inequities in their work. Where possible, I link back to the Ghanaian cocoa experience.

2.3. GENDER IN GLOBAL FOOD VALUE CHAINS

Barrientos and others have argued that gender continues to be ignored in many GVC/GPN studies (Barrientos, 2013). They explain that:

> *In order to incorporate a gender perspective, it is important to extend the value chain concept beyond firms (the productive sphere) to the broader set of participants and institutions that engage with and influence the commercial functioning of the chain (including the reproductive sphere).* (Barrientos, 2013: 9).

The GVC/GPN approach provides an analytical focus on social processes, and institutions, but is improved by a gender lens that appreciates that economics and labour permeate throughout social life, including into the home and the domestic and reproductive part of men and women's lives. Here I collate evidence for why a gender lens on GVCs/GPNs is necessary within a specific focus on the food industry, providing an overview of gendered issues and their impact on men and women's lives.

Agriculture supports millions of people around the world in terms of income, but is under-performing in many places, due in part to the continued gender inequalities prevalent in agriculture production (SOFA and Doss, 2011). Women as workers are over-represented in global value chains, including certain agricultural chains (Barrientos, 2001; Joekes, 1999). The 'face of farming' is more than often female (Coles and Mitchell, 2011; see Table 3).

There continues to be considerable debate about the positives and negatives of women moving into global value chains. Many women working in the global economy, especially those in agriculture, are offered little in the way of opportunities. They work with few employment rights, in unsafe conditions over long hours, with little wages and job security (Barrientos et al., 2004). These inadequacies are discussed further in Section 2.3.1 below.

Table 3: Why Women Matter to Global Agriculture
Women comprise 43% of the agricultural labour force, but this masks the growing and preparation of food carried out on homesteads (SOFA and Doss, 2011; Deere, 2005).
The number of women farming is increasing (Lastarria-Cornhiel, 2006; Deere, 2005; Coles and Mitchell, 2011).
Agriculture is the most important form of employment for women in South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, East Asia, South-East Asia and the Middle East (SOFA and Doss, 2011)
Women produce most of the world's staple food crops, providing up to 90% of the rural poor's food intake and producing 60–80% of the food in most developing countries (Coles and Mitchell, 2011).

On the other hand, there are positives for women moving into global value chains (Maertens and Swinnen, 2010) such as the learning of new skills (Kabeer and Mahmud, 2004), increased income (Nadvi, 2004), and confidence and autonomy (Dolan and Scott, 2009). The potential for women's poverty alleviation and empowerment through commerce is substantial, and to argue that market economies always work against women is misleading (Elson, 1992). Nonetheless, when compared to men's experiences, women's movement into economic activity has been disproportionately into informal work (World Bank, 2011; Standing, 1999). It is argued that simply increasing the amount of women into such precarious, informal work does little to improve their social, political or economic position (Cornwall, Gideon, and Wilson, 2009), given the complexity of gendered power relations in GVCs. In the sections below I briefly highlight nine of the most pressing gendered issues in food value chains: informality; remuneration; access to resources; access to cooperatives; occupational segregation; leadership and decision-making; working conditions and care work.

Within each section I also provide research, where possible, pertinent to the Ghanaian agricultural experience, given that this is the

specific focus of my thesis' case. Ghana itself is an incredibly diverse country, with 25 million people hailing from over 90 different ethnic groups. It is very difficult to claim a single truth about 'gender' in Ghana (Baden, Green, Otoo-oyortey, and Peasgood, 1994). Most of the studies referenced here refer to the Southern, Western or Central regions of Ghana: Greater Accra and Ashanti featuring predominantly. This concurs well with the location of my own field work, and begins to build a flavour of my research site's context.

2.3.1. INFORMAL WORKING

Informal working characterises women's work in value chains. It includes part-time, seasonal, temporary and on-call work, and encompasses those smallholder farmers who sell excess crops as and when they can. Much evidence exists to demonstrate that the agricultural industry thrives on a contingent, largely female (Bain, 2010; WWW, 2007; Raworth, 2004; Barrientos et al., 2005; Nadvi, 2009) and growing (Hale, 2005)[5] workforce (see Table 4). Production line jobs, including those in agriculture, with their repetitive and often simple skills, have seen an 'informalisation' (Standing, 1999). Jobs tend to be temporary and 'flexible' and without contracts, enabling employers not only to cut costs with regards to wages (Boserup, 1970), but with social benefits too.

The problem intensifies in terms of CSR because the informal, non-contracted workforce is often not covered by the corporate and industrial codes of conduct, such as GlobalGAP (Bain, 2010; Dolan and Sorby, 2003). The costs of ensuring farms reach standards laid out in such codes is usually met by the supplier (Bain, 2010; Barrientos and Dolan, 2006), which often leads to further subcontracting to push the responsibility (and costs) onto others. Arguably, the use of flexible, feminised labour is prevalent in part *because* of CSR and codes of conduct that push costs onto

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[5] For example, in Chilean fruit and vegetables the permanent labour force has fallen from 208,000 workers in 1964 to 120,000 workers in 1987, while the contingent labour force has increased from 147,000 to 300,000, settling at over 400,000 in 2005 (Riquelme, 2005; Jarvis and Vera-Toscano, 2004 in Bain, 2010: 348)

suppliers (Bain, 2010). Coupled with just-in-time supply systems and a push for reduced production costs, business holds much responsibility for the proliferation of a large, contingent, and mainly female, workforce.

Table 4: Gender Composition of Agricultural Value Chains with Key Demographics.				
Country by product	Gender Composition	Age	Employment Status	Use of Migrant Labour
Cut Flowers				
Kenya	75% female	20-34	Seasonal	Yes
Uganda	85% female	-	Permanent	-
Zimbabwe	87% female	-	Seasonal and Perm.	-
Colombia	64% female	15-28	Perm. and contract	Minority
Ecuador	70% female	16-29	Perm. and contract	-
Poultry				
Thailand	80% female	16-23; 29-55	Permanent	-
Fruit				
Chile	45% female	30	Temporary	Yes
Brazil	65% female	-	Permanent	-
South Africa	53% female	31	Seasonal, temp.	Yes
Vegetables				
Mexico	80-90% female	-	Seasonal, temp.	Yes
Kenya	66% female	18-29	Temporary	Yes

Sources: from Dolan and Sorby (2003: 26)

Ghana has a relatively high number of economically active women in the Sub-Saharan context (Awumbila, 2007; Baden et al., 1994). The statistics show, however, that 91% of working Ghanaian women are in low-income, informal and often insecure jobs (Ghana Statistical Service, 2009). Nearly half of women working are self-employed within agriculture, predominantly based in food production (Arbache, Kolev, and Filipiak,

2010). There are a large number of women working in cocoa farming, although many continue to work in the vein described by Allman and Tashjian (2000), as 'wives-of-farmers', whilst some are temporary, seasonal workers and some remunerated landowners (UTZ and Solidaridad, 2009).

'Caretakers' who rent land from landowners run many cocoa farms. Women face discrimination when it comes to caretaking agreements of cocoa farms, with men preferred, and also find it hard to rent or purchase farmland (Barrientos and Asenso-Okeye, 2008). Migrant workers, predominantly men from Mali, Niger, Guinea and Burkina Faso, face further discrimination as they work without rights and are unable to join cooperatives that may hold better protections and access to Fairtrade conditions. Many of these men bring their wives with them to 'assist' in the cocoa industry, where their work is paid for directly to their husband (UTZ and Solidaridad, 2009).

As well as cocoa farming, many women engage in alternative, informal income-generation. They grow vegetables such as yam, plantain, pepper, onion, pineapple, okra, cassava, aubergine and corn, either in their own plots, or interspersed with cocoa trees. They may trade eggs, salted fish, meat, groundnuts and fruit, and sell cloth, firewood or small imported items such as shampoo sachets. Many women make and sell cooked food, or make crafts (such as batik), or provide services such as tailoring or hairdressing (Allman and Tashjian, 2000; Dejene, 2008). Clark (1994) has described the ability of women to work to earn some of their own income as a deep-seated value for Asante culture. Yet, as the next section shows, women in Ghana, as in the rest of the world, face a gender pay gap in all spheres of work.

2.3.2. REMUNERATION

An extremely large body of research exists on the difference in pay between men and women, or 'the gender wage gap', as it became known

(Perfect, 2011). Globally, even when accounting for differences in individual workers and their specific jobs, women still earn less than men for equal work (World Bank, 2011; Blau and Kahn, 2007). Not only do women earn less, but macro analyses show that female-heavy industries such as fast-moving consumer food goods attract lower wages overall for these occupations (World Bank, 2011).

Equal pay for equal work is a human right enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and is extensively covered in many International Labor Organization (ILO) conventions as well as international and industrial codes of conduct (see Appendix 1). Whilst many national governments have signed up to equal remuneration laws, including Ghana, the global gender pay gap persists. Studies into horticulture (Corporación Cactus, 2010; Smith and Dolan, 2006; Barrientos et al., 2005; WWW, 2007) and fruit and vegetable sectors (Frank, 2005; Bain, 2010; Raworth, 2004) reveal that women receive less pay then men for equal work. In Ghana, there remains a gender wage gap of 24% between male and female remuneration for like-for-like work (Dejene, 2008: 12). In a study for Cadbury, Barrientos and Asenso-Okeye (2008) identified an income gap of 15 per cent between male and female farmers.

Many researchers have thus questioned the strength of CSR codes to remedy the gender pay gap, since as mentioned previously, informal workers, mostly women, are not covered by codes (Smith and Dolan, 2006; Barrientos and Smith, 2007; Pearson and Seyfang, 2002). CSR that fails to provide equal pay for equal work on the basis of gender fails to address inequalities in wider society at a basic level.

2.3.3. ACCESS TO RESOURCES

Female farmers face a lack of access to resources for their livelihood, both tangible services and goods (markets, storage of goods, banking, credit, land, fertilisers, tools, etc.) and less tangible (education, training, political

representation in local and national groups) (Baden, 1998; Momsen, 2004). For example, worldwide, women receive only 4 per cent of agricultural industry investment (Coles and Mitchell, 2011). This means women are less able than male smallholders to adapt to changes in the economy, including the scaling up or quality controls needed to enter into multinational food value chains (Baden, 1998; Jones, Holmes, & Espey, 2010). Furthermore, lower productivity and yields for female farmers has knock-on effects for family healthcare, as they are more often responsible for providing food for their family (UN, 2010).

Access to land is a huge problem in terms of gender, with only 10-20 per cent of worldwide landowners being women (World Bank, 2011). As well as issues to do with access to land for family sustenance, female farmers wishing to grow food for sale into global value chains face barriers to participation if they do not outright own the land they farm on. This is particularly problematic in light of the increased focus on cooperatives (e.g. FAO, 2012) and fair trade value chain designs as a means to lift people out of poverty, since they largely operate on the basis of landownership (see Section 2.3.4).

Cocoa can be grown on small, marginal plots of land (more likely to be owned by women), and provides relatively good returns (UTZ and Solidaridad, 2009). Ghanaian inheritance laws, unlike many Sub-Saharan African laws, do allow women to own their own land, which means women independently can grow cocoa, and join cooperatives (Quisumbing, Payongayong, and Otsuka, 2004). What is legal, however, often comes up against strong traditions of patriarchal land ownership, meaning men are still predominant land owners (Barrientos and Asenso-Okyere, 2008; Dejene, 2008). To own land one must 'clear' it (prepare the land for farming by removing trees, weeding, etc.) and women are thought to be physically unable to do this (Dejene, 2008). Women have to often pay others to clear the land they own, which again leads to the customary 'ownership' of said land by men. There appears to be a slow shift towards

change whereby women are acquiring land through 'gifting' by husbands, brothers and sons (Quisumbing et al., 2004). However, such 'gifting' requires women and children to work hard to establish the land through weeding or tending young trees (Quisumbing, Payongayong, Aidoo, and Otsuka, 2001).

When women own land, they often have to buy-in labour as cocoa farming is labour intensive, meaning there is less money to invest in inputs such as fertiliser or tools (Baden et al., 1994). Moreover, women are still obligated to work on their husbands' plots (Clark, 1994; Dejene, 2008) which means there is less time to spend on their own farms (Baden et al., 1994). When this is coupled with women's other income generating activities (described previously) and their household responsibilities, women are at a disadvantage when it comes to crop productivity. It is one reason there is argued to have been a decline over time of women-owned cocoa farms (Clark, 1994; Robertson, 2009).

2.3.4. ACCESS TO COOPERATIVES AND FAIRTRADE

Cooperatives involve groups of smallholder farmers coming together to sell their produce under one banner, often investing some of the returns from sales into social projects e.g. building grain stores or community schools. Cooperatives are held to be especially good for bringing women into the value chain, as they offer access to further resources (training; tools; fertilisers); markets in which to sell; collective bargaining power and increased participation in larger markets (FAO, 2012). In comparison to men, however, the numbers of women members of cooperatives is low, with many women facing barriers due to cultural, social and economic factors: lack of land; lack of confidence and education; social taboos and domestic duties (FAO, 2012; ILO and COOP, Africa, 2012; Jones, Smith, and Wills, 2012).

Fair trade often uses the cooperative model to bring smallholders together, providing a base price for crops and often providing training that

aims to increase the quality and quantity of the farmers' yields (Barrientos and Dolan, 2006). Despite the unprecedented growth in the fair trade ethical market, recent evidence suggests that women are not profiting from fair trade (Hutchens, 2010; Le Mare, 2008; Prieto-Carrón, Seeley, and Murphy, 2004; Wach, 2010). The problem lies in the fact that women are frequently not members of the cooperatives that sign up to fair trade accreditation, due to a number of factors as mentioned above (Hanson and Terstappen, 2009; Jones et al., 2012; Kasente, 2012). This has a large impact on how we evaluate the usefulness of CSR in the form of ethical consumerism for women workers, especially since women's involvement in some industries (such as bananas, for example) is so high.

Fair trade groups and co-operatives that do include women farmers provide more than just a premium price for their crops. They enable vulnerable women to group together and have a chance at earning a wage, and sometimes offer social protections such as maternity or sickness pay (Jones et al., 2012). More power in family decision-making; a push to send daughters to school and into later marriage; respectful and equitable working conditions; opportunities for business, literacy, numeracy and social skills and collective action (Jones et al., 2012; Le Mare, 2012; TWIN, 2013) are all examples of further benefits fair trade movements can have on women farmers. There is also a risk, however, that placing too much emphasis on women in the value chain could harm them when the opposite is hoped for. In a recent study into fair trade and organic certification in Uganda, women who had been brought into the value chain faced a doubling of their workload since they were engaging in the fair trade process but still had to manage their households (Kasente, 2012). Such problems need to be considered and addressed in policies aiming to 'empower' women through fair trade or CSR initiatives.

Examples of CSR initiatives trying to rectify this situation operate through brand name partnerships with cooperatives to source products specifically from women farmers. Equal Exchange, Café Femenino and

recently Finlay's have all begun selling 'women-only' coffee that offers the added-value of empowering women farmers (Sainsbury's PLC, 2014). The Fairtrade Foundation has also begun to encourage businesses buying Fairtrade products to understand further the gendered dimension of their value chain: by collecting data, reconsidering and investing in overcoming women's barriers to cooperative membership (Personal email correspondence, March 2014; TWIN, 2013). There has also been an increased call for helping women farmers develop alternative income streams to supplement their farming (TWIN, 2013).

2.3.5. Occupational Segregation

'There are significant and systematic differences between men's and women's jobs, whether across sectors, industries, occupations, types of jobs, or types of firms' (World Bank, 2011: 206). Whilst in the global North there has been some movement of men and women into traditional 'male' or 'female' jobs (such as women working in engineering, or men as nurses), women the world over remain over-concentrated in jobs related to care-giving and domestic tasks, which also happen to be amongst the least well-paid (World Bank, 2011).

Within many food value chains women make up the majority of workers (Barrientos et al., 2005; Raworth, 2004). Women are preferred to men for certain jobs, such as harvesting, picking flowers/fruit, and packaging products because they are considered diligent, unquestioning and delicate-fingered, so as not to damage the produce (Standing, 1999). These jobs, considered 'unskilled' and 'light' are deemed tasks suitable for women as an extension of their gender roles as carers (Barrientos and Perrons, 1999; King Dejardin, 2008). The framing of these jobs as unskilled also affects the amount of pay such roles receive (Standing, 1999). Men are often allocated the jobs involving machinery: crop-spraying and ploughing, for example, and are rewarded more for such work (Barrientos, 2001; Momsen, 2004).

Occupational segregation is a clear form of gender inequality. Within companies, and through CSR practices, many have attempted to bring more women into traditional male sectors with offers of training and mentoring (i.e. Coca-Cola, Walmart and Vodafone) (see Appendix 2). However, deep-seated gender stereotypes affect the conditions that allow either a man or woman to work in certain positions (Acker, 1998; Benschop and Doorewaard, 1998).

This is echoed in the Ghanaian context. Women are often thought of as 'invisible' in the 'male crop' cocoa value chain, but they have been shown to be crucial to the farming process; especially in those activities that promote good quality flavour (Barrientos, 2014) (see Section 2.2.3). Women have been found to be more involved in post-harvest processes, such as removing cocoa beans, fermenting and drying, which contribute to good quality cocoa (Barrientos, 2014; UTZ and Solidaridad, 2009). They are also more likely to be involved in weeding and caring for young trees, also key to the sustainability of the cocoa sector (UTZ and Solidaridad, 2009; IFPRI, 2002). Other tasks, such as pruning trees, clearing land, harvesting and spraying insecticide are seen as 'male jobs', with even female farmers hiring male help for these tasks. Barrientos (2014) points out that whilst physical inferiority of women is often cited as the reason for this division of labour, women have done the same tasks as men. The cultural status quo appears to have a strong influence on the gendered division of labour on the cocoa farm.

2.3.6. LEADERSHIP AND DECISION-MAKING

Whilst the number of women in leadership and decision-making positions has improved, it is still not at parity. In 2007, there was no country in the world where women constituted more than 3 per cent of employers (UN, 2010). Much research has been carried out into why there remains a lack of women in top management positions; on corporate boards; as CEOs; and as trade union leaders (Broadbridge and Hearn, 2008; Ely and Padavic, 2007). In a recent McKinsey report over 90 per cent of companies

surveyed were using 'diversity' initiatives to increase the number of women and ethnic minorities in leadership roles (McKinsey & Company, 2012).

Further down the chain women are rarely given jobs as supervisors or managers, and are denied the training or opportunity for promotion often due to gender discrimination and cultural barriers (Aman, 2011; Barrientos and Barrientos, 2002; WWW, 2003). Within cooperatives and trade unions women are under-represented as committee members, leaders or representatives (Barrientos et al., 2001; Barrientos and Dolan, 2006; Dovey, 2009; Smith et al., 2004; Pearson and Seyfang, 2002). This is problematic, especially for those who carry out CSR, as it is often through workers' groups that workers are audited for their views on CSR. If women, who are often the most-marginalised, are not heard through representation in leadership or in workers' groups, the evidence suggests that such policies and codes do not and will not address their needs (Bain, 2010; Barrientos and Smith, 2007; Barrientos, 2008). CSR that fails to reach those most in need is failing to ensure responsible practices towards key stakeholders.

Ghana is often held up as one of the more 'progressive' countries in Sub-Saharan Africa with regard to gender equality (Baden et al., 1994). This is because it has an impressive record of legislation and also because there has customarily been a system of matrilineal kinship systems within some Ghanaian cultures, most notably the Akan group primarily located within the Southern and Central areas.

As Gracia Clark notes in her fascinating book looking at the 'Market Women' of Kumasi, Ghana, 'Asante [Akan] cultural norms governing the allocation of property and labor through kinship and marriage… have their roots in the trading and farming contexts of pre-colonial Asante' (1994:95). Evidence suggests that prior to colonisation and the introduction of the cocoa industry, women in Southern and Central areas of Ghana were afforded a higher status as part of a matrilineal system

(Allman and Tashjian, 2000). Women were not 'in power', but held sway with their male counterparts' opinions (Osborn, 2011). The boom in cocoa farming in the 1920s and 1930s began to close off Ghanaian women's independence as land became taken over for the cash-crop economy of cocoa (Clark, 1994). Whereas before women could farm near to villages and sell their own produce, land became harder to come by. Clark (1994) explains that this is one of the reasons that Ghanaian women have such a strong foothold within the trading sectors and markets today, as women moved into alternative spheres of commerce following the cocoa boom. What's more, women were obligated to work on their husband's farm, despite the fact they would receive no income themselves. Allman and Tashjian argue that 'the growth of the cocoa industry predicted largely upon the exploitation of unpaid, often conjugal, labour' (2000: 131). Higgs (2012) argues that not much has changed since.

Today, the 'market queens' of Ghana remain strong (Clark, 2010), but overall women remain under-represented within business leadership roles, although they are making some headway within political institutions (Allah-Mensah, 2005). Data on women's leadership within Ghanaian cocoa production is scant, but overall men dominate management of cooperatives, cocoa buying businesses and decision-making structures within business organisations (Capelle, 2009).

Part of the problem remains connected to lack of education. Ghana has reached gender parity in primary school enrolments, but these statistics do not take into account school attendance. Further, the gender gap in education widens at secondary and tertiary levels, with 64.5 per cent attendance for boys versus 35.5 per cent attendance for girls (Dejene, 2008). The gap widens further at university level to a 40 per cent difference between male and female enrolments.

Adult literacy also remains a problem, and varies considerably by region. Male literacy is 20 per cent higher than females' (Dejene, 2008), out of the 53.4 per cent of the Ghanaian adult population able to read and

write. Female entrepreneurs and farmers are at a disadvantage here, with up to 95 per cent of those working in rural areas non-literate (Dejene, 2008). Lack of education, numeracy and literacy impact on the types of leadership roles women can, or may wish to, take on.

2.3.7. WORKING CONDITIONS

The proliferation of laws, ILO conventions and codes of conduct in the last fifty years means that workers are theoretically more protected than ever in the workplace (see Appendix 1). Some causes of on-going issues, however, such as sexual harassment and the gender pay gap, lie deeply engrained into the day-to-day 'gender subtext' of our lives (Acker, 1990; Acker, 1992; Benschop and Doorewaard, 1998). The causes of inequality are extremely hard to legislate for, meaning women working at the production end of value chains still experience poor working conditions. Appendix 3 details this further.

Two particular problems arise again and again in the literature on women working in agricultural value chains: the problem of unfair treatment due to reproduction (including forced virginity testing and/or pregnancy testing, non-recruitment, or dismissal) and of pesticides causing health problems, especially to unborn foetuses and women's reproductive health. Again, the informal nature of women's work mean they are often not covered by law or codes that require workers to wear gloves and protective clothing, or stay out of treated areas for a set amount of time (Bain, 2010). Oftentimes subcontracted workers, bought in at peak harvest times, are effectively 'somebody else's problem' and fall through the gaps in regulation.

In the Ghanaian cocoa context, many unsafe practices and cases of harassment go undocumented, as most cocoa is grown on homesteads. This makes codes and certification much harder to audit (UTZ and Solidaridad, 2009) and further normalises cases of sexual harassment or inequality as a 'non-work issue' or a family issue. Nonetheless, increased

training and vigilance with regards to child labour on Ghanaian cocoa farms (notwithstanding slow progress) illustrates that the crossover between value chain and home is not insurmountable (Ergon Associates, 2013). The importance of the home in relation to global value chains, including cocoa, is extremely important in terms of gender, as the next section explains.

2.3.8. CARE WORK & GENDERED ROLES IN THE HOME

As many feminist economists have argued (Bergmann, 2002; Waring, 1988), the care and reproductive roles of women are central to the functioning of global market economies. Heavy time constraints take women away from the market and restrict their growth. Women around the world, in all elements of value chains, face difficulties in employment due to their care responsibilities (Carmona, 2013; UN, 2010; World Bank, 2011). These include childcare and care of elderly or vulnerable family members, as well as housework and food preparation. Women spend at least twice as much time as men on domestic work (World Bank, 2011).

Demands on women's time are even more acute in the global South, where food preparation, washing, and water and fuel collection take up more time (Barrientos and Dolan, 2006). Childcare costs are a huge problem in all societies. They push women into part-time employment, affecting their career progression and wages (World Bank, 2011). In a fascinating study by Barrientos and Perrons (1999) the mirroring of care roles affecting women's ability to work in the economy is shown very clearly. Women working in supermarkets in the UK, and the women producing the fruit for sale in the same supermarkets, both faced restrictions on their employment due to care roles that were disproportionately heaped onto women (Barrientos and Perrons, 1999). The nature of just-in-time food value chains means that women are often requested to work overtime with little notice, creating problems over home and child care (Frank, 2005; Dolan and Barrientos, 2006).

Codes of conduct and auditing processes have been shown to be particularly gender-blind to women's care roles, continuing to conceive of an 'abstracted worker' (Acker, 1992) without other demands (Smith et al., 2004; Pearson and Seyfang, 2002; Auret and Barrientos, 2004; Pearson & Seyfang, 2002; Prieto & Bendell, 2002; Smith et al., 2004). Codes are often created without consultation for women's needs (Prieto and Bendell, 2002; Hale, 2005; WWW, 2003; Pearson and Seyfang, 2002). When consulted, women highlight the need for codes to include terms pertaining to their care roles, such as leniency on pregnant or nursing women and help with health and child care costs (Pearson and Seyfang, 2002).

Some would argue that such problems fall outside of business and CSR's remit, indeed the development world continues to downplay the importance of care work for development (Eyben, 2012), and to date only one case study details CSR activity regarding care work: The Body Shop's experimentation with payment for domestic duties (Hoskyns, Hoskyns, and Butler, 2012; Butler, 2014). Yet caring responsibilities limit national economic and business growth, especially in agriculture (Ashby et al., 2008; Boodhna, 2011; Coles and Mitchell, 2011; The World Bank, 2011). They also affect women's capacity for leisure, education and a fulfilling life (Nussbaum, 1999; Carmona, 2013). Pearson (2004; 2007) argues that CSR needs to address this fundamentalism if it aims to help those in greatest need- often women.

With regard to Ghana, anthropological studies into women's lives, especially the matrilineal Asante group, have explored gender dynamics in the home. These dynamics are processual and have changed over time; with women's relative power in the home and community waning with the imposition of colonial rule and the growth of international trade, including cocoa farming (Clark, 1994; Allman and Tashjian, 2000).

Today, women and men still engage in duolocal marriages (whereby the woman continues to live with her family and 'visits' her husband for cooking, cleaning and so on), but this is slowly becoming

replaced with cohabiting living arrangements (Clark, 1994; Guyer, 1991). Customary marriages are still common, which can then be later registered formerly with the state. Divorce has always been common in Ghana, either informally (women 'retire' from married life) or formally through the state (Clark, 1994; UTZ and Solidaridad, 2009). Polygyny, although becoming less common, still occurs (Baden et al., 1994).

Women are obligated to perform household duties for their husbands, as well as work on their land (Clark, 1994). Such duties include sweeping the house and grounds, feeding homestead animals, child care, elder care, fetching and carrying water and firewood, or fuel for cooking, washing clothes and pots and preparing and cooking meals for children, associated family members (e.g. uncles, brothers etc.) and cooking meals (Wodon and Blackden, 2006).

Independent income streams for men and women are seen as valuable in Ghanaian cultures, and pooling of resources is rare (Baden et al., 1994; Clark, 1994). Men and women have different responsibilities with regard to expenditure, with men contributing to school fees (Baden et al., 1994), and 'chop money': for food. Clark (1994) writes how important the ritual of food buying and cooking is to Asante culture. A husband's refusal of his wife's cooking is taboo, and equally, not-cooking for a husband is considered to be a sign of defiance or adultery, and could signal the withdrawal of finances or the end of the marriage. Many women, however, complain that the 'chop money' they receive from their husbands, especially in polygynous situations, does not cover the basic needs of the family (Clark, 1994).

Clark points out that the symbolic importance of cooking the evening meal puts more time pressures on women and distracts them from their income-generating, as cooking without electricity, easily accessible water, and pounding cassava into the popular *fufu* dish are all very time-consuming (1994; Baden et al. 1994; Wodon and Blackden, 2006). Time-use studies reveal that women's disproportionate time spent

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on domestic work (7 hours compared to 4 hours for men) has an effect on the amount of time available for income generation, leisure and education (Wodon and Blackden, 2006; Dejene, 2008; Baden et al., 1994). Inequality in domestic life has an undeniable knock-on effect for women's ability to work, to invest in their skills or engage in leisure, a fact exacerbated in the time and labour-intensive industry of cocoa (Baden et al., 1994).

'Individuation' is a key 'value on personal autonomy and dignity for men and women' amongst many Ghanaian cultures (Clark, 1994). As noted previously, both men and women are encouraged to bring in their own income, and to spend in different arenas. Women are happiest when 'we do not have to depend on anyone' (Kaul-Shah, 1998: 146). It is not surprising then, that explorations into men and women's measures of well-being also differ, and are again based on the individual rather than the household unit. Women's wellbeing is much more connected with the household, listing indicators related to child care and health, their own health, having enough food to eat and sell, and the opportunity to live with their husband after marriage (Kaul-Shah, 1998). This is because women have primary responsibility for everyone except for their husband: children, extended family, elderly relatives. Thus, health and food security come first and foremost, and a longing for support (financial and emotional) from her husband is also often noted. On the male side, wellbeing is bundled up with notions of status and wealth, shown in desire for assets and further income generating skills (Kaul-Shah, 1998). As a husband, it can be a huge cost to have to pay for many children's school fees and provide household finances to different wives. Men too also suffer from social expectations of masculinity within this role (Clark, 1994).

2.4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have introduced the concept of CSR practices, and shown the complexities of global value chains (and networks). I have stressed the gendered dimensions of global value chains, and covered a huge range of

issues for women and men working to produce our food. I have focused specifically on the Ghanaian cocoa context, in order to set up the background for my particular case study, and to also demonstrate the nuance in different contexts and cultures with regard to gender. My review of gendered cocoa value chains revealed the interconnectedness of the home with the economy- both local and international. Women and men's domestic lives have had, and still have, an immense bearing on the cocoa value chain.

In the global North, women have made unprecedented progress towards equality over the last thirty years. For those in the global South, the progress is much slower. Across Africa, and different 'colonialisms', Allman and Tashjian trace a common theme emerging from transnational and globalising processes over time: 'African women's status declined, work burdens increased and safety nets disappeared as women bore increasing responsibility, across the continent, for social reproduction' (2000: 223).

Gender is thus undoubtedly a CSR issue: inequality defies many human rights and goes against the basic spirit of CSR, that is to first 'do no harm', and second, contribute to the good of society (Gond and Moon, 2011). What's more, emergent research stresses the importance of gender equity- and women's full involvement in social, political and economic life, for sustainable development and climate change resilience (Mitchell, Tanner, and Lussier, 2007). Despite a proliferation of such evidence, gender remains low on the CSR agenda.

The next chapter explores how gender has been approached in relation to gender equality, business organisations and CSR scholarship. I unpack the concept of 'gender' by drawing on sociological theories, and demonstrate that current approaches to gender and CSR apply unclear understandings of gender, equality and power. With these basic concepts remaining fuzzy, theorising how CSR may provoke changes in gender remains difficult. To this end I begin to look toward a conceptual

framework that links theories of institutional change (borrowed by organisational literature) with theories of gender (from sociology). To begin, however, we start with the basics: what is 'gender'?

CHAPTER THREE:
GENDER, CSR AND CHANGE:
A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Taught from infancy that beauty is woman's sceptre,the mind shapes itself to the body, and
roaming round its gilt cage, only seeks to adorn its prison.
Mary Wollstonecraft (1792)

Writing well advance of the phenomenologists and social constructionists of the twentieth century, Wollstonecraft in 1792 begins to capture one of the important aspects of sociological theory. She stresses how embodied actors create and re-create their worlds. This idea remains at the heart of theories of social change, and feminism. In this chapter I conceptualise how gender is a social institution, manifest by actors, and explore the different ways in which provoking 'gender change' has been theorised.

Chapter Two explored the concept of a 'value chain', noting that it is in fact more accurately described as a 'network' of actors and actions that create a product or service whilst adding value at different points. I also outlined the field of CSR, stressing that this too often involves networks of actors working on distinct social and environmental problems, and can be said to be less corporate-focused than in the past (Moon and Matten, 2013). Some of these social problems with respect to gender in agri-value chains were then discussed. CSR in the value chain context is undoubtedly 'gendered'. Networks of actors form the contextual background of this study, and networks of actors are also influential when it comes to social change. In this chapter I pick up on this in putting together a 'gendered institutional' conceptual framework.

I begin with a brief introduction to the concept of gender, which focuses on its socially constructed nature and defines gender as an institution. I then review literature on gender and CSR work to date,

describing three overarching perspectives: strategic, rights-based and critical feminist approaches. Exploring how each perspective addresses gender, power and change, I posit that an institutional approach helps to answer one of the central puzzles of how CSR may or may not provoke gender equality in value chains. Namely: how does 'gender' as an institution come into being, how is it maintained, and how may it be changed or reified in the value chain context?

Theories of institutional change are numerous in sociology and organisational fields. I concentrate on two: institutional work, present in organisational literature, and theories of 'Doing/Undoing Gender', popular in gendered organisational studies. I outline how both these theories cover shared territory when it comes to their understandings of institutional change, power, practices and unintended consequences of human action. I conclude the chapter with a summary of my conceptual framework, linking my research questions with the concepts of networked value chains and CSR, gender as an institution and institutional work. I propose this framework as a means for exploring further how gender is understood and translated into CSR practices in the value chain, and how this may change experiences of gender for farmers. This forms the basis of my research methodology design, as outlined in Chapter Four.

3.1. GENDER: AN EVOLVING CONCEPT

Gender can be loosely defined as a socially constructed category. It is not contingent on biological or physical markers of sex, but draws upon *perceived* behaviour, traits, appearance, roles and norms associated with being labelled a 'man' or 'woman'. This definition takes its influence from two seminal feminists, Simone de Beauvoir and Ann Oakley, who were among the first to highlight the sex/gender distinction (de Beauvoir, 1949; Oakley, 1972). Gender as a concept originates in the fields of sociology and psychology (Haig, 2004) but is now widely discussed in all areas of

academic interest. Since the 1970s it has been the focus of a small but growing number of scholars in organisational studies.

Table 5: Feminist Theories of Gender and Equality			
Type of Feminism	**What causes inequality?**	**What would solve inequality?**	**Criticisms**
Gender Reform Feminisms e.g. **Liberal feminism** (e.g. Oakley, 1972); **Marxist and socialist feminisms** (e.g. Elson and Pearson, 1981); **Development studies feminisms** (e.g. Boserup, 1977)	Socialisation. Unjust institutions and systems affect opportunities for men and women e.g. legislation; education; work policy.	Equal treatment and opportunity for men and women. e.g. equal access to education.	Androcentric (Connell, 1985) and Eurocentric (Mohanty, 1991) Legal and institutional reform has not resulted in parity.
Gender Resistance Feminisms e.g. **Standpoint feminism** (e.g. Harding, 1991) **Radical feminism** (MacKinnon, 1989)	Patriarchal social systems, where men oppress and subjugate women to remain in power. Extends to knowledge and systemic control.	Valorisation of women's own traits and experiences. Women-only spaces. Rejection of men and male-dominated spheres.	Essentialist (are all women alike and share experiences based solely on womanhood?) (Rowbotham, 1979) Divisive (can alienate men).
Gender Rebellion Feminisms e.g. **Social Construction feminisms** (e.g. Lorber, 1994) **Male feminisms** (Connell, 1987) **Postcolonial feminisms** (Mohanty, 1991); **Post-structural feminisms** (J. Butler, 1990).	Social orders are gendered- but are also built on power asymmetries across class, ethnicity, sexuality and nationality. Importance of studying practice and text.	Analysis of power and control based on intersectionality. Deconstruct and break down barriers between identities and stereotyping.	Hard to realise- and understand- a world without gender labels. Paradoxical in the creation of more labels for identities.

Adapted from Lorber (1998)

Studies into gender tend to focus on the causes of gender inequality, and the means of changing them. Lorber (1998) provides a comprehensive but neat summation of the history of 'gender' and 'equality' and the corresponding feminist theories. Table 5 details this chronologically, with gender reform feminisms appearing in the 1950s, and gender rebellion theories gaining popularity in the 1990s. Importantly, however, elements of each theory can be found throughout literature and policies today, and in practice many scholars borrow from different categories.

Gender and equality have meant different things over time, and continue to do so. From desiring women to be treated the same as, and be judged on the same worth as men (liberal feminisms) to championing women's difference (resistant feminisms) we have arrived at rebellion. Informed by post-structural demonstrations of the power of language and text in forming gender and identity, rebellion feminisms have interrogated the 'binary oppositions' of man/woman; feminine/masculine; strong/weak; gay/straight and so on, that are taken for granted in everyday lexicon (cf. Irigaray, 1985). Informed by ontologies that question the 'truth' of the world as we know it, gender rebellion feminisms conceptualise gender as something 'fluid, processural, uncertain and shifting' (Alvesson and Due Billing, 2009: 35). Butler's theory of performativity promotes gender as a 'stylized repetition of acts' (Butler, 1990: 140) within which a plurality of differences, in genders and sexualities is stressed.

Despite a range of approaches to 'gender', a uniting aspect is that gender is a social construct and its enactment contingent on society and culture (Mead, 1928; 1935) .Yet this understanding of gender is generally overlooked in most of the social sciences. Haig (2004) surveyed social sciences literature to find that 'gender' is used three times more than 'sex' as a concept. Thus, 'gender' has replaced 'sex' in common parlance,

without any of the conceptual nuance behind such a term[6]. This is demonstrated in a brief review of gender within organisation studies literature.

3.1.1. 'GENDER' IN ORGANISATION STUDIES

A number of scholars have demonstrated that organisations are 'gendered' (Acker, 1990; 1992) and are excellent examples of places where ideals of 'real woman' or 'real man' can be found (Cockburn, 1991; Kerfoot and Knights, 1998; Martin, 1990). Indeed, the constructions of, and experiences of, gender identity and roles in the workplace features in the successful journal *Gender, Work and Organization*. Yet surveys of academic work on gender in organisation and management studies show that nuanced conceptualisations of gender are still very much in the minority (Alvesson and Due Billing, 2009; Broadbridge and Hearn, 2008; Martin and Collinson, 2002; Townsley, 2003).

Townsley (2003) sets out a simplified account of organisation studies' understanding of gender. She explains that first studies fixated on 'gender as body counting' (2003: 260), which aimed to highlight the lack of women in positions of power in organisations. This is associated with gender reform feminisms (Lorber, 1998), in that numbers of men and women are counted as an indication of equality (in leadership, in training, in particular sectors etc.). Management literature, by and large, has not moved on from such a conceptualisation of gender. Ely and Padavic surveyed 131 articles over 20 years to find that organisational research continued to explore sex differences between men and women, and focused 'on discovering *whether* rather than *why* such differences exist' (2007: 1121). Such an approach may well speak of 'gender' but a focus on sex (as biological identity) is predominant (Borna and White, 2003). Haig writes that 'gender has come to be adopted as a simple synonym, perhaps

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[6] For an interesting experiment, look at forms that ask for 'sex' or 'gender'- do they have more than two options (m/f)? If not, and asking for gender, they are probably replacing 'sex' with 'gender'. This was mentioned many times in UK interviews.

a euphemism, for sex by many writers who are unfamiliar with the term's recent history' (2004: 95).

Turning to organisational literature detailing CSR and/or sustainability, I carried out my own brief survey. Searching for articles exploring 'gender' in the top-rated business ethics and CSR journals, my review concurred with others' findings[7]. The majority of studies looking at gender employed statistical, quantitative methods, and focused on 'body counting', with the majority of articles exploring ethical decision making (did women behave more ethically than men?) or counting and theorising on the number of women on corporate boards. The focus on gender is also overwhelmingly in the context of the global North. Only 3 articles out of the 189 surveyed explored gender in relation to the value chain. The focus remains resolutely on women at the 'top' of the value chain: women on boards, and as managers but rarely as workers.

Recently feminist organisational scholars have called for more research on 'intersectionality': research exploring the intersections of gender, ethnicity, sexuality, (dis)ability and class (Acker, 2012; Calás, Smircich, Tienari, and Ellehave, 2010; Holvino, 2010; Mohanty, 1991) and how these play out across multinational organisations (Townsley, 2003; Broadbridge and Hearn, 2008; Acker, 1998). This is especially pertinent given evermore exchanges of people, goods, services and communication across national borders. It is a relevant approach to my study on gender in a CSR and value chains context. Instead of looking at 'whether' there are differences between men and women's experiences of working, scholars are increasingly exploring the processes and practices: the 'hows' of gender, in organisations. In the next section I explore this in more detail.

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[7]I searched all articles published from the journals' launch until November 2011 in the *Journal of Business Ethics, Corporate Governance: An International Review, Business Ethics Quarterly*, *Business and Society, Business Ethics: A European Review* and *The Journal of Corporate Citizenship.* I searched for articles with gender/women in the title. Journalistic pieces and book reviews were removed from the survey. A total of 189 articles out of 8965 were found to study gender or women (2.1%).

3.1.2. GENDER AS AN INSTITUTION

How is it that gender sustains itself as an overarching influence in nearly every society throughout history? To what extent is inequality due to social structures, as opposed to our individual life choices? These central puzzles lie at the heart of gender theorising, especially that of Social Construction feminist scholars R.W. Connell (1985; 1987), Judith Lorber (1994; 1998); Barbara Risman (1998, 2004) and Patricia Yancey Martin (2001, 2004). They argue for a conceptualisation of gender as an institution, sustained by gendered practices. The concept has grown from early understandings of gender as a social construct, and has been influenced by ethnomethodological (Goffman, 1979; Kessler and McKenna, 1978) and later poststructuralist (Bourdieu, 1977; 2001; Foucault, 1977a; 1978; 1986) trends in our understanding of society and human behaviour.

Gender can be understood as a social institution as it is an entrenched collective, powerful, subversive and omnipresent part of social life (Lorber, 1998; 1994; Martin, 2004). As Table 6 explores, institutions are said to have a number of elements to their form, constitution, continuation and alteration that are reflected in the ways gender has been theorised. Martin (2004) draws on the work of Connell (1987) and Lorber (1994) to strongly make the case that gender too can be conceptualised as a social institution. It is both constituted by, and constituting of individuals (Giddens, 1984; Bourdieu, 1977). We make our world and our world makes us, through everyday talk, behaviour, actions and language: otherwise known as 'practices' (Schatzki, Knorr Cetina, and von Savigny, 2001; West and Zimmerman, 1987). These practices, enacted by actors in their everyday lives, feed into intermediary societal levels (such as organisations) and contribute to a structural notion of 'gender', in the form of an institution. This feeds back into organisations, actors and so on, in an iterative process. Thus, gender is at once structure and agency, in an embodied, subjective understanding of what an institution can be (Connell, 1987; Martin, 2004). Importantly, such a conceptualisation

shares much with other theories on social and institutional change (see Section 3.3.1), as it posits that actors are agentic, yet operating in societal structures. Change can happen, but it is rarely easy. It is in this framework that gender is considered throughout the rest of this thesis.

Locating the continuation of gender inequality within micro-practices and interactions considers equality in a much broader, and in some ways controversial sense, given as it is to notions of institutional change and the 'undoing' of gender (Deutsch, 2007). To be clear, such an approach champions the assumption that categories of gender as we know them need to be challenged, unpicked and reformulated, perhaps even done away with altogether (Risman, 2004). This is very different to the mainstream management approach to gender: gender is not a static variable, but a fluid, processural concept. In this sense, it should be considered as a verb (to gender) as opposed to a noun (Butler, 1990).

Such a conceptualisation of gender means I can critically and comprehensively explore my research questions: how is gender understood, translated into CSR practices, and potentially impactful on farmers' lives? In the next section I review the literature on gender in relation to CSR, focusing on value chains. I demonstrate that conceptualisations of gender have rarely touched on the notion of institutions, and that understandings of change, and power, remain relatively static.

Table 6: The Gender Institution		
Elements of Institutions	**Evidence from Sociological theories**	**Evidence from Gender theories**
Entail cognitive, regulative and normative cultural elements	Institutions exist in thought, and in rules both written and unwritten (Giddens, 1984; Scott, 2001).	Gender exists in thought, in our taken-for-granted assumptions, as well as regulations and laws (Martin, 2004).
A key element of social life	Institutions are profoundly social (Berger & Luckmann, 1966); they are characteristic of groups (Dorado, 2013).	Gender is a strong social and group characteristic, found in almost every society around the world (Gherardi, 1994).
Constituted through actors' practices; which constrain and facilitate behaviour, thought and action	Institutions are made up of distinct social practices that recur (Giddens, 1984) and recycle (Connell, 1987) behaviour and action in societies (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).	'People "do gender" in the street, on the subway, in their homes and workplaces' (Martin, 2004: 1256; Acker, 1992; West and Zimmerman, 1987)
Practices are performed by both individuals and collectives	Institutions both constrain and facilitate behaviour/actions by societal/group members (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Bourdieu, 1977).	Gender teaches us to act, look and think in certain ways under the scrutiny of peers (Butler, 1990).
Endure over time and place	Institutions endure/persist across extensive time and geographic space (Giddens, 1984).	Elements of gender inequality remain over 1000s of years i.e. the gender pay gap.
Entail history, but can change over time and place	Institutions change historically (Thelen, 1999; Berger and Luckmann, 1966)	Gender varies over time and place and is susceptible to human agency (Mead, 1928).
Imbued with power	Institutions are organized in accord with and permeated by power (Lawrence, 2008; Berger and Luckmann, 1966)	Patriarchy describes male power over women. Gender is infused with power relations (Halford & Leonard, 2001)

Adapted from Martin (2004)

3.2. GENDER IN CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY: THREE PERSPECTIVES

I now collate literature from a diverse range of sources that explore gender and CSR, primarily in the context of the value chain. Table 7 outlines perspectives on gender and CSR through an analysis of conceptions of gender, power and equality. The three perspectives identified are Strategic, Rights-Based and Critical Feminist perspectives. At the heart of the perspectives are questions on the causes of inequalities and the best way to rectify them, mirroring Lorber's understanding of feminisms (1998). For each piece, I thus asked:

(1) How is 'gender' conceptualised?
(2) How is 'power' conceptualised?
(3) What is the source of gender inequality said to be?
(4) What does gender equality look like?

Analysing the literature in this way is also concomitant to the study of CSR in a number of ways. Exploring gender in CSR first entails understanding what 'gender' is; before unpacking the root causes of inequality, and how power pushes certain groups of people into positions of disadvantage. Conceptualisations of equality and power are central to discussions on gender and development, but are largely taken for granted in practice where often the multidimensional properties of inequality (Phillips, 2000) and 'covert' power relations (Lukes, 1974) are left unexplored. Categorisation is also important since the literature hails from CSR and organizational studies, but also from the fields of sociology, politics and international development, adding to the divergence of opinions.

It is worth noting that not all authors discussed here are academic, nor do they always neatly fit into one category. For example, feminists write much of the rights-based literature, but a different focus on equality, for example, may separate a piece from more critical feminist work.

Equally, some authors, such as Kate Grosser (2009; 2011), are difficult to categorise given the distinctive approach they have to gender and CSR. Grosser's work is a feminist look at political CSR, and not informed by the socialism many aspire to in the Critical Feminist perspective. Nonetheless, a critical and feminist perspective is the best fit in a somewhat restricted categorisation of the literature.

3.2.1. THE STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVE

This approach to gender and CSR in value chains is commonly understood as 'the business case for equal opportunities'. Literature from management journals (Maxfield, 2007; Ruiz-Thierry, 2007) and consultancy publications (Corporate Citizenship, 2012; McKinsey & Company, 2012; Pellegrino, D'Amato, and Weisberg, 2011; Ward, Lee, Baptist, and Jackson, 2010) champions a strategic motivation to attend to the issue of gender and CSR. The common refrain of 'it pays to do good' has now been added to: 'it pays to do good *with women.'* Aspects of this include evidence that women workers are more productive and offer opportunities to do business in new markets (Ward et al., 2010; Chan, 2010; Nanda et al., 2013).

This perspective emphasises the power of economics for the achievement of equality, through commerce and employment. There is emphasis on 'economic empowerment' rather than social or political empowerment. Phillips (2000) explains that the majority of theorising about inequality now focuses on economics, and economic liberalism's concerns for the individual. Inequality is viewed as reflecting a breakdown in relationships between two actors, either between the state and an individual, or in the case of CSR, between business and an individual. Thus, gender inequalities can be addressed by targeted training and mentoring, which focuses on changing the woman to fit within the current system (Dickens, 1999; Meyerson and Kolb, 2000). Equality is often measured quantitatively: in economic parity, in equal numbers of men and women in

positions. This is mirrored in the CSR passion for auditing, codes and tick-box reporting tools, but means that the silencing of women's voices that the rights-based perspective highlights, such as in the auditing experience (Auret and Barrientos, 2004) fail to feature in the strategic perspective. Societal (structural) influences on the individual's lack of opportunity are largely ignored (Phillips, 2000). This can be contrasted with the social liberalism influencing the rights-based approach to gender equality, and the socialism of the Critical Feminist perspective, as will be discussed later.

The strategic perspective is not limited to business and management literature. As Grosser and Van der Gaag (2013) argue, there are a growing number of development organisations, such as the World Bank (Roberts and Soederberg, 2012), who are adopting such arguments. They are advocating investing in women as it 'makes economic sense' on an international scale (Cornwall et al., 2009; Eyben, 2011; Roy, 2007) and urge the private sector, often through CSR, to act accordingly. This call is responded to in CSR programmes such as Nike's 'The Girl Effect' (Hayhurst, 2014). Such programmes are able to receive corporate support because they are advanced through a strong business case and ultimately serve to provide financial return (CSR practitioner, as told to author, March 2012). Much of mainstream CSR appears to operate in this vein (Lockett, Moon, and Visser, 2006; Bondy et al., 2012). It is becoming a dominant theme in the literature on gender and CSR (Grosser, 2011) and mirrors what Phillips calls 'a turn towards the market in liberal egalitarian political thought' (2008: 440). Occasionally a commitment to women's rights may also be stated in literature from the strategic perspective, but it is often secondary to a clearly articulated economic strategy. It is very rare to see statements of feminism in these writings.

Table 7: Key Aspects of Three Perspectives on Gender and CSR				
	Key Theoretical Questions			
Perspectives	How is Gender conceptualised?	How is Power conceptualised?	What is the source of Gender Inequality?	What does Gender Equality look like?
Strategic e.g. Boodhna, 2011; Chan, 2010; Coles & Mitchell, 2011; Levine et al., 2009; Maxfield, 2007; Nanda et al., 2013; The World Bank, 2011; Ruiz-Thierry, 2007; Ward et al., 2010.	Gender as given. Sex and gender undifferentiated.	Power is implicitly evident in exercise of decisions and actions, and in conflict. 'Power over' someone.	Economic liberalism: Breakdown in relationship between individual and State/business.	Economic parity; equal numbers in positions etc.
Rights-Based e.g. Barrientos, 2001; 2008; 2014; Farnworth, 2011; Grosser and Moon, 2005a, 2005b; King, et al., 2012; Pearson and Seyfang, 2002; Prieto, 2003; Prieto-Carrón, 2004, 2008; Hale & Opondo, 2005.	Influenced by gender reform feminisms. Gender as a social construct.	Rarely defined, but often mentioned. Encompasses power 'within' and 'over'.	Social liberalism: unequal societal structures put women at a disadvantage within value chains and CSR.	Business and CSR policies and practices adapted to include women's nuanced needs. Human rights upheld for all.
Critical Feminist e.g. Bain, 2010; Coleman, 2002; Cornwall, Gideon, and Wilson, 2009; Elias, 2013; Grosser, 2009; Hayhurst, 2011; Kilgour, 2012; Marshall, 2007, 2011; Pearson, 2004; 2007; Roberts, 2012; Thompson, 2007; Grosser and Van de Gaag; 2013; Roberts & Soederberg, 2012.	Influenced by gender revolution and rebellion feminisms. Gender as power relations.	Either 'power over' one class by another/one gender over another OR Foucauldian power relations as 'everywhere'.	Male and class-based subjugation of women in capitalist system OR ongoing embedded inequalities in power relations.	Business and CSR radically overhauled to include and value women's time spent outside of the workplace on domestic work.

The unfamiliarity with feminism is echoed in the conceptualisation of gender in the strategic perspective. Gender is rarely differentiated from sex. By this I mean that when authors talk about gender they usually refer to women and men, without elucidating further on what they mean by 'women' and 'men', and without exploring how gender is socially constructed and what this means for their argument. Borna and White (2003) have demonstrated that this is a problem for the vast majority of management literature, which continues to conflate sex with gender. Arguably discussions around gender equality in CSR need to take place within a conceptualisation of gender that considers issues of power and control, in a societal context. The majority of literature adopting a strategic perspective does not consider gender in this way. Instead, sex inequalities may be tackled through an affirmative discrimination policy, which may result in more equal numbers of women in leadership positions, but the root causes, the 'gender subtext' of why women were not reaching leadership positions, goes unresolved.

While 'gender' and 'equality' are terms used frequently in strategic, management-focused policies, 'power' is absent (Benschop and Verloo, 2011). This is not surprising given that concepts of equality, and gender, are far-removed from sociological understandings of 'society'. Luke's term 'one dimensional view of power' would apply here- as it is assumed power is about obvious conflict, and holding power visibly over another individual (1974). It is further reflected in the individual liberal view of equality seen in strategic perspectives which equates equality with freedom of choice (Phillips, 2000). For example, managers often argue that women in factories are empowered through work, have chosen work there, and can leave if unhappy (Personal correspondence with Sri Lankan factory owner, March 2012). This view of power, however, is one-dimensional in that it fails to see that 'choice' itself can be a product of society: hidden and taken for granted.

The strategic perspective positions women as critical resources

without due consideration of their roles or responsibilities outside of the contractual agreement, if indeed, they are even covered by contracts (Dolan and Sorby, 2003). There is a growing body of critical CSR literature that seeks to challenge the strategic perspective, arguing that multinationals have a responsibility to more than immediate employees; and that the business case ignores societal causes of inequality, and is thus unable to achieve meaningful change (Prieto-Carrón et al., 2006; Dickens, 1999). It is outside the scope of this study to explore the normative dimensions of whether female emancipation *should be* secondary to the profit-motive, but it is pertinent to note that there is growing resentment of the strategic perspective in the development studies sphere. In a number of journal articles (Eyben, 2011; Hayhurst, 2011; 2014; Cornwall et al., 2009; Chant and Sweetman, 2012; Roberts and Soederberg, 2013), and journalistic pieces (Cornwall, 2012; Fraser, 2013) writers have criticised what they see as a stripping down of the 'rights-based' approach to gender equality. Eyben writes:

> *The seeming triumph of the 1990s had been that social justice was seen as a sufficient reason for efforts to be made to secure gender equality. Women's and girls' well-being was an end in itself. Today, it is all about calculating the rates of return from investing in a person as if she were a piece of machinery* (2011).

In summary, the strategic perspective that dominates the business approach to gender, and increasingly CSR, fails to achieve gender equality for both genders for three reasons. First, the conceptualisation of gender as biological sex continues stereotyping men and women's roles and abilities according to their assumed sex (Benschop and Verloo, 2011). As noted in the global North, more women in management positions does not necessarily equate to a more inclusive environment (Broadbridge, 2008). Second, the root causes of inequality are unaddressed, in part because gender and equality are not fully considered as part of wider society. Women are not disadvantaged because they own uteruses- but because of

society's definition of that ownership. Finally, the strategic approach promotes a business case argument that ultimately ignores power relations between business and wider society, and assumes free choice for all.

3.2.2. THE RIGHTS-BASED PERSPECTIVE

The 'rights-based' perspective in literature on gender and CSR originates overwhelmingly in the field of development studies. The dominant author in the field is Barrientos, amongst others. Within management literature Prieto-Carrón has led the way focusing on fruit value chains and the gendered dimensions of codes of conduct (2003; 2004). The literature in this perspective is influenced by a human rights discourse, which in turn originates from liberalism, particularly social liberalism. There are similarities between this group of researchers' attention to equal rights within CSR, and the liberal feminist movement's call for equality in the 1960s. Attention to gender equality in these terms has been in existence since the writings of Mary Wollstonecraft (1792) and John Stuart Mill (1869) but received a boost in international development theory through the work of Boserup (1970), Sen (1992) and Nussbaum (2000). 'Equality' in this sense is often premised on the 'leveling of the playing field' for men and women, and that all human rights should be achievable for all humans.

Whilst not ignorant of cultural differences, writers in the rights-based perspective tend to subscribe to Nussbaum (2000) and Moller-Okin's (1998a) argument that liberalism (in terms of claims to *universal* human rights) is necessary for feminism. This is, however, usually a social form of liberalism as opposed to the economic liberalism of the strategic perspective (Phillips, 2001). Inequality is understood to be caused by uneven opportunities in social structures. Barrientos (2001; 2008); Auret and Barrientos (2004), Bain (2010) and Prieto-Carrón (2003) have done empirical work to highlight the inconsistences and inequity of current CSR practices, including codes of conduct and auditing. Thus, the rights-based

perspective focuses not just on the individual but on social influences on gender inequality and social justifications for private sector action on such issues.

On-the-ground studies of value chain inequalities dominate due in part to a conceptualisation of gender that appreciates that sex/gender are different, and that measuring gender in the value chain requires a nuanced, often qualitative research design (Prieto-Carrón, 2004). Gender is a social construct and as such, cannot be measured by counting the numbers of men and women. Rather, gender is about experience, identity and power, which is again linked to liberal, gender reform theories, social liberalism and a consideration of societal influence on inequalities (Lorber, 1994).

Power is an important component of how gender is conceptualised within the rights-based perspective, and within a human rights discourse more generally (Moller-Okin, 1998a). Power is referred to in the use of 'empowerment', but in a 'power within' sense (Rowlands, 1997). Power is also mentioned as a 'power over' concept (Lukes, 1974), for example the discussion of men's power oven women with regard to value chain governance and the position of women workers within this (e.g. Barrientos and Smith, 2007; Dolan and Humphrey, 2000). However, as in common with much development-related writing, many fail to adequately address what 'power' (Gaventa, 2003) and 'empowerment' (Cornwall & Brock, 2005) actually are. 'Human rights', have been greatly challenged by a number of feminist authors who point out that the notion of 'rights', either natural (cf. Locke) or human (cf. Kant; UNDHR) have evolved with men in mind, and have mostly been developed by male thinkers within gendered political frameworks (Moller-Okin, 1998b; Mohanty, 2003). This has meant certain rights have gained prominence in legal frameworks (e.g. private property) whilst others have been extremely slow to gain support (e.g. marital rape being recognised as such) (Olsen, 1984). In the CSR context, codes have been quick to champion limited working hours, but

slow to address women's (often particular) need for flexibility. Power, evidently, is an issue here, but the term is not defined nor is it applied to 'rights' explicitly enough. This is arguably due to the fact that most rights-based approaches fail to see that the human rights discourse itself is socially constructed and imbued with power relations (Stammers, 1999).

In summary, the rights-based perspective offers more nuanced understandings of gender, equality and power, but continues to promote a pragmatic approach to CSR that at times assumes a universalist approach to gender, rights and CSR that can be critiqued. Do women in the value chain want to be judged on the same criteria as men? Is 'empowerment' for women really 'being the same as men'? The critical feminist raises some of these questions.

3.2.3. THE CRITICAL FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

The 'critical feminist' perspective is really a plurality of feminisms, as it includes a diverse range of poststructuralist, socialist, Marxist and postcolonial feminisms. This perspective generally argues that power, conflict and subjugation are crucial components of research on gender and value chains. Socialism, as opposed to liberalism, is a key component theoretically. Coleman explains that this contribution is important, but restricted in numbers in the field of CSR, where 'there is little overt discussion of power issues, of conflicting interests or 'win-lose' rather than 'win-win' strategies' (2002: 22).

A critical feminist perspective conceives of 'gender as power relations' (Townsley, 2003: 624) and is closely related to gender revolution and rebellion feminist theories as identified by Lorber (1994). However, there are two distinct approaches within this perspective: poststructuralist, which sees inequality as embedded into social systems, meanings and language in particular (Coleman, 2002). Published poststructuralist writing on gender and CSR, however, is extremely rare. More dominant, but by no means common, are radical, socialist and

Marxists feminisms. Radical feminist views on inequality locate women's continued struggle in terms of a patriarchal labour system. Inequality thrives due to women's purposeful subjugation into a global capitalist system that requires women to be second-class citizens. Women's position in value chains as a contingent workforce allows for their other roles as homemakers and mothers: crucial roles for the continuation of capitalist society (Engels, 1884). Pearson (2004; 2007) has argued that CSR needs to go 'beyond women workers' to look at the market system as a whole, which includes women's unpaid work at home just as much as their employment in the corporation (see also Marshall, 2007; 2011). In line with socialist and Marxist feminism, she locates women's reproductive function as the key source of one gender's subjugation under another, arguing that capitalism relies on cheap work and unpaid care for its continuation (Elson and Pearson, 1981). Thus, CSR which only applies to workers in the 9-5 does little to challenge existing inequalities.

Power runs through the critical feminist perspective, but its diverse theoretical backgrounds make categorisation difficult. Debates about how to study power come up sharply when poststructuralist and radical/socialist feminists meet due to their disagreement on the causes of women's inequality. For example, Marxist feminists such as Elson and Pearson (1981) talk often of 'power over': power of the ruling classes over the proletariat; power of men over women. The understanding of the dimensions of this power vary- from a one-dimensional view where power only appears in conflict (Lukes, 1974) and involves control over one group (Pearson, 2007), to power that is relational, in that is always present in the relationships between human subjects, and not necessarily a negative force (Foucault, 1982; 1986).

To summarise, CSR in the critical feminist perspective is often indistinguishable from capitalism and its attendant problems for women. It is seen as ineffective (Bain, 2010); a tool for 'greenwash' or perhaps a dangerous form of co-optation (Prieto-Carrón et al., 2006; Hayhurst, 2011;

Fraser, 2013). Socialist and Marxist influences mean that neo-liberal, economic liberalism favoured by the strategic perspective is heavily critiqued. Firstly, private sector activity, including CSR, unfettered by the State can only push marginalised actors further into inequality (Chant and Sweetman, 2012; Roberts, 2012). Secondly, since gender is a social construction, it must be understood in relation to societal causes of inequality, which the strategic perspective fails to do. A critical feminist perspective goes further than the rights-based perspective, however, often leaning towards socialism in its political approach to tackling inequality. Crucially, critical perspectives on gender and CSR are key for casting a critical and theoretically informed eye on power within CSR practices.

3.2.4. CONCLUSION: NEW DIRECTIONS FOR GENDER AND CSR

My conceptualisation of gender as an institution (Section 3.1.2) provides a new starting point for approaching gender and CSR. As an institution, gender is understood to be imbued with power relations, permeating all areas of social life, including how men and women experience the value chain, and how organisations understand and address inequalities through their CSR practices. Crucially, applying an institutional lens to gender and CSR begins to move away from descriptions of outcomes (i.e. the number of women in industry; the working conditions of Banana farmers) to the exploration of processes of gendered work, and of potentially 'engendering' CSR practices. Theoretically, there is a useful crossover between the concept of gender as an institution, and institutional work theory. In the next section I explain how these two areas of scholarship complement each other, to develop a 'Gendered Institutional' perspective and conceptual framework.

3.3. AN INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON GENDER AND CSR

Both social-constructionist feminist (Lorber, 1994; Risman, 2004) and institutional work theorists (Lawrence et al., 2009; Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006) argue that institutions come into being, sustain and evolve, through actors' interactions and practices in everyday life. The notion of institutional work and its relation to feminist theories of the organisation are expanded on in detail in the next sections. My main argument, however, is that 'institutional work' done by actors under the umbrella of 'CSR' is involved in the 'creating, maintaining or disrupting' of institutions (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006: 215), such as gender (Acker, 2006; Karam & Jamali, 2013). This is far removed from the dominant strategic perspective on gender, which ignores the powerful effects of society on individuals and oversells their ability to change such structures. On the other hand, rights-based and critical feminist perspectives overstress the dominance of structural constraints on individuals, underselling actors' agency. Locating the phenomenon of gender inequality within micro-practices allows the agency/structure dichotomy to be challenged, suggesting the possibility of institutional change and the 'undoing' of gender (Deutsch, 2007).

A close reading of the existing literature on gender and CSR also demonstrates that whilst an array of approaches to the topic exist, institutional advances in mainstream organisational research had largely been ignored in the 'gender' literature[8]. Furthermore, the focus in much existing literature is on the outcomes of gendered CSR: the working conditions and so on experienced by women and men in value chains. There is little on the processes of why these outcomes happen, or how they may be avoided. Finally, most existing studies focus on women workers (the individual) at the level of analysis, or on policy and legal

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[8] With the exception of recent work by Charlotte Karam and Dima Jamali (2013).

frameworks (structure). Again, the organisations involved 'in between' these two levels, those working in the day to day, are left unexplored.

Table 8: Conceptual Differences between the Strategic Perspective to Gender and CSR and Gendered Institutional Perspective to Gender and CSR				
Perspective	*How is Gender conceptualise-d?*	*How is Power conceptualised?*	*What is the source of Gender Inequality?*	*What does Gender Equality look like?*
Strategic	Gender as given. Sex and gender undifferentiat-ed	Power is implicitly evident in exercise of decisions and actions, and in conflict. 'Power over' someone.	Economic liberalism: Breakdown in relationship between individual and State/ business	The appearance of economic parity; equal numbers in positions etc.
Gendered Institutional e.g. Grosser (2011); Karam and Jamali (2013)	Gender as an institution: social structure and practices.	Relational Power. Organisations imbued with gendered power relations, but it is open to resistance and change.	Structural and institutional power imbalances. Subtle and interweaved in micro-practices of social life.	Dismantling of gender stereotypes

In contrast, an institutional approach to gender and CSR champions the study of the micro-practices and interactions of actors working within and across organisations. These organisations are located within institutions imbued with power relations. Importantly, an institutional approach allows for the possibility of institutional change. Table 9 contrasts these areas of intellectual enquiry with the current dominant approach to gender and CSR.

Institutions are defined here as 'cultured-cognitive, normative and regulative elements that...provide stability and meaning to social life' (Scott, 2001: 48) and operate across time and space (Giddens, 1984). They

are socially constructed through discursive practices (Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy, 2004) and exist in discourse, artefacts, narratives, routines and relational systems (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). Institutions can restrain or enable social actors to behave in certain ways (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006), but largely remain taken-for-granted and embedded into our day-to-day lives (Scott, 2001; Leca and Narrache, 2006). Table 6 (Section 3.1.2) lists the dimensions of institutions as per sociological studies of the organisation, against Martin (2004) and others' conceptualisation of gender as an institution.

The importance of the institutional perspective adopted here for the literature is that institutions can, and have, changed. The concept of 'Gender-as-an-Institution' situates actors as both change-agents and change-recipients (Lorber, 1994). This shares much with the concept of institutional work (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006), which also grounds its theory in 'practice' as a means to combat both the structural determinism of 'old institutionalism', and the individualistic notion of the 'institutional entrepreneur' (DiMaggio, 1988) that dominates much of the later neo-institutional theories (Leca, Battilana and Boxenbaum, 2008). Institutional work as a concept works well because of its openness to the recursive nature of practice, action and institutions. It also privileges exploring actors' 'purposive action' (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006) in affecting institutions. That is, whilst human beings are always located within the very structures they may alter or maintain, their *intent* and *effort* to affect influence is of interest, whether or not they are 'successful' in their aims (Lawrence et al., 2009).

Putting gender theory together with institutional work to form a Gendered Institutional framework thus allows for the discussion of (1) power, (2) human agency, and (3) the micro-practices of human beings as the foundation of, continuation and possible transformation of institutions (in this study, gender). In the sections below I draw upon both theories to show their complementarity and usefulness in relation to my thesis aims:

namely, to explore *how* CSR, enacted by actors, may change the institution of gender. Such an aim entails investigating actors' micro-practices, interactions and power relations within the specific context of the Ghanaian value chain.

3.3.1. INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES

Studies of institutional work seek to understand how individuals and organisations purposively create, maintain or disrupt institutions (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). This work is made up of practices: sometimes big, effortful manifestations (e.g. the launch of a new CSR policy) but oftentimes smaller, 'mundane' interactions and activities (e.g. updating a colleague on CSR in the lunch queue) (Lawrence et al., 2009). 'Micro-practices' form the basis of institutional change and maintenance (Lawrence et al., 2009: 247).

Both the concepts of institutional work and gender-as-an-institution have their roots in a phenomenological understanding of the world. That is, they have at their centre an understanding of knowledge as socially constructed (Waller and Jennings, 1999) and have drawn upon post-structuralist theories of practice, specifically the work of Bourdieu (1974; 1977) and Foucault (1977a; 1978). Thus, institutions, including gender, are created, altered and re-created through human interaction, practice and language in a recursive manner (Giddens, 1984; Martin, 2004). Human beings 'do gender' repeatedly, at once reflecting the dominant status quo, adding to it (Acker, 1990; 1992; West and Zimmerman, 1987; Martin 2004) and potentially changing it (Butler, 1993).

Gender as an institution is understood as something which individuals have a certain amount of agency over (see Section 3.1.2). Most empirical studies, however, concentrate on what I would describe as the maintenance of the institution of gender, or what has also been termed, 'the doing of gender' (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Deutsch, 2007;

Nentwich and Kelan, 2014; Benschop and Verloo, 2011). Although the term 'doing gender' has been over-used and mis-used in some instances (Benschop and Verloo, 2011), it again shares philosophical roots with sociologies of practice (Fenstermaker and West, 2002). In Table 9 I list key works that offer insights into gender practices, or 'the doing and undoing of gender' at work.

Table 9: Key Works exploring the Doing or Undoing of Gender	
Doing Gender	**Undoing Gender**
West and Zimmerman (1987)	Deutsch (2007)
Gherardi (1994)	Risman (1998; 2009)
Ainsworth, Knox, & O'Flynn (2010)	Lorber (1998)
Bendl (2008)	Butler (2004)
Benschop and Doorewaard (1998)	Fenstermaker and West (2002)
Benschop, Halsema, and Schreur (2001)	Kelan (2010)
Calás and Smircich (1991)	Jeanes (2007)
Korvajärvi (2011)	Charles (2014)
Martin (1990)	Pullen and Simpson (2009)
Nentwich (2006)	
Poggio (2006)	
Rantalaiho, Heiskanen, Korvajarvi, and Vehvilainen (1997)	
Martin (2001; 2006)	

Many of these studies highlight how gender inequalities in the organisation are justified because of their 'naturalness', or 'tradition' (Ainsworth et al., 2010: 669) or because of an inherent 'natural' difference between men and women (Benschop et al., 2001; Korvajärvi, 2011). 'By doing this, they [employees] repeat assumptions which confirm existing arrangements of power between the sexes… [However] the respondents are not blind dupes, because they think and argue with ideology' (Korvajärvi, 2011:14). This idea of actors actively engaged in 'doing gender' corresponds well with the theory of institutional work, given as it too focuses on actors' agency. Taken as a whole, these studies suggest the institution of gender as powerfully re-created and disseminated through the site of the organisation (e.g. Gherardi, 1994; Martin, 1990). An example of the 'doing' of gender in the value chain is seen in discriminatory hiring practices, whereby managers prefer men to take on

certain jobs (such as lifting and transporting goods) because to hire women would cost more due to the necessity of lifting equipment. This practice is common, and justified as such often, but it is also arguably a 'doing' of gender at work, and a maintenance of the institution of gender over time.

3.3.2. INSTITUTIONS, CHANGE AND AGENCY

Deutsch (2007) and Risman (2009) have been at pains to stress that research must also capture how the gender institution is changed or disrupted, and how actors are involved in 'the undoing of gender'. Key works are again listed in Table 9, but there have been far fewer studies into agentic change overall (Deutsch, 2007), and until recently very little empirical work (excepting Kelan, 2010). Perhaps a problem is that there is uncertainty about what the 'undoing' of gender looks like. Risman muses that 'perhaps a criterion for identifying undoing gender might be when the essentialism of binary distinctions between people based on sex category is challenged' (2009: 83). The other problem lies in the structural determinism of most theories of gender, and their conceptualisation of power (see Section 3.3.3). Human beings are often located with little agency, forced into towing the line with regard to how they perform their gender (Butler, 1990; 1993).

As others have pointed out (Battilana and D'Aunno, 2009; Leca and Narrache, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2009), institutional theory has also struggled with the structure/agency debate. Structural descriptions of institutions, as portrayed in the 'old-institutionalism' of Selznick (1949), Mead (1934) and Blumer (1969) and also echoed in earlier feminist theories on patriarchy, look to an overarching abstract system which constrains and directs human agents to behave and think in certain ways.

	Institutionalism	Neo-Institutionalism	Institutional Work
Table 10: The Development of Institutional Theory			
Aim of Theory	**Why and how** do institutions affect individuals and organisations to act in certain ways?	**Why, when and how** do individuals and organisations disrupt institutions?	**How** do individuals and organisations create, maintain or disrupt institutions?
Agency	Institutions restrain individuals	Individuals can change institutions	Balance between macro and micro agency
Power	Top-down, structural, 'power-over'	Bottom-up, individually wrought, 'power-to'	Both structures and individuals sources of power. 'Power everywhere'
Consequences of Change	Institutional change under-theorised	Success stories of change achieved in intended manner ('supermen')	Intended *and* unintended consequences of institutional change sought
Key words	Institutionalisation legitimacy	Isomorphism; agency; decoupling; deinstitutionalisation; entrepreneurship	Rhetoric; process; language; intertextuality; unintended consequences; power.
Key Work	Blumer (1969); Mead (1943); Selznick (1949) See Scott (2001)	DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Jepperson, 1991; Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Oliver, 1992; 1991)	Lawrence *et al.*, 2013; 2009; 2011; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010; Zilber, 2002; 2006

Adapted from Lawrence et al. (2009)

Early neo-institutionalism in the work of DiMaggio and Powell (1983) and Meyer and Rowan (1977) echoed this phenomenological aspect of the agency/structure debate by theorising how organisations earn legitimacy by acting in similar ways to each other, termed isomorphism (Hwang and Colyvas, 2011). Under this early neo-institutional view, organisations (and the actors within them) were heavily constrained by a wider system or structure (Battilana and D'Aunno, 2009).

Later neo-institutional theorists challenged this 'top-down' approach, arguing that it was too deterministic and left no room for agency or free-will of human beings. Within organisational theory,

DiMaggio's 1988 paper began the new trend for neo-institutional theory that this time put the power back into the individual's hands (Battilana & D'Aunno, 2009; Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, & Suddaby, 2008). Instead of actors being shaped by seemingly unshakeable institutional structures, DiMaggio argued 'new institutions arise when organized actors with sufficient resources (*institutional entrepreneurs*) see in them an opportunity to realize interests that they value highly' (DiMaggio, 1988: 14, italics in original). For the last twenty years, studies on the 'institutional entrepreneur' have proliferated within academic journals, leading to a tipping of the balance once more in the agency/structure debate (Leca et al., 2008). The issue of 'agency' within institutional theories is summarised in Table 10, which traces the development of the theory to the conception of Institutional Work.

Institutional Work attempts to find a midway point between the two former theories. As Table 10 demonstrates, institutional work considers actors neither as 'cultural dupes' nor 'hypermuscular supermen' able to induce paradigm shifts (Suddaby, 2010: 15). Actors can engage in action to change institutions, but it is understood that they work within the confines of that very same institution (Lawrence et al., 2011: 55). Institutional work focuses on purposive action of organisations and individuals, revealing 'myriad, day-to-day equivocal instances of agency' (Lawrence et al., 2011: 52). This is in accord with the conceptualisation of gender as an institution, which sees gender as 'practice' both constituted by and constituting the institution through individuals' interactions (Martin, 2004; Acker, 1990; 1992). Exploring these interactions around gender and CSR activity requires theory that appreciates the importance of the agency of actors' practices.

A Gendered Institutional framework ensures agency is put back into the picture, with the possibility of men and women subverting systems, finding alternative ways of working or living, and perhaps rocking the metaphorical gender boat. For example, Karam and Jamali

(2013) utilise institutional work theory to understand how actors (in this case, those engaged in CSR practices) engage in purposive practices to disrupt, maintain or create institutions (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). Drawing on the Arab Spring context, they explain how individuals within organisations undertake 'work', such as 'undermining' dominant gender norms and beliefs (e.g. by contracting female suppliers in previously male-dominated sectors), or 'adapting' systems (e.g. by engaging in conversations with dissident voices). Thus actors involved in CSR can disrupt 'the gender institution' and provoke more equitable conditions for women (2013: 3).

Whilst undoubtedly some successes can be scored with regard to institutional change and actors pushing for social progress, as others have noted (Clegg, 2010; Lawrence et al., 2009), too much of this rhetoric could push CSR (and the individuals working in it) onto a pedestal for a cure-all antidote for social ills, such as gender inequality. Furthermore, *too much* emphasis on agency, especially in the context of gender within value chains, may underplay the importance of enduring, omniscient gendered power relations.

3.3.3. INSTITUTIONS, CHANGE AND POWER RELATIONS

As demonstrated in the review of literature on gender and CSR, 'power' is an 'essentially contested concept' (Lukes, 1974/2005: 137). Much debate has ensued on what power is, who has it (if 'it' can be 'had' at all), how it may be manifest, and how it could be captured and measured. Lukes' classical three dimensions of power offer various spheres in which power can exert its force. They continue to present a structural, 'systemic' view of 'power over' (Gaventa, 2003) that maintains that power is largely a 'property'. This is echoed in tales of corporate power in its various overt, covert and latent dimensions (e.g. Klein, 2000). Yet the application of institutional work to the study of CSR practices should in theory subvert such structural determinism. Crucially, actors have agency to affect

institutions, to resist power and reframe dominant narratives, as posited in Karam and Jamali (2013). This is an idea that gender theory scholars have been at the vanguard of (Martin, 2004).

However, an understanding of institutions made real through practice demands an understanding of power too as a practice, and ongoing process, not as a static entity that can be held by any one party or group (Foucault, 1986). Thus, whether actors have 'power over' or 'power to' may become irrelevant. It means letting go of the expectation that the outcomes of power relations can be studied as tangible, measurable impacts (Clegg, Courpasson and Phillips, 2006). Instead, we should look to the *techniques of the self* (Foucault, 1984 in Fornet-Betancourt et al., 1984), which demonstrate how we as human beings create and re-create the institutions in which we live, and the power relations that shape them, including gender (Foucault, 1986; Giddens, 1984). This would mean studying the everyday practices of embodied actors enmeshed in a web of power relations, to better understand the processes of how institutions come to be and will be. For example, studying the everyday use of language (Martin, 1990; Lakoff, 2004); text (Calás and Smircich, 1991); dress (Gherardi, 1995) and gesture (Rantalaiho and Heiskanen, 1997; Goffman, 1979) of women and men at work. The focus on these realms of micro-practices has been a rich area for feminist gendered organisation theorists.

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) point out that their theory is influenced by, amongst others, Foucault (1977a; 1986) and Bourdieu (1977; 2001). Yet their nuanced understandings of power and resistance have not as yet been well-translated into studies of institutional work (Lawrence, 2008; Lawrence et al., 2013), or in institutional theory more generally (Clegg et al., 2006; Hirsch and Lounsbury, 2014; Munir, 2014; Willmott, 2014). Lawrence (2008: 170) argues that it is 'power, in the form of repetitively activated controls' that 'differentiates institutions

from other social constructions'. Thus, power is present in institutional control, individual agency and resistance: as a concept it is central to explorations of societal change, control, and domination, reflected within studies of organisational life (Clegg et al., 2006). Many studies on institutions and work do document 'power', in the form of struggles, conflict and strategies for levering influence over others (e.g. Angus, 1993; Currie, Lockett, Finn, Martin, & Waring, 2012; Hardy & Phillips, 1998; Phillips et al., 2004), yet it remains a 'strange but true' fact that rarely is power given a name within organisational and institutional scholarship (Martin, 2006 in Clegg et al., 2006).

Furthermore, as institutional work attempts to sit at the crossroads between the 'old' and 'new' institutionalism when it comes to the 'embedded agency' debate, it too can approach the concept of power from a more nuanced approach. Power can be exercised by different actors (including collectively Dorado 2005; 2013) and can take many different forms. 'Power' is not just about the proliferation of resources, but can include the notion of 'empowerment' (Martí and Mair, 2009). Institutions are 'active and engaged wielders of power' (Suddaby *et al.*, 2010) but individuals working within and across institutions can manipulate (Rojas, 2010: Currie et al., 2012), challenge (Hardy and Phillips, 1998) and yield to power relations in a conscious-way. Institutional Work 'suggests neither determinism nor heroism and is potentially sensitive to both the oppressiveness of social, cultural, and material structures, and the potential for emancipation from some of those structures some of the time' (Lawrence et al., 2011: 56). The concept of institutional work applied to critically examine gender in the context of CSR and value chains presents a situation where power relations are at their tautest, and the stakes high for many involved in the production of our food.

3.3.4. INSTITUTIONS, CHANGE AND UNCERTAINTY

Table 11 collates some of identified forms of institutional work, split by their investigation into the creating, maintaining or disrupting of institutions (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). As Lawrence, Leca and Zilber (2013) write in the introduction to the *Organization Studies* special issue, studies are only recently beginning to demonstrate that different processes of institutional work can occur at the same time, sometimes even carried out by the same actors, meaning that institutions can be disrupted or maintained or created all at once (Currie et al., 2012; Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010; Helfen and Sydow, 2013; Micelotta and Washington, 2013).

Table 11: Review of the Processes of Institutional Work	
Creating Institutions	Changing normative associations; changing normative networks; mimicry; educating; theorizing; advocacy; defining; vesting; constructing identities; calculative framing; valorising; engaging; Justification work; negotiating
Maintaining Institutions	Enabling, policing, deterring, valorising/demonising, mythologizing, embedding and routinizing; emotions; theorizing, defining, educating, constructing normative networks.
Disrupting Institutions	Disconnecting sanctions; disassociating moral foundations; undermining assumptions and beliefs; disrupting; defending; rhetoric

Adapted from Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) and Lawrence et al. (2013)

Exploring practices and processes (such as those detailed in Table 11) of how institutions are created, maintained and disrupted should naturally lead to an inclusion of the intended *and* unintended consequences of such processes (Slager et al., 2012; Lawrence et al., 2009; Lawrence et al., 2011). As noted by others, however, this has not always been the case (Slager et al., 2012). Indeed, even the hunt for 'outcomes' may be a false direction for institutional work studies (Suddaby et al., 2010), seeing as their theoretical origins lie in their understanding of institutions, such as gender, being put-together by human practice. Studying 'practice' means

moving away from a pure focus on outcomes, to the study of the processes of actors 'working to effect those events and achieve [any] outcome' (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006: 219).

Openness to uncertainty in studies of institutions also offers a contribution to the field of CSR, which has also tended to concentrate on 'best practice' and tales of win-win success (Prieto-Carrón et al., 2006). Studies into gender change at work have also tended to focus on the intended 'planned' changes at the expense of capturing 'unplanned' change, or failure (Benschop and Verloo, 2011: 286). A richer understanding of CSR practices around gender would include the unintended consequences of organisations and individuals' decisions and actions (Slager et al., 2012). In this way, institutional work is extremely apt to the study of the emerging and potentially conflicting aspect of 'engendered CSR'.

3.4. A GENDERED INSTITUTIONAL CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

I have outlined the main benefits of drawing upon the concepts of gender-as-an-institution and institutional Work in the proceeding sections, emphasising the need for an institutional approach to change that appreciates the concepts of practice, agency, power and uncertainty. If we return to the questions that formed the basis of the literature review, and of the research questions at large, the complementary nature of the two bodies of theoretical literature becomes even more apparent. These questions ask: How do organisations understand 'gender' and translate it into CSR practices, and how does this then inform experiences of gender in the value chain? Central to this question is what 'gender' is, and how it can be 'informed' (changed/maintained). These questions and their answers help frame the Gendered Institutional conceptual framework within the canon of other institutional research.

The framework builds upon the literature review in Chapter Two, and the theories of institutional change outlined in this chapter. To re-cap, the key concepts used throughout the thesis are:

(1) Value chains and CSR as 'networks'
(2) Gender as an Institution
(3) Institutional Work as a means of gender change or stability.

As outlined in Chapter Two, CSR is increasingly considered and operationalised in a network approach, with various actors and organisations acting with and upon each other. Value chains, too, are best understood as networks of activity and organisations, working to produce an end product. The 'network' concept brings to the fore once again the individual actor within social exchanges. It is evident that exchanges of language, actions and discourses between these actors happen daily, across technologies, borders and cultures. Within this framing, institutional work for gender change or stability may occur.

In understanding gender as an institution in itself, as outlined in Section 3.1.2, the actor is once more given agency and power within theories of institutional change and maintenance. Actors in social life are given a starring role as they interact with one another and within institutional spaces, both being acted upon, and acting upon institutions. This two-way process is described by Giddens (1984) and Bourdieu (1977; 2001), and both have special mention for the 'insidious' and especially powerful institution of gender. 'Gender' is everywhere, influencing how we think, feel and act. Gender undoubtedly will have some effect on CSR, and the value chain, and the relationship between them. I am interested in how these relationships may be altered or maintained through actors' practices.

The final concept of institutional work helps craft a framework that may answer these questions in light of my own research context. Institutional work occurs as individual actors interact with each other

purposively, and in so doing, create, maintain or disrupt institutions. A hypothetical example could be that actors from one node of the value chain network issue a policy validating whistleblowing on sexual harassment. This is picked up by actors in another node, and responded to in a variety of ways. Gender, as an institution, is present throughout all of this, but could potentially be *disrupted* from its status quo by the policy. Or, gender could be *maintained* through an outright refusal of the policy by other actors. Or, conversely, gender could be *maintained* as the policy is enacted by all parties, but in so doing confirms the status quo of women as victim and men as aggressor. Theoretically, a new institution of gender could be *created* in response to such a development (or perhaps, new practices may hint at the creation of a new form of the gender institution). Thus the key aspects of this framework are that:

(1) Actors are agentic, engage in power relations and in their daily lives shape institutions through practice. This means institutions are not static.

(2) Gender is an institution, can change, and has changed in the past.

(3) Actors working in networks, especially in a CSR value chain context, often strive to affect change which has intended and unintended consequences on institutions.

In summary, the theories of institutional work and gender complement each other and add new avenues for exploration from their separate but similar bodies of literature. They share views on what institutions are, originate and change. They emphasise the importance of including human agency, power relations and the unintended consequences of institutional work within theorisations. Above all, both concepts appreciate that institutional change, whilst difficult, can occur, although there is much we still don't know, especially in new contexts such as 'engendered' CSR in the value chain.

Figure 3 helps visually demonstrate the relationship between my three main concepts. It shows the nested qualities of actors in networks, and the mutual feeding upwards and downwards of practices.

Figure 3: Diagram showing levels of the gender institution, and how it may be influenced through institutional work.
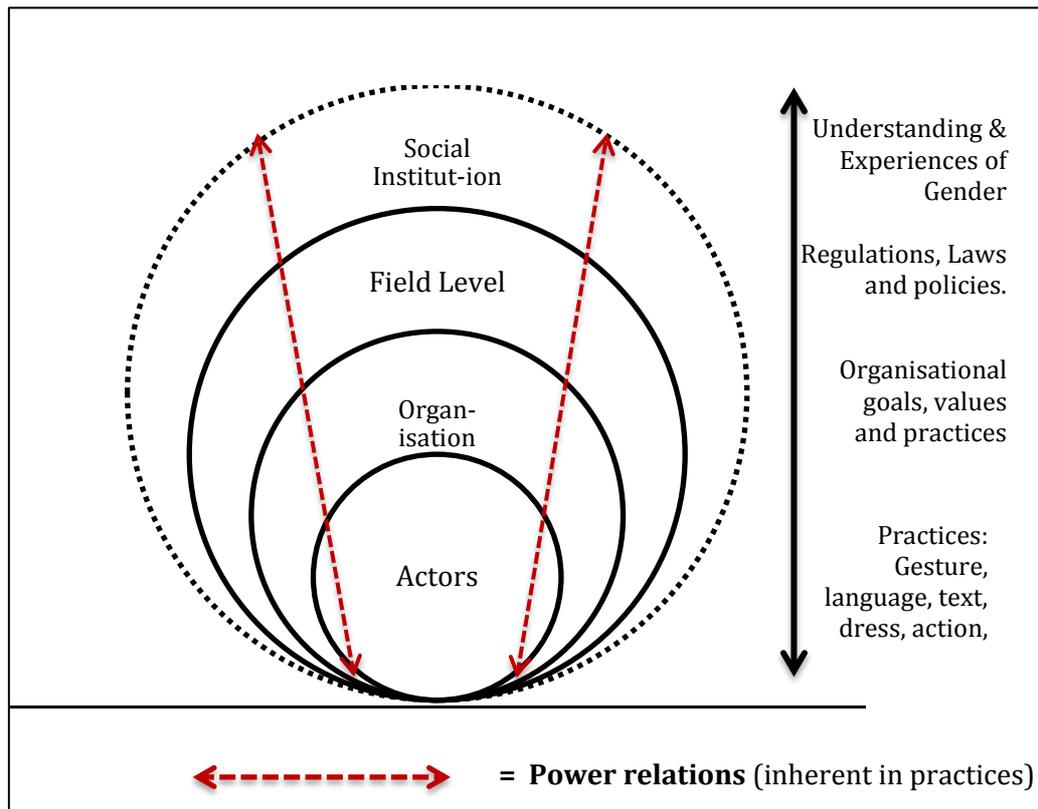
Source: Adapted from Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) and Connell (1987)

3.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has covered a lot of conceptual ground, encompassing conceptualisations of gender, institutions, and power. I began with a brief definition of gender as a social construct, and posited a definition of gender as an institution as suitable to my thesis. In contrast, however, my review of the literature on gender and CSR revealed that conceptualisations of gender, (in)equality and power, concepts central to

the discussion of gender in society, were wide-ranging. Furthermore, institutional theory's capacity for bridging different levels of analysis had been mostly left untouched by scholars, and studies had neglected to explore the role of business organisations (and the people within them) in a value chain context. I then argued that an institutional approach to gender and CSR would help to fill some of these gaps in our knowledge. Drawing on institutional work and gender as institution concepts, I argued for the importance of studying practice, agency, power and uncertainty within explorations of institutional (gender) change.

The resultant conceptual framework I employ in my thesis contributes to the study of gender, institutions and CSR in a number of ways. First, studies into the 'doing' or 'undoing' of gender have tended to focus on institutional maintenance ('doing' gender) over change. Stories of successful gender equality programmes rarely leave room for the failures or unexpected outcomes in their narratives (Benschop and Verloo, 2011). My framework is open to the uncertainty of institutional creation, maintenance and change. Given the newness of CSR, and the unknown effects of its practices on gender in the value chain, I am focusing on the processes of 'gendering' CSR, and open to the unintended consequences of actors' action.

Second, while studies on the doing/undoing of gender in organisations are rich and theoretically compelling, there is little research further 'down' the value chain[9], something my research aims to address. As Holvino (2010) explains, gender and organisations literature must work on 'identifying and connecting internal organizational processes with external and seemingly unrelated societal processes to understand organizational dynamics within a broader social context' (2010: 265). My research answers this call with empirical research on how gender is conceptualised, and impacts upon, the value chain.

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[9] Joan Acker urges researchers to begin to explore the supply chain through a gender lens that appreciates the discursive and interactive process of the meaning-making that perpetuates gender inequality (1998; 2012).

Third, institutional work is complemented by gender theory's already developed approaches to power (Martin, 2004). Learning from the corpus of gender theorists who have explored gender change, power is a predominant concept that is understood as something both *explicit* (i.e. power inequalities between men and women writ large in legislation; physical power in violence against women) as well as *implicit*, made 'normal' through learned behaviours, norms and utternances (i.e. men expected to earn more than women, women taking on pastoral roles more readily than men). My study contributes to the institutional work literature by incorporating the concepts of power relations imbued within institutions.

Fourth, and relatedly, both institutional work and social constructionist gender theory 'share an understanding that seemingly neutral institutional processes and practices are in fact embedded in hidden norms and values' (Kenny, 2007:95). Institutions have a 'legitimating ideology', which means they become institutionalised into the formal and informal patterns of social organisation (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Martin, 2004). A gender lens on institutional work and CSR can bring out power relations and disempowered voices further (Mackay, Kenny, and Chappell, 2011).

Finally, given the often intangible nature of institutions, and the largely taken-for-granted nature of their outward manifestations, my framework allows for the exploration of human *practices* and *language* as a means of empirically getting closer to the institution at hand. Therefore, 'measurement' of institutions is best achieved through qualitative research techniques that seek to get up close and personal with everyday life (Dover and Lawrence, 2010; Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Suddaby and Greenwood, 2009). In brief the fit between institutional work, gender as an institution and qualitative, intepretivist-informed research techniques is sound. The case study design for this thesis, and the

methodological techniques employed, are explored further in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR:
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Having laid out the literature and concepts relating to my thesis, I proceed in this chapter to describe how I designed, carried out and analysed data in relation to my research questions. To re-cap, Chapter two reviewed and refined the concepts of the value chain and CSR, highlighting the need to capture the socially-constructed and contested nature of their respective application to the topic of gender. In Chapter Three I argued that an exploration of how gender is understood and translated into practices by business organisations in the value chain is a timely and necessary addition to management, and CSR research. A gendered institutional approach concentrates on actors and their practices and interactions in order to better understand how institutions, in this case gender, can be created, disrupted or maintained (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). As my research objective is to outline 'understandings' and processes around 'engendering' CSR in value chains, such an approach is appropriate to my thesis. Focusing on micro-practices (language, action, thought, interaction) requires a methodology that shares ontological and epistemological assumptions about society and how we study it, and, as will become clear, privileges qualitative, as opposed to quantitative, research techniques.

In this chapter I explain how a social constructionist and interpretivist worldview complements my conceptual framework. Research techniques that include in-depth interviews, observation, documentary analysis and innovative focus group workshops within an embedded case study generate nuanced and detailed data in an under-researched area. The organisations under study, Braithwaite's Chocolate Company, Adwenkor and TradeFare[10], provide a unique opportunity to explore meaning, processes and narratives involved in institutional work

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[10] I use pseudonyms to preserve anonymity and confidentiality.

to disrupt or maintain gender, in the context of CSR in the value chain. At the same time the case provides tales of the successes, and failures, of 'engendering' CSR, that other organisations can learn from.

As noted in Chapter One, the thesis is imbued with a feminist sensibility, and influenced by feminist theories, but I adopt 'gender' as a more expansive term, as it can be used to uncover much more than 'only' inequalities between men and women. I am talking here about the need for intersectionality in research design, whereby it is appreciated that inequalities often lie at a nexus of identities and/or labels including ethnicity, gender, class, ability and so on (Walby, Armstrong, and Strid, 2012; Holvino, 2010). I reject the notion that women's experiences should be studied over and above men's, for both men and women work in the case contexts chosen, and so both men and women are included in focus groups in the value chain. That is not to say that I do not appreciate traditional 'feminist' research techniques in choosing qualitative, language-driven research techniques, but I position them as part of a wider philosophy of social constructionism and interpretivism. My conceptual framework fully recognises the gendered nature of the world, and the work we do within it, without the explicit use of feminist epistemology.

The chapter begins by describing the research philosophy behind my methodology (Section 4.1.), and introduces the embedded case study approach with details of the organisations involved (Section 4.2.). I outline my data generation research techniques and the reasons behind their choice, as well as the processes involved in each stage of data generation (Section 4.3.). I then introduce the data analysis approach I have adopted (Section 4.4.), and reflect on my position as researcher in the research design, methodology and analysis (Section 4.5.). I end with a summary of how my methodological approach to this study contributes to a credible, reliable and transferable piece of social science research (Section 4.6.), and

reflect on the research ethics pertinent to a study of gender and value chains (Section 4.7.).

4.1. RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

My research philosophy creates a structure for this thesis, influencing the theories and concepts adopted, the research techniques undertaken and even the research questions posed. In the following section I demonstrate this by first outlining the social constructionist worldview, and the interpretivist epistemological position I take.

4.1.1. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

Social constructionism is an ontological position that claims that social reality is constructed. It is 'the process in societal and historical contexts whereby people give meaning to the world through cultural interaction' (Watson 2008: 270). The 'real world' of tangible objects may well exist distinct from human thought, but how we make sense of, label and operate in such a world is socially constructed through human interaction. Therefore institutions (such as gender), cultures, whole societies, norms and behaviours are created and reified over time (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

The key question, however, is: 'whether or not human beings can achieve any form of knowledge that is independent of their own subjective construction, since they are the agents through which knowledge is perceived or experienced' (Morgan and Smircich, 1980: 493). This is especially pertinent given the 'paradox of embedded agency' (Battilana and D'Aunno, 2009) that dogs studies of institutions. The boundaries of 'what is' (reality) and 'what we know' (knowledge) are blurred, and under social constructionist theory this has an explicit implication for epistemology and how we research the social world. Berger and Luckmann (1966) explain that we can only study the subjective, interpreted parts of human experience: there is no 'reality' to garner,

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rather people's lived experiences of what they perceive to be real. Therefore, my research questions, and methodology, promote a similar view, asking 'how' questions, as opposed to 'why' questions, and relying on actors' testimonies and observed action as the closest means possible of getting closer to their lived experiences. This is explained further below.

4.1.2. INTERPRETIVISM

If social reality is constructed, and knowledge is filtered through human experience and socialisation, how can social sciences research be conducted? I take an interpretivist approach to epistemology, arguing that actors' interpretations of their lives, work, thoughts, feelings, 'facts' and so on should be privileged in the research design.

Interpretivism, influenced by the philosophies of symbolic interactionism (e.g. Mead, 1934; Blumer, 1969), phenomenology (e.g. Berger and Luckmann, 1966) and hermeneutics stresses that it is *meaning* that matters in our quest for knowledge. As Crotty points out, there is a cross-over between ontology and epistemology here, as meaning in knowledge conflates with 'meaningful reality' (1998: 10). Human beings know what they know through a constant, on-going exchange with society, although the extent to which we are 'objects' or 'subjects' of society has been much debated through different iterations of philosophy (e.g. Giddens, 1984; Foucault, 1977a). The debate around human agency is reflected in my decision to follow a conceptual framework that understands gender as an institution, and to look at the institutional work carried out by actors with regard to that concept (see Section 3.4, Chapter Three). Both the concepts of gender as an institution, and of institutional work, challenge a 'dualist' account of human beings' place in society: we affect *and* are affected by our social world (Bourdieu, 1977; Giddens, 1984). This echoes the tradition of many investigations into institutions and change (e.g. Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Zilber, 2002) which have prioritised knowledge as people's 'meanings' and 'understandings' of the components of institutions and any changes

therewith, as opposed to measurable, 'structural' outcomes (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2009: 182). This is not to say that more tangible outcomes (such as changes in policies) are rejected outright as sources of data, but that institutions can be captured in a pluralistic manner (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2009) that *includes* meaning, outcomes, dialectics and historical processes (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2009; Barley and Tolbert, 1997).

Interpretivism calls for interpretation of the social world by those researched, but it has been critiqued for indulging in pure observation of culture without a critical stance (Crotty, 1998). Crotty adds that 'we should never lose sight of the fact that the particular set of meanings imposes has come into being to serve particular interests and will harbour its own forms of oppression, manipulation and other forms of injustice' (Crotty, 1998: 81). Criticality is very important: is 'gender' something to be taken at face value, or does its interpretation by interviewees need digging into a little deeper? Are the actors potentially altering or reifying institutions of a particularly powerful elite (Gephart, 2004)? My conceptualisation of gender as an institution and as something that is socially constructed fits with an interpretivist stance, but requires a critical element to complement this. Thus, the institutional work of engendering CSR is researched in a manner that appreciates it as an interactive practice, continuously played out by actors, within power relations. The techniques I use to do this are elaborated on throughout the rest of this chapter.

4.2. The Case Study Design

This research is focused on exploring the processes of 'engendering' CSR within cocoa value chains, with a particular focus on the global South. The A case study design was chosen for this objective. To re-cap, the organisations under study are a UK chocolate retailer, 'Braithwaite's

Chocolate Company' (BCC), their NGO partner 'TradeFare' and long-term cocoa cooperative supplier 'Adwenkor'.

A view of the social world as complex, evolving and constantly constituted by human agents, as per my social constructionist standpoint, requires a qualitative research design and research techniques that capture actors' talk, practices and interactions. In order to get close to understandings and practices around gender and CSR, I needed to get up-close to those working in these areas in their everyday lives. Further, just observing and interviewing actors without context (i.e. interviewing a range of people in different industries or organisations) would not make clear the links between micro-practices, institutional work and change with regard to CSR practices and farmers' experiences. Targeting a single organisational context, albeit comprised of three inter-locking sub-organisations, through a case study approach better answers my research questions and talks to the concept of a 'value chain network'.

A case study also allows for rich empirical data to be generated within a bounded context, and employs a number of data techniques (Yin, 2009). The approach allows for the 'bigger picture' of a global value chain to be captured, whilst at the same time zooming in on different processes and nodes of action. Case studies offer clear boundaries and narratives of concepts under study and create 'wholeness' unlike other methods of data generation (Silverman, 2010:138). This is particularly useful when studying complex social phenomena such as gender (Patton and Appelbaum, 2003; Reinharz, 1992), which as a concept is difficult to describe and harder still to research and analyse (Czarniawska, 2011). This is chiefly because 'gender' is diffused through social life, and can, if left unbounded, be overwhelming in a research setting. A case study approach with a set unit of analysis and units of observation can go some way to aiding the researching of gender, crucial given my focus on gender, CSR and value chains.

4.2.1. RATIONALE FOR A SINGLE CASE STUDY

My interpretivist-influenced research design acknowledges that the generalisability in this context is not as important as deep understanding. Thus, a single embedded case study that operates at different levels of observation (see Table 12) provides me with a depth of insight necessary to get closer to meaning and understanding. As Van Maanen (1979:520) writes, 'Interpretive techniques…seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world'. I thus offer a snapshot of a world in which actors do institutional work around gender and CSR in value chains, which in turn arguably have an effect on larger social processes such as markets, norms and values.

Table 12: Embedded Case Study Structure			
Organisation Sub-Group	**Location**	**Individuals**	**Data Method**
Company (Braithwaite's Chocolate Company)	UK	Management; mid-level staff; board members	Interviews; documents; observations
Supplier (Adwenkor)	Ghana	Management; mid-level staff; board members.	Interviews; documents; observations
NGO Partner (TradeFare)	UK	Management; mid-level staff; board members.	Interviews; documents; observations
Cocoa Farmers	Ghana	Cocoa farmers selling cocoa to Adwenkor	Diagramming; observations; focus-group discussions.

My single in-depth case study is an example of an embedded case, as multiple units of observation are utilised. As noted in Chapter One, the 'organisation' is conceptualised not only as BCC's headquarters in the UK, but also entails their long-term cooperative suppliers, Adwenkor, and their NGO partner, TradeFare. This approach is complemented by

fieldwork that brings in the views of the farmers themselves. At the time of writing, attention to 'gender' in value chains through CSR remains low and thus the case study may appear exclusive. My case is an example of an 'exceptional' case of corporate action on gender inequality, 'valuable for feminist action, as a positive model to emulate, or a negative model to avoid' (Reinharz, 1992: 168). Of course, this is not just useful for feminists, but any scholars interested in organisational, institutional and/or social change. In the next section I expand further on why I chose the specific organisation under study.

4.2.2. CASE STUDY SELECTION

My key contacts at BCC and TradeFare were initially found through a series of networking conversations with other researchers, NGOs, and government organisations working in the 'small-world' of gender and CSR. My first company withdrew from the study, and a subsequent series of introductions did not materialise into meetings. Many companies contacted said they couldn't offer the sort of access I needed, or said that my research 'didn't fit with the company's current strategy' (Personal Correspondence, Email, July 2012). Eventually I was put in touch with Braithwaite's by one of their NGO partners, and with another leading UK food retailer. Securing access to two companies, who needed to be doing work around gender equality in their value chain, was always going to be difficult, but it took me more than 12 months in all to secure partnerships. Unfortunately a series of problems with timings and access meant that eventually I was unable to complete the second planned case study. This, however, turned into an opportunity to work for longer and in more detail on my single BCC case study: with the result that I was able to research more deeply than I would have been able with multiple case studies.

Furthermore, BCC, TradeFare and Adwenkor are all are well-known for their CSR practices and expertise, and prescience regarding gender equality. Numerous case studies exist into their 'best practices'

around fairtrade working conditions, gender and cooperative working. For example, with regard to their ongoing gender programme, I identified 14 academic peer-reviewed articles, and 13 NGO reports, featuring the organisations.

BCC and partners were thus chosen specifically as a case study for their asserted commitment to gender equality in their value chain and thus features as an 'exemplary' case (Yin, 2009). The actors within the organisation include finance managers, sustainability managers, managing directors, marketers, supplier managers, social programme managers and gender experts (Appendix 5). These were actors who represent credible sources (Hamel, 1993) engaged in the everyday world of 'engendering CSR' (Karam and Jamali, 2013) whose stories, language, and practices would best address my research questions.

As a result of unexpectedly deep access to the organisation (see Section 4.3.1.1.), the case chosen here evolved into a somewhat critical case study of an ethically-celebrated company: a case study that Flyvberg (2006) calls a 'least-likely' example, whereby the findings of the study go against the majority view. This results in critical, yet theoretically expansive and important research. Deep involvement within a project team allowed my analysis to not only go beyond the newspaper stories and policy documents surrounding BCC's engendered CSR, but to repeatedly talk to staff, observe interaction, and gain an idea of the 'doing' of engendered CSR as it changed and unfolded over a two and a half year period.

4.2.2.1. INTRODUCTION TO BRAITHWAITE'S CHOCOLATE COMPANY

Braithwaite's Chocolate Company (BCC) is a fair trade chocolate retailer, and a private company limited by shares. It sources cocoa from Adwenkor, its long-term supplier cooperative in Ghana, and makes and packages chocolate products in Europe. The chocolate is currently sold in the UK, USA, Sweden, Norway, Canada and The Netherlands, with a permanent

supply being purchased by big brand supermarkets and coffee shops. Although there have been fluctuations in financial performance, the company now turns over a healthy profit (nearly £2million in 2010/11). Less than thirty core staff members work at the headquarters in the UK, with a sister office in the USA. Partnerships with NGOs and suppliers add strength to numbers who work on procurement and CSR practices.

From the outset Braithwaite's has operated as a fair trade social enterprise, with two per cent of all profit spent on community development projects. Table 13 details the minimum standards BCC have committed to. BCC has worked hard to ensure there is a 'fit' between consumers (mainly women) and 'cause' (gender rights), investing time and money into women in communities in the UK and in Ghana (BCCAR, 2010/11).

Table 13: Conditions of Fair Trade Accreditation
Buy from democratically-organised and registered producer groups
Pay a premium to farmers (US$1750 per tonne for cocoa)
25% of premium must be invested into development of producer groups
Partial advance payments to farmers must be available
Contracts should be long-term and champion sustainability

Source: Fairtrade Labelling Organisations International (FLO) (2012)

The chocolate market is dominated by major players: Cadbury Kraft/Phillip Morris (recently renamed Mondelez), Hershey's, Mars and Nestlé, who corner seventy-five per cent of the market share of a $4billion industry in the UK alone (Tiffen et al., 2004). Increasingly, smaller brands are bought by larger competitors, such as Green and Black's (bought by Cadbury in 2005), and Cadbury itself being incorporated into Kraft/Phillip Morris in 2010. Behind the brands are huge agribusinesses such as Cargill, Barry Callebaut, and Archer Daniels Midland (ADM), who buy up a total of forty per cent of the world's raw cocoa for processing to sell onto the big

brands (Tiffen et al., 2004; Cappelle, 2009: 14). In the last decade, however, there has also been a rise in specially sourced, luxury chocolates and ethical produce which has bolstered sales and reputation of smaller chocolate companies, including Braithwaite's (KPMG, 2012).

4.2.2.2. INTRODUCTION TO ADWENKOR

BCC procures its Fairtrade cocoa from Adwenkor, a Ghanaian cooperative organisation. They have a very large membership of over 65,000 cocoa farmers (Adwenkor website, 2014). However, given the nature of cocoa farming (see Chapter Two for an overview), not all members will exclusively sell to, or have a long-term relationship with Adwenkor.

Adwenkor is made up of a number of departments with responsibility for different aspects of the social enterprise: monitoring and evaluation, research and education, finance and credit services, and overall management. As a cooperative, democratic decision-making entails electing farmers to a Farmer Board, as well as hiring managers for the day-to-day running of the business.

From inception Adwenkor have had a policy on female representation at various levels of decision-making (explored further in Chapter Five). The gender programme of activities and training for farmers has been in place for around eight years and was originally funded by an NGO, with piecemeal internal and external funds keeping the programme alive over the years. The social side of Adwenkor's fair trade operations are often the topic of 'best practice' case studies, especially with regard to gender equality. In 2012, however, BCC and TradeFare called for a review on the gender programme and policy in order to evaluate the long-term effects of these. The details of this are covered in more detail in the next chapter.

TradeFare is a small UK-based ethical-trade NGO specialising in helping connect smallholder farmers in the global South with commercial buyers in the global North. It operates in a number of countries including India, Uganda, Congo, Nicaragua and Ghana. It has been working with Adwenkor and BCC for over twenty years, primarily contributing to the design and implementation of social programmes, including the gender programme. They do this through the contribution of funds, staff, expertise and education within the cooperative itself.

4.3. DATA GENERATION

Having introduced the case, and the organisation(s) under study, I turn now to my research techniques of data generation. I use the term 'data generation', as opposed to the more common 'data collection' as my epistemological view means I do not view knowledge as being 'out there' to 'collect' but rather co-created and constructed alongside my interviewees during the research process (Bevan, 2009). First, what is the 'data' I am generating in the pursuit of my research question? The lead research question is:

> *How do business organisations translate gender into CSR practices, and how do these influence the understanding and experience of gender in the value chain?*

As noted in Chapter One, I start from the assumption that business organisations are made of people, and their values, interests, and practices represent what an organisation is and does (Deetz et al., 1999). It is these actors who make decisions, interact, buy, sell and generally enable 'understandings of gender': a notoriously hard concept to study in primary research (Bendl, 2008; Martin, 2001; 2006). As the leading textbook on feminist research methods explains, 'the investigation of gendered lives,

meanings, representations, power or relationships can be conceptualized in terms of a number of interrelated analytical 'levels'' (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002:152). A conceptualisation of gender as an institution, understands it as something made manifest through actors, and thus, operating at interrelated levels simultaneously (Martin, 2004; 2006).

Table 14: The Relationship Between Research Questions, Units of Analysis and Observation, and Research techniques Used			
Research Question	Unit of Analysis (Organisation)	Unit of Observation	Method Used
RSQ1/ *How do actors translate gender into CSR practices in the value chain?*	Actors in a/ BCC b/ Adwenkor c/ TradeFare	Language; Practice	In-depth interviewing; Observation.
	Documents from all of the above.	Language within text.	Document analysis.
RSQ2/ *How do engendered CSR practices influence under-standings of gender?*	Actors in a/ BCC b/ Adwenkor c/ TradeFare	Language; Practice	In-depth interviewing; Observation.
	Documents from all of the above.	Language within text.	Document Analysis.
RSQ3/ *How do farmers in the value chain experience gender as a result of these practices?*	Actors in a/ BCC b/ Adwenkor c/ TradeFare d/ Cocoa Farmers	Language; Practice.	a/ In-depth interviewing and Observation for actors in a/, b/ and c/ d/ GALS Focus Group; GALS diagramming; Observation.
	Documents from a/, b/, and c/	Language within text.	Document Analysis.

Table 14 demonstrates how the focus on 'understandings', 'practices' and 'experience' in my research questions fits with a qualitative case study research design that adopts techniques such as in-depth interviews, observation, document analysis and focus groups, which can facilitate the study of how institutions are present in the everyday world and work of people (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2009). I also focus on 'translations of gender into CSR practices' as a means to get closer not just to

understanding, and meaning, but to see how these are manifest in practice (e.g. Zilber, 2002). Cognisant with an interpretivist approach, I do not assume that changes in understanding will translate logically into practice, but neither do I ignore the tangible changes in policy, programmes and practices.

Therefore, in this study, my unit of analysis is the 'organisation': accessed through actors' language (in talk and text) and practices (Martin, 2006; Lorber, 1994; Phillips et al., 2004). In order to get a better idea of the transnational nature of institutions I interview and observe actors, as well as analyse documentary evidence, from three nodes of the value chain: the UK company; supplier; and farmers in the value chain (Table 15).

Table 15: Participants, Research techniques and Quantities of Data Generated		
Participants	**Method**	**Quantities**
UK company staff	Interviews Primary external documents Observations	9 interviews (c.8 hours) 33 docs 22 hours
Ghanaian supplier staff	Interviews Internal Documents External Documents Observations	9 interviews (c.9 hours) 17 docs 1 doc 70 hours
NGO partners	Interviews Observations External secondary documents	4 interviews (c.6 hours) 30 hours 120 docs
Cocoa farmers	GALS methodology= focus group discussions; diagrams; observations.	4 x 3 hour workshops= 48 participants in total. (52 hours observations; 8 hours discussion; 48 diagrams)
	Totals=	23 interviews (n=21) (c.23 hours) 171 documents 122 hours observations 52 hours observations on farms 8 hours GALS focus group discussions 48 GALS diagrams

As Table 15 shows, my data generation techniques comprise of document analysis, in-depth interviewing, observations and Gender Action Learning System (GALS) focus groups and diagramming activities, and the quantities of data generated. I decided to adopt a range of data techniques in order to ensure triangulation of understandings, meanings and translations across a number of actors across locations and cultures. The reasons for adopting each of these research techniques are closely connected to both my research questions, and the units of analysis and observation directed by my epistemological standpoints. The justification for, and challenges of, employing each method are explored in the remaining part of this chapter. Further, the types of people I observed, talked to and documents worked with using my research techniques are identified, and their selection explained in further sections.

4.3.1. IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

My research questions seek to uncover actors' practices, understandings and experiences of gender. The key manner in which I achieved this was through in-depth interviews with individuals. They were a natural choice for me as both a gender and institutional researcher, seeking as they do to uncover everyday worlds and experience (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002; Suddaby and Greenwood, 2009). In-depth interviews are also prime techniques for exploring language and practices in which gender can be found (Oakley, 1981). They allow actors to explain, clarify, narrate and story-tell their parts in events, past and current. They allow interviewees 'to speak of things that cannot be observed' (Searle, 1999: 59), particularly pertinent to studies into gender.

'Practices' are further revealed by asking questions around who interviewees talk to, who is engaged, what committees are involved, who holds the power to make decisions, and so on. My 23 interviews (Table 15) were in-depth in that they usually covered just five or six key questions (Appendix 4), and they allowed for a natural 'conversation with a purpose' to play out (Burgess, 1984:102). I tried to keep the interviews

on track by prompting, clarifying and repeating questions, and I had an interview guide (Appendix 4), but also realised early on that by letting people talk I was able to discover new elements of data that I would not have otherwise. As Martin (2006: 269) notes in her study into the 'doing ' of gender at work, 'letting people describe their work experiences…can provide some access, although a far from perfect one, to gender dynamics that are otherwise hidden from view'.

In line with other research into gender, I eschewed the position of 'objective' researcher (Oakley, 1981) instead becoming at times a confidante, sympathetic listener, and challenger. For example, in working with a staff member from Adwenkor over a number of weeks, both in person and online, I was able to gain their trust and then secure a second, more open, interview. In this instance, had I stuck rigorously to my interview schedule, I would have missed a whole new aspect of what 'gender' can be understood to be within the company. My interviews, then, were sites of co-creation between my interviewees and myself, where meanings and understanding could have, and will have been, transformed through the interview process (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Holstein and Gubrium (1995) call this an 'active interview' and argue that if respected as such from the outset, questions of validity are refuted, given that:

> *The validity of answers derives not from their correspondence to meanings held within the respondent but from their ability to convey situated experiential realities in terms that are locally comprehensible* (1995: 9).

In other words, I did not speak to staff in Ghana with the aim of cross-checking whether their 'meanings' were 'real', but to understand their meanings in context of others' meanings, whether they be 'true' or otherwise. Of course, such 'closeness' in data generation demands rigourous efforts to ensure validity in the data, which I address further in Section 4.6.

Interviews at different stages of the value chain held their own challenges. In the UK offices, time was short for many and interviews tended to be between 40-120 minutes long. Trust and rapport were gained through collaborating on the research project, which enabled me to be in local settings and offices, and meant I could observe in an unthreatening manner. Interviews were carried out in a separate area where interviewees would not be overheard. In supplier interviews, I struggled at the beginning of the research to gain trust as I was a young, white, European woman who was known to have worked with their client. Rapport was built up over the time I was *in-situ*, and nurtured through email contact once I returned to the UK, which led to narratives and opinions that were entrusted to me 'as a good person' (Interviewee A8).

Power struggles came out very strongly as both an ethical and methodological problem, as experienced by others who have researched value chains from multiple perspectives (McCormick and Schmitdz, 2001). Power came into play when interviewing actors in the UK offices who were of a lower 'status' in the organisational hierarchy, such as newer members of staff, and also with suppliers and farmers in the value chain, who understandably did not want critical statements going back to cooperative bosses, or BCC headquarters. Within interviews, I took the time and care to reassure them that this would not happen, but no doubt on occasion my appearance and how I had been introduced affected the ease with which respondents talked. I expand on this further in Section 4.7.

4.3.1.1. ACCESS TO AND SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

My case study allowed for deeper access once I became part of a research team undertaking an evaluation of BCC and Adwenkor's Gender Programme. This occurred as I built rapport within TradeFare, and stepped in when they were short-staffed. This involvement led to working alongside TradeFare: attending meetings, having regular phone calls and

email updates. As a member of the research team I was working with, but also separate from the organisation as it was known that I was conducting my own PhD research. The involvement in the evaluation project presented a rare opportunity to explore unique phenomena in unusual circumstances within a single case study (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007).

Interviewees were a mixture of 'key informants', colleagues and associates I reached through 'snowball' sampling, whereby I sent via email the Initial Participant Information Letter (Appendix 6) I had prepared. I was able to set up interviews in the UK offices. I carried out supplier interviews during my fieldtrip to Ghana, with initial contact facilitated by TradeFare. Appendix 5 details the number and characteristics of the twenty-one interviewees at BCC, Adwenkor and TradeFare. Overall twenty-three interviews were conducted across the three organisational arms, with two interviewees being interviewed twice. Interviewees hailed from many different departments, as I wanted to gain an insight into understandings of gender and translations across the organisation as a whole (Appendix 5). All interviews were face-to-face, apart from one Skype interview.

4.3.2. OBSERVATION

Observation allowed 'practice' to be viewed as it happened, which added plausibility to interviewee's stories and own observations. Observation is especially useful for uncovering the sensitive and complicated concepts of gender (Vinten, 1994).

Whilst part of the research team evaluating the Gender Programme I was given permissions to travel to Adwenkor offices and producer member farms, and spent time within meetings, and within TradeFare's offices (Table 16 details a breakdown of observation types by location). I was given space to work, observe and liaise with Adwenkor managers, and NGO partners whilst conducting the evaluation project in Ghana, for a total of 10 days.

Table 16: Observation Type by Location and Length of Observation		
Observation Type	**Location**	**Length of Observation**
Research Meetings	BCC offices TradeFare offices (UK) Adwenkor offices (Ghana)	1 x 8 hours (8) 1 x 2 hours (2) 3 x 4 hours (12) 2 x 3 hours (6)
Field Visits to Smallholdings - GALS workshops - Unstructured Conversations	Central & Western Ghana	4 x 3 hours (12) c.40 hours
In-situ in Offices	Adwenkor offices (Ghana) NGO office (UK)	12 hours over 6 days (12) 28 hours over 4 days (12)
Public events	UK	2 x 1 day (16)
		Total: approx. 134 hours (inc. field visits)

In line with Gold's (1958) descriptions of participant observation, I was at times of open access an 'observer as participant' with a 'peripheral membership role' (Adler and Adler, 1994), taking part in research and meetings. I was able to observe the interactions of the teams and attend working group meetings. I was invited to attend public events alongside key informants, which offered more observation of not just the staff members themselves, but how they interacted and spoke with outsiders on issues of gender, CSR and business.

Employing observation research techniques was especially interesting in official meeting contexts in Ghana, where it was possible to observe and hear the interactions between actors discussing gender and CSR in the value chain, and hear off-the-cuff remarks on relationships with farmers, NGOs and with the UK company. On farms conducting GALS workshops, I entered each new environment with my eyes and ears open. In line with advice on value chain research, and relevant to my focus on practices and power in gendered value chains, I tried to observe:

- *What was going on?*
- *What was the setting/environment like?*
- *Who was participating (age, gender, position/function, status, cliques and isolates)?*
- *What were the network connections?*
- *How does it compare with other places visited?*

<div align="right">(McCormick and Schmidtz, 2001: 87).</div>

Despite the diverse settings of my data generation, I found that they provided similar problems for observation. As I tried to observe, wonder at and describe settings 'like a little child' (Angrosino, 2007:38), I found many things interesting and noteworthy. In the UK offices, the busy and buzzing atmosphere was very different to academic life. In Ghana the cultural differences and physical surroundings were immediately remarkable (and sometimes physically challenging), and it was at first hard to distinguish what was important, and what wasn't, to the research in hand. I had to constantly refer back to my research questions, and the concepts of gender as an institution, to keep my focus. Overall, observations aided in the triangulation of my main data source: interviews; and added colour to the narratives provided by participants (Angrosino, 2007).

4.3.2.1. IN-SITU DATA RECORDING

All interviews were recorded (with verbal permission from the interviewee) and professionally transcribed. I took brief handwritten notes following each interview, and typed up impressions directly after the meeting.

Observations were recorded in a research diary, which sometimes formed a handwritten notebook, and sometimes word documents on my laptop. I wrote my observations as contemporaneously as possible, and

kept accounts mainly descriptive: of people, events, settings, as well as my own opinions and feelings (Angrosino, 2007).

Focus group discussions as part of the GALS methodology (discussed below) were initially tape-recorded (with permission) although the sound quality and language barriers were considered to be an issue for later transcription and analysis. For back-up, I wrote notes as often as I could during the sessions, took photographs of diagrams produced by the participants and reproduced symbols adopted by participants in order to remember what they represented later. Immediately after GALS workshops I wrote up notes and observations, often checking with my key informants to see if they perceived the situations as I did.

4.3.3. DOCUMENT AND ARCHIVAL ANALYSIS

Documents form a huge part of organisational life (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004). They are enduring elements of organisations, able to generate data about actors and their organisations in a much wider time frame than is always possible through other research techniques, such as observation (Lee, 2012). This is especially useful when approaching the topic of institutions, and their history (Barley and Tolbert, 1997; Suddaby and Greenwood, 2009).

Documents hold textual content, which can be used primarily as a 'factual' resource e.g. checking the policy points of a CSR memo. Yet, following an interpretivist research philosophy, documents must be looked at as more than mere containers of information, but as socially-constructed (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004) 'active agents in episodes of interaction and schemes of social organisation' (Prior, 2000:824.) Texts can be considered artefacts of institutions and are as such both object and actor (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). They are created by actors in societal structures, but then take on a life of their own in how they are subsequently interpreted, disseminated, utilised and edited (Berger and

Luckmann, 1967). During the research process, as I read through and analysed interviews and observations, and became more familiar with the organisations under study, I was able to revisit my documentary analysis and look closer for particular themes and stories that were emerging from the data, in an interaction between the data sources (see Section 4.4. for more on the data analysis process).

4.3.3.1 SELECTION AND COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTAL AND ARCHIVAL DATA

Document analysis can utilise both primary and secondary sources of text: primary texts produced by the organisation, and secondary texts, such as newspaper reports, that detail news stories, exposés and articles on the organisation under study. The organisation's primary documents can be internal (i.e. private organisational reports, policy drafts, memos and letters) and external (i.e. annual reports, CSR reports, press releases, blogs). Table 17 details the sources and types of documents I analysed with relation to my case study.

Table 17: Sources, Types and Number of Document Data			
Data Source	**Data Type**	**Abbreviation in Thesis Data**	**Number of documents**
Primary Internal	Internal archival policy documents	ID	14
	Current policy drafts	ID	1
	Draft unpublished reports	ID	2
Primary External	Annual reports	AR	10
	BCC blog	Blog	20
	BCC website content	N/A	3
	Adwenkor website content	N/A	1
Secondary External	English- language newspaper articles	NP	93
	Academic peer-reviewed articles	ACA	14
	NGO/CSO reports and policy documents	NGO	13
			Total: 171

Primary internal documents were acquired through my involvement with the programme evaluation, and through access to TradeFare's archives, which held a substantive amount of previous gender policy documentation that had originally been housed with Adwenkor. I sourced primary external documents through email requests (for annual reports dating back a number of years) and through online internet searches on the different organisation's websites. To gather secondary external sources I first carried out a detailed and systematic archival search of all English-language newspapers, using online database Lexis Nexus, with the specific keywords of "women" and/or "gender" and/or "BCC", "Adwenkor", "TradeFare".[11] Total articles pertaining to BCC numbered forty-two, with seven of these relating to the search terms "gender" and/or "women". Total number of articles referencing Adwenkor was four-hundred and seven, with eighty-six pertaining to "gender" and/or "women". Using the same search terms I explored the Google Scholar function in order to find academic articles that referenced BCC and Adwenkor's gender programme, knowing that the organisations had been approached previously by researchers for access. Finally, I used the same search terms within Google to locate NGO/CSO reports and policy documents that also featured or profiled the BCC gender programme, cross-referencing with the reference lists of academically-authored papers.

The data collection portion of the document analysis was time-consuming, but it ensured I was able to collect historical data on the gender programme (i.e. policy archives) as well as being able to trace the publically available trajectory of the programme. I collected both internal and external documents because I was keen to understand better how understandings of gender, and its translation into practices, had been communicated both within the organisations privately, and outside of it. The large number of NGO and academic articles that reference the programme served to reinforce the institutional nature of CSR practice,

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[11] I used the organisations' real names in the searches.

whereby authors would reference each other in order to make claims about the programme. These articles were then picked up by and expounded upon in NGO policy documents, where often BCC and Adwenkor were held up as best practice examples. Utilising both external and internal documents in the manner described above enabled me to:

(1) build a fuller picture of the 'engendering' of CSR though actors' institutional work, seen clearly in drafts and re-drafts of internal reports and policies and;

(2) to begin to trace how such institutional work could potentially occur within wider networks, at the organisational field level, specifically through actors' written accounts in external textual documents such as blogs and newspapers.

4.3.4 GENDER ACTION LEARNING SYSTEM (GALS)

The GALS approach developed from the need to better understand gendered experiences of labour and value chains (Mayoux and Mackie, 2007). The approach includes innovative techniques in diagramming, followed by group discussion, in a workshop setting (Mayoux and Mackie, 2007; Mayoux, 2010).

Drawing, in particular, developed as a method in development studies primarily because the field struggled for many years with how best to engage with their key stakeholders, or beneficiaries: the poor (Raynard, 1998). Chambers (1997) and Moser (1993) have strongly argued that research and evaluation based on survey instruments and brief interviews frequently miss out the most vulnerable and least powerful. Women especially are often forced out of conversations or denied access to the events where data is collected by researchers (Gujit and Kaul Shah, 1998). As Chapter Two explained, the value chains of businesses are gendered, and this includes businesses' CSR programs that address value chain conditions. A growing number of authors (e.g. Auret and Barrientos, 2004; WWW, 2003) have also demonstrated the 'gender-blindness' of current approaches and methods of investigating the value chain. The GALS

methodology addresses this gap, representing a creative approach to the problems of researching 'gender' and of reaching marginalised voices in the value chain (Mayoux and Mackie, 2007).

In order to explore understandings of gender, (Research Sub-Question 2) and experiences of gender in the cocoa value chain (RSQ3), I began by interviewing staff at BCC, Adwenkor and TradeFare. It was important, however, to unpack this question with regard to the farmers themselves. After all, it is the farmers that CSR is meant to help, and their participation in any practices is of import (Muthuri, 2007).

The opportunity to visit farmsteads and speak with cocoa farmers arose when I was invited to take part in the research evaluation and join the research team for a two week trip to Ghana in 2013. This meant that I had to carry out research that would fit both my own, and TradeFare's research objectives. Specifically, in seeking to generate data pertaining to research sub-questions 2 and 3, I needed to employ a methodology that was:

> a/ sympathetic to the political and conceptual nature of gender, i.e. could speak to the idea of gender as an institution and,

> b/ employed practical research techniques and tools that were applicable to the cultural and geographic contexts of Ghanaian cocoa farming.

> c/Provided a means of 'translating' the fluid concept of gender across cultures, experiences and language.

A review of research techniques in development literature and conversations with experts in this field suggested that the GALS approach developed by Linda Mayoux and Grania Mackie for the International Labour Organisation (ILO) would be the most appropriate for my research needs.

I carried out four GALS workshops in two regions of Ghana: Ashanti and Western, with forty-eight farmers in total (see Table 18). The Ashanti region receives much more support from Adwenkor due to its proximity to the supplier head office, whereas the Western region is the primary cocoa farming area but a whole day's driving distance away. The Western Region is more rural, and has less infrastructure than the Ashanti villages.

Table 18: Breakdown of GALS Workshops				
Group	Location	Women's Group?	Participants by Gender	Participants by Age
Focus Group 1	Ashanti Region, Ghana	Yes	6 men, 7 women	Range between mid 20s- 60s
FG2	Ashanti Region, Ghana	No	4 men, 6 women	" "
FG3	Western Region, Ghana	No	6 men, 6 women	" "
FG4	Western Region, Ghana	Yes	6 men, 7 women	" "

Workshops took around three hours in total. Table 19 presents a timetable for each day's field work. Approximately six men and six women farmers were invited to take part in the workshops, a size in line with focus group recommendations (Stewart, Shamdasani, and Rook, 2007), with a warning that the exercise would take up a long time. In the last community the gender officer requested that 'those who can draw' take part, which I did not find out until our debriefing session afterwards. This went against the spirit of the GALS approach, and the officer commented later that they realised their mistake in saying this. Otherwise, the participants were purposively sampled, given that supplier staff had already asked community leaders to recruit a range of farmers who were members of Adwenkor. Participants were drawn from two community groups from each of region: one with an active women's group, and one without. It was assumed that this would give TradeFare a 'control' group

to compare with the women's group, and thus be able to note the effects of the gender programme to date. This, however, was not as successful as hoped (see Chapter Five). Participants were of different genders, ages and status, recruited primarily by word of mouth.

In the next sections I explain how the techniques involved in GALS were useful with regard to my research questions, and end with a reflective piece on how they were used in practice.

Table 19: Timetable for GALS workshops	
Timing	**Activity**
10 minutes	Introductions, outline of aims, permissions to photograph and video, confidentiality issues.
5 minutes	Explanation of tasks
10 minutes	Household drawing
60 minutes	Individual Gender Tree drawings
15 minutes	Break with refreshments
30 minutes	Single-sex group discussion
45 minutes	Whole group discussion
15 minutes	Feedback and sum-up
5 minutes	End of the day, final photographs and thanks

4.3.4.1. PARTICIPANT-LED DIAGRAMMING

In terms of research sub-question three, which asks how experiences of 'gender' have changed for women and men involved in 'engendered' CSR, drawing a 'gender tree' (Figure 5) presents a means of symbolically demonstrating this. Studying gender in an international context requires research techniques that can capture the complex nature of 'gender' and transgress cultural boundaries whilst paying attention to cultural nuance. Understanding the roles of men and women at home and on the farm in the form of tasks, decision-making, and ownership offers a culturally-relevant yet transferable set of indicators widely considered to be reliable gauges of equality in a value chain context (UNECA, 2011). To this end, I focussed on economic gender equality indicators as set out in the African Gender and Development Index (UNECA, 2011). Yet looking at economic

measures is not the only element of gender that the 'gender tree' captures. The *process* of drawing, alone and in groups, and the discussions afterwards, enables a setting that shines a light on the less tangible elements of gender: seen in interaction, speech, body-language and opinions voiced. The 'gender tree' offers data in content, but also provides a simple visual metaphor around which men and women could discuss their gendered lives.

Participant-led visual research techniques, usually involving photography, or video-making, are growing in popularity (Vince & Warren, 2012). Organisational scholars have less-often asked participants to draw (Vince and Warren, 2012), yet drawings as data in themselves can, and have, been used extremely effectively in other fields, including psychology and development studies, for almost thirty years. Drawing diagrams forms the basis of much participatory action research (PAR) (Narayanasamy, 2009), commonly used with smallholder farmers. PAR visual research techniques have not only been used to generate verbal data (for example, by discussing the map drawn by a group) but also as a means to generate visual data that can be analysed as such (for example, by asking farmers to draw the quantity of bags of coffee produced in a season).

Whilst there remains considerable debate about the efficacy, morality and validity of PAR research techniques (Guijt and Shah, 1998), especially when it comes to the selection of participants (Mosse, 1994) the benefits associated with approaches that champion participation, inclusivity, and qualitative accounts are also strongly argued. These benefits include challenging power imbalances between the researcher and researched (Gaventa and Cornwall, 2001; Mayoux and Chambers, 2005; Prieto, 2002), which participant-led diagramming aims to achieve through literally giving participants the pen, 'the voice' in this instance, to 'co-create' the questions asked and answers given in the research process (Farnworth and Akamandisa, 2011; Warren, 2005). Furthermore,

participants are central to the research in that they produce and then own the data: their drawings stay with them. Participant-led visual research techniques are suited to the discussion of emotional or sensitive topics (Kearney and Hyle, 2004; Bryans and Mavin, 2006). Finally, they also promote inclusivity, being adaptable for many levels of literacy, regardless of age, gender, ethnic group or income level (Archer and Cottingham, 1996; Mayoux and Chambers, 2005).

Figure 4: Female Participant's Household Diagram.
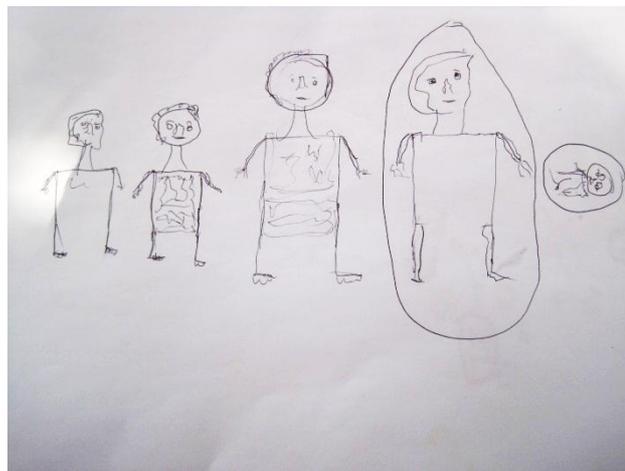
Source: Author's Own

Participants in my GALS focus groups primarily engaged in drawing individual diagrams. There were two exercises, the first involving drawing the household and circling the primary decision maker (Figure 4). The second, and main, diagramming exercise was drawing the 'gender tree' (Figure 5). As facilitator, I had already tested the symbols used for work tasks with supplier staff that had daily contact with farmers. A scan of our symbols and their meaning is included in Appendix 7. Symbols were drawn either on the left hand side of the tree (representing women's work/ expenditure/ ownership); the middle (shared work/ expenditure/ ownership) or right hand side (men's work/ expenditure/ ownership) (see Appendix 8 for a summary). Whilst I drew my own 'gender tree' on a large flipchart, participants followed along, substituting symbols they

didn't need for their own, and putting them where relevant on their diagram.

The 'roots' of the tree covered 'who does what?'- one root representing cocoa work, one alternative income, and one household work. Work was drawn as symbols on the relevant parts of each participant's tree. They were urged to circle the tasks that took the longest time. Then we drew the 'branches' of the tree- 'who gets what?' This answered questions around who received income and made decisions based on income.

Figure 5: Prototype Gender Tree drawn by Author and Supplier Staff

Source: Author's Own.

Participants circled which items they spent the most on, and if they had received a loan through the cooperative, what they had spent the loan on. Finally, participants drew symbols for housing, money and land, relevant

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to their own household situation. For example, a picture of money drawn on the right-hand side represented that the male of the household controlled the finances.

4.3.4.2. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Following the diagramming activities, participants were split into male and female groups, with the aim that this would enable participants to speak more honestly and openly about their answers (Morgan, 1997). They were asked to discuss their trees, considering the following questions at the same time:

> 1/ Are the trees balanced? Are the roots heavier on one side than another? Are the branches evenly spread or titled towards one partner?
>
> 2/ What can men do to the make the tree balance better?
>
> 3/ What can women do to make the tree balance better?
>
> 4/ What has the supplier done to make the tree balance better? What could they do in the future?

These questions were decided on in collaboration with local Adwenkor staff in order to focus participants' discussion, but allow enough room for unexpected viewpoints to be raised (Morgan, 1997). Each group was given a same-sex facilitator who could speak the local language and English. These took notes and encouraged discussion, whilst I moved around the space taking notes and photographs. Then the groups re-convened to discuss their answers with the aid of a translator, for approximately forty minutes. Videos were also recorded for this part of the discussion, to aid later transcription.

Group discussions have often been found to be useful for dealing with sensitive topics (Wilkinson, 2004), and they proved successful in this context too, as responses caused much debate, laughter and consternation amongst participants. This open-reflection was one key draw of the group

discussion format, as it allowed participants to check each other's understanding and clarify responses, and generated debate more than other research techniques allow (Wilkinson, 2004; Barnard, 2009). Supplier staff present at the workshops commented that the combination of visual research techniques and opportunity to talk led to an unprecedented 'opening-up' of participants.

The symbolic and recognisable shape of the 'tree' enabled the group to talk about potentially sensitive concepts such as the division of labour and decision-making, and gendered roles, through unfussy metaphors of roots and branches (Mayoux, 2012). In fact, these concepts were co-constructed in the local culture (Huss, 2011), as participants included or ignored symbols indicative of their own situation. This adaptation of symbols underscored the importance of working with local staff, as without their help before the workshop, my understanding of a symbol of cooking, for example, was very different to the Ghanaian symbol used.

Figure 6: GALS Group Discussion, Ashanti Region, Ghana.

Source: Author's Own

That is not to say, however, that conflict did not arise. Male farmers in particular were initially confused as to why they needed to be included in

the 'women's thing', but the fun and inclusivity of the task helped draw them into the process. The resulting trees were very hard to ignore, even for those that were sceptical of the workshop: 'One man, he was kind of, 'You want us to believe that the women are suffering more than us?' And the others told him that, 'But it's true, that's a problem'' (A8). GALS succeeds in opening up a dialogue about 'gender' because it concentrates on the individual's role in creating, perpetuating and ultimately changing gendered inequalities (Mayoux, 2012), but it does so in a way that is non-accusatory, open and participant-led.

Following ActionAid's use of visual methods, I too found that 'there is… a sense of wonder at what can be done with just a pencil and a blank page- and there is real joy in many of the images' (Archer and Cottingham, 1996: 33). Producer participants co-create the data, and their experiences. This is a pleasing fit with my conceptual framework, which seeks to position human beings as actors: able to affect the world around them through agency (see Section 3.4, Chapter Three).

Figure 7: Female GALS participant drawing her household, Ashanti Region, Ghana
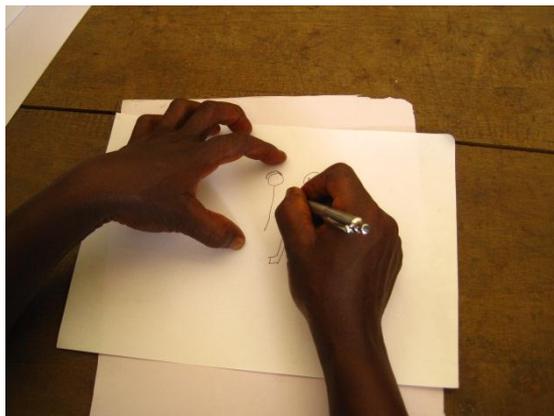
Source: Author's Own.

Directly after GALS drawing sessions, and the focus-group discussions, I interviewed staff members present to unpick further elements that were inconsistent, surprising or troubling. In effect, analysis

of the gender institution took place through a multiplicity of research techniques involved in GALS: observations; follow-up interviews; discussion and the images themselves. Farmers were encouraged to keep their own trees, and the pens; thus I took photographs of each tree, and their corresponding household diagrams, for records.

4.4. DATA ANALYSIS APPROACH

The adoption of multiple data techniques within a nested embedded case study can result in data difficult to analyse, given the multiplicity of sites and research techniques under use especially when attempting to coordinate and analyse different types of data: text, talk and visual diagrams (Buchanan, 2012). In this section I first outline my general analytic approach to interview and observation data, before homing in on specifically how I analysed documentary and visual data.

I follow an interpretive, inductive research design, seeking to let data direct and shape the research design as the process unfolds (Goulding, 2009). The data generation process was not a linear one, but iterative. This approach echoes Glaserian (1978, 1992) grounded theory techniques for data analysis. To be clear, I do not follow a 'pure' form of grounded theory, but as is more common in management research (Goulding, 2009; Suddaby, 2006), I have used literature and theory to highlight gaps in theory and knowledge, acting as 'another informant' (Glaser, 1978) but aimed to let the data direct the research itself (Charmaz, 2006).

Analysis began as soon as data was collected, shaping future questions and helping frame the study, meaning analysis occurred in feedback loops (Charmaz, 2006; Locke, 2001) and in a manner similar to 'theoretical sampling' (Glaser, 1978: 36). This meant that as meanings and stories began to unfold from the first interviews I realised that I needed to

speak to a wider range of individuals who had been involved with the gender programme, namely key NGO staff and board members.

Figure 8: Example of Coding for 'Blocking' Resistance Work

1st Order Concepts	2nd Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
-'Mass protest' over fairtrade bonus. -Hoarding resources -'We have no resources' -Mismanagement of funds. -Little FT premium goes into gender programming. -'These guys will resist like hell' -'Gender is not a priority at the moment' -Avoiding meetings. -'They divided and ruled' -'They side-lined' -'Silencing strategy' -'Internal coup' -'Control and dominate the really vulnerable' -'Nothing gets approved' -It's bolt-on, not in the DNA' -'Tick-boxes' -Few female staff at Adwenkor	Withholding Funds Avoiding Meetings Silencing Dissenting Voices Marginalising Others Paying Lip-Service	**Blocking as Resistance Work**

Source: Adapted from Corley and Gioia (2004)

Transcriptions were first coded inductively by hand, twice, and then by using NVivo10 computer software. Initial coding focussed on emergent issues that had arisen during the data collection, and were captured in interviewee's own *in vivo* 'open codes', such as 'shouting too loud', 'control', and 'self-preservation'. I went through observation notes and interview transcripts line-by-line, looking at key words and repetitive phrases (Goulding, 2009). This gave rise to a large number of codes (over 150) which, using memos as a means to flesh out ideas (Strauss, 1987) were then examined in light of their interrelationships between each

other. These 'axial codes' (Goulding, 2009: 383) were then grouped into larger first-order concepts, such as 'cultural difference', 'organisational conflict', 'fair trade=equality', 'Gender is sex/Gender is culture' and so on (Corley and Gioia, 2004). Checking back and forth between theory and data, multiple forms of data (Goulding, 2009) and key narrative events (Isabella, 1990) larger second-order themes began to emerge, which were tied to notions of institutional work and gender relations, such as 'contextualising' (sharing country-specific information on gender to educate UK staff) and 'distancing' (denying or avoiding responsibilities for the gender programmes). Figure 8 gives an example of the way concepts, themes and aggregate dimensions formed.

Finally, at the highest level of theoretical abstraction aggregate dimensions began to emerge (Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton, 2012). In order to ensure credibility and reliability, codes, concepts and themes were shared with key informants for their feedback throughout the analysis process. Furthermore, initial organisational comments were fed back to BCC, TradeFare and external researchers with knowledge of the gender programme for review.

Following feedback, a second round of coding took place, cross-checking the second-order concepts against existing studies into institutional work, CSR and gender and allowing for more abstract theoretical concepts to be overlaid over the initial data (Langley, 1999). In so doing, a temporal dimension was captured between initial institutional disruption, and later institutional resistance work, which continued in feedback loops during the research study.

As analysis of the data began, it became clear that a story was emerging regarding how actors talked about gender, especially in historical terms. These were loosely based on the 'past' and 'present' iterations of the gender programme, and how gender had been, and was

now managed and understood. Narratives were also identified that ran intermingled between interviews, newspaper sources and meeting observations, such as the 'empowering women empowers children' line.

Certainly there is a history of researchers scrutinising CSR rhetoric and practice through the use of narratives (e.g. Humphreys and Brown, 2008). Studies into institutional work theory have also noted the usefulness of narratives in studying institutions (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2011), and others have argued for their power to highlight 'sensemaking, communication, learning/change, politics and power, and identity and identification' (Rhodes and Brown, 2005:170), most of which feature in this exploration of gender as an institution. Yet whilst narratives were identified, they were not the only focus of analysis. As Suddaby and Greenwood (2009) argue, in the study of institutions and change, a 'pluralistic' approach to research design and analysis can be the most fruitful. With that in mind, I not only looked for narratives, but historical processes, practices, and power relations, within my codes, concepts and themes (Barley and Tolbert, 1997).

4.4.1. ANALYSING DOCUMENTS

In line with my inductive approach to data analysis (Charmaz, 2006), texts are considered within this research both in terms of content and context- I examine *what* is said, but also *how* and *where* it is said, and for which audiences. The 'readership- actual or implied' (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004:70) was especially important to consider when organisationally produced documents were interrogated, as this shapes the motivations and indeed, content and tone of the author's writing (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004).

In line with document analysis recommendations, once I had collected relevant documents (see Section 4.3.3.1) I read through them, discarding

any that were unrelated to the discussion of the gender programme, or women's roles within the value chain (Lee, 2012).

Documents were then sorted into computer files that were classified as to their source (external/internal) and type (newspaper article/blog/annual report etc.). I then uploaded these files into NVivo10, and began initial reading, asking the following questions:

1. *How are the texts written?*
2. *How are they read?*
3. *Who writes them?*
4. *Who reads them?*
5. *For what purposes?*
6. *On what occasions?*
7. *With what outcomes?*
8. *What is recorded?*
9. *What is omitted?*
10. *What is taken for granted?*
11. *What does the writer seem to take for granted about the reader(s)?*
12. *What do readers need to know in order to make sense of them?*

(Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 142-3 cited in Silverman, 2010: 169).

These questions picked up on content, authorship, and readership. I then began to code the content of the documents using the same process I had with interview and observation data (e.g. Corley and Gioia, 2004).

4.4.2. ANALYSING DIAGRAMS

GALS focuses on the individual as an independent actor capable of agency, but also of having a part in the gendered system (Mayoux, 2012). The 'gender trees' and household diagrams created by producer participants in Ghana were analysed in a different manner to the talk and text of previous forms of data. This is because as a complement to the discussions and interviews also collected, 'gender trees' helped to quantify men and women's roles and tasks in the cocoa value chain, indicative of their

respective experiences in locations that had received gender programming, and those without (see Section 4.3.4).

Using NVivo10 I was able to physically label photographic images of the 'trees' and code them in line with codes, concepts and themes found in textual data. This meant, for example, that the code 'women lack land' which appeared in a number of interviews could also be cross-coded to any diagrams where women and men marked that men owned land, by drawing the symbol for land on the right (men's) side of their diagram. Further, a more qualitative analysis of the drawings could be undertaken, for example, by observing the quality of men and women's drawings-which corresponded with the code for 'women lack literacy/education'.

I also applied a content analysis approach to 'reading' the 'gender trees'. The reason for this, as explained previously, is that the drawing of symbols represented a 'universal language' (Mayoux, 2012: 334) which translated experiences of gender as per work tasks, decision-making and ownership into visuals, and back into experiences interpreted by myself. Thus the appearance of an epistemological slip is justified due to the experiential focus on the drawings: I did not analyse the drawings as such, but used them as means of communication across cultures.

Using the symbol key (Appendix 7) as a matrix for distinct categories (Bell, 2001) I coded the 'trees' for each participant into a SPSS database. This meant 'attaching a set of descriptive labels' to the image (Rose, 2012:90) (see Appendix 9 for a list). As in line with content analysis guidelines, these categories were both exhaustive (i.e. everything was described and counted) and exclusive (each symbol only related to one label) (Rose, 2012). The database was then interrogated to produce frequencies and correlations using the farmers' diagrams. The resultant dataset was constantly compared to findings in the existing literature (e.g. Barrientos, 2014) and my own textual data. It was also cross-checked with

TradeFare who also examined the data for use in their own reports, adding credibility to the analysis (Bell, 2001). Altogether, I was able to analyse diagrammatic data on the gender institution in cocoa farming that was both quantitative (i.e. numbers of female landowners) as well as qualitative (level of penmanship; and decision-making).

4.5. REFLEXIVITY: MY SITUATED-NESS IN THE RESEARCH

A qualitative research design, employing research techniques such as interviews, observation and focus group discussions requires a high-degree of reflexivity from the researcher. Reflexivity is 'where researchers engage in explicit, self-aware analysis of their own role' (Finlay, 2002: 531) in the generation of data and outcomes. This is necessary given the ontological position I have taken as a social constructionist researcher, whereby social reality (and indeed knowledge) is created by actors (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Seeking as I do to understand how people make sense of 'gender' and how they interact, act and talk about 'gender' in the CSR context, I recognise the evolving nature of shared meanings. This too includes the research: it is co-created by participants, myself as researcher, and finally by the readers of the thesis (Finlay, 2002). I do not try to erase myself as a researcher from the writing, and throughout the thesis I attempt to remain true to the strong tradition of reflexivity in gender research (Alvesson and Due Billing, 2009), aided by a personal research journal kept over three years. In this section I briefly outline my position in the 'researched world' (Patton and Appelbaum, 2003:68) following the three stages of research design: pre-research assumptions and preparation; data generation and data analysis, as suggested by Finlay (2002) and echoed by (Cohen and Ravishankar, 2012). I also have tried to critically reflect on the socially constructed nature of research itself throughout the thesis but especially in Chapters Six and Seven.

First, with regard to the pre-research stage (Finlay 2002: 536) I consider my 'pre-understanding' of the topic (Patton and Appelbaum, 2003: 68); 'taken-for-granted assumptions and [my] institutional biography' (Suddaby, 2010) which will all have an effect on how I conceptualise, design and carry out my research. As stated in Chapter One, the PhD topic was chosen because of a personal interest in gender, feminism and CSR, born from an interest in social justice more generally, and also from experiences abroad working with Oxfam GB in Sierra Leone. This brief autobiography is salient considering the politically driven reasons for 1/studying and researching CSR and 2/identifying as a feminist. Throughout the formation of the research design and questions I have continuously questioned whether I am making assumptions based on my beliefs. What had I included, what had I excluded? (Calás & Smircich, 1991:664). For example, my initial research questions focused too much on the assumed positives of CSR on gender equality, and evolved following discussions with supervisors and friends. The drivers of my PhD have at times, however, helped to keep the research focused, such as my continued insistence on speaking to, and including, farmers in the research design.

Second, at the data generation stage I was keenly aware of my presence as a researcher co-constituting what was said and done. Interviewing, for example, is a route into people's everyday lives (Oakley, 1981), and as such is a dialogue between interviewer and interviewee, which can be studied in an attempt to better understand social organisation, and institutions. I adapted my interviewing style at times to encourage openness of interviewees- sometimes playing devil's advocate, sometimes sharing personal experiences of work places, and often using humour as 'a defence in light of anxiety or discomfort around my "difference"' as an outsider (Gough, 1999 quoted in Finlay, 2002: 539), but also in light of my own anxiety in being thrust into organisational cultures very different to my own. Humour and a light-hearted attitude was often needed in order to put interviewees at ease, who made their own

assumptions about me (Song and Parker, 1995), sometimes seeming worried I might attack them on feminist grounds. As I became more involved in the programme evaluation with TradeFare, I had to constantly walk the line between being 'one of the team' and an outsider. I found it hard at times to keep my own research objectives distinct from that of the organisation's, and sometimes experienced frustration from interviewees who didn't see how certain lines of questioning were 'relevant' to the research I was contributing to.

In conducting research overseas, I was troubled by the questions England (1994: 242) summarises here:

> *In our rush to be more inclusive and conceptualize difference and diversity, might we be guilty of appropriating the voices of "others"? How do we deal with this when planning and conducting our research? And can we incorporate the voices of "others" without colonizing them in a manner that reinforces patterns of domination?*

The decision to use the GALS approach was in part informed by such concerns: participatory approaches go some way in allowing participants to take back control of their own stories (Section 4.3.4). My presence as a young, white, English woman connected to the supplier and UK business meant power was always an issue (England, 1994; Cohen and Ravishankar, 2012). With supplier interviewees, the female respondents were generally more open than their male counterparts, who at times clearly demonstrated their lack of interest in me and the topic by reducing interview time, moving dates and times, and in one instance, cancelling the interview altogether. Here gender was, I felt, the biggest issue, or rather *the topic of gender*, and I feel male management tried to stick to 'textbook' answers in their interviews, usually quoting HR policy (Czarniawska, 2006:238).

In workshops, my skin-colour and my gender stood out, and undoubtedly influenced the responses given in group discussions. For

example, male participants spoke more freely to the male translator about 'illicit' spending, such as on mistresses or gambling, due to the fact I am a woman. The demands for aid from farmers were due to the fact I was a white foreigner, probably (in their eyes) from an NGO or the company who could possibly bring more resources into the area (see Section 4.7. on the ethics of this). In contrast, in UK interviews my age and status as 'researcher' were the biggest influences on how interviewees interacted with me: younger respondents quickly asked about the university and built rapport that way (Undurraga, 2012). Gender too, was present always, in that men often felt the need to qualify their statements as if what they were saying might offend, and women looked for affirmation for certain statements based on my identity as a woman. There is no doubt that I too played to these assumptions and allegiances to build rapport in some instances (e.g. admitting too that I felt pressure to build a career before parenthood) or challenge in others (e.g. asking why the male interviewee felt the need to ask for permission to voice his opinion on sexism) (Gurney, 1991).

As I was accompanied by an Adwenkor staff member and a translator, who at times helped translate and organise the GALS participant groups, there were pros and cons to this assistance. On one hand the presence of the supplier staff will have undoubtedly encouraged certain answers to come up in the group discussions (Stewart et al., 2007) and we saw evidence for this in that often discussion was used as a platform for asking for more services. On the other hand, supplier presence also encouraged respondents to think deeply about how Adwenkor, and BCC, could help 'balance the tree', given that they had representatives on hand to listen to them. The presence of the supplier staff also, ultimately, carried the workshops thanks to their translation and general enthusiasm with the research undertaken. On reflection, whilst Adwenkor staff presence will have shaped participants' reflections to some extent, it also acted as a useful catalyst for my own interviews

with Adwenkor staff over the coming days, perhaps balancing out my initial anxiety about having them present.

With regards to the third area of research reflexivity, during data analysis I remained mindful of the various ways my presence as a researcher, and own perceptions and biases (especially along feminist lines) (Opie, 1992), have influenced how I read the data. Nothing could be taken for granted, and as the research continued I had to reassess again my own assumptions- by reflecting, writing and re-reading my journal, and discussing with others what I had found, or thought I had found. Similarly, during data analysis I was mindful of reflecting critically on what had been recorded, particularly in the Ghanaian setting, where power, language and the research collaboration all played an important part in how gender and CSR were discussed, 'played out in hierarchies of status, privilege, domination and subordination' (Cohen and Ravishankar, 2012: 173).

In Ghana, triangulating participatory visual research techniques with group discussion not only allowed for key themes to emerge and be debated, but allowed us to cross-check the diagrams with the accounts spoken in the group. Triangulation also occurred during data analysis through sharing initial thoughts with others (such as supplier staff present in Ghana, or colleagues in the UK). Particularly useful in this sense was debriefing often with other researchers from a range of backgrounds on the evaluation team, during and after our visit to Ghana. I also presented initial findings back to BCC and TradeFare, with a mixed reception. Triangulation helped me 'step back' somewhat from the research process. At times, there was pressure from certain individuals regarding what I might 'find' or write during the research, evident in low-level prompting going on with regard to the internal report's contents: an example of the challenging contexts that research collaborations can throw up (Cohen and Ravishankar, 2012). The thesis remained autonomous, but I also

experienced anxiety around how findings and subsequent publications may be received.

Reflexivity throughout the research has, it is hoped, enriched the picture of research design, data generation and analysis. It is 'one way to begin to unravel the richness, contradictions and complexities' (Finlay, 2002: 542) of 'doing research into gender' in a cross-cultural business environment.

4.6. CREDIBILITY, PLAUSIBILITY AND TRANSFERABILITY OF THE RESEARCH

In this section I outline steps taken to ensure a credible, plausible and transferable piece of research, summarised in Table 20.

As a qualitative piece of research, the aim is to produce a 'credible' account answering the research questions under study, rather than a statement of 'truth' (Silverman, 2010). This is because when following a social constructionist worldview, 'truth' cannot be 'found,' given the continuous co-creation of reality itself.

Table 20: Criteria for, and Measures taken, for Successful Qualitative Research	
Criteria	**Steps Undertaken to ensure criteria met**
Credibility	-Multiple sources of data -In-depth interviews - Participant-led visual diagrams -Sharing of initial findings with NGO contacts and key informants
Plausibility	-Sound and video recordings; transcriptions; translations and photographs used. -Systematic steps taken in carrying out data generation techniques, and recorded as such. -Multiple data techniques -Reflexivity -Conference with other researchers, supervisors etc.
Transferability	-Thick descriptions in data -Exemplary case

In this research then, credibility is found in whether the interpretations of data are as close as possible to the meanings and understandings of gender of the participants themselves (Silverman, 2006). In other words, do my theoretical conclusions 'fit' with the observations and interview texts generated (Peräkylä, 2004)? I employed the following techniques to ensure credibility by:

1/Employing multiple sources of data, in interviewing different interviewees from a range of job families, across different stages of the value chain, including those based in the UK offices, suppliers in Ghana and famers producing products under study. I included document sources that were both internally and externally authored. This scope aids cross-comparison between narratives, and ensures no one narrative dominates the study.

2/ Utilising in-depth interviews to allow interviewees to account for themselves, to bring in their own thoughts and experiences, and to get close to their own worlds.

3/ Utilising participatory visual research techniques that 'enhance our understanding of sensory embodiment and communication, and hence reflect more the diversity of human experiences' (Prosser and Loxley, 2008: 1). GALS' use of drawing crosses linguistic barriers to participation. Through reducing power differentials between researcher and researched, including a wider range of views and getting closer access to poorly represented groups, and in adopting a method that can approach topics sensitively and without imposing 'Western' cultural values (Liebenberg, 2009), GALS produces data on gender that is arguably more credible than competing research research techniques (Mayoux and Chambers, 2005).

4/Sharing GALS findings with NGO partners and informal conversations with NGO employees, which helped cross-check my analysis with others. Informal discussion with some interviewees about first-order constructs in initial findings also helped corroborate that they 'made sense'.

Plausibility pertains to the researcher being able to 'convince the reader of the soundness and sense of their research' (MacPherson, 2008: 187). Here a concern is how much of the data has been influenced through the researcher's own characteristics, and how subjective the resultant findings may be. Transparency (Gephart, 2004), strong descriptive elements (Silverman, 2010) and multiple techniques of data generation in qualitative research can answer these concerns (Yin, 2009). I achieved this by:

1/ Ensuring data transparency through tape recordings, video recordings and professional transcriptions of all interviews carried out, therefore keeping a close connection with the participants' own language and experience (Peräkylä, 2004). Translators were used when necessary, and care was taken to translate English terms into locally recognisable phrases. Photographs in fieldwork, and photographs of GALS diagrams added a visual record to the research.

2/ Following systemic steps throughout the research to add to its replicability (Easterby-Smith, Golden-Biddle, and Locke, 2008:422), especially when conducting GALS workshops (see Section 4.3.4). I used an interview guide (Appendix 4) to ensure that the same themes were covered in all interviews, even though I allowed interviewees to direct the conversation along their own experience. I kept detailed descriptions of research techniques throughout using a personal research journal, as well as detailed fieldnotes covering each interview, meeting and observational opportunity (Section 4.3.2.1).

3/ Employing a multiplicity of research techniques, also known as triangulation, in my use of in-depth interviews, observations, documentary analysis, diagramming in GALS workshops and focus group discussions. This was to ensure a 'convergence of evidence' within the case study (Yin, 2009: 116).

4/ Practicing reflexivity throughout the research process: reflecting on my assumptions and prior-knowledge during the planning of the project; my presence as a researcher in the data generation; and my own perceptions and influences on the research and analysis (Section 4.5).

Finally, transferability corresponds to 'generalisability', but it is impossible for single case studies to be generalisable in a scientific sense (Peräkylä, 2004). Instead, as Peräkylä adds, 'the possibility of *various practices* can be considered generalisable even if the practices are not actualized in similar ways across different settings' (2004: 297, my emphasis). Thus the practices and interaction that make up the institution of gender are likely to be transferable to other contexts, and 'cases' offer an entry point into researching them. 'Thick description' (Geertz, 1973:6) of social life builds a picture that may well reflect other organisations', institutions' or actors' situations. As an 'exemplary' embedded case study, this thesis offers transferable stories of best practice, challenges and organisational learning that other business organisations may face: now or in the future.

4.7. RESEARCH ETHICS

Research into 'gender' and value chains within the private sector is undoubtedly sensitive: commercially, personally and emotionally. The research design was first submitted to, and approved by the Nottingham University Business School Ethics Committee. In this section I cover the ethics of conducting such research, covering company consent and

anonymity, participant consent, privacy, anonymity and confidentiality and my own personal ethical problems encountered.

I ensured company and suppliers' 'informed consent' by including a full research proposal in each email sent to participants (Appendix 6). This covers information pertaining to keeping data securely locked away and protected, as well as explaining that all interviewees and organisations would be anonymous. All personal characteristics that could possibly inadvertently identify respondents were removed and constantly checked. To this end the job families detailed in appendices are deliberately vague, and where possible I have removed detail that could identify the organisations or individuals under study. Transcripts and recordings were unavailable to anyone apart from myself and a professional transcribe.

In terms of GALS workshops, I worked with supplier staff and translators to ensure all participants were aware of their rights as the majority of farmers were non-literate. We verbally communicated the use of the study, their right to withdraw from the study (or to not take part) and asked for permission to photograph and video-record participants in order to ensure informed consent. Informed consent in this context was verbal 'provision of information to participants, about purpose of research, its procedures, potential risks, benefits and alternatives, so that the individual understands this information and can make a voluntary decision whether to enrol and continue to participate' (Emanuel, Wendler and Grady, 2000: 2703 in Liamputtong, 2007:33). This was in place of official forms which would not be suitable, and would have in fact led to suspicions, as in many cultures 'trustworthiness is built between people, in interaction, rather than through forms' (Kingsley, Phillips, Townsend, and Henderson-Wilson, 2010: 5). It was important to emphasise my independence from Adwenkor and BCC, and I stated this fact (through the translator) many times over. Anonymity in practice is not often possible in value chain fieldwork research, given the suppliers' presence in the field

(McCormick and Schmidtz, 2001), but what was promised was confidentiality: all responses are not identifiable to actors in print.

As value-chain farmers, power and status are important variables to consider in achieving informed consent (McCormick and Schmidtz, 2001), and their vulnerability considered for in the research design. The use of GALS as a method went some way to helping give farmers voice, and ownership in the research process (Mayoux, 2012). I was prepared through previous research overseas to be asked to provide for services and to personally help situations, which at times I was, and sought advice on how to deal with this. I was advised to spend time explaining that although I personally could not help, or promise changes, I hoped that research undertaken could feedback to suppliers and managers who would listen (Narayan, Chambers, Shah, and Petesch, 2000; personal correspondence with Oxfam GB staff).

4.8. CONCLUSION

Research into how business organisations understand gender and how this is translated into CSR practices, and how these influence farmers' experience of the value chain, demands a complex methodological approach. This chapter has outlined my worldview as a social constructionist, and my epistemological position as interpretivist. This means that concepts such as 'gender' and 'CSR' are socially constructed through interaction, talk and practice and as such cannot be captured solely through quantitative approaches and structural outcomes. Instead, a qualitative case study research design is argued to offer windows onto the worlds of business organisations engaged in institutional work on gender and CSR.

I introduced my embedded case study; and my cast of characters: Braithwaite's, Adwenkor, TradeFare and cocoa farmers. I went through in detail why and how I carried out each of the multiple data generation

techniques I employed (in-depth interviews, observations, documentary and archival analysis, GALS diagramming and GALS focus group discussions). Such triangulation of techniques, with a multiplicity of voices sought in stages of the value chain, and range of systematic analytical techniques, ensures that the research here is credible, reliable and transferable. My use of an inductive approach to data analysis fits with my social constructionist stance, and with the concepts of institutional work and gender as an institution.

I have also introduced the innovative contribution of applying GALS to CSR and 'fringe-stakeholder' research. I have argued that it goes some way to breaking down power relationships in a CSR value chain research setting, and enables a common language to be developed between participants across cultures. It is also a form of sensitisation for those supplier staff using it. Adwenkor staff were at first cautious, even dismissive, about the use of GALS in research. They cited the high number of non-literate farmers as being the main reason for their concern, and it took some days to convince them to pilot the approach. Once this had taken place, however, they were won over, enthusing about the interest and energy of participants compared to past research experience (A4; A8). They saw how the method is adaptable for many levels of literacy. They were made more aware of gender divisions of labour, both in cocoa and at home through the visually arresting tool. GALS offers some exciting directions for CSR and stakeholder researchers.

The chapter has also teased out some reflexive considerations on how my role as researcher, my background and my approach to research has influenced the study, and considered the many ethical nuances of conducting research into gender in the value chain. The research is, however, not perfect, and in Chapter Eight I reflect on limitations of my study, and what I would perhaps do differently in future research. For now, however, I turn to the first of my findings chapters, which explores how actors in my case study attempted to disrupt gender in the cocoa

value chain. Their institutional work to do this is the focus of the chapter, which ends with an evaluation of their 'engendered CSR', informed in part by the GALS research techniques introduced here. I then delve deeper into actors' institutional work to explore their resistance to such practice, in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER FIVE:
DISRUPTING GENDER IN THE VALUE CHAIN THROUGH CSR

We are not slaves bound to suffer incessantly unrecorded petty blows on our bent backs.
We are not sheep either, following a master. We are creators.

Virginia Woolf, *The Waves.*

The potential of CSR to change gendered dynamics, especially deep-rooted institutional aspects of these, is hotly contested (Thekkudan and Tandon, 2009). Studies to date have highlighted the difficulty in changing the status-quo and the sometimes disappointing reality of small gains and large setbacks. Despite these challenges, more and more businesses are seeking to address, and ultimately change, gender inequalities in their value chain through CSR practices (see Appendix 2). How do they this? Are there particular behaviours actors within businesses must adopt? Are there arguments behind their decisions? Do they work alone, or together? Understanding what happens behind closed doors, across continents, opens up further the 'black box' of day-to-day organising of CSR (Rasche et al., 2013), and how this is related to practices, narratives, and potentially social change.

These fundamental lines of inquiry run through my interest in the role of business and CSR in societies, and are reflected in this thesis. As such, in this chapter I explore my empirical data in relation to my research questions: 'How do business organisations translate gender into CSR practices, and how do these influence the understanding and experience of gender in the value chain?' These are broken down into the research sub-questions, which centre on *how* actors within my single case study translate gender into CSR practices, and how these relate to first

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understandings of gender, and second, the lived experience of gender for value chain farmers. Table 23 at the end of this section provides a summary map of findings.

Figure 9: Actors and their geographic location in the Cocoa Case Study
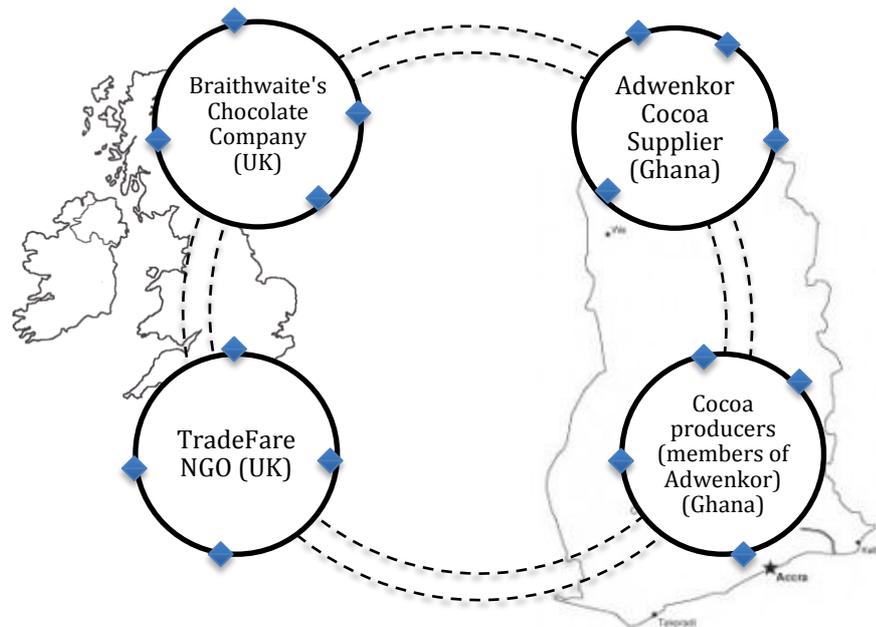
Source: Author's Own.

In Chapter Four I introduced the Adwenkor/BCC/TradeFare case study, and the actors involved. Figure 9 illustrates their relationships. The partner organisations are marked by darker, smaller circles, on which small diamonds represent individual actors and their micro-level performance of institutional work within these organisations. The dashed lines connecting partner organisations represent meso-level institutional work. This circular design is more suitable than a hierarchal organogram as different partner organisations engage in iterative institutional work, at the same time.

Following a form of corporate-orientated, rather than corporate-centric, CSR (Rasche et al., 2013), these three organisations work together to produce Fairtrade chocolate. In this chapter I demonstrate that they

have shared responsibility for this in different, often contested ways, and have been carrying out 'engendered' CSR practices for twenty years. These were ostensibly instigated to ameliorate women's experiences of inequalities in cocoa farming, as detailed in Section 2.3, Chapter Two.

Thus of interest in this chapter is how the actors under study *tried to* change gender by instigating this 'engendered' CSR. What were their activities, strategies and tactics for translating gender into CSR practices? Drawing upon my conceptual framework, I detail how actors attempted to change the incumbent gender institution in the cocoa value chain by engaging in disruptive institutional work. Institutional work that disrupts institutions is defined as the performance of micro-practices (talk, action, writing etc.) that aim to affect institutional change (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2009). Such change does not have to be 'successful', or even 'complete', but has to be purposive (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006) (see Chapter Three).

The types of disruptive institutional work I identify are 'valorising' (consisting of 'contextualising' and 'moralising' work), and 'legitimising' work (see Table 21 and Figure 10). In other words, these are the *processes* by which actors attempt to translate gender into a CSR agenda, with the intention to disrupt the gender institution. The performance of institutional work can be observed at the micro level, by actors interacting with colleagues within the four sub-organisations (e.g. at Adwenkor's headquarters), and at the meso level, across like-minded networks, such as those in the Fairtrade network.

In Chapter Two I explained how the 'gender institution' in Ghana remains pervasive, taken-for-granted and tied into the economic, social and political aspects of men and women's lives. As well as exploring the processes of institutional work intended to change this, towards the end of this chapter I apply the GALS methodology to a sample of Ghanaian farmers to explore how experiences of gender may have altered following

engendered CSR practices. Drawing on the diagramming activities, group discussions and expert testimony, I conclude that CSR at Adwenkor has in some ways 'disrupted' the gender institution, primarily though increasing women's political participation in the cooperative structure. In other aspects, CSR has failed to change the social and economic gender status-quo, arguably maintaining women's position- located within the domain of the household- by promoting work away from cocoa farming.

Table 21: Forms, Definition and Evidence of Institutional Work to Disrupt Gender			
Disruptive Institutional Work	**Definition**	**Example from Data**	**Example from Theory**
Valorising	'Infusion of normative value'. Promoting positive associations with fairtrade to gain support to change the gender institution.	See below.	Slager et al., 2012; Zilber, 2002; Selznick, 1949
a/ Contextualising	An aspect of the above. Infusing value through 'educating' others on the institution and associated roles.	Stressing the gendered nature of value chain and importance of household. Positioning gender as a cultural construct.	Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001
b/ Moralising	An aspect of valorising. 'Changing normative associations'.	Promoting the moral imperative for gender equality within and outside of the organisation in the Fairtrade business model.	Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2002
Legitimising	Ensuring the values of disruption fit within existing parameters of other institutions e.g. the Fairtrade business model.	Building a fair trade business case. Focusing on economic empowerment of women.	Hardy and Phillips, 1998; Scott, 2001

This unintended consequence of institutional work is both a prompt for, and evidence of, further forms of institutional resistance work, which becomes the topic of Chapter Six. The criticism of the ineffectiveness of CSR practices, explored in the GALS findings at the end of this chapter, prompts more visible performance of resistance work by key actors within the value chain.

Table 22: Gendered CSR Practices relating to the Gender Programme	
	Time Frame
Gender equality in representation written into supplier cooperative's constitution	Mid-90s-today
Quotas for female representation in cooperatives at village, district and committee levels	Late-90s-today
Skills training for women in leadership and business skills	Late-90s-Mid 2000s
Special conditions for individual women's enrolment into microfinance provision	Late-90s-today
Launch of women's groups for microcredit schemes	Early 2000s-today
Skills training for women in alternative income generation e.g. crafts	Early 2000s-today

The splitting of findings between Chapters Five and Six also roughly matches the historical trajectory of the gender programme (Table 22), and of the forms of institutional work performed by actors within BCC, Adwenkor and TradeFare over the fifteen-year period (see Figure 10). I explored this time period through access to internal and external documentation (policy briefings, memos, newspaper reports, press releases) (Section 4.3.3, Chapter Four), and by drawing on interviewee's retrospective stories of the organisation, their work, and CSR practices. These sources of data demonstrate changes in how actors translated gender into CSR practices over time (Table 22). Interviews also collate information on how understanding of gender changed throughout the research time frame.

Figure 10: Forms of Institutional Work intended to disrupt gender by time-frame

Late-1990s   Early 2000s   Early 2010s

Valorising Work

Legitimising Work

Resistance Work

| Adding value to the idea that CSR practices can disrupt the gender institution by: **Contextualising** (positioning gender as cultural) **Moralising** (equating fair trade with equality) Focusing on **social & political** empowerment practices | Ensuring fit between new ideas & existing institutions by: Providing efficiency 'win-win' arguments for 'engendering' CSR practices Focusing on **economic** empowerment practices | Passively and actively resisting other forms of IW by: **Distancing** (stressing responsibility for CSR practices lies elsewhere) **Blocking** (refusing involvement in practices) |

Questioning Work

Source: Author's Own.

A caveat: whilst I utilise a historical, traditional narrative to describe institutional work (Suddaby, 2006) it is crucial to note that different forms of work are performed *throughout* the case study timeframe, often at the same time. The dashed lines of the arrows in Figure 10 represent the iterative nature of institutional work (Suddaby et al., 2010; Suddaby and Greenwood, 2009) and the interplay between different forms (Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010; Zilber, 2006). Actors can move between creation, maintenance and disruption of institutions (Micelotta & Washington, 2013; Raviola & Norback, 2013). In my case, the same actors recount how they engage in disruptive work, but also perform

resistance work when certain understandings of gender and/or CSR practices are enacted.

On the other hand, in times of stress or change, particular types of institutional work may dominate. The solid coloured arrows in Figure 10 represent time periods when a particular form of institutional work is more visible. For example, legitimising work is fortified once external funding is granted for economic empowerment programmes in the early 2000s, and resistance work is seen in force post-research evaluation in the early 2010s. Yet the nature of institutional work is often circular, meaning feedback loops occur. For example, in Chapter Six I explain how 'questioning' as a form of resistance triggers older forms of institutional work to begin over again.

The chapter thus makes two contributions to theory. First, it explores empirically the processes and practices *behind* CSR, making a stronger contribution to both our knowledge of CSR and gender in value chains, and to the theory of institutional work in relation to CSR. I identify two forms of institutional work that are necessary to begin re-orientating CSR towards gender equality goals, and explore at the micro-level how institutional change may happen. Opening up the black box of 'organizing CSR' (Rasche et al., 2013) contributes to a growing scholarship seeking to explore the 'how's' and 'why's' of CSR implementation. In other words, whilst whether the gender programme at BCC and Adwenkor 'worked' or not is of interest, the main enquiry is the processes behind such a phenomenon.

Research Sub-Questions	Findings	Implications drawing on conceptual framework	Chapter Section
Table 23: Chapter Five Findings in Relation to Research Sub-Questions			
SQ1: How do actors translate gender into CSR practices?	- Actors perform 'Valorising' institutional work (contextualising and moralising)	-Valorising work ensures support is given to gender as a CSR issue.	5.1.
		- Contextualising work ensures org. members understand the context of gender in the cocoa value chain.	5.1.1.
		- Moralising work stresses the normative fit between 'fairness' & gender equality.	5.1.2.
		- Thus organisational focus is on social & political empowerment of women.	
		-CSR practices entail leadership training, quotas for women, farming training & women's groups.	5.1.3.
	- Actors perform 'Legitimising' institutional work	- Legitimising work ensures fit between gender and fair trade model by promoting a number of business arguments.	5.2.
		-The organisational focus moves to economic empowerment.	
		- CSR practices entail microcredit, alternative income training & development.	5.2.1.
SQ2: How do engendered CSR practices influence under-standings of gender?	-Gender is understood as a cultural construction	-Actors position gender as a cultural, social construct by engaging in contextualisation IW.	5.1.4.
	-Gender is seen as the same as sex (i.e. biological).	-This is only partially successful as gender=sex later validated through legitimising IW.	5.2.2.
SQ3: How do these practices influence the experience of gender in the value chain for targeted farmers?	- Gender is altered in terms of political empowerment (representation of women); & increased levels of confidence (social empowerment).	-Early IW of moralising and contextualising disrupts the gender institution to ensure women can take on previously 'male' farming roles.	5.3.1 5.3.2.
	- Women are still unequal compared to men (in terms of ownership, decision-making & time)	- A focus on economic empowerment over other forms through legitimising work maintains the gender institution as women are still positioned 'non-farmers'.	5.3.3.

Second, the chapter contributes to our knowledge on the intended and unintended consequences of institutional work. Using the GALS approach, as well as documentary archive data, and interviews, I show how CSR practices and goals which are intended to promote gender equality may actually provoke unexpected behaviour, and unintentionally maintain the status-quo. This is further elaborated on in Chapter Six, where unintended consequences are most visible in the form of resistance work. These insights have utility not just for theorists of institutional work, and CSR, but for those who wish to promote gender equality within any number of cross-cultural contexts.

The chapter is structured as follows: First, I explore the institutional work of 'valorising' (Section 5.1.). I then show how valorising work results in CSR practices that specifically promote the social and political empowerment of women in farming, such as leadership training to encourage women into decision-making roles. Second, I describe 'legitimising' work, and show how it promotes CSR practices that focus on women's economic empowerment, such as alternative income-generating schemes (Section 5.2.). In Section 5.3. I explore how each type of 'work' both relies upon, and may change, organisational actors' understanding of gender. I conclude the chapter by painting a scene of partial success, drawing on the GALS workshop data to explore to what extent farmers' experiences of gender have changed due to CSR practices.

5.1. PERFORMING VALORISING WORK TO DISRUPT GENDER

As outlined in Chapter Two, the 'gender institution' in Ghana, particularly for cocoa farmers, continues to position men and women in different roles, with unequal rewards and opportunities connected to them. Turning back to the beginning of my case study's history, in the mid-1990s women's position in the cocoa-growing societies of Ghana was still very limited.

Women in decision-making roles were virtually unheard of within the industry, and in Ghanaian culture moreover[12]. It is thus all the more surprising that a cocoa cooperative, Adwenkor, decided to enshrine gender equality into its organisational values, and later, promote CSR practices for the same aim. Of interest here are the how's and why's of that decision, and the everyday work actors perform to translate gender into CSR practices, or in other words, to get gender on the agenda. Valorising work, as a form of institutional work, appears as a crucial first stage in this process.

The beginnings of a gender programme were sown during Adwenkor's early years. At the Ghanaian headquarters, one European woman seconded from an NGO, and one Ghanaian woman, an Adwenkor 'social affairs' manager, were employed as 'gender managers'. That roles were created for this express intention and 'that they put her right in the heart of the organisation to sort this thing out' (C4)[13], was testament to the collaboration of Adwenkor with NGO partners from around the world. Whilst these original employees are no longer within the business, their colleagues and protégés formed some of the participants of the study. They told me how the two had worked to make gender equality an organisational goal in a (at the time even more) patriarchal cocoa industry. However, as C4, who had been involved at the time explained, there was an opening for the managers as 'women were very woven into [Ghanaian] culture':

> *If you design something that **plays to people's cultural strengths** then it's going to take itself forward... In Ghana, you've got several, if not all the tribes and cultures, that have women as responsible for business, right? Where you've got women as traders and they're bloody good at it... So **there wasn't an inherent barrier to women**

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[12] There are some areas of work that have always been dominated by women, and where women have had power, for example in the large markets of Accra and Kumasi (see Clark, 1994). Within cocoa, however, the opposite is true.

[13] Please see Appendix 5 for a directory of interviewees.

> *being active in the organisation. On the contrary there was a cultural plus[14].* (C4)

Actors were thus in a good position to 'enshrine those norms [around gender equality] in the organisation from day one' (C4). Contrary to many other Sub-Saharan African nations, Ghanaian women are afforded a degree of economic freedom.

Nonetheless, the historical position of women in cocoa (as 'non-farmers') meant that 'valorising' women's position in the organisation required work. Drawing on the conceptual framework of Chapter Three, I argue that actors work on 'contextualising' gender in Ghanaian cocoa farming, 'moralising' about gender inequality in the value chain, in order to legitimise the importance of subverting the status quo. These practices are forms of 'valorising' institutional work, whereby normative value is infused through an institution through collective action (Selznick, 1949; Slager et al., 2012).

Figure 11 visually summarises the analytical process I undertook to pare down a large number of initial codes into themes suitable to the definition of valorising work (see also Section 4.4, Chapter Four). Appendix 10 summarises these themes (the doings and saying of actors), and collects supportive examples of quotations and observations (the analysis of those doings and sayings).

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[14] My emphasis. Throughout the thesis I bold key parts of quotations to stress their meaning in relation to the concept being discussed.

Figure 11: Data structure matrix for Valorising work

1st order Concepts	2nd Order Themes	Aggregate Dimension
-Women lack land -Women are uneducated -Men 'dominate' -'There is no time for rest' -'Women need special training' -Women disadvantaged in law -'Worrying' managers -'Bullying' colleagues -Researching	**Contextualising** Highlighting inequity Highlighting importance of household Platforming	**Valorising Work to Disrupt Gender**
-'Fair trade means equality' -'We have a democracy' -'Adwenkor is a family' -'Everyone has equal opportunities' -'It's morally wrong' to exclude women -'Empowerment is the mind' -'They take off like aeroplanes!' -Women in leadership roles -'Promote women's rights and visibility in all areas'	**Moralising** Equating Fairtrade with equality of opportunity Positioning women's social and political empowerment as an organisational goal Instigating gender quotas and leadership training as CSR practice	

Adapted from Corley and Gioia (2004)

As opposed to Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) original definition, however, valorising here does not 'maintain' the gender institution but instead paves the way to disrupt accepted gender norms, as actors

collectively engage in valorising work to change normative associations (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 221; Zilber, 2002) about what men and women could do within the cocoa value chain. Specifically, they had to ensure:

> 1/ that gender was understood as a cultural construct, open to change; and;

> 2/ that value was put on women's roles as farmers and caregivers, and;

> 3/that value was placed on women's social and political empowerment, to promote their 'voice', confidence, and a 'place at the table' (B5) as the morally right 'thing to do' (B5).

Thus, value was given to changing the gender institution through CSR practices. This institutional work is performed within the organisations under study, and outside of them, in networks, thus contributing to the theory that institutional work that disrupts the status-quo occurs across normative networks (Dorado, 2005; Lawrence et al., 2002). In the following sections I thus explore the two forms of valorising work (contextualising and moralising) at the micro and meso levels of practice. The effect of valorising work on the organisational goal of gender equality and the related nature of 'engendered' CSR practices concludes the section.

5.1.1. CONTEXTUALISING WORK

Valorising gender equality as a CSR issue first necessitates heavy 'contextualising' of the gender institution by highlighting the gendered nature of cocoa farming, and its relation to the household, through research, research dissemination, and platforming for attention to gender issues. Contextualising gender means that actors position gender as a cultural, social construct, open to change. This is important for

encouraging the questioning of the status-quo, and inspiring others to instigate engendered CSR practices. Without the possibility of invoking change, support will be low.

Figure 12: Themes relating to contextualising work

Researching the gendered aspects of the cocoa value chain

Platforming for space to share research & ideas

Contexualising Work

Positioning gender as cultural

Stressing the importance of household
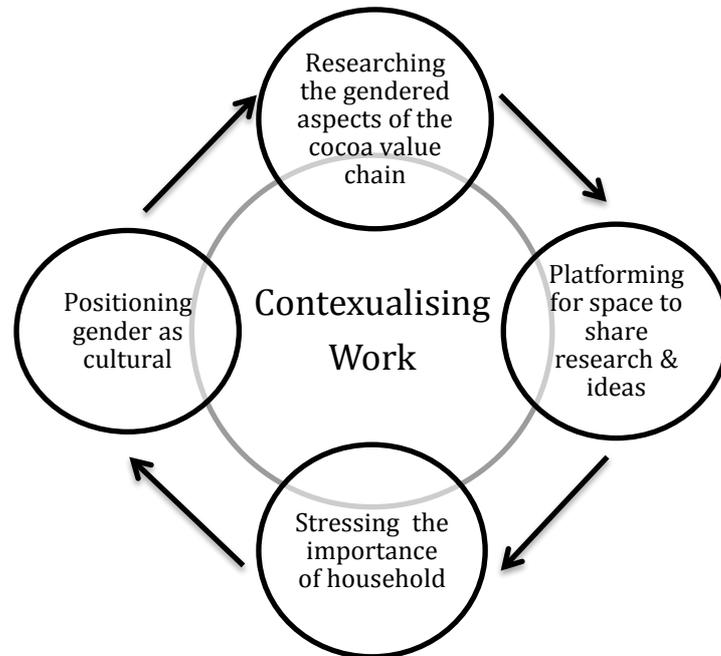
Source: Author's Own.

Contextualising occurs at the micro-level through actors at Adwenkor and TradeFare carrying out research into the gendered dimensions of labour. The first gender assessment was undertaken in 1996 (C3; C2; C4). As C4 explained: 'You can't have that discussion [about gender] until you know more about who the women are'. Research involves not just counting the number of women who are enrolled in the cooperative, or are in positions of power, but aims to understand the traditional roles and values held by men and women cocoa farmers. This level of education also operates within the organisation:

> *TradeFare is about… building relationships. Working closely with people and* **helping them to… recognise their own women** *in the work they do* (C2).

With data and anecdotes in hand, actors at the supplier, company and NGO then explain the relevance of this to others in the organisation by holding meetings, informally talking about the findings, and publishing internal reports (e.g. ID27, 2014; ID28, 2012; ID31, 2013). C2 explained how they used reports to give credibility to their suggestions:

> *Every time I go [to Ghana] I try and **share a bit more** and I've done lots of presentations, and every conversation I bring in "and **do you remember the report that said this?"** And so I'm not suggesting that we do a literacy project just because it's fun, I'm doing it because **the research showed** that 77 per cent of the people, the women, surveyed, couldn't read or write and they said it was a major barrier to them getting involved* (C2)

Table 24: Aspects of Gender Discrimination in the Cocoa Value Chain as recalled by Interviewees
Women lack land
Women lack knowledge of rights and/or laws
Women receive little education
Girls less likely to be sent to school
Women lack confidence/self-esteem
Women have reduced access to capital, loans, cash and banking facilities
Women lack skills for income generation projects e.g. management of time; money; basic marketing
In public life men dominate discussions; women sit back
Women lack time (for education; skills training; leisure; income generation)
Women expected to carry out all household chores

During interviews, most interviewees were able to recount a number of 'challenges' (C1) and 'discriminations' (B4; A6; A1; B1; NPR14; 2013; ID1; 2013) experienced by women cocoa farmers, drawing on their knowledge of research carried out by TradeFare and Adwenkor. Table 24 collates frequently highlighted gender issues, cited as in need of addressing through CSR practices.

Furthermore, the original gender managers, and their protégées, 'pushed' at this by insisting on meetings with senior management (A4;

B6), 'worrying' and 'fighting' colleagues over resources and funds (A5), and generally being unrelenting in their discussion of the topic:

> *She is a* **mobiliser,** *she isn't just all nicely-educated middle-class about it,* **she bullies them… and gets things done** (B1).

C4 also talks lyrically about the need for an outsider (often an NGO) to: 'play that role, of a germ in the petri dish. To help ferment, or reintroduce, or re-inject the argy-bargy'. Contextualising work thus requires actors to vocalise, and call out inequities to others within the organisation.

Contextualising work can also be seen 'outside', at the inter-organisational level, where the same educational messages about women's experiences are shared with potential investors, consumers and partners (e.g. through media press releases). External NGO researchers are invited to explore gender in the cocoa value chain (not including this study) (NGO 4; 2010; NGO7; 2013; NG012; 2004; NGO5; 2004; NGO14; 2002). Research is then:

- Published in external reports (NGO15; 2013),
- Highlighted in Annual Reports (TradeFareAR, 2013),
- Disseminated through networks such as the Fairtrade Foundation,
- Written about in BCC blogs (14; 11; 16; 17; 19) and,
- Highlighted in press releases, to be picked up by external media.

BCC also bring female farmers to the UK each year to take part in talks and marketing tours, who often talk about and add a personal edge to the contextualisation of gendered farming life (B1; B2; Blog2; 6; 5; 4; 13; 11; 9). For example:
 She [a visiting farmer] explained that through Adwenkor's commitment to **democracy and fairness**, *women cocoa farmers have been afforded* **the same opportunities** *as men* (Blog6, 2009).

TradeFare actors in particular work hard to promote the idea that fighting gender inequality entails addressing the 'cross-cutting issues' (ID6, 2013) of decision-making, confidence, economic freedom and choice, and that thus working on household (as well as organisational) gendered dynamics is necessary:

> ***Changing gender dynamics at household level***, *TradeFare is piloting the Gender Action Learning System (GALS) methodology, which is **designed to support households** in overcoming gender challenges* (TradeFareAR, 2013)

Part of contextualising work was thus to explain to non-cocoa experts the importance of the household to gender. This is not unique to Ghana, or cocoa, but is of special import to the context since Ghanaian cocoa is grown primarily on family smallholdings (see Chapter Two). Actors thus stress how 'work' and 'home' are interrelated, for example:

> *Reproductive labour: work done in and for the **household limits the time women can devote to farm labour**, leadership, and leisure* (ID6, 2013).

> *As women, we are challenged. **We are taking care of the home and everything** so we really need guidance and hope to be able to, come up [to take more positions of power]* (A6).

Women's time is at a premium, and their lack of time or freedom to take up new roles or activities needs consideration within CSR programming decisions (A8; C3; C4; B1). Contextualising work, such as external NGO audits (NGO7, 2013) impress onto those in charge of strategy and funding decisions that domestic life, and women's associated time-use, are of import to CSR and business. This is reflected in the decision to employ research techniques (such as GALS) which focuses on the division of

labour at household level, and echoed in TradeFare's objectives:

> *[TradeFare's vision is that] women and men farmers are empowered to realise their full potential as economic and social actors through a **just division of labour and distribution of returns within households** and through equal participation and decision making in collective producer organisations* (TradeFareAR, 2012)

As I will discuss later in Section 5.1.4, contextualising work orients organisational members' understanding of gender towards that of a social construct, as opposed to a biologically static category. Researching, educating and platforming help position gender as a cultural artefact, specific to the value chain context of Ghana. This is important as it means that actors can begin to see the possibility of provoking change through CSR practices. Contextualising work contributes to the 'valorising' work which positions women as a group worthy of attention on the CSR agenda.

5.1.2. MORALISING WORK

With the context of women's experiences of cocoa farming shared amongst and across organisations, actors also engage in 'moralising' work, as further bolster to the valorisation process. Actors at Adwenkor, BCC and TradeFare collectively engage in this form of institutional work, which aims to disrupt the gender institution by:

> 1/ Highlighting the contradictions of inequity in a 'fair' trade model (Karam and Jamali, 2013; Seo and Creed, 2002);
> 2/ Positioning the social and political empowerment of women farmers as an organisational goal; and
> 3/ Instigating CSR practices for women's increased confidence, voice and assertion (see Figure 13 and Appendix 10).

Again this work is carried out both at the micro-level (i.e. within local sites), and at the meso-level, as gender managers from Adwenkor, and senior management from BCC, engage in moralising work across networks.

Figure 13: Themes relating to Moralising Work
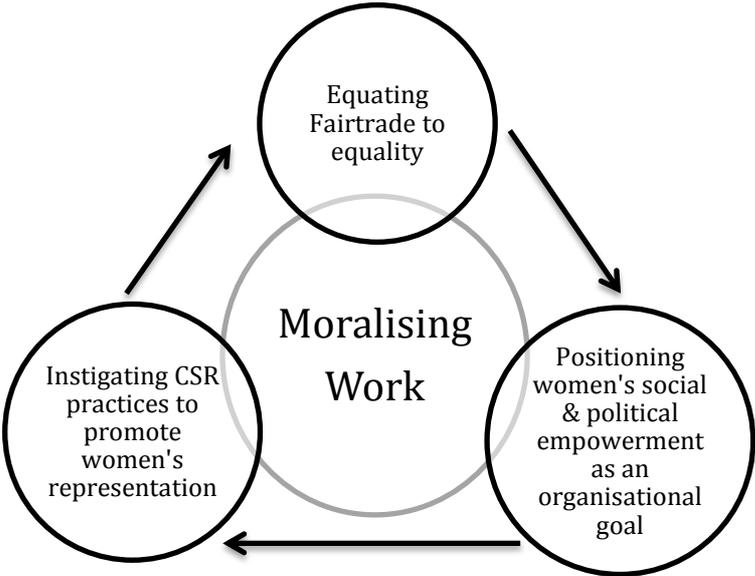
Source: Author's Own.

External communication is therefore a key component of moralising work, which actors perform whilst attending NGO events on gender equality (B1; B2) and talking to other industry leaders about gender inequality in the cocoa value chain (OBS11, 2013; B1; C1). BCC actors also use external documentation such as annual reports, blogs (Blog17, 2012; Blog15, 2009; Blog6, 2009; BCCWC, 2013) and social media, and press releases (later newspaper reports), where the participation of women in decision-making roles is portrayed as an achievement of 'women's rights' (NPR30, 2010; NGO12, undated), 'equality' (NPR10, 2013; NPR17, 2013; NGO12, undated) and 'fairness' (NP10, 2013):

> *Another **big benefit that happens in Fairtrade** communities is the empowerment of women - as part of the Fairtrade system, **women have to be involved in any decision making** (NP9, 2010)*

> *The co-op stresses the principles of quality, accountability, **fairness and gender balance** (NP10; 2013).*

Moralising work sees actors draw heavily on Adwenkor and BCC's association with Fairtrade to position gender as a CSR issue. Notions of 'transparency', 'democracy' and 'fair' are commonly repeated in interviews, as well as the argument that the 'fair' in fair trade should include women, *a priori*:

> *I mean **how could it be fair** if there's inequality within the fairness?.... **That's not fair!** (B4).*

> *It's just wrong. It's not right. **It's not Fairtrade.** (C4).*

> *When I first joined, and sort of found out about this… I was a bit surprised 'why do we need that?' [The gender programme] … **You'd expect a fair trade brand to be looking for equal rights.** For all… I think if you asked the man in the street or the woman in the street, they'd say, 'Well look …' I think **they would assume** that there <u>were</u> equal rights! (B4)*

Focusing on the normative dimensions of fair trade, and thus women's rights in a holistic sense, moralising work also stresses the social and political 'empowerment' of women as an important organisational goal. The reason for this is most likely due to the collaborative nature of the gender programme, and the important influence of international human rights NGOs with its foundation (C4) (See beginning of Section 5.1.). Thus moralising work positions social and political empowerment as

an organisational goal, specifically encompassing the strengthening of women's 'voice', 'confidence', and increased capacities in terms of leadership, decision-making and opportunities:

> *[We had] the idea of empowering the woman, **letting them drive their own destiny**. Letting them understand that, all the man can do, they can also do. Sending them very good messages - information that will let them **have confidence** in themselves.* (A3)

> *The main goal was to **give women a voice** on the board, **to be a part in the decision-making**.* (A4)

In the next section I explain how moralising and contextualising, as facets of valorising work, paved the way for the instigation of engendered CSR practices, practices that aimed to disrupt the gender institution in the cocoa value chain.

5.1.3. VALORISING WORK AND ITS TRANSLATION INTO CSR PRACTICES

Actors across the partner organisations collectively ensured that value was infused to gender as a CSR issue through valorising work. As detailed previously, contextualising and moralising resulted in:

1/ An understanding of gender inequalities in context;

2/ The belief that gender inequalities are immoral in a fair trade context and should be tackled, and

3/ that the organisation, and its CSR practices, should work towards the holistic empowerment of women (Figure 13).

Thus by the end of the 1990s 'gender equality' as an organisational goal appeared to be accepted *prima facie* by Adwenkor organisational

members, particularly through the commitment written into the cooperative's constitution (B1; B6; C4; A1). To operationalise this into 'engendered' CSR practices, in the form of a gender programme, actors from Adwenkor and TradeFare worked with another international NGO to focus on women's participation and leadership (C2; C4). As mentioned previously, this NGO installed a gender manager to work with Adwenkor on gender in the early days. Thus, the translation of gender into CSR practice arguably has its roots in a development rights-based discourse since the majority of actors involved at the time hailed from such a background (C4).

In the first few years of Adwenkor's gender programme, engendered CSR practices focussed on political, social and economic empowerment of women (ID4, undated, c.2002). This was to be achieved through:

1/ Improving women's standing in the co-op through a quota for their representation at various levels of decision-making;

2/ Leadership training to ensure women could carry out such work and;

3/ Targeted farming training to improve crop productivity and thus help women earn more income as cocoa farmers in their own right.

Table 25 maps these CSR practices against the gender inequalities they aimed to address. The practices in bold were those launched towards the beginning of the case history, in relation to valorising work.

Table 25: Engendered CSR practices to address gender inequalities in the cocoa value chain	
Gender Inequalities in the Ghanaian Cocoa Value Chain *(Data generated from interviews and lit. review (Chp.2)*	**Engendered CSR Practices at Adwenkor** *(Data generated from interviews and document archives)*
-Men historically given greater opportunities than women in economic, social and political life	**Gender equality in representation written into supplier cooperative's constitution**
-Women historically under-represented at all levels of cocoa industry. -Women face structural barriers to leadership roles e.g. lack of education; lack of land; lack of confidence	**Quotas for female representation in cooperatives at village, district and committee levels**
-Women have less formal education and literacy skills. -Women have less confidence and experience in 'leading'. -Women have little, or less-fertile land. -Women traditionally given responsibility for the home, which impacts on time to invest in other activities.	**Skills training for women in leadership, farming and business skills**
-Women typically have little access to, or control of, money from cocoa farming.	Launch of women's groups for microcredit schemes
-See above.	Special conditions for individual women's enrolment into microfinance provision
-Lack of control of cocoa income but full responsibility for the household means women may face greater poverty, impacting on the family.	Skills training for women in alternative income generation e.g. crafts

Valorising work lays the foundations for such practices to be enacted, by contextualising men and women's gendered experiences of the value chain, and promoting a holistic, rights-based approach to addressing inequalities, which are demonstrably more complex than writing a policy for gender, or enforcing a quota. A TradeFare employee explained that:

> *It's not enough to just go and spend half a day with a group of people and lecture them about why it's important to take up leadership positions... You know**, there's a whole set of circumstances that affect whether a woman is able, or wants even, to put herself forwards for that leadership position**... **We need to understand and then show others** what those circumstances might be.* (C1)

Implicit in this statement is the 'holistic' approach to gender empowerment, through attempting to disrupt the tangible (numbers of women given leadership training) and intangible (gender norms at home) dimensions of the gender institution. As A5, who has worked with women farmers for a number of years explained, 'Generally, empowerment is your mind.' Actors thus also engage in valorising work *within* engendered CSR practices, such as when they work with men and women farmers to sensitise them to new ways of farming, living, and working together: 'we orient their minds' (A5).

CSR practices that address women's empowerment from a holistic approach reflect a nuanced understanding of what empowerment is. On one hand, women need to 'be empowered', so that they will have 'power over' decision-making processes (e.g. by enforcing women's representation in top positions through quotas) (B3). There is also the recognition, however, that women already have 'power to' take control of their own lives, but that cultural stereotypes and contextual circumstances mean it isn't always possible for women to recognise their own power:

> *Sometimes **they are not even aware** there's something they can do with their present skills. Sometimes **they have the raw skills** and they need to be polished, they need to be encouraged* (A1).

Valorising work champions social and political empowerment, and 'valorises' engendered CSR practices that promote women's representation in all areas of organisational life. These practices ostensibly

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enrich individuals' 'power within' (Rowlands, 1997) to disrupt the gender status-quo. In the next section I outline how valorising work, and its associated CSR practices, helped shape Adwenkor and BCC staff members', and cocoa farmers' understanding of gender in order to 're-orient' the possibility of institutional gender change.

5.1.4. MAKING SENSE OF GENDER THROUGH VALORISING WORK

In the next section I unpack some of the answers to research sub-question two: How do engendered CSR practices influence understandings of gender? As per Chapter Two, and as we shall see in the GALS workshops in Section 5.3, many farmers still consider different roles and opportunities between men and women to be due to 'natural' (biological or physiological) differences between sexes. This understanding of 'gender as biological sex' is echoed in a number of interviews with Adwenkor and BCC staff members, who also believe that 'there are some things that women cannot do. Spraying for example' (A2).

Nonetheless, despite some resistance to the positioning of gender as a cultural artefact, rather than innate 'fact', actors in interviews were largely aware of the cultural character of the gender institution. For example, I asked an Adwenkor employee why they thought women still experienced higher levels of poverty than men. They answered:

> *Whatever they have saved,* [women will] *give it to the husband. They say that, 'Yeah, you will go and spend it. But since I am married to you, whether I like it or not,'* **because culturally**, *when they go and complain, your uncle or your father or your friends will get* [say], *'Go back and marry.'* **Because it's like we've accepted that norm here.** (A8)

A8 also added, however, that working solely with women would not be enough to change the status-quo:

> [We] **will have to meet the men alone somewhere**... *Let the men know that by helping their women– they are helping their own future.* (A8)

Implied within this conversation is the understanding that cocoa farming is gendered (women give their income to men), that gender is a social, cultural construct (the references to culture and norms), and that both men and women need to change in order for the status-quo to be shifted (futures can be secured by encouraging male farmers to support their wives).

Valorising work therefore helps to produce an understanding of gender as a cultural by-product, context-specific and changeable. Men and women's roles are not static, or 'natural' but can be changed in line with societal or business reform. Gender is thus understood as a social construct in that it is recognised that both men and women are socialised into the gender institution's dominant norms, and thus, both men and women own some agency over their perceptions and potential change:

> *It's the roles – the* **assumed roles** *that are taken on within – within society... But I think* **those roles are blurring** (B4).

> **Gradually we will have a change.** *But it is not easy. Some women, very qualified, will want to ask permission from their husbands.... So their coming up* **depends on their frames of their mind.** (A3)

Ongoing contextualising work, which strengthens the hope of gender change, consistently reiterates women's role as cocoa farmers in a previously unrecognised industry (Barrientos, 2014). This also challenges the assumption that Ghanaian female cocoa farmers are mothers, kitchen-

gardeners, and farm 'helpers' rather than farmers in their own right. CSR practices that address women as cocoa farmers, and train them to be more productive, help 'valorise' this identity.

Figure 14 helps illustrate the processes actors undertake to disrupt the gender institution through Valorising work. In summary, actors engaged in 'valorising' the need for gender equality through a rights-based narrative that championed the holistic empowerment of women in terms of voice, confidence and a full-role in society as an organisational goal. This institutional work helped to launch, and sustain engendered CSR practices that aimed to promote disruption of the gender institution in the cocoa value chain through farmer skills training, leadership training and quotas.

Figure 14: Valorising work's translation of gender into CSR practices to disrupt the gender institution
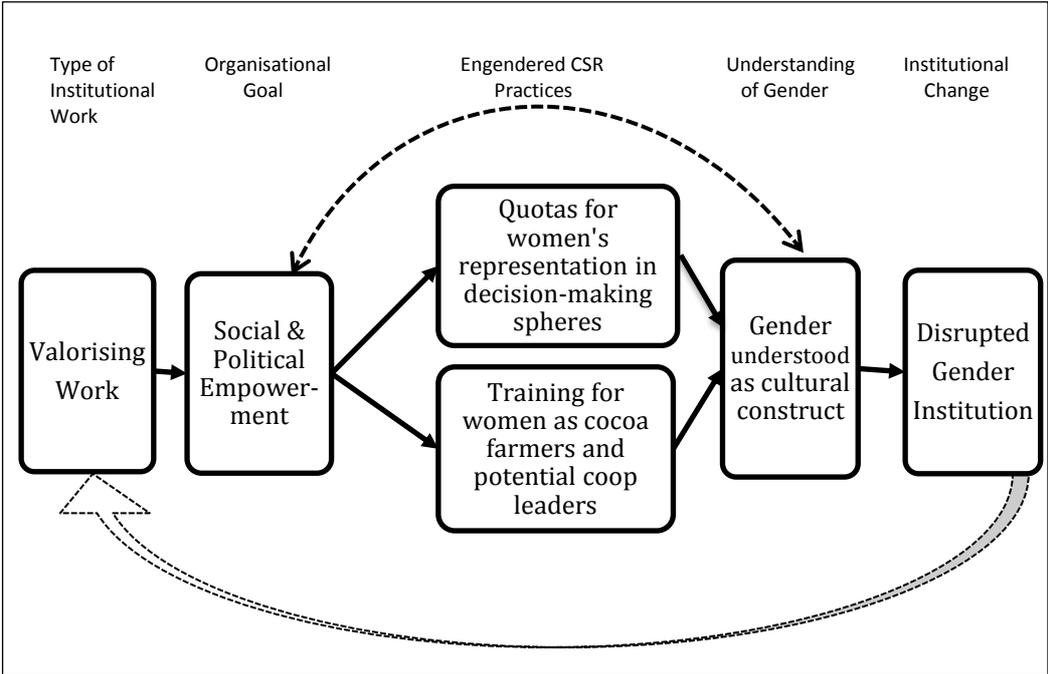
Source: Author's Own.

These practices promote, and enforce the idea of gender as a social construct, and as something that can be challenged. Note in the diagram

above that understandings of gender create a feedback loop with organisational goals: without questioning how women and men's roles came to be any kind of organisational action is difficult. As it is, CSR practices described here challenge the 'natural' status of women as homemakers by promoting the idea of women in leadership, an endeavour that has been partially successful in terms of getting more women in decision-making roles, and increasing women farmer members (see Section 5.3). Thus, valorising work arguably begins to disrupt the gender institution in Ghanaian cocoa farming.

Valorising work is also supplemented by another form of institutional work: Legitimising work. In the next section I explore this form of institutional work's effects on the organisational goal of empowerment, the types of CSR practices undertaken, and ultimately the understanding, or acceptance, of what gender is. As I will explain in the remainder of the chapter, the unintended consequence of legitimising work is to re-position women into traditional sex roles, with impacts on the experience of gender for cocoa farmers.

Before embarking on this, I want to again stress that these forms of institutional work do not 'die out', but rather co-exist. Their frequency and power can be observed more acutely at times of change, such as with the injection of funding, or the release of a research report. In the day-to-day, however, actors may engage in both forms of institutional work at the same time. For example, consider the quotation below from a BCC staff member:

> *Braithwaite's* **exists to improve the livelihood of the farmers***…
> And so at the end of the day, yes, if this* [gender equality] *is
> considered an area that is needed to improve the livelihoods of the
> farmers that are women…* **But from what I've seen and what**

you've alluded to, there's probably some output benefits from
pursuing this programme. So it's win-win. (B6)

The first half of the quotation speaks to the socially responsible nature of BCC, through their Fairtrade business model, and how that relates to women cocoa farmers. This is evidence of moralising work. Yet B6 then signals a further legitimising factor, in that 'engendering' CSR through a gender programme is argued to produce 'output benefits' relating to profit. This 'win-win', business case narrative is a key theme running alongside valorising work, and is suggestive of legitimising work.

5.2. PERFORMING LEGITIMISING WORK TO DISRUPT THE GENDER INSTITUTION

Working to ensure organisational members saw the value in gender as a CSR agenda (valorising) is not enough to ensure long-term organisational support and related action, especially related to funding. Actors also engage in 'legitimising' the moral case for gender equality by providing a business justification. In other words, engendering CSR requires a business case rhetoric behind it. Legitimising enables the valorising work to 'fit' with the existing institutions within the organisation (Hardy and Phillips, 1998): namely the fair trade (and thus commercial) remit of BCC and Adwenkor. It marries the moral case for promoting gender equality in the cocoa value chain with business related arguments:

> [Adwenkor] *see the value. But that **value has to be financial,***
> ***cultural, and very explicit** for them to really get behind it… What*
> *are the benefits to men and women and to the organisation as a*
> *whole? So it's not just about women, women, women, it's the **whole**.*
> (B2)

> *We need to build a **strong business case** for Adwenkor and other supply chain partners* (BCC staff; OBS5; 2013).

These views reflect the narrative of business organisations creating 'shared value' (Porter and Kramer, 2011) for both their economic needs and stakeholders' social needs.

Figure 15: Legitimising work's translation of gender into CSR practices to disrupt the gender institution
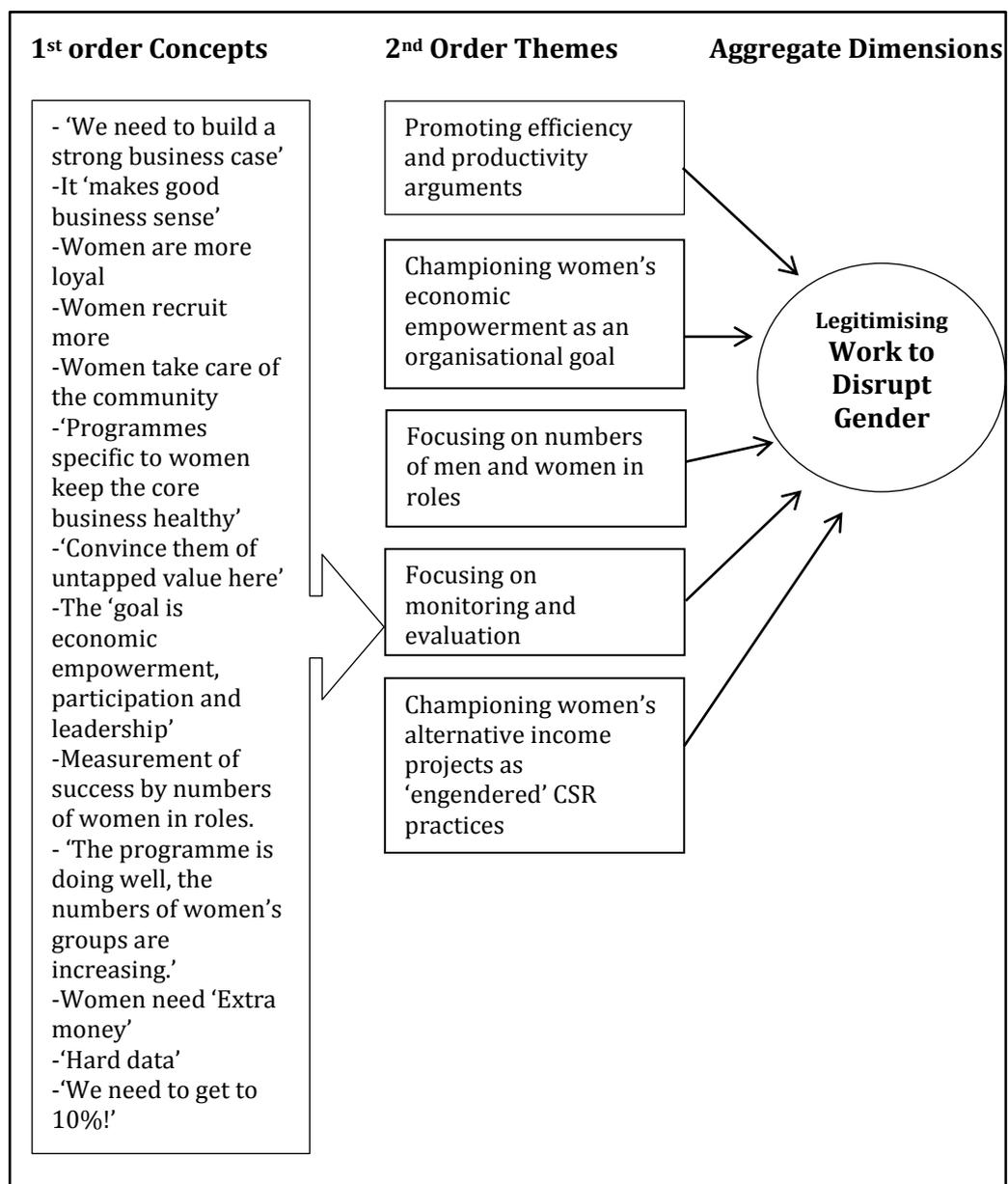
Source: Adapted from Corley and Gioia (2004).

Figure 15 illustrates the iterative inductive techniques of coding of interviews, documents and observation notes (Corley and Gioia, 2004) (see Section 4.4, Chapter Four), to show that Legitimising work to disrupt gender consists of:

1/ Promoting efficiency and productivity arguments for 'engendered' CSR practices;

2/ Championing women's economic empowerment as an organisational goal;

3/ Focusing on numbers of men and women in leadership roles;

4/ Focusing on monitoring and evaluation and;

5/ Championing women's alternative income training programmes as new engendered CSR practices (discussed in Section 5.2.1).

Figure 16: Themes relating to Legitimising work
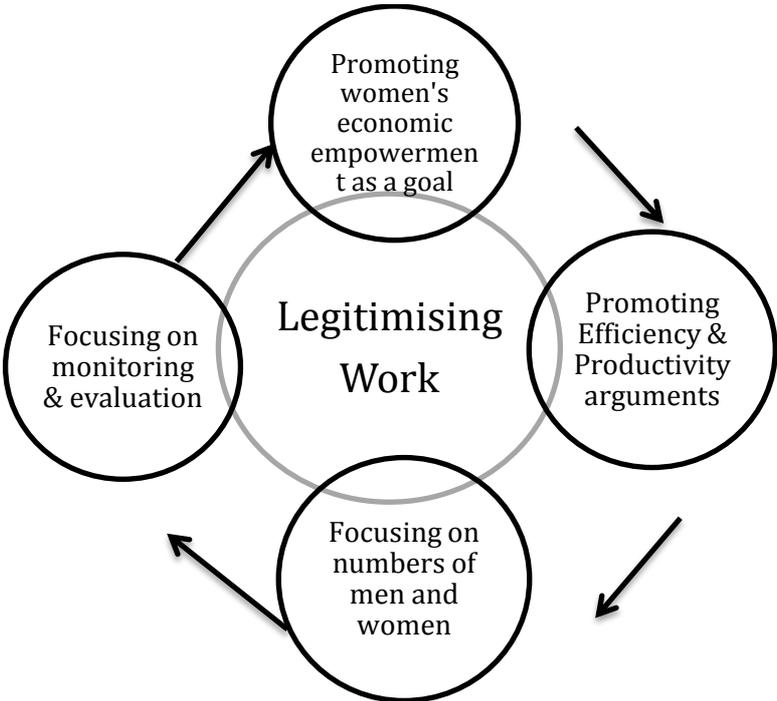
Source: Author's Own.

Legitimising work thus supplements the 'moral' and social imperative for investing in engendered CSR practices with a 'business' and profit-motivated view by drawing on established business practices and

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norms, such as monitoring and evaluation, efficiency, brand reputation and a focus on 'trade'. I outline these aspects of the work in sequence below.

Legitimising work draws on the idea that 'gender economics is smart economics' (World Bank, 2006), a trend in international development thinking quickly taken up and replicated throughout organisations in a good example of mimetic isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) (see Section 3.2.1 in Chapter Three for more). It strategically positions the promotion of gender equality as an efficiency argument for business. Such a position entails a number of assumptions. First, that women farmers are mothers, carers, guardians and communitarians. Indeed, Adwenkor's external news coverage (often instigated by BCC's media department) contained an almost universal description of the woman farmer's status as a mother:

> [The programme] *helps me pay my children's school fees* (NPR17, 2007)
> *A widow and a mother of five....* (NPR28, 2007).
> *A widow and a mother of seven...* (NGO12, 2004).
> *She is the proud mother of three* (Blog13, 2011)
> *She is the proud mother of a little boy, and provides extensive support to her father and brothers.* (Blog13, 2011).

Second, there is an assumption that women, as mothers, will take care of family-related issues, such as child labour, the family, and the long-term continuation of the cocoa community:

> *I think women will be probably more supportive of our need and desire to ensure that **child labour is not exploited**. I think **women will have a significant role** in that, probably more so than the men.* (B6)

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*Where women are strong, there's a good chance that their **children, especially their daughters, will do well*** (NPR27, 2002).

*When we go to societies and talk to them, we explain things to the men—we say, **women's empowerment is for the family**. Men understand and support them.* (A4)

LM: *When I say 'gender programme', what do you think the gender part actually means?*
B1: *I mean... so... women and families, **women become a shorthand for families.** In some respects, don't they?*

Third, actors promoting the efficiency argument argue that women farmers recruit more cooperative members, remain more loyal and embody the cooperative spirit:

*Generally, you know as women, we talk, we socialise, we make the world go you know, less serious... So when you have women at a place, and there is tension, it is the women who bring the tension down... **Women they hold the community, they hold the society, together**... And as you work with the women, everything starts flaming up. Just like that. Because they are the fuel, **they are the ones that flame the co-operative up**.* (A5)

Fourth, actors argued that the gender programme's onus on economic equality can lead to more cocoa production:

*Don't forget that **if the person working is happy, it will definitely result to output on the farm**... the woman's happiness will depend if they see their husband after [he gets] the [cocoa] money... **it will affect this thing [productivity].** So you cannot divorce one from the other.* (A8)

Notice also in the quotation above the repeated connection between women's happiness and income. This reflects a recurring theme in that actors argue that farmers' greater income will lead to well-being benefits for individuals and their families, whilst providing 'output benefits' (B6) for the business.

The focus on income as a proxy for wellbeing enables actors to concentrate specifically on women's economic empowerment as an organisational goal, which fits particularly well with Adwenkor and BCC's identities as businesses. Increasing women farmers' cocoa yields has an easily understandable benefit for both farmers and businesses. Indeed, the founding idea of fair trade is to develop human capabilities through alternative trade, 'working within the market, against the market' (C4).

Further, legitimising work's promotion of economic goals presents a relatively easy model to monitor and evaluate, another key fit with existing institutional frames of reference. For example, in Adwenkor's 2007 monitoring and evaluation guide the two measurable items in relation to the gender programme are: 1/ Female participation in meetings and, 2/ Number of women's economic projects (ID32, 2007). Collection of quantitative data like this is crucial for securing future funding from external sources (ID35, 2001) and for securing legitimacy from BCC head office:

> If [Adwenkor] *were good at holding data, and you could then very simply communicate top-line figures on gender- then it becomes much easier to have a conversation* (B1).

Legitimising Work thus also champions a focus on numbers of men and women: in decision-making roles, such as on cooperative village committees; in economic roles, such as cocoa buyers; enrolled in alternative income projects, and as cooperative members in their own right. External documentation echoes this focus on numbers: for example,

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figures on women's representation on committees quoted in BCC's annual reports (2006; 2010; 2011); and blogs (2010; 2011). Ten NGO reports focusing on BCC as a best practice example make explicit and repeated reference to women's representation in terms of numbers, and almost half of newspaper articles covering the gender programme follow suit.

In summary, the institutional work of legitimising hones in on gender equality as a mutual benefit for business, and for farmers. This reflects both the current trend for a 'business case for gender', and an easy fit with the organisations' identity as businesses. As the focus falls further on 'trade' as a development strategy, women's economic empowerment becomes the predominant organisational goal with regard to engendered CSR. Associated with this is a renewed focus on collecting numerical data, and on measuring success through women's representation on projects and in roles, again aspects commensurate with business operations. In the next section, I show how legitimising work promotes specific CSR practices which promote women's economic empowerment. This focus on economic development also has an effect on actors' understanding of gender, and eventually, the success of institutional change on gender.

5.2.1. LEGITIMISING WORK AND ITS TRANSLATION INTO CSR PRACTICES

Following on from the legitimising work described previously, the early 2000s saw the adoption of new 'engendered' CSR practices at Adwenkor, which are intended to alleviate women's poverty (and thus disrupt the gender institution) through alternative income generation, such as soap-making (ID11, 2001).

Actors engaged in further legitimising work by seeking, and winning, an external funding stream to expand training and capacity through microcredit facilities offered to women's groups (ID11, 2001;

ID10, 2001; ID12, 2001; ID15, 2002). Later, in the mid-2000s further help from an international women's NGO allowed Adwenkor to develop more alternative income generating training programmes, including handicrafts such as tie-dye and batik printing (Figure 17), soap-making from cocoa by-products, palm oil processing, and gari processing (a sort of flour made from cassava roots) (OBS5, 2013; C3).

Figure 17: Tie-dye cloth manufactured by female cocoa farmers enrolled on Adwenkor's gender programme

Source: Author's Own.

Why is it that the gender programme has since then focused almost exclusively on alternative income generation for women cocoa farmers? Valorising work impresses onto organisational members the moral imperative for improving women's lives, but for Adwenkor to instigate, and then sustain engendered CSR practices they need to secure outside funding sources, sources keen to be part of 'women's economic empowerment programmes' (Cornwall, 2014). Furthermore, Adwenkor staff explained that women farmers themselves were involved in a shift in translation to CSR practices in their requests for access to credit:

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When it [the programme] started, it was more of capacity building. Skill training. No microcredit. **But the women asked for it, they actually requested for microcredit**, *because… Capacity building good. Skill training good. But if you teach me to drive and I do not have a car, what do I do?…* **And they started with the group work.** (A5)

Women farmers' demand for microcredit, the winning of outside funding, and the narrative of the business case concreted the shift in organisational goals: from a more 'holistic' output (with its emphasis on women's 'voice' and representation in the organisation as cocoa farmers) to an almost exclusively economic empowerment focus. 'New' CSR practices which focused on income were also easily legitimised at the local farm level, in the sense that farming men and women appreciated the utility of more cash in hand. This is reflected in GALS group discussions where both men and women participants requested further alternative income training and microcredit offers (see Section 5.3.3.2).

Implicit in this shift in goals is a different understanding of how the gender institution can be disrupted: from the idea that CSR practices should politically and socially empower women as individuals into positions of power and 'voice'; to a focus on ensuring development and gender equality through engendered CSR practices that aim to increase income. Yet the focus on access to credit, and income-generation projects arguably eclipses the other aspects of CSR practices that valorising sought to promote, such as leadership training to promote women's voice, confidence and so on:

There was a very pragmatic streak in the way that it was born, but there was a **very idealistic undercurrent** *to everything… You know, it's one of the things I look at TradeFare and think… over the years…***things get lost**. (C4)

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> *For some time now… they* **[CSR practices]** ***became credit-based****, so most women came to the gender programme with the intention of getting microfinance, and not learning the leadership skills, the integral skills…* ***it was just credit, credit, credit. That was not good.*** (A1)

A shift in CSR practices is unsurprising given the funding and resource limitations facing gender programme staff, coupled with the pressures to conform to alternative income generating projects (C2; A4; see also Section 6.1 in Chapter Six).

In summary, legitimising work translates gender into CSR practices through promoting an organisational goal of women's economic empowerment, primarily through the sharing and repetition of the argument that economic empowerment leads to increased productivity, efficiency, income, and assumed gender equality. Improving women's access to cash has taken precedence in the CSR programming, with a focus on alternative income projects. In the following section I explore further how these particular practices make sense of 'gender', and how they have influenced actors' understanding of gender. I argue that the focus on alternative income generation, *away* from cocoa farming, has unintentionally reinforced the notion of 'gender as biological sex'.

5.2.2. MAKING SENSE OF GENDER THROUGH LEGITIMISING WORK

Legitimising work stresses that economically empowering women is beneficial to families, communities and the cocoa business itself. Yet concentrating on *alternative* income as opposed to promoting women's productivity and efficiency in farming is contradictory. It arguably leads to the unintended maintenance of the gender institution, since women are re-positioned back to their 'invisible role' (C2) in the cocoa value chain, as 'non-farmers'.

A8 explains that: 'We felt that… we should find something for the woman **to also do**.' Implicit in this statement in the assumption that women aren't involved in cocoa farming, which the literature (Chapter Two) and GALS evidence (Section 5.3.3) contradicts. Male farmers echo this position when arguing that women should be trained to trade in small items to take them away from cocoa farming, 'work which is not so tedious, or so hard. They would feel comfortable doing those works' (FGD2). Thus women are erased from cocoa farming once more, and sent back to the domain of the household and 'appropriate' trades such as soap-making and tie-dye crafts.

It could be argued that legitimising work, and its appropriation of the economic empowerment efficiency arguments, re-frames organisational members' understanding of gender to one synonymous with biological sex. Positioning women as *first and foremost* mothers (through the efficiency arguments), and as *non*-cocoa farmers (through alternative income practices) places women in static roles with prescribed acceptable behaviour. Understanding gender as sex, as 'natural difference' between men and women has an arguably reductive impact on gender policies, programmes and objectives, and is argued to re-create patriarchal norms (Moller-Okin, 1998a; Nussbaum, 1999), thus stalling any disruption to the gender status-quo.

As I will detail further in Chapter Six, contestation over the form of 'engendered' CSR practices between Adwenkor, TradeFare and BCC breaks out. BCC worry that Adwenkor's approach to gendered CSR actually reduces the number of women farmers producing cocoa for their chocolate product: 'What worries me is that by looking at income-generation, you allow it to be put on the side' (B1). They add:

> *I think the best thing Adwenkor can do is to actually get women – you know, **women <u>and</u> men farmers to be as efficient and effective as they can be, being cocoa farmers**. That's their commonality! So if*

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you could get them to increase their yield, and earn more income,
that's the thing you can most – presumably – you could most easily
effect.

Figure 18: Legitimising work and its translation into CSR practices, and influence on understandings of gender, and the gender institution.
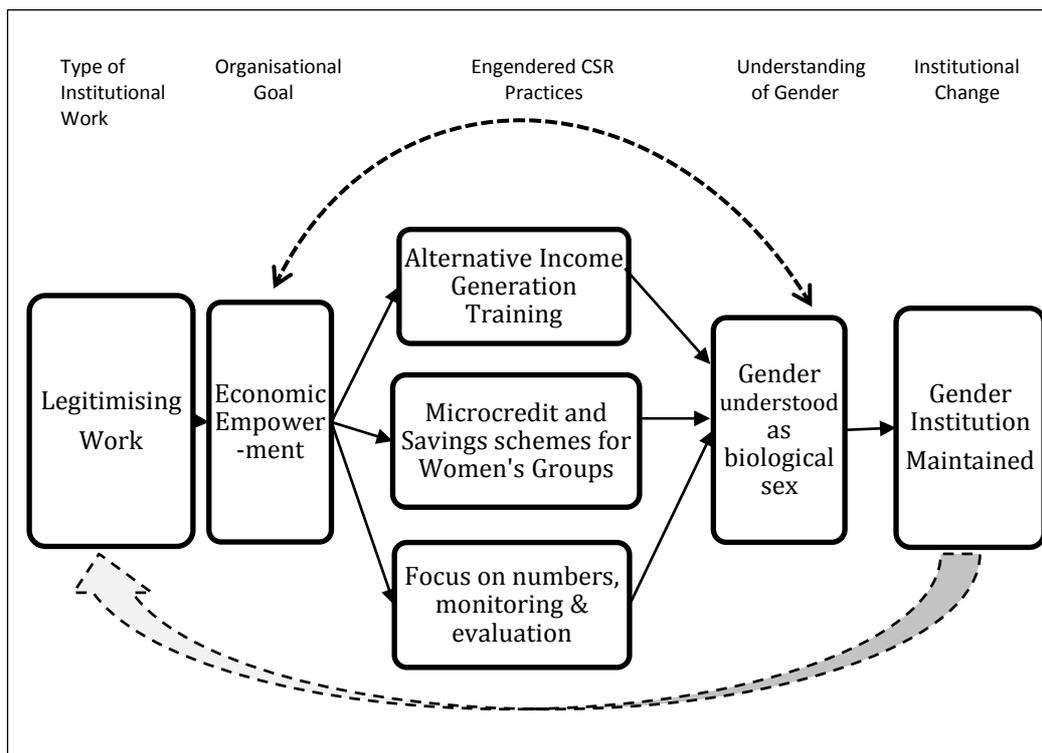
Source: Author's Own.

Figure 18 therefore illustrates how actors' purposive work to disrupt the gender institution is thwarted. The focus on economic empowerment and the prominence of alternative income schemes promotes the traditional view of women as homekeepers, and not as productive cocoa farmers. There has been a mis-translation of the business case, since current CSR practices will not 'increase yields' (B1) for women farmers. Alternative income schemes do little to challenge the gender institution in Ghanaian cocoa farming in terms of social and political equality in the cocoa value

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chain (ACA8, 2009; NGO7, 2013). Furthermore, as I will next explore through the GALS findings, the economic empowerment of women through these practices has been weak. Thus, the gender institution is unintentionally maintained through engendered CSR practices at Adwenkor.

5.3. GENDER IN THE COCOA VALUE CHAIN: DISRUPTED *AND* MAINTAINED

In the next sections I explore the political, social and economic dimensions of how Adwenkor's CSR practices have influenced the gender institution in Ghana, focussing particularly on the experience of cocoa farmers. I do this by drawing on three sources of data: interviews with staff, existing research reports and my own GALS workshop data, which includes diagrams, observations and focus group discussion (see Section 4.3.4 in Chapter Four).

The caveats for this section's claims are threefold. First, Ghana itself is an incredibly diverse country, with 25 million people hailing from over 90 different ethnic groups. It is very difficult to claim a single truth about 'gender' in Ghana (Baden et al., 1994) so these findings are only applicable to Ashanti and Western Regions, where the research was carried out.

Second, generalisations are not sought here, as the sample size for GALS workshops is very small in comparison to Adwenkor's large membership base. Rather, the workshops offer a snapshot of 'the gender institution' for those women and men I spoke to in 2013. To offer wider findings on the gender programme I also draw on existing research on Adwenkor and the findings from household surveys administered in 2013 by the larger research evaluation team. Table 26 collates summary findings of how experiences of gender have been changed, or not, by engendered CSR practices. These sources of data offer a triangulation of findings which support the conclusions I reach in this chapter: namely that

'engendered' CSR practices in the Adwenkor case have only been partially successful at disrupting the gender status-quo.

Table 26: Gender Inequalities, CSR Practices and Key Findings from Overall Programme Evaluation (2012-13)		
Gender Inequalities in the Ghanaian Cocoa Value Chain *(Data generated from Lit.Review and Interviews)*	**Engendered CSR Practices at Adwenkor** *(Data generated from Interviews and Document Analysis)*	**Key findings from Evaluations** *(Data generated from extant research; interviews and GALS workshops)*
-Men historically given greater opportunities than women in economic, social and political life	Gender equality in representation written into supplier cooperative's constitution	Successful in terms of women's political influence in decision-making roles, and in buy-in from organisational members.
-Women historically under-represented at all levels of cocoa industry. -Women face structural barriers to leadership roles e.g. lack of education; lack of land; lack of confidence	Quotas for female representation in cooperatives at village, district and committee levels	Successful, with some exceptions at village level. Women's representation also means increased visibility and voice of women in decision-making e.g. on the board.
-Women have less formal education, literacy skills, confidence and experience in 'leading'. -Women have little, or less-fertile land. -Women lack time.	Skills training for women in leadership, farming and business skills	Partially successful. This type of training not available to majority of women.
-Women typically have little access to, or control of, money from cocoa farming.	Launch of women's groups for microcredit schemes	Partially successful. Some women unhappy having to work in groups. Groups continue to be peripheral to cooperative governance.
-See above.	Special conditions for individual women's enrolment into microfinance provision	Partially successful. Mismanagement and funding problems meant services failed to keep up with demand
-Lack of control of cocoa income but full responsibility for the household means women may face greater poverty, impacting on the family.	Skills training for women in alternative income generation e.g. crafts	Partially successful. No evidence of economic gain for women, but some evidence of and social empowerment e.g. increased confidence.

Third, the GALS analysis primarily focuses on the data produced through the 'gender tree' diagrams (see Section 4.3.4.1, Chapter Four). These

capture the distribution of labour, ownership of assets, and decision-making and control of expenditure between men and women, as generic indicators of predominantly economic dimensions of gender equality (UNECA, 2011).

Group discussions and observations aimed to generate data on holistic, less tangible indicators of gender equality, which encompass the social and political dimensions of gender, such as capability to contribute to the discussion, permission to speak, or enter the group, and so forth. These indicators of the 'gender institution' are in no way comprehensive, but they offer an acceptable baseline for observations on gender in the Ghanaian cocoa value chain (UNECA, 2011). Further, while there is immense overlap between the economic, social and political dimensions of gender, for the sake of clarity I attempt to separate them in the analysis below.

5.3.1. CHANGING POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE GENDER INSTITUTION IN COCOA FARMING

As Chapter Two explained, in most areas of Ghanaian public life women's representation remains low. Few women lead businesses, or sit on boards (Ghana Statistical Service, 2009). In cocoa farming, the number of women involved in the marketing, buying or selling of cocoa is small (INTRACEN, 2010). There are few women members in cocoa cooperatives (UTZ and Solidaridad, 2009), and their roles as presidents or secretaries remain at 3-4% (UTZ and Solidaridad, 2009). It was for this reason that Adwenkor instigated a quota for women's representation at various decision-making levels of the organisation.

The success of this policy is demonstrated in the rise in women members of the cooperative (now at around 32%) (Adwenkor database, 2013), and in numbers of women in authoritative positions on Adwenkor boards, on general committees, and as cocoa purchasing clerks. When put in context with the relative lack of women in business and politics within

Ghana, and within the cocoa value chain, it suggests that the political dimension of the gender institution has been somewhat disrupted by women's leadership training and gender quotas, as part of Adwenkor's 'engendered' CSR practices.

However, the low numbers of female cocoa purchasing clerks remains a specific area of concern for BCC and Adwenkor, as the role holds not just political clout and power, but rewards individuals with a larger income (B1). Despite the majority of external documents (blogs and newspaper reports) highlighting the women who had made it into the role, in reality only 3% of cocoa purchasers for Adwenkor were women (Adwenkor database, 2013). Furthermore, as a symbol of economic, social, and political equality, the lack of women purchasing clerks suggests that traditional norms on gender roles, and thus the gender institution, remain strong in Adwenkor's cocoa value chain. The discrepancy over numbers of female cocoa buyers was a point of contention between partner organisations, conflict discussed in the next chapter.

GALS workshops were limited to the measurement of political empowerment through membership of the cooperative, or committee roles. In all focus groups, the majority of Adwenkor cooperative members were men, and the majority of those with cooperative roles (e.g. treasurer) were men. In no field visits did I encounter female presidents, treasurers or cocoa buyers in the village cooperative committee. However, a significant number of households contained both male and female members, suggesting that men had gifted a portion of farming land to their female relatives in order for them to be members in their own right. This is because women must be land-owners to become a cooperative member, and thus have a say in the running of the organisation. Solely women-headed farms are still relatively rare, applying mainly to widows or divorcees (see Table 28). My observations from workshops recorded that in villages with a longer history of gender programming women appeared to be more vocal, confident and physically interspersed with men during

the communal meetings (OBSGALS1; 4). This is also another indicator of social empowerment, detailed below.

5.3.2. CHANGING SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF THE GENDER INSTITUTION IN GHANAIAN COCOA FARMING

Social empowerment entails fostering self-confidence and freedoms for individual capabilities and human flourishing (Sen, 1997; Cornwall, 2014). Thus, women's independent decision-making and freedoms were important to capture in the GALS workshops. In the initial diagramming activity, which we used to assess overall decision-making in the household, 77% of participants circled the male figure as the 'one in charge'. Yet women also appeared independent in other ways: they had separate lives from men in terms of roles, activities and expenditure (see Sections 5.3.3.1-2). This is explained as 'individuation': a key 'value on personal autonomy and dignity for men and women' which exists amongst many Ghanaian cultures (Clark, 1994: 107) (see Chapter Two).

Yet the GALS workshop data suggests that the 'engendered CSR' model has made little headway in challenging domestic gender norms, and therefore in freeing up women to engage further in social and political life. Across all workshop groups, women do almost all of the household work (see 'Domestic Work' in Table 27, Section 5.3.3.1). In smaller, rural communities, where clean water was some distance away, women's time was spent largely on household work, especially carrying water, and cooking, which also depends on the proximity of water sources. Reflecting other time-use surveys (e.g. Wodon & Blackden, 2006), women's time was thus taken up with domestic work, leaving little time to invest in alternative income generating, cocoa farming or leisure:

> *The women are also burdened with household chores…**the women do double-work**. Mean that, after assisting them with the farm work, when they come home they also do household chores, so it is hard for the woman. So that is why, we see that when it comes to the roots of*

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the tree, it is, somewhat destroying the woman. (Men's session, FGD4).

The dominance of women's time by domestic work was also a topic of great discussion during workshops. Drawing on their gender-tree diagrams, women talked of the 'roots almost covering the women' (FGD4), and voiced that it was unfair that they did all of the household chores. Surprisingly, often men agreed, and some male groups committed to helping with household work, 'and not leave it all on one side' (FGD1). One young man suggested the men could 'hold the babies whilst the women cook the evening meal' (FGD3). It appears that those of a younger generation see the benefit in sharing workload, at least in principle.

In groups where husbands and wives were present, however, a comparison could be made between diagrams, and often men's consideration of women's time and work was grossly underrepresented (Figures 19 and 20). This suggests that women's status is still considered second to men's, in terms of the importance of their various roles. Women are not given the opportunity to increase their roles outside of the homestead because it is taken for granted that they will carry out the tiresome and time-consuming burden of domestic work.

Women were frustrated because despite carrying out a large proportion and range of work, they had little say on how the rewards from their labours would be spent, as reiterated in the control of expenditure diagram results (Section 5.3.3.2). Women argued that 'Men should allow women to take part in decision making' (FGD2). Echoing Clark's 1994 study, women talked of gender wellbeing in terms of husbands 'showing us love' (FGD4) and spending time with their wives. They wished for more control of money and/or opportunities to make their own money, to ensure the healthy running of the household (FGD2; FGD4).

Women's discussion groups often expressed their disaffection with shouts, grumbles and heated exchanges between them and the men's

groups. It was observed that in those villages with women's groups the women themselves appeared more confident and vocal, and happier to participate in the diagram drawing (OBSGALS1; OBSGALS2). They were also more likely to challenge the men's answers in the group discussion sessions, suggesting a higher level of social empowerment overall through being organised.

Thus, the disruption of the social dimensions of the gender institution, through Adwenkor and BCC's gender programme, has been partially successful here. Although women's freedom to engage in wider society is arguably limited because of their expected household roles, there is some evidence to suggest that CSR practices which support women to form groups promotes a form of social empowerment. The connection of these groups to economic income, however, is tenuous, as will be discussed in the next section. Furthermore, social empowerment could be hindered by encouraging women into more alternative income streams when their free time is already fraught.

Figure 19: Male farmer's Gender Tree, Western Region.[15]
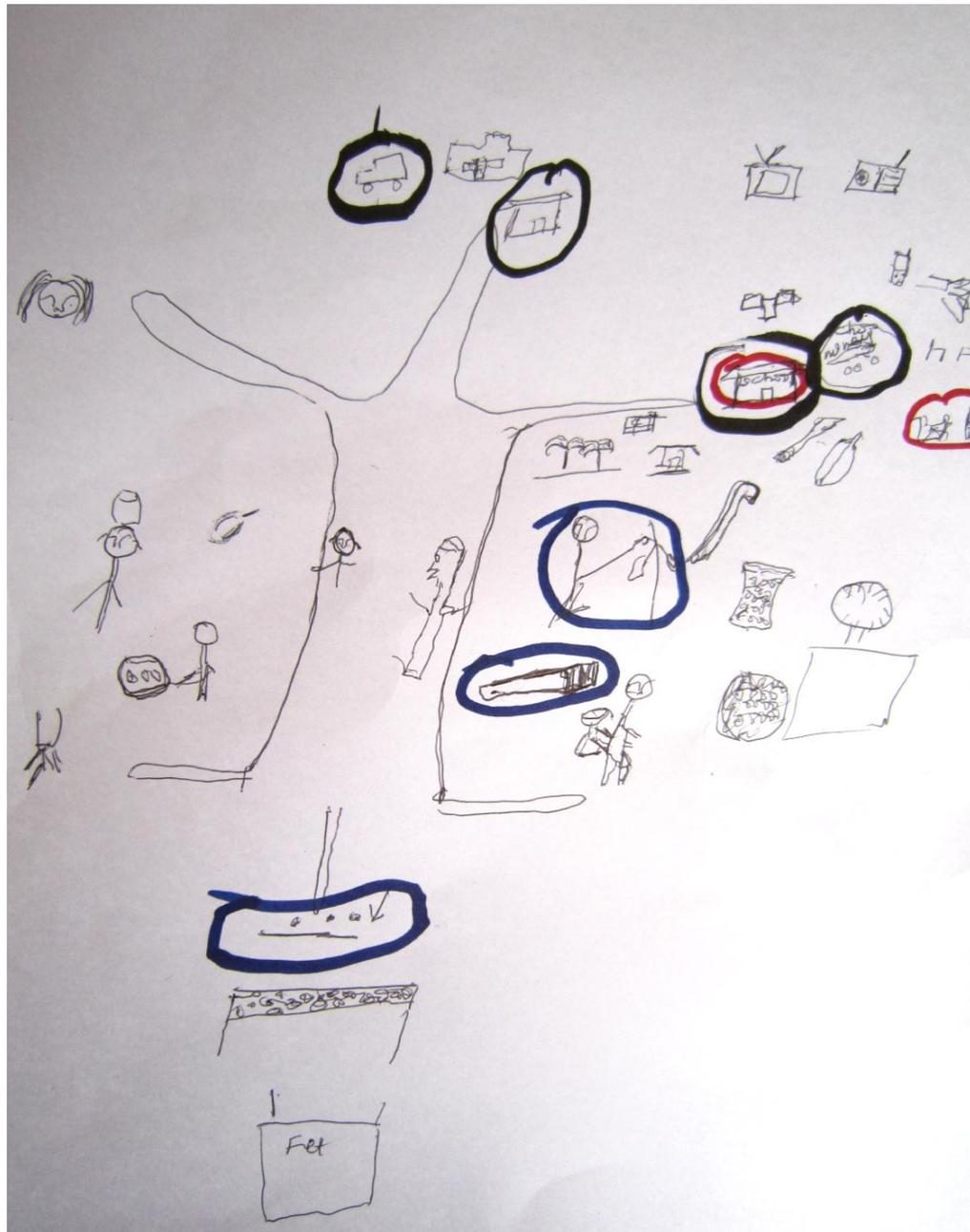
This farmer owns the land, housing and money. He only lists cooking, carrying water, growing aubergine and carrying firewood as women's work (bottom left). Shared tasks are planting, drying and fertilising cocoa (middle under trunk). His work (right side) comprises of clearing and weeding land; carrying, harvesting, bagging, weighing and selling cocoa. He lists the only female expenditure decisions to be regarding haircuts. In terms of time use, he circles (in blue) planting, harvesting and weeding as the most time-consuming tasks for the household.

Source: Author's Own.

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[15] For help in 'decoding' the gender tree diagrams, Appendix 7 contains a symbol key.

Figure 20: Female Farmer's Gender Tree, Western Region.
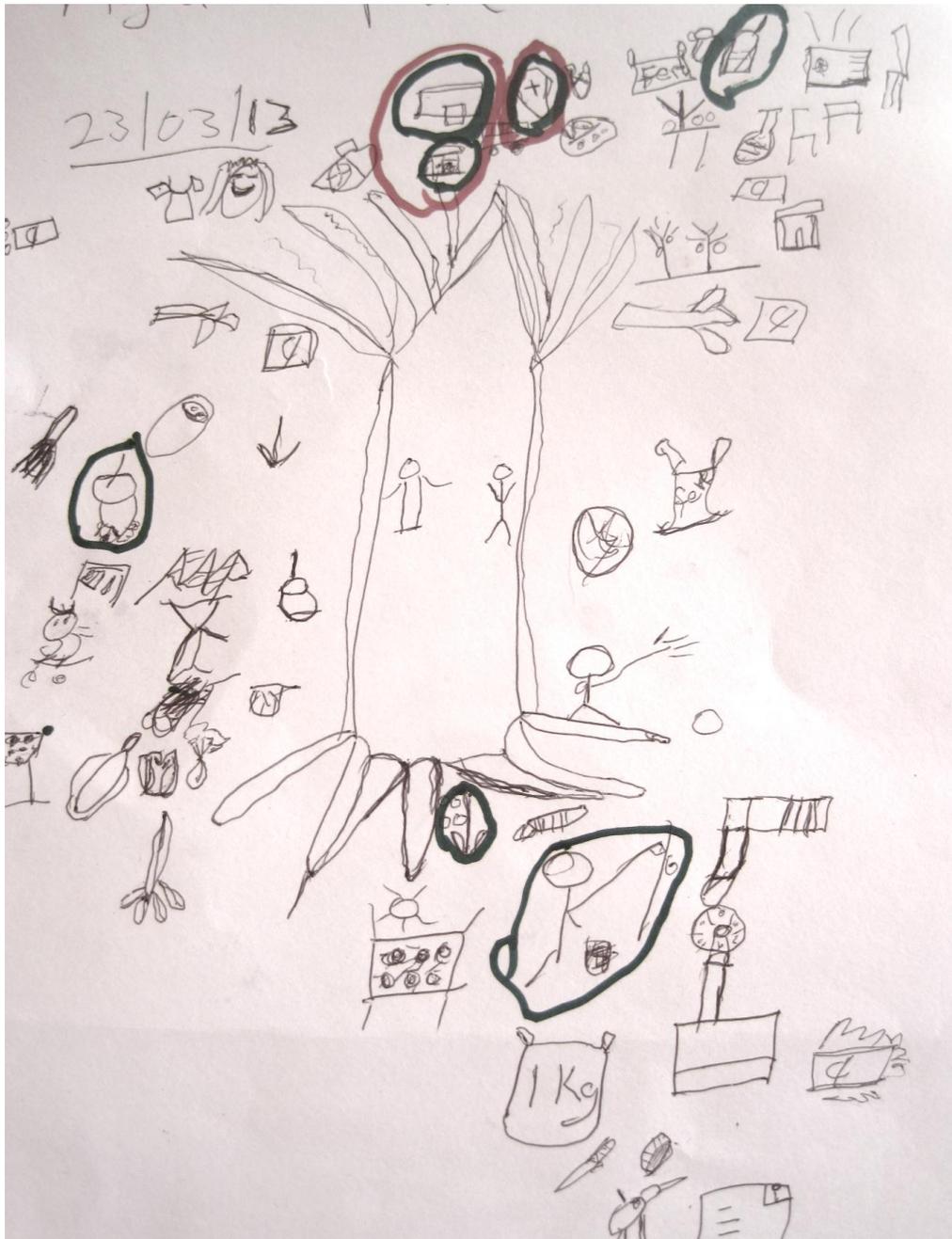
In contrast to her husband's tree, the woman lists much more work on her (left-hand) side, including the growing and selling of bananas, aubergine, cassava and onions. She also processes gari for extra income, as well as contributing to the drying and planting of cocoa. She lists cooking, laundry, sweeping, carrying water and childcare. The husband's work (right side) is cocoa-farming heavy, but she also notes 'work' he has missed off: such as caring for fowl. Again, her only expenditure control is on hairdressing, and her clothing. She agrees that harvesting and planting take up time, but adds that in her experience cooking takes up the most time (circled in green, left).

Source: Authors' Own.

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5.3.3. CHANGING ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS OF THE GENDER INSTITUTION IN GHANAIAN COCOA FARMING

5.3.3.1. GENDERED WORK ROLES

Focus on alternative income generation reflects the organisations' focus on economic empowerment and development. GALS workshop data generated a snapshot of what work women and men were carrying out, and what rewards they got from this work. In a more economically equitable system, women will have freedom to work in more lucrative roles, and to spend their rewards as they wish. Yet as I have already outlined, women's time is being taken up predominantly with household chores, leaving less time for cocoa or alternative income work. In the next sections, I also outline how women are working on the cocoa farm but receiving little in terms of income, and have little say on how income is spent. Furthermore, those enrolled on alternative income schemes report little income benefit due to a lack of market.

In terms of the division of labour on cocoa farms, overall women and men within the GALS workshops tend to engage in certain separate tasks (Table 27), in accordance with extant studies (e.g. UTZ and Solidaridad, 2009). Men are more likely to do 'heavier' work, such as bagging, weighing and clearing land. In discussions, physical strength was the reason given why men had these roles (thus equating gender roles with physical characteristics), although this could also be related to Adwenkor cooperative membership and access to inputs such as equipment, like trolleys (a gendered cultural by-product). Women often talked of 'helping' men with weeding, planting and fetching water for the farm, and readily included these on their gender tree diagrams, indicating their everyday involvement in cocoa farming. Male participants were less likely to acknowledge this 'help', loading most cocoa activities onto their side of the diagram (see examples in Figures 19 and 20). This suggests that

men consider cocoa farming to be their responsibility and domain of influence whilst they regarded women as being 'elsewhere'.

Further, the numbers of registered female cooperative members compared to the number of reported female cocoa farmers indicates that 'wives of' cooperative farmers contribute to the fair trade cocoa crop. This is controversial, and contradictory, given that the basis of Fairtrade is to reward its cooperative members with remuneration and communal benefits from their produce. Non-members such as these women, despite their labour, are not entitled to these (see Figure 21).

Table 27: Women's, Men's and Shared Work (ordered by most prevalent tasks. Tasks taking up the most time per day in bold. Data from GALS' diagrams)			
	Women	**Men**	**Shared**
Cocoa Work	**Fetching water, weeding,** planting, breaking pods, fermenting, drying.	Spraying pesticides/fertilisers, **clearing land,** selling cocoa, fermenting, breaking pods, drying.	Planting, **Weeding,** Breaking pods, drying, **harvesting.**
Other Work	Garden vegetable growing and selling (e.g. cassava, plantain and peppers); **Petty trading;** Livestock and fowl rearing; palm oil extraction; batik-making.	Rearing livestock; taxi-services; petty trading.	N/A.
Domestic Work	**Cooking food,** **fetching water,** childcare, fetching firewood, **laundry,** sweeping,	N/A	Childcare, fetching water.

Within the GALS workshops, we were unable to access the most vulnerable cocoa farmers (Figure 21). This is because Adwenkor members are the land-*owners,* not the land-*workers.* Thus, the individuals actually working the land are sometimes unable to benefit from CSR, or Fairtrade, programmes: an issue raised by many interviewees (C4; C3; C1; B1; B2; A8). This meant that those farmers we had access to for workshops were

members and wives-of-members, although there may be other individuals working plots of land on behalf of those members present, especially in the more lucrative cocoa-growing Western Region. Thus the 'invisibility of female cocoa farmers' (C2; C3) is reflected in Adwenkor's cooperative policy and in male farmers' gender tree diagrams, which both continue to ignore work outside these rules. Thus, in this regard, 'engendered' CSR practices do little to change women and men's roles in cocoa farming.

Figure 21: Segmentation of the Cocoa Economy by sex and average earnings. Dashed line represents limit of CSR and Fairtrade practices
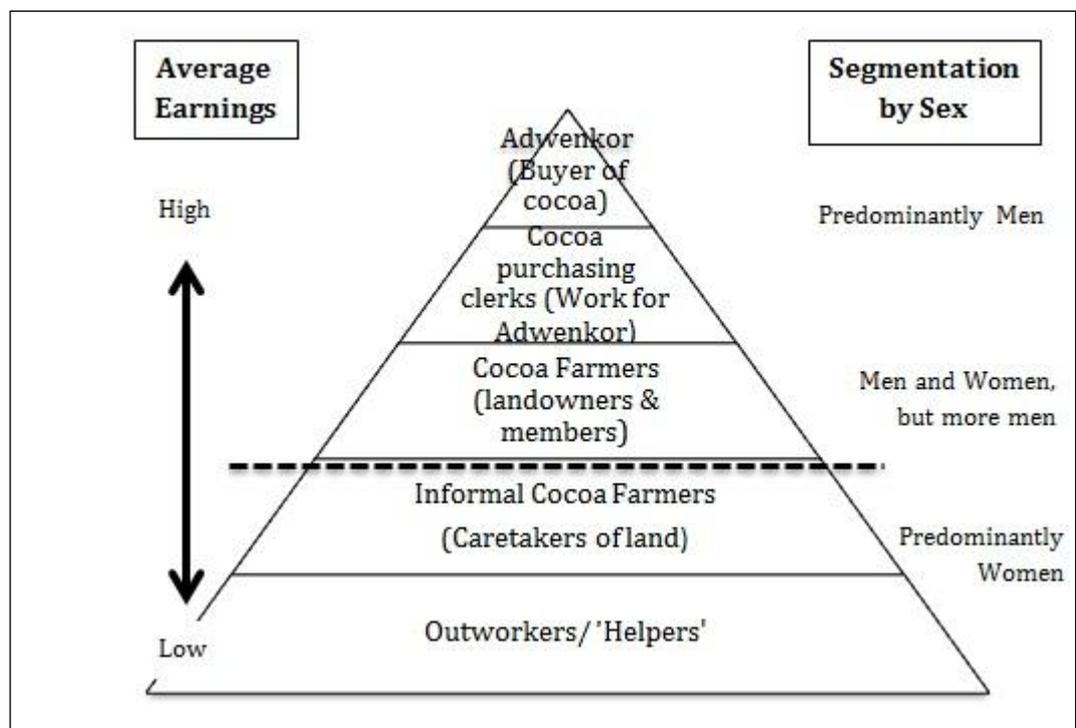
Source: Adapted from Chen et al. (2005)

This is a limitation of the case study, but also a stark finding when it comes to the utility of CSR practices to reach the most vulnerable in the value chain. As others have argued, CSR in the form of codes of conduct, and programmes, often only reach those with employment contracts: the visible workers of the value chain (Barrientos et al., 2001; Prieto-Carrón,

2004). This cocoa case study corroborates this research, demonstrating too that the Fairtrade cooperative model also ignores those at the 'base of the pyramid', not afforded 'member' status (see Figure 21). This inequity, as the figure shows, is also gendered, with more women 'helping' caretakers, or members, than heading up the supplier or owning land outright.

In terms of work outside cocoa farming, women are likely to be engaged in income generation in addition to cocoa farming, with or without support from Adwenkor and BCC (see 'Other Work' in Table 27). These include farm-related activities and service-based trades. Men tend to concentrate on cocoa farming, although in locations nearer towns or cities they take up petty trading or taxi driving as opportunities present themselves. In terms of the explicit trades promoted by Adwenkor's gender programme, a small number of women engage in batik and tie-dye making, and palm-oil extraction but very few engage in grass-cutter rearing, gari-processing, or soap making, all of which have been an explicit focus of the engendered CSR practices put in place. This is an important consideration when assessing the utility of the gender programme to economically empower women: for if few women are taking up the training and applying skills, the programme's aims can be said to have faltered.

5.3.3.2. GENDERED ECONOMIC REWARDS

Adwenkor's farming women are still unlikely to own their own land, housing or money unless they are widowed (Table 28). Where households involve a couple, the landowner is in most cases male. However, the focus groups suggested that the number of 'shared' landholdings is increasing, seemingly more so in the Western Region where cocoa farms are larger. In line with previous research (Quisumbing et al., 2004) anecdotal evidence suggests that it is becoming more commonplace for men to 'gift' portions of land to their wives or female family members, enabling them to become

cooperative members in their own right. One male participant explained that receiving farming inputs (e.g. more tools) for each member of the cooperative has been an incentive. This is a promising potential means for CSR practices to drive changes in gender equality through incentives, since without land ownership women cannot receive the full benefits of fair trade membership.

Table 28: Ownership of Assets by Sex (percentage of GALS workshops participants)			
	Male-owned	Female-Owned	Shared between both partners
Land	49%	16%*	35%
Housing	57%	7%	36%
Money	69%	12%	19%

*8% widows

Where women are engaged in Adwenkor's alternative income-generating projects, such as batik or soap-making, the proceeds tended to be limited and used for the purchase of cheaper items such as school materials for children. This limited evidence suggests that women *may* use their further income to support their families, but there is little systematic evidence to support this. In discussion, women and men said that any income from the projects was extremely small. Indeed, in one workshop some women declined to include the work as 'income-generating' at all (FGD1). Yet men generally agreed that they should support women financially to launch non-cocoa based income activities, with trading being favoured, supporting the idea of women as non-farmers, 'helpers' (FGD1) or 'assistants' (UTZ and Solidaridad, 2009).

GALS data shows that men dominate expenditure decision marking (Table 28), and since women's ownership of, access to and control over finance is limited, it seems that men give women a fixed household budget to purchase larger items listed on the women's side of the gender tree, such as clothing and so on. Whilst food is often categorised as a male or shared expenditure, women are tasked with the actual purchase of food.

Yet, women complained that money given to them for household expenses was not adequate for their needs:

> **The men contribute money so small or nothing at all when it comes to spending money on food, clothing and education for the children.** *What the men does, is, that if he gives you chop money, money for spending in the house, he doesn't care whether the money will be enough or not. If she spends one million, one thousand, he doesn't care, he will just put so he is finished with it. So we are appealing to the men to* **give us money enough**. (Women's session, FGD2).

In summary, although overall there appears to be some changes with regards to sharing of assets between men and women, women are still unequal in terms of economic collateral with regards to their male counterparts. Women carry out more labour overall, especially at home (Table 27). They contribute to cocoa farming, and alternative income generation but are rarely rewarded for their efforts through decision-making or control of expenditure. Men continue to disregard women's efforts at home, and on the farm.

Further, the alternative income projects which Adwenkor champions, such as soap-making and batik, appear to have minimal effects on the economic dimensions of gender. Interviews with Adwenkor staff managing the project explained that one problem is that there is no market for the goods women produce: batik is expensive and thus not purchased within communities, and the soap is 'raw' (A4) (or less politely put, 'nasty' (C4)) and thus unappealing for local women who prefer to buy imported soap from markets.

Yet Adwenkor continue to push for alternative income projects (OBS5, 2013), arguing that a shop, or trading business, should be opened as an avenue for the crafts women are making (A4; A8; A1). This is at odds with the GALS discussion groups which suggest that women and men are

more supportive of training for petty-trading opportunities that would be marketable in their local vicinity, such as small-baked snacks or cooked food (C4). This is especially important in more rural farming environments, where opportunities outside of the rural environment are fewer. Furthermore, current numbers of women enrolled on alternative income training remains low. Without either the will of women to take up alternative income training, or the markets to sell the fruits of their efforts, the aim to economically empower women remains unfulfilled. The gender institution, in terms of economy, is inadvertently maintained through CSR practices that have little promise for the *economic* empowerment of women cocoa farmers.

5.3.4. SUMMARY: THE PARADOXICAL CASE OF GENDER IN ADWENKOR'S VALUE CHAIN

The analysis of the GALS workshops data offers a snapshot on how the gender institution plays out for men and women producing cocoa for Adwenkor. Returning to my two research sub-questions, in terms of how CSR practice influence actors' understanding of gender (RSQ2), gender appears considered along the lines of biological sex, in that there are 'men's' and 'women's' roles, which are often put down to their 'natural', innate or physiological differences. While in some instances, (e.g. the rising number of women farmers owning land; more women running for cooperative positions) gender roles appear to have shifted, there is still an understated expectation that women's role is mainly in the home. Certainly, farmers' requested for Adwenkor to further provide women with microcredit and localised trading options. There was little mention of help for women to become better cocoa farmers, despite their demonstrable participation. This is perhaps because men still 'own' the income from cocoa farming.

In terms of the third research sub-question, 'How do engendered CSR practices influence gender in the value chain for targeted farmers?', I

want to first reiterate the tentative nature of the conclusions reached here from the analysis of GALS data, which does offer just a glimpse into a small percentage of Adwenkor farmers. That said, the evidence suggests that the amelioration of gender inequalities through women's economic empowerment has not been realised. It cannot be said with great confidence that women's economic empowerment has occurred through the foundation of women's groups and alternative income–generating projects. Microcredit facilities have all but disappeared under the vast demand for their services (A1; A4; A8; C1; C3).

Further, whilst divisions between men and women's roles and identities stand firm, women are not 'free' to take part in other activities. Women's time is taken up with domestic chores, childcare, eldercare, community work and so on, whilst contributing to cocoa farming and other income streams. Yet their contribution to cocoa farming is still largely unrecognised by their male peers, and in policy terms, by Adwenkor's membership rules. In short, from an economic perspective the gender institution in the cocoa value chain appears incumbent.

On the other hand, the gender institution can be said to be 'disrupted' due to the undeniable advances made in women's political representation within Adwenkor's cooperative structure. Whilst the numbers of female cocoa purchasers remain low, the fact that there are *any* female buyers within Ghanaian cocoa culture is notable. Furthermore, within the partner organisations there is generally acceptance that women should be, and can be, active in all areas of business life, contrary to the figure of just 3-4% of female cooperative members cited in the UTZ (2009) study. Finally, observations between villages with and without gender programming suggested that confidence and wellbeing were increased by being involved in a women's group. Thus, the holistic (social and political equality) empowerment of women is underway.

5.5 CONCLUSIONS

In drawing this first empirical chapter to a close I refer back to the original research question and sub-research questions. Namely, 'How do business organisations translate gender into CSR practices, and how may this influence the understanding and experience of gender in the value chain?' The answers to these separate sub-research questions, on translation of gender into CSR practices (RSQ1), influences of these on understandings of gender (RSQ2), and outcomes for farmers (RSQ3) are heavily interrelated.

In order to translate gender into CSR practices actors engaged in two forms of institutional work to disrupt gender: valorising and legitimising work, encompassing building a moral, and then business case, for 'engendering' CSR practices. Both these forms of work championed different organisational goals with regard to women's empowerment, and resulted in different approaches to engendered CSR practices: from values-led leadership training and quotas for women's representation, to a move to women's economic empowerment programmes, somewhat to the expense of other practices.

In terms of RSQ2, I showed how each form of institutional work had a different influence on actors' understanding of gender, both purposeful (as with the valorising work) and unintended (as with legitimising work). Actors within the organisations demonstrated a 'flip-flop' between understandings of gender as a cultural construct, and as an innate biological phenomenon. In answer to RSQ3, I outlined the results of the GALS workshops to demonstrate that the influence of engendered CSR practices has been paradoxical: in some ways disrupting the gender institution in Ghanaian cocoa, but in other ways unintentionally maintaining the status-quo, primarily through the dogged focus on alternative income schemes as engendered CSR practices.

This chapter therefore makes a contribution to the field of CSR. I have demonstrated that actors performing CSR engage in institutional work to disrupt the gender institution, and that this can be successful in some aspects (such as the political empowerment of women within organisations) but unsuccessful in others (such as the economic empowerment of women). Importantly, institutional work has unintended consequences which effectively achieve the opposite of what actors set out to do. Namely, actors engaged in CSR practices purposively act to disrupt gender, but inadvertently maintained gender through the translation process.

In the next chapter I make a contribution to institutional work theory. I show how actors also engage in resistance work *against* the institutional work described above. Specifically, actors engage in micro-resistances to attempt to disrupt attempted change. This provides insights into how we may theorise CSR affecting social change, leading to the importance of individuals' sense of self, a key consideration in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SIX:
RESISTING DISRUPTION

Having explored the ways in which actors attempt to disrupt the gender status-quo in the Ghanaian cocoa value chain, and having offered some tentative evaluations, I turn now to 'the other side of the story'. Change, even when it is unsuccessful, does not often go unchallenged. Individuals can kick back at disruption, and to the threat of further change, by performing 'resistance work'. In this chapter I outline how the purposive institutional work undertaken by actors to disrupt the gender institution (as described in Chapter Five) provokes counter resistance work. This has deep-implications for how CSR is 'engendered', and ultimately on how gender is understood and potentially experienced in the value chain. Furthermore, it contributes to our knowledge on how institutional work happens in practice, and within constant cycles of negotiation and resistance. As Scott (1985: 36) laments, 'everyday resistance makes no headlines'. This chapter aims to rectify that, at least in it terms of demonstrating how resistance is tangled up with institutional work. Table 29 summarises the chapter's findings in relation to my research questions.

The process of disrupting gender, an embedded, taken-for-granted aspect of social life, would be expected to produce some resistance from the power-holders who presumably wish to maintain the status-quo. Gendered organisation scholars have demonstrated that even *attempted* disruption to 'cultural norms, beliefs, routines and values', elements inherent to the gender institution, are often the target of resistance by individuals (Benschop, Mills, Helm-Mills, and Tienari, 2012; Dick and Hyde, 2006; Dick, 2008; Gherardi, 1994). Actors may engage in acts of resistance against change, particularly with regard to CSR (French and Wokutch, 2005).

Table 29: Findings within Chapter Six in relation to research sub-questions			
Questions	Findings	Implications drawing on conceptual framework	Chapter Section
RSQ1: How do actors translate gender into CSR practices?	Actors engage in blocking initial valorising work and legitimising work.	Gendered CSR practices are underfunded and unable to develop a range of practices that contribute to holistic empowerment of women and men.	6.1.1 6.1.2
	Actors engage in distancing against initial valorising work and legitimising work.	Gendered CSR practices are manipulated into leverage for powerful elites.

Gendered CSR practices become disowned and a 'political football'.

CSR practices are called into question and become stagnant. | 6.2.1 6.2.2 |
| RSQ2: How are understandings of gender influenced by CSR practices? | -Gender is re-positioned as biological sex through resistance to valorising work. | New powerful female leaders re-create inequalities as they subsume masculine traits in their new roles.

Questioning work provokes critical reflections on why this might be. | 6.3 7.1.1

6.4 |
| RSQ3: How do CSR practices influence the experience of gender in the value chain for targeted farmers? | Questioning work provokes more research and reflections. | Planned changes in policy and gendered CSR practices hint at changes in how farmers may experience gender in the value chain. | 6.4 6.5 |

What 'counts' as resistance, however, is a contested subject within organisational studies (Thomas and Davies, 2005b; Thomas, Mills, and Helms Mills, 2004). Resistance is commonly considered first within work environments (such as factories), and as either overt displays of disobedience (strikes, protests, vandalism) or covert actions against management (sabotage, notes, mischief) (Thomas, Mills, and Helms Mills, 2004). Thus resistance is usually conceptualised as *acts and behaviours*,

performed *in situ against management*. Within this chapter, and the case study described here, resistance as purposive actions are observed in the forms of blocking, distancing and questioning, but across cultures and across geographic locations. Importantly, resistance is not always performed against someone or their actions, but is the preservation of something valued by actors, either in a group or individually. Ultimately resistance work is an expression of agency.

In recent years there has been a surge of understanding resistance as a manifestation of identity, and how through resistance people make sense of themselves, their place at work, and their place in the world (Dick, 2008; Sugiman, 1992; Thomas and Davies, 2005a). Resistance is thus observed in discourse (Dick and Cassell, 2002; Ezzamel, Willmott, and Worthington, 2004); dress (Gherardi, 1994); humour (Collinson, 1988); cynicism (Fleming and Spicer, 2003), refusal and voice (Fleming and Spicer, 2007) and in articulations of self-worth and significance within the workplace (Knights and McCabe, 2000; Prasad and Prasad, 2000).

Within this case too, resistance can be conceptualised at the level of subjectivity, given that actors' resistance work is often bound up in their personal reflections, especially in relation to gender (Cutcher, 2009; Kondo, 1990; Yodanis, 2000). Thus, resistance work in the forms of distancing, blocking and questioning relate to the very notion of what 'women' and 'men' are, and have the potential to be, within the Ghanaian cocoa value chain. Furthermore, this unpacks the notion of institutional work very much at the micro, practice-based level, and demonstrates empirically how individual actors' practices and meaning-making shape organisational life.

The resistance work identified in this chapter is identified as 'blocking', 'distancing' and 'questioning' work. Table 30 details each form, its key components, and supporting literature. In this chapter I explain

how actors at Adwenkor, TradeFare and BCC engaged in this resistance work against valorising and legitimising work. At times, and perhaps unsurprisingly, these actors seek to maintain the status quo through this resistance. I also, however, explore the unexpected finding of resistance work being performed *even when actors are in favour* of institutional change (Ford, Ford, and D'Amelio, 2008).

Table 30: Forms, definitions and examples of 'Resistance Work' from data and theory			
Blocking	Practically stalling change through action/inaction.	Withholding of funds; avoiding meetings; silencing dissenting voices; marginalising others; paying lip-service; shuffling departments and resources	Fleming and Spicer, 2007; Scott, 1985; Knights and McCabe, 2000; Ravishankar et al., 2010.
Distancing	'Disassociating the practice or rule... from its moral foundation as appropriate within a specific cultural context'	Insisting on a 'cultural distance' perspective between Ghana and the UK; Resisting responsibility for gender inequities; Limiting the boundaries of engendered CSR; Retreating to profit-based motivations; Imitating masculinities.	Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Ahmadjian & Robinson, 2001; Collinson, 1994; Yodanis, 2000; Ferguson, 2006; Hearn, 2004.; Cohen and El-Sawad, 2007
Questioning	Micro-political resistance through 'critical reflection'	Demanding more research/evidence; Reflecting on past decisions; Planning for future developments.	Thomas and Davies, 2005a; Thomas et al., 2004; Fleming and Spicer, 2007; Collinson, 1994; Meyerson & Scully, 1995; Weedon, 1993.

In other words, actors who engage in valorising and legitimising work to disrupt gender in the cocoa value chain are also, at times, performing resistance work against these very same practices. This paradox confounds the usual institutional work argument that actors will

resist institutional logics different to their own (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, 2012), instead stressing that 'resistance frequently contains elements of consent and consent often incorporates aspects of resistance' (Collinson, 1994: 29). In this case, actors (sometimes the same actors) engage in resistance work despite sharing the same logics (that of promoting gender equality through CSR practices). On closer inspection, however, actors are not consciously resisting such rhetoric, or logics, but rather resist against *the mechanisms* of achieving institutional change (forms of engendered CSR), when or if they challenge deeply held views on the role and value of women within cocoa farming.

Figure 22: Forms of Institutional Work intended to disrupt gender by time-frame.
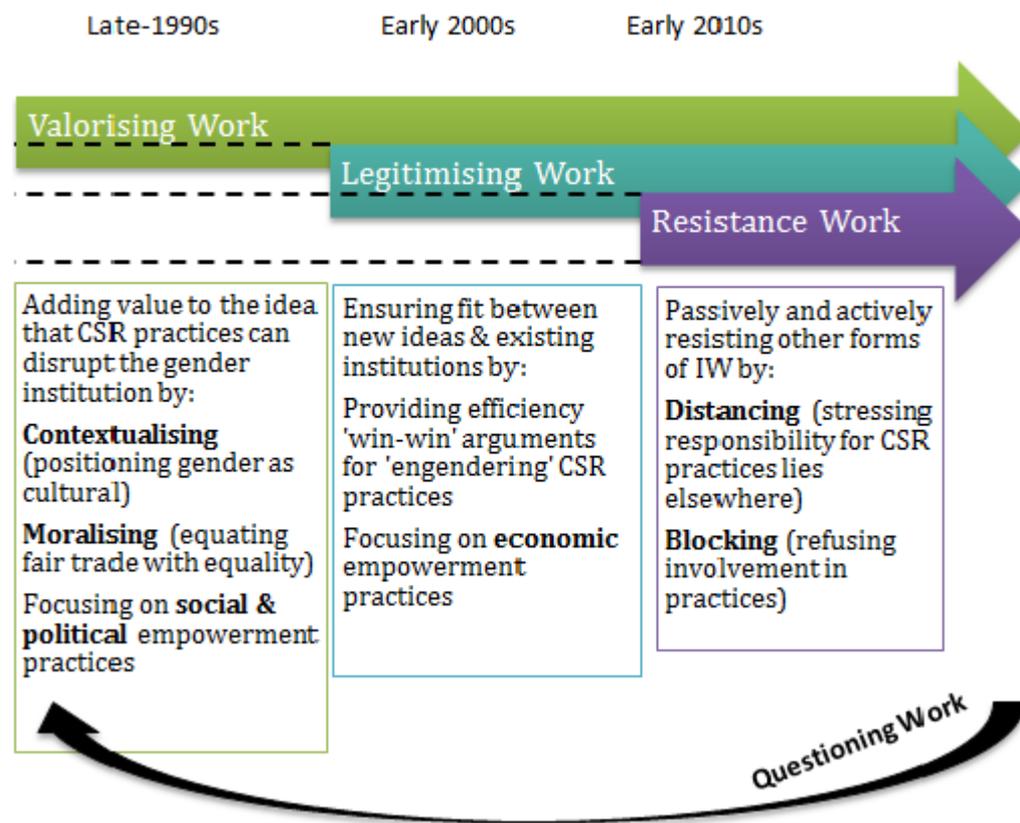
Source: Author's Own.

It is important to note that resistance work is omniscient and iterative: 'its strength, influence and intensity are likely to be variable and to shift over time' (Collinson, 1994: 49). Thus resistance work takes place at certain times and in reaction to certain events, but is recounted by actors at BCC, Adwenkor and TradeFare as occurring over many years. This is illustrated in Figure 22, where dotted lines represent latent existence of resistance work, but the purple arrow represents increased incidence of resistance when faced with the period of stress in the 2010s. Thus, whilst these forms of resistance work have arguably been present throughout Adwenkor's existence, the research evaluation context provides a unique and illuminating lens on the resistance to institutional work, as actors voice their dissent and resist in times of attempted change.

In this chapter I therefore make a contribution to the theory of institutional work. I identify three forms of work that resist institutional work to disrupt gender, as identified in Chapter Five. I explain how 'blocking' and 'distancing' counteracts the arguments and goals laid down in the organisation's past, and how this enactment of resistance at meso, and micro levels influences actors' understanding of gender. Towards the end of the chapter I focus particularly on questioning work as an indicator of future directions for Adwenkor, as form of 'resistance as creation' (Fleming and Spicer, 2007). This is then taken up in Chapter Seven, where I reflect on the importance of resistance at the level of the self, and how this is related to institutional work to enact social change. To begin, however, we first return to Ghana to explore blocking work.

6.1. BLOCKING WORK

Blocking is an 'everyday' resistance work, of the sort vividly described by Scott (1985). His central thesis is that resistance is not always overt, grandiose or revolutionary, or even influential, but that it exists in a myriad of small ways in the purposive 'foot-dragging, dissimulation, false

compliance, pilfering, [and] feigned ignorance' of everyday 'peasant' resistance (Scott, 1985: 29). At Adwenkor, participants spoke in their interviews both of their own everyday blocking practices, and of those of others. I also observed blocking work at meetings in the UK, and in the Ghanaian offices.

Figure 23: Data structure matrix for 'Blocking Work'
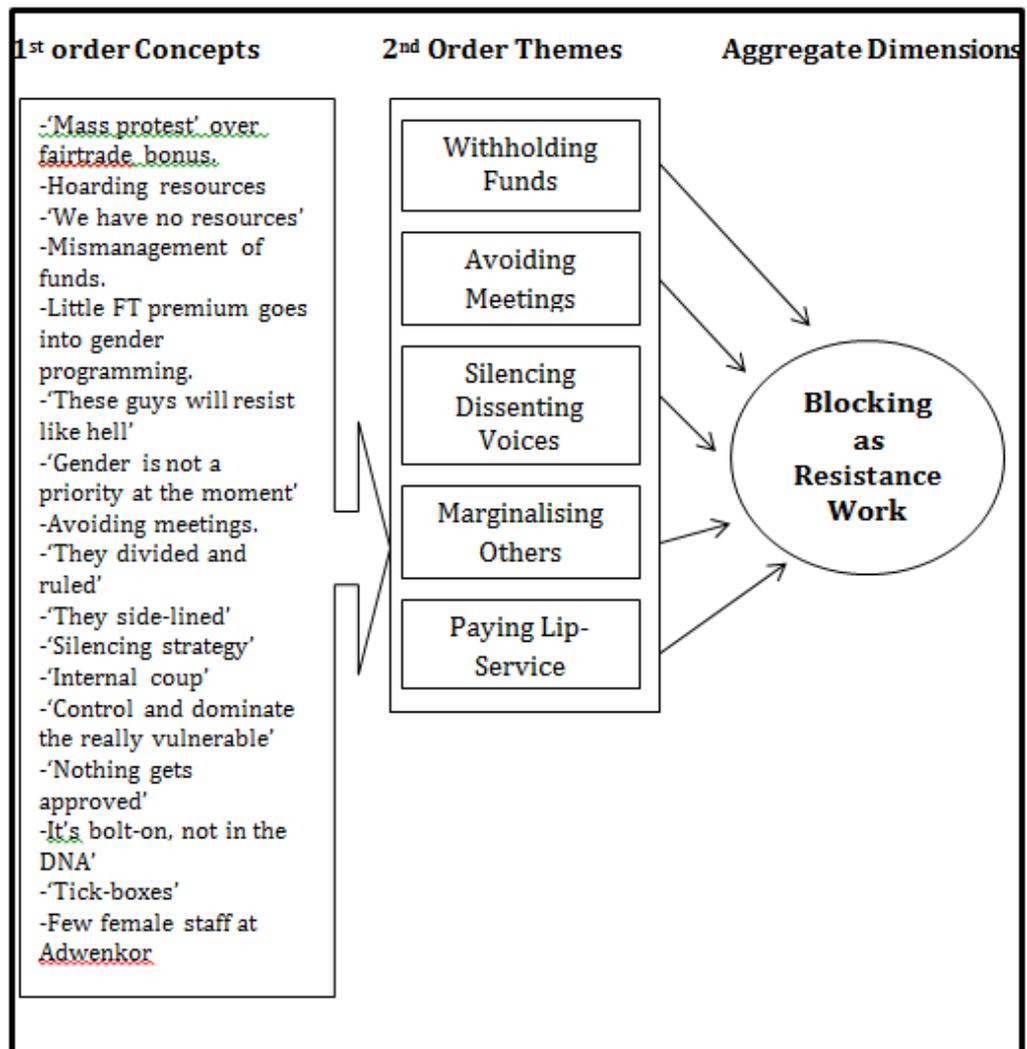
Source: Adapted from Corley and Gioia (2004).

Drawing primarily on interviews and observation data, though occasionally corroborated by document archives, I followed the Corley and Gioia (2004) approach to coding (see Section 4.4.) in order to draw out the first order concepts, which were repeated issues/events/practices coded

largely *in vivo*. These were grouped into second-order themes, which are theorised as 'blocking' resistance work (Figure 23). The second-order themes form the basis for the structure of the next two sections, which explain how these practices of blocking work were both resisting valorising work, and legitimising work. Appendix 12 collates data against themes of Blocking Work.

6.1.1. BLOCKING VALORISING WORK

Valorising work aimed to infuse value into the idea of women's role and importance within the cocoa value chain by collecting research on the harsh realities of women's lives, disseminating this information, and making a moral case for corporate action. Ultimately valorising work positioned women's social and political empowerment, alongside economic empowerment, as key organisational goals. This meant that CSR practices, such as quotas for women's representation, as well as women's leadership and farming training were enabled (see Section 5.1.3 in Chapter Five). Blocking work can be seen in a resistance to the valorisation of women in the cocoa chain, and to the launch of 'engendered' CSR practices.

At the organisational level, the amount of money put-aside by Adwenkor management for gender programmes has always been relatively small in comparison to other social and environmental programmes. In 2012 the Adwenkor premium from fair trade profits spent 35,000 cedis (c. £7280) on women's group programmes (NGO7, 2013)[16]. In comparison, 1380,000 cedis (c. £288,000) was spent on programmes counteracting child labour on farms (NGO7, 2013). In total, only 1.5% of the Fairtrade premium is spent on gender programmes (IDS7, 2013), which means it becomes very difficult for actors seeking to improve CSR practices to operationalise their plans:

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[16] Currency conversions correct as of June 2014.

*I could not do the work all by myself—spreading the work down to the communities, it's <u>hard</u>. It was challenging—we will say things to cheer the members, but when it comes to delivering, **we have no resources.** (A4)*

*When it comes to the village, you need to ask why the [Monitoring and Evaluation Officer] is there? Like, why he comes? He's coming to a specific meeting, whatever – **has no time for other things**. And he **has all the logistics,** he has the motorbike, he has his rent, he has risk allowance, he has – **the [Gender] officer did not have <u>any</u> of those!** (A5)*

In the quotation above A5 illustrates a number of issues relating to Blocking Work. Since management were reticent to spend money on the Gender Programme, A5 felt there were no 'logistics' available in terms of motorbikes, cars, rent for overnight stays and so on, necessary for getting out to rural areas. In comparison, the M&E officers, who largely had to train farmers in input use, and in child labour rules, were well-supplied. Yet, at the same time, A5 points out that they have 'no time for other things', by which they mean, leading gender training. Since the focus of the officers who most get to work with farmers out in the rural areas is on 'tick-boxes' (C4) around eradicating child labour, they do not have the expertise nor the time to expand their training to gender programming of any kind (see also Section 5.2.1, Chapter Five). Thus, a squeeze on the finite resources at Adwenkor meant that management were 'blocking' gendered CSR practices.

Furthermore, staff complained that whilst nearly all mid-level staff throughout the three partner organisations appeared to support the gender programme, the lack of resources, staff and funding was suggestive of management paying 'lip-service' (C4) to the value of women's empowerment, and the programme:

*Unless you position a gender policy appropriately there will always be people saying **"we've got much more complicated fish to fry"**... I think you could say that part of the Adwenkor DNA is gender sensitive, it is. Some of those original rules still apply, for better or for worse. But I think that, and this I suspect you would find in common with most corporations and their gender policy, **it's all bolt-on**.* (C4)

*When they are having their meetings, I will go there so that they give me some two minutes or five minutes, to talk to them...we sit they all talk nicely about it. But their actions, doesn't really – they are doing something different. So one of my friends was saying, **'Your actions are speaking so loudly that I can't hear what you are saying.'*** (A4)

'Lip-service' (C4) is indicative of management resisting the valorising work through 'refusal' (Fleming and Spicer, 2007; Ravishankar, Cohen, & El-Sawad, 2010). They 'block' gender change through 'performing' (C4) support of gendered CSR practices without 'making provisions for their promises' (A4).

Also at the organisational group level, those working on the gender programme complained that it was also extremely difficult for cooperative management to maintain the value of 'fairtrade is about equality' with the farmer members themselves:

*In the AGM last year... the farmers have generally come to expect that this amount [the Fairtrade bonus] will increase every year... And so **there was a really, really almost mass protest, a really hot debate, at the AGM about increasing the bonus** from what it was... And the cooperative leaders were very much "This is about the Fairtrade premium. **The Fairtrade premium isn't about individual benefit, it's about supporting stronger farming communities** and the idea is that you have more sustainable long-term benefits from*

*the problems that you invest in." And so**… it's about doing something that isn't just cash hand-outs**. So, you know, **in a huge group of 300 people, what they want is their money**, And so if everybody's standing there and they all have a vote because they're all members and they've all paid up, and **this is their organisation and they're shaking their fists, it's difficult*** (C1)

This extended quotation again highlights the resource scarcity when it comes to funding of social and environmental projects from fair trade premiums, especially when only 1.5% of that amount is going to gendered CSR practices. Moreover, this quotation indicates the blocking of notions of 'fairness', 'equality' and 'cooperation': notions which valorising work drew heavily on. It demonstrates the conflict between individual need (for cash in hand) and community investment (in the premium which is ploughed back into farming communities, and is spent on projects such as the women's groups). The vocal 'almost mass-riot' (C1) detailed above is an example of 'resistance by voice' (Fleming and Spicer, 2007; Scott, 1985) as farmers push back, and block, the rhetoric of community, fairness, and by association, the value of investing in women's programmes. A5 expanded on this fundamental problem:

*You know how you do when things are owned communally… People are not educated enough. And some people work harder than others, and… you know when it comes to Fairtrade, you are thinking yourself your family first, I mean **being rational**, you are thinking **of course** **your family first before you also think about community***… So the women started, for me, **how do I help myself, my family, first?** (A5)

A5 is reflecting on the resistance experienced within the women's groups projects in the early 2000s, which again relied on a sense of community, democracy and fairness in their design. Internal documentation reveals problems with groups defaulting on loans due to arguments and fractions within groups (ID9, 2006; ID8, 2005; C4; A5) as women were 'thinking of

course… family first' (A5). Eventually Adwenkor asked the NGO funding the loans if 'the group work be made optional. Women who want to team up with others should be assisted to do so' (ID9, 2006). Women farmers had, through their resistance to 'group' work, pushed back on the valorising work's rhetoric of 'fairness' and 'community'. This had continued to the present day, with Adwenkor management struggling to maintain a sense of 'holistic' empowerment through the gendered CSR practices:

> *A lot of women came and requested loans,* **but the district leaders didn't explain all aspects of the gender programme**. *The programme is not about loans, but that's what the women think. They came in with the idea that once they organized, they will all get loans.* **It's getting out of hand.** *We cannot be everywhere at the moment, and if they don't get loans they feel they will not do well. Where are we now?* **We need to get whatever we are doing** <u>**to**</u> **the members. We've suspended all the programs we are doing**. (A4)

A4 once more makes connections between the lack of funds and resources, and the increased onus on economic development as an organisational goal (i.e. the district leaders' misinformation), and personal goals (i.e. women's wishes). This is also an example of 'cultural distance' (Gardberg and Fombrun, 2006) which will be picked up later under the 'Distancing' section.

Blocking valorising work was thus experienced at the organisational level in the withholding of funds by management, by farmers themselves, and within women's groups. Adwenkor management, farmers and women's groups members all resisted the valorising work's rhetoric of community first, and the importance of social and political empowerment. Instead, farmers privileged individual and family needs, and economic empowerment supported by management. These elements

of blocking work thus strengthened legitimising work's push for economic development and empowerment as the goal for 'engendered' CSR practices (See Section 5.2, Chapter Five). Yet, as the next section will explain, blocking work also at times kicked back against the narratives present within legitimising work, especially once such narratives start to be called into question.

6.1.2. BLOCKING LEGITIMISING WORK

Legitimising work entails the promotion of a business case for gender equality in the cocoa value chain. It draws upon a narrative of increased efficiency and productivity for women farmers, their families, and the cocoa community at large. It also, of course, promotes growth for the core business of Adwenkor and BCC: cocoa. This rhetoric, and the injections of funds received from external NGOs, directs engendered CSR practices to focus on women's economic empowerment, largely through alternative income generation training (see Section 5.2.1. in Chapter Five). Yet some actors from the partner organisations enact blocking work against the business case rationale. This resistance entails avoiding meetings, restricting funds (as covered in the previous section), silencing dissenting voices, and marginalising others.

As BCC called for a gender programme evaluation in the late 2010s, blocking work ratcheted up. Resistance at the individual level is identifiable here, as many individuals told me that 'their jobs are on the line' (OBS7), and that thus there was an amount of 'job protectionism' going on (B1; C1). The key objective for BCC was to ascertain whether the alternative income projects, the result of legitimising work, were making money for the women involved (OBS7; B1; IDS3, 2012). The research evaluation, therefore, was seen as a threat to the projects, and to the rhetoric of economic development surrounding them. Actors at Adwenkor avoided meetings regarding the evaluation, stating that: 'Gender is not a priority at the moment' (OBSGhana5). The MD didn't attend the gender

meeting, or interview, as 'he has too much on his plate at the moment' (OBSGhana2). Interestingly, a key gender manager didn't show up to attend meetings/interviews three times during the research evaluation (OBSGhana4; 5). Avoiding meetings enabled actors to block the challenge to legitimising work's rhetoric: it stalled the evaluation that would eventually call into question the perceived wisdom surrounding the projects (see Section 5.3, Chapter Five).

At the organisational level, blocking legitimising work was also performed through the silencing of dissenting voices. These voices hailed from TradeFare, the research evaluation team, farmers, and looking back further in the organisation's history, cooperative leaders who challenged the mainstream. The 'silencing' (C3) and 'marginalising' (C4) was carried out, again, by a range of actors at Adwenkor and BCC, who wanted to maintain the rhetoric of legitimising work for multiple reasons. Firstly, during the programme evaluation Adwenkor gender managers tried to direct the farmers so as to produce positive results, in what was seen as 'self-preservation' by BCC (B1). They engaged in joyful singing and dancing on the subject of Adwenkor and community, and sometimes attempted to prompt answers, when we visited farms (OBSGhana2-5) (see Section 4.3.4 in Chapter Four for more research methodology issues). As far as possible we tried to encourage criticism amongst farmers, but the scene had often been set. Again, this meant that actors were blocking *any* challenges to the status-quo, despite the mutual desire to empower women in the cocoa value chain.

Secondly, once evaluations were shared and published, actors at Adwenkor and BCC pushed back at the results by refusing to accept them, refuting proposals, and demanding re-writes. An NGO partner commented:

> *I definitely heard that they* **[BCC] were not at all convinced by anything we had done.** [laughter] *The only things that they really took on-board was the* **stuff that was consistent with what they**

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*already believed. So there was nothing new to them. And the stuff that was…didn't fit with their idea, **they just dismissed**.* (C3)

Adwenkor too were 'suspicious' of the gender evaluation, which C1 put down to historical experience:

*With Adwenkor, they've had so much **external interference,** often in a really unwelcome way, and people saying things and doing things for them that isn't in their interest. So, when people come along with an idea, **they're very suspicious.*** (C1)

Thirdly, Adwenkor management had left the running of the gender programme to one officer for many years, with initially good results but unease over the control involved:

*People felt it was like – 'I started it. So I should also be in the position to determine how it goes.' There are some who like, **they own it**. And to my surprise, **it's like, management allow [it]*** (A8).

Powerful actors at Adwenkor thus blocked evaluations through the withholding of resources (e.g. locking research materials away (OBSGhana2)), and strict control over every aspect of the programme: '[The feedback of initial results] was a bit of shambles, mainly because ___ was trying to control everything and failing to delegate to anyone' (OBS2). Certain actors tried to 'silence' voices through blocking tactics.

Finally, C4 believed that the silencing of dissenting voices had taken place over a long time period, and had occurred through changing policies and rules to manoeuvre powerful people into decision-making roles. Changes to the constitution stated that after a number of years the same people could not run for positions within the cooperative. Whilst the intention of this re-write was to improve the democratic standing of the cooperative, it had the unintended consequence of:

> *Ruling out* a lot of people who had earned their credentials lower down in the structures' who then couldn't stand for election, especially **'the strong women' from lower classes,** and backgrounds, who one-by-one **got picked off and side-lined**. (C4).

This blocking work is both resistance against the valorising 'fairytale' of cooperative democracy, and of the rhetoric which claimed that women in power would naturally help more women into the organisation, an aspect of legitimising work. In fact, it was often the new female leaders who 'resisted, divided and ruled' (C4) to marginalise others and resist change (C3):

> *The larger* [female] *farmers are the ones* **who control and dominate** *the really vulnerable and poorer souls. They call it in Latin America the 'gente humilde'. And that's exactly what happened. These people* **don't have progressive values at all**. (C4)

In summary, blocking legitimising work largely consists of blocking challenges to the narratives of economic development, and to existing positions of power. Critique of the focus on wealth accumulation is avoided. Actors do this through avoiding meetings, controlling resources and silencing or marginalising dissenting voices. Blocking work thus signifies movement against assumptions of community and 'win-win' held by TradeFare, BCC and external NGO funders, by re-centring the power of the individual against the story of community. Again, this speaks to the 'cultural distance' between Ghana and 'Western' approaches, a distance potentially taken for granted. Before moving onto 'distancing' work, however, I step back and reflect on how blocking work translates gender into CSR practices.

6.1.3. HOW BLOCKING WORK TRANSLATES GENDER INTO CSR PRACTICES

Blocking work reduces the ability of actors to disrupt the gender institution, by limiting, withdrawing or silencing those who engage in

legitimising and valorising work. Blocking valorising work resists social empowerment goals and practices (e.g. group work; shared profits) in preference for the accepted economic empowerment goals and practices (e.g. increased wealth; individualisation). Conversely, blocking legitimising work resists these goals through refusing to consider changes to the ways engendered CSR practices are designed and enacted. Instead actors work to preserve their positions of power, limiting both the valorising and legitimising work's narratives, and thus, translation into practice.

With that said, the overt nature of blocking work, or 'the naming of resistance' (Prasad and Prasad, 2000), can provoke actors to begin questioning work, and a push to revive the gender programme. This is representative of institutional work's circular and unpredictable nature. I pick this up again towards the end of the chapter. First, however, I explore another form of resistance to institutional work: distancing.

6.2. DISTANCING WORK

'Distancing', as resistance work, involves 'disassociating the practice or rule... from the moral foundation as appropriate within a specific cultural context' (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006: 235). Lawrence and Suddaby (2006: 235) call this practice 'disassociating moral foundations', and identify it as a form of disruptive institutional work. Collinson (1994: 25) calls this 'resistance through distance', whereby actors try to distance themselves from the organisation. In this case, actors engage in 'disassociating the practice or rule' (engendered CSR) from the 'moral foundation' (laid down by valorising work). Figure 24 details the first-order constructs, collapsed into second-order themes around Distancing. Appendix 13 collates examples of data against themes of Distancing Work.

Figure 24: Data Structure Matrix for 'Distancing Work'

1st order Concepts	2nd Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
-'Now it's like nobody's business' -'Political football' -We're not prescribing how they get there' -It's too easy to cut a cheque to Adwenkor' -Adwenkor need to 'own this' -This is about business, not households. -Anti-imperialism - 'Completely like fairy-land' -'You'll upset the balance' -'Northern imposition' -Gender removed from FLO objectives. -'We're a chocolate company, not an NGO' -I'm interested in the core business -'It's a very 'big man' culture.' -'They're looking after no.1' -Women trained to be 'like men'. - Leaders are 'distant'	Deferring responsibility Stressing Cultural Distance between Ghana and UK Returning to profit-based ideals Shuffling departments and resources Re-enacting masculinities in leadership	Distancing as Resistance Work

Source: Adapted from Corley and Gioia (2004)

As I outline in the next sections, actors distance themselves from valorising and legitimising work in a number of ways. They defer responsibility for gender equality into others, passing the responsibility like a 'football' (OBS5). Actors at BCC draw on 'cultural distance' between the UK and Ghana to further justify resisting responsibilities, or change.

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Actors within the trading arms of the organisations attempt to re-draw boundaries for engendered CSR, ultimately re-focusing on profit motivations. Finally, female actors within Adwenkor distance themselves from the narratives of both valorising, and legitimising work, by imitating masculinities.

Distancing as resistance thus entails 'resistance as voice' (Fleming and Spicer, 2007) in the calling-out of narratives of a gender business case, or of a moral imperative to act on gender inequalities in the value chain. As I explain in the final sections of this chapter, this ultimately has an effect on how gender is translated into CSR practices, how it is understood, and potentially explains further why 'engendered' CSR has failed to reach those at the margins.

6.2.1. DISTANCING VALORISING WORK

Valorising work promoted the ideals of fairness, cooperation and equality. It entailed moralising and contextualising work which aimed to highlight the importance of women's roles within the cocoa value chain, and the moral imperative for acting on existing inequities (Sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2; Chapter Five). Actors across BCC, Adwenkor and TradeFare pushed back against this rhetoric, both in the past and particularly as criticisms came to bear against the gender programme (Section 5.2; Chapter Five).

As explained in Chapter Five, the foundations of 'engendered' CSR practices, and of a gender policy at Adwenkor is best described as a collaborative affair, with Ghanaian Adwenkor staff, external European NGO staff, and later BCC employees based in the UK working together on this common cause. Interestingly, however, throughout interviews as I asked who was responsible for 'engendering' CSR, and who was responsible for the programmes now, I received a mixed response, with many actors positing responsibility for gender at a different organisation's door. In particular, BCC staff were keen to distance themselves from the practices, despite a history of financial backing, and heavy use of the

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gender projects in their marketing communications, such as newspaper coverage, blog entries and website content (NPR30, 2010; NGO12, undated; NPR10, 2013; NPR17, 2013; Blog17, 2012; Blog15, 2009; Blog6, 2009; BCCWC, 2013). Contrary to the usual displays of ownership when institutional change is a (pertained) success (Slager et al., 2012; Lawrence et al., 2013), BCC preferred to keep the limelight, and thus responsibility for any failures, firmly on Adwenkor:

> *I think it's **down to them** [Adwenkor], more so to think about where they want the priorities to lay.* (B3)

> *Adwenkor need to **'own this'**. Gender 'needs to be about communication between the farmers, the staff and the management.'* (BCC Management, OBS5)

> ***We've said it's [gender equality] important**, but we're not knocking on doors and checking that people are … being treated differently. We're spreading the message, and we're engaging with the hierarchy, and trying to get that engagement to carry the message back. So I think that's different. So yes we want to see some gender equality improvement, yes… But **no we're not saying, we're not prescribing how they – how they get there** (B6)

B6 thus stresses that in principle BCC support the value of gender equality, but won't 'prescribe' or 'say' how to achieve this. In the quotation below they qualify this by seemingly rating gender inequality as less of a threat, or risk, than child labour:

> *I could give two examples. Say we will not engage with them [Adwenkor] unless they don't permit children to be on the farm when they're spraying chemicals. That's quite a strong statement. **But it's quite clear that this is about human safety. Child safety**. To say that unless you equally share the rewards from the sale of the cocoa with the women, **they're very different.** (B6)

B6, B1, B3 and others engaged in distancing as resistance work against the moral imperatives laid down in valorising work. Or rather, whilst they supported the letter, they would not claim responsibility for drawing up the law. On one hand, this 'empowers' Adwenkor as the supplier to lead themselves, to carve out the direction of engendered CSR practices without 'Northern imposition' (B3). Yet, the gender programme became 'a bit of a political football' (OBS5) between the organisations under study. TradeFare staff explained that:

> It's to do with how do you negotiate, how do you bring people with you, how do you not just respond to the baying masses but you try and do things in a way that they change things incrementally. And **Adwenkor doesn't have strong enough management that's for sure.** (C1)

A4, working on the gender programme, lamented that:

> Because the thing is now is like **it's nobody's business**. Because they're all working for themselves – and everybody has its own department too. So **it's like you have to look after your own**, and – so it's- **who makes the decisions?** (A4)

They also looked to BCC and external actors for funding, and to push Adwenkor to act on the programme:

> If this thing [gender evaluation command] has not come… since I came, I've been writing my projections, action plan, what I have to do, giving it to the boss, giving things to all the many people, and **nothing seems to be happening until [external NGO] came in and BCC also came into help.** Other than that it's like, I don't know what to do. Nothing gets approved. **Nothing gets done**, you see. (A4)

The responsibility for engendered CSR practices was foisted from organisation to organisation, through 'distancing' (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005; Smets, Morris, and Greenwood, 2012). Thus the

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principle of valuing women's roles in the value chain was accepted up until a point, until actors resisted responsibility for this, by passing the metaphorical gender 'football' from player to player.

Distancing was also seen in the movement of the gender department from the central organisation body to the peripheral credit facilities at Adwenkor. C4 explained that the reasons for the move had been well-intentioned, as 'it was the only place it could go and not be crushed, or abused' (C4), but the movement of the gender programme to the failing credit department served to undermine further its access to resources and funds (C4; A5; A4; C3). It also removed the importance of 'gender' from Adwenkor's core:

> *Originally we said they* [the gender officers] *had to be at the table too… to keep it on every agenda. And this was the first to go* [as it moved]. (C4).

Certainly, my observation notes record that on visiting, the credit department's building had its electricity cut off, and was serviced by a solitary snoozing security attendant. There were few computers, only two staff members, and no visitors save myself. The secretary in the office seemed shocked to see anyone. In contrast, the trading department was full of activity, with young men running around (the M&E officers referred to previously), using up-to-date technology, and welcoming a phalanx of visitors (OBSGhana2; 3). Evidently the positioning of the gender team within the credit department had the unintended consequence of distancing its value from the organisation's objectives, and thus access to resources.

In the sections on Blocking work I touched upon the notion of 'cultural distance' (Gardberg and Fombrun, 2006) between the Ghana and the UK as something that had been taken for granted in the design of gendered CSR practices. Here, however, actors utilise cultural distance as a purposive form of resistance (Cohen & El-Sawad, 2007), using 'culture' as

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a means to question their responsibility for gender inequalities in the value chain. Moreover, BCC staff felt a certain amount of anxiety over being seen to be 'imperialist' (C3) or in ordering a 'Northern imposition' (B3) on Ghana:

> *If we've got the resources to make a difference, then **people tend to think that you should** –um, female genital mutilation...you know it's been going on for like centuries, and obviously it sounds horrible, and obviously it's not very nice at all, but **there does seem that there is pressure that is down to the West to sort it out sort of thing. I don't know whether it is for the West to sort it out**. I don't really know 'cause you're like trying to impo- you're sort of saying to a country, 'You must create a rule, a law, that stops it. **I don't really know how the UK would feel if someone came along and said, 'Oh we don't like the fact that you do this, you should change your laws.'** And we'll be like, 'Well hang on a minute. We've been doing this for ages and we think it's ok'... **I don't know how you fit it into the whole thing about trying to make things right...When you're dealing with other countries.** (B3)*

> *I do think that this history between Adwenkor and BCC has been **very conscious, anti-imperialist strategy**, where 'we're not going to impose, we're going to'... And that's a real problem. (C3)*

Others reflected on the role of BCC as a Fairtrade business working with a fairtrade supplier, and the need to hit a 'balance' between 'how interventionist' (B2) the British company could be within the long-term relationship:

> *You know... **you'll upset the balance**. You upset things. I mean ideally obviously you want to take your lead from them. You don't want to come in say, 'Well WE think, it should be this and this and this and this', you want to hear them say what they would like.... **They're not stupid people** – they've seen women do well (B2)*

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That B2 references Ghanaians not being 'stupid people' is well-intentioned, but it also hints at the more implicit, deep-seated feeling of cultural difference between Ghana and British employees. This was seen in references to 'us' in contrast to 'them'; or 'here' versus 'there': 'I don't know quite know how that works out there' (B6). More overtly, some BCC staff pointed out what they saw as 'ridiculous' (B1) cultural differences, upheld by Adwenkor managers, which impacted on women's roles in the value chain:

> They always end up using things to do with transport as the excuse. And so they say that pregnant women can't go on mopeds, or pregnant women can't go in the cars because the roads are too bumpy... And you sort of go, 'Well, yeah! You're not pregnant for the whole of your life, even in Ghana'....**I mean even in Ghana, this is ridiculous!** And so in some respects management are more... **reactionary and archaic** than the farmers. (B1)

More generally, Adwenkor were positioned at a distance in turns of leadership styles, and ability:

> I think what you're needing to work out is for an organisation like Adwenkor, **what's useful to tell them**... And **what's actually too much to tell them?** And sort of **they're not sophisticated enough to see the cause** – to link the cause and effect. (B1)

> The Ghanaian education system is **obviously very different from ours**, and we are always very analytical and very theoretical... and **that doesn't work in Ghana**. You can't talk in abstract... it's very difficult to ask people to think analytically about something, everything's very practical and straightforward... and I think maybe that's part of the reason why there has been such a focus on figures, because **that's something people can understand**. Whereas really this concept of "empowerment" is quite difficult (C1)

C1, a TradeFare employee, refers here to the lack of a shared, basic understanding of 'gender' and 'empowerment' which they later posit is a 'fundamental problem'. I turn to this later in the chapter, but the importance of shared understandings is made very clear when issues of gender, equality and rights are called into question across cultures. The distancing of Ghanaian and British staff from each other, especially when it comes to what gender 'is', lies in contrast to Valorising work's focus on cooperation, democracy, community and fairness, 'the key to the whole fair trade thing' (B2). Distancing as resistance is visible when the contested concept of gender becomes translated into CSR practices.

Actors also resist valorising work when they draw on profit-based motivations, or ideals, when discussing the role of women in the value chain, and engendering CSR practices. In effect, they resist the 'fair' label in preference for the 'trade' angle: 'I'm interested in recognising this is a business.' (B1) Turning back to business as the *modus operandi* was also strongly linked to the themes of 'cultural distance', and the distancing of responsibility for gender:

> *Ultimately, we're selling chocolate that make money for farmers. And at the same time, trying to do lots of things to make their lives better.* ***But the core thing is to make money.*** (B3)

> *We're a* ***commercial entity and we've got commercial goals****, and we're still a business.* (B6)

At Adwenkor, some staff stated that 'all these social things are weighing us down a little' (A5), meaning that the social dimensions of the Fairtrade business model were sometimes cumbersome. The desire for commercial success was felt even more keenly by a run of years with lower than expected profits (BCCAR7; 9; 10; NP11; 2013). This explains the economic context in which challenges to the gender programme were being pitched. As C4, a long-time supporter of Adwenkor explained, 'things get lost':

*A lot of the more, what I would call the **'meaningful' parts of the package** which is Fairtrade, other than just the price and the Fairtrade formula, have never been featured much in the marketing, and have actually gradually dropped off the agenda... Including more recently, where the **gender** [objectives within the Fairtrade Labelling Organisation] **dropped off entirely.** In the last 3 or 4 years it dropped off.* (C4)

Furthermore, the increased focus on commerciality meant that valorising work's stress on the importance of the household to gender relations, and to business more generally, was easily distanced by the trading arms: 'I'm not necessarily sure there is any responsibility for us to influence it [gender roles in the home]' (B5):

*I think fair trade doesn't deal with it [gender] in so much as **it's about the trade, it's not about the home relationship**. So within Adwenkor, you could say it's permeated down and it's throughout the organisation, and we can say there's equality for women **within**... and that's good, but it doesn't mean there's equality within the home.* (B4)

Thus distancing work re-positioned gender as an issue 'within the workplace', but neglected the contextual significance of Ghanaian cocoa farming which takes place on homesteads. As I discuss in Section 6.2.3, such resistance work makes it much harder for actors to promote a more holistic sense of women's empowerment, and to win funding for non-'work'-based engendered CSR practices.

In summary, Distancing from Valorising Work's narratives entails actors at BCC and Adwenkor pushing back at values of community, shared responsibility and 'softer' goals for development. Instead they champion a return to economic development, based on commerciality and profit, and pass the physical home of the Gender Programme from department to department. As a result, the responsibility for the Gender Programme falls

between two continents. In the next section I explore further how Distancing work also resisted Legitimising work's narratives of the business case.

6.2.2. DISTANCING LEGITIMISING WORK

Legitimising work aimed to ensure the new value placed on women in the cocoa value chain would fit within the existing Fairtrade business logic. This was achieved by promoting economic goals and practices familiar to the business: that of income and profit. Yet in operationalising this and promoting the engendered CSR practices that relied on alternative income generating in groups, a key contradiction becomes stark. A focus on shared cooperation, democracy and the collective, cornerstones of Fairtrade, lies in conflict with the pressing needs of the individual. Distancing against this hypothesis can be seen at the individual and organisational levels. I explain further in the paragraphs below.

Legitimising work promoted the idea that 'gender equality is smart economics' (World Bank, 2006). Gender equality in the cocoa value chain is purported to increase cooperative numbers, increase loyalty in farmers to the business, promote reputational benefits in the international media, and lead to increased economic success: for both individual farmers, their communities, and the cocoa businesses (see Chapter Five, Section 5.2). Actors across the three partner organisations echoed these beliefs in interviews, in documents, and in external meetings. Yet there was also evidence of resistance to this 'gender business case' rhetoric, first from a business point of view which perceived 'gender' as 'worthy' (B7); 'dated' (B4) or 'too political, too activist' (B7):

> *I'll be honest with you –* ***a lot of our buyers don't give a … toot, about gender, or even fair trade****, a lot of them. They just wanna know how much it's gonna sell, what the margin is, and how much profit they're gonna make.* (B5)

*I don't – I don't see there's a need to specifically use gender programme improvements as part of our message. It can't harm. But **I'm not sure that it's necessarily something that's of significant benefit to use as a USP**.* (B6)

*How do you make it still something that is interesting to talk about, but also, **doesn't sound too worthy** or too – 'cause we are a chocolate company – and you know that's, that gives us a certain – **we're not – an NGO...do you know what I mean?*** (B7)

Second, managers at BCC were reluctant to support the gender programme if the results were not as previously imagined:

*What worries me is that by calling it a gender project, and by looking at income-generation, you **allow it to be put on the side**.... **And if it's not income-generating,** then it's quite interesting **why it's legitimate?*** (B1)

This interview took place after initial gender evaluation results had been disseminated, so represents a particular time of conflict and resistance in the organisation. They particularly distanced themselves from the continued focus on *alternative* income generation: 'I'm interested in the core business instead of what I would regard as peripheries':

*I think the best thing Adwenkor can do is to actually get Adwenkor women – you know, **women and men farmers from Adwenkor** to be as **efficient and effective** as they can be, **being cocoa farmers...** So if you could get them to **increase their yield**, and **earn more income,** that's the thing you can most – presumably – you could most easily effect. So effect it.* (B1)

B1 here resists Legitimising work's focus on 'alternative income' training, away from cocoa, *as well as* Valorising work's focus on soft empowerment skills. They distance BCC from both of these stances by drawing on the

profit-motives for the organisation's existence, and arguing that fair trade must first and foremost improve income:

> *So from a development perspective,* **it** [gendered CSR] **might be leading to more gender equity, but if it isn't leading to livelihoods, then there's a problem?** *Adwenkor is a trading company.* **The bit that Adwenkor can influence is – is economic.** (B1)

Indeed at meeting to discuss the results of the gender evaluation, a BCC senior manager interjected in a discussion about the merits of a business case to say:

> *I don't want just a business case, but* **a business ethics case***… I'm sick of seeing these social responsibility cases which contribute to a* **mythologising of the women in business case***… which portray all women as these happy, joyous, dancing super-women who can do everything.* (OBS5, 2013).

The manager was particularly scathing of 'these CSR types who can tell you how they've started these alternative income generation projects, like women can do all of that on top of everything else.' They explained that BCC needed to be different, as currently 'There is not enough on helping women just to be farmers.' There was a desire to distance themselves from the business case rhetoric so strongly practiced and repeated in previous years, to contribute 'not just to economic empowerment but to general wellbeing, like food security.' The death toll rang for the alternative income projects with the final point: 'I don't want to contribute anymore to these squally women's programmes.'

Interestingly, both B1 and the senior manager in the quotations above were happier to resist, and speak out against the business case, behind closed doors. In other public events I attended they were again engaging in the rhetoric of a gender business case, and the organisation continued to use the alternative income projects as marketing material.

What this suggests is that resistance work may happen at the individual actor level, but may not have an immediate effect on the organisation, even when those resisting are senior decision-makers. It also hints at the problem of actors questioning the accepted narrative of 'gender equality as smart economics' within a CSR world just coming to terms with such a statement. I discuss the importance of internal reflection, and struggle, for institutional change further in Section 6.3, and in Chapter Seven.

Also at the individual level, actors in Adwenkor resist another key element of Legitimising work in their everyday practice. The shared assumption that women empower women: 'once a woman is a cocoa buyer she can show other women in her village it can be done, and they follow her' (NGO11, 2004) is not always evident in practice. Women within the cocoa value chain who had climbed the ranks do not necessarily 'behave' in the ways the Legitimising rhetoric had promised, instead re-enacting masculinities and individualisation that was at odds with the assumption of women's support and collaboration:

> *You'd have thought that the whole point of more and more women being on the board, **which we're constantly crowing about...** should give more backing to more happening that will empower women the way they are now. To going in their footsteps... If **they're looking after number one...That isn't a community feel**. It's an **'I've got here now I've got to protect my position' feeling**. It's not an 'I want to share this with the rest of the women in this organisation'. But you know certainly when you talk to people **you feel that's what they would like, but I don't know if that's the reality**.* (B2)

This quotation by B2 reflects first on the Legitimising work's rhetoric of empowerment as a domino effect for change, before reflecting on women's self-preservation once in post. This is an outcome that others also struggled to reconcile with the 'Fairtrade' values of collaboration, the 'community feel' B2 mentions:

*It would be easier to say, but it wouldn't be true, in the end the men outdid the women. They marginalised the women's activities over there and took their jobs. But actually it wasn't like that. **So some women were part of a coup who took control and marginalised many women** in the main part of the structure.* (C4)

Women here are not victims of traditional patriarchy, but are subsumed into the '"big man" culture' (C1) that is particularly masculine. C1 explained her experience of seeing newly elected women leaders being trained in leadership styles:

*I kind of find it slightly infuriating....it was all about how leaders behave and, you know, it was kind of not looking at people directly and being very distant, **the complete opposite of how we would see charismatic, effective leaders as behaving.** But that's what Ghanaian culture, or at least Ashanti culture, demands. **That you're a "big man" and you look very stern** and you don't connect with people and you actually rarely speak directly, you speak through your representative* (C1)

Thus women leaders were initiated into the masculine styles of leadership, at odds with the proposed narratives of *both* valorising work (community; cooperation) *and* legitimising work (increased loyalty and participation of women). They engaged in a form of resistance, distancing themselves from these narratives through their lived experiences of performing gender in the cocoa value chain. Those actors who saw this, and spoke up about it, as detailed here, also engaged in distancing through highlighting what C4 called 'the gender failures':

*I suppose **we were expecting** that women who had already been empowered would fight for the sustained empowerment of women. **And that's not what happened.** So I think we have to deal with that problem in dealing with the **gender failures** too. It's not just that*

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*you put a gender program in the credit department. That's just projects...**The far more important part is the norms.*** (C4)

The 'norms' C4 refers to are seen as untouched by engendered CSR practices, or 'projects'. I theorise further in Chapter Seven on the importance of thinking about norms, gender, and institutional change at the individual's level of identity, drawing further on 'enacting masculinities' as a case in point. In the next section, however, I detail how such Distancing work has a bearing on practice.

6.2.3. HOW DISTANCING WORK TRANSLATES GENDER INTO CSR PRACTICES

Distancing work actively reduces the ability of actors to disrupt the gender institution, by insisting that others in the partnership are responsible for gender, with no one organisation taking leadership on the programme. As A4 explained at the beginning of the research evaluation period: 'We've suspended all the programmes we are doing.' Distancing thus means that translating gender into CSR practices becomes extremely difficult, with those managing the gender programme facing a lack of voice, resources, funding and 'value' within Adwenkor. In a tight financial climate this isolation was made more acute as Adwenkor and BCC staff turned to profit-seeking justifications for reducing spending or time on the gender programme.

Conversely, there were individuals, such as senior managers at BCC, who behind closed doors resisted the focus on profit, and economic empowerment CSR practices in preference for women's social and political empowerment *within* the cocoa value chain. This signals a desire to disrupt the gender institution in cocoa farming by re-casting women as active cocoa farmers (a role they demonstrably already carry out, but continue to be unrecognised for). This would translate gender not just into engendered CSR practices in terms of projects, but would mainstream considerations of gender into the everyday activities of the cocoa supplier.

However, the criticism of alternative income training, and championing of large-scale change, was not voiced publically by BCC management or TradeFare. Thus, alternative income generation as engendered CSR practices continues to be the mainstay of the gender programme, despite a questionable achievement of its goals, namely, to garner women more wealth. This may well be to do with a confusion over what gender is, and what gender equality would look like, across actors and organisations.

Thus, the importance of changing norms so as to disrupt the gender institution is argued to be of central importance to the success of institutional change. Distancing work, as resistance to disruption of the gender institution, demonstrates how individual level resistance can also link to organisational level resistance. For example, women leaders learned to distance themselves from the 'caring, sharing' rhetoric of the gender programme, and thus contributed to a larger organisational distancing at Adwenkor, who experienced conflict between the 'social stuff' (A5) and the need for 'commerciality' (B1). Thus, resistance is a refusal of the *ways and means* of achieving gender equality, further wrapped up in questions on, and the demands of, Fairtrade, business, and economic and social development. This is explored further in Chapter Seven.

6.3. QUESTIONING AS RESISTANCE WORK: RESISTANCE AS CREATION

Having laid out the forms of Blocking and Distancing Work which resist institutional work to disrupt the gender institution, here I explore the potential of resistance work to create change (Fleming and Spicer, 2007), to re-ignite institutional disruptive work, and to potentially begin the process of the institutional work of creation (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Greenwood, Suddaby and Hinings (2002). One manner in which this is argued to occur is through actors' 'questioning' as a form of resistance.

Questioning as a form of resistance work is the practice of calling into question (Fleming and Spicer, 2007, drawing on Jaspers, 1932). In this sense, Questioning, like Distancing and Blocking work, represents struggles between narratives, actors or organisations. Its mutual calling back and forth, occasional cynicism (Fleming and Spicer, 2003) and reflection, is indicative of the repair of relationships, productive change (Fleming and Spicer, 2007; Thomas and Hardy, 2011) and the on-going negotiation over meanings within the organisation (Gabriel, 2000). Greenwood et al. (2002) show that actors 'theorise' how organisational change has or has not worked, thus instigating the push for further change. Further, Ford et al. (2008: 373) explain, resistance is not always comprised of grandiose actions, but can entail a 'conversation' between actors 'receptive and willing' to change, but wishing to negotiate, or challenge, the ways of achieving this. Thus, Questioning work often starts as a form of quiet rebellion, leading to more conducive institutional change, often in the form of creation (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Greenwood et al., 2002).

In this case, Questioning is seen in personal reflections and critique; demanding more information, and research; and the vocal 'calling-out' of persistent inconsistencies within the organisation's approach to engendering CSR, such as cooperative membership rules. Appendix 14 collates data against these themes. Again, the timing of the research contributed to this reflective period amongst actors, and captures the hint of 'new beginnings'. As such, it forms the prominent feedback loop in Figure 20.

Questioning as resistance work first often occurs at the individual, subjective level (Thomas and Davies, 2005a). It is the most subtle and subjective form of resistance and is closely tied to 'the micro-politics of critical reflection' (Thomas et al., 2004: 6). For example, actors involved in the gender programme evaluation mused that the process gave them reasons to reconsider and reflect on the purpose of 'engendering' CSR

practices in the first place. To this end they begin to reflect on the more taken-for-granted aspects of organisational practice:

> **What is it that we want to achieve?** *What does empowerment look like? I'm asking myself, for what?* **For what ends?** (C1).

> *So the question I would go back to…is how do you know who this is for? So there's some root cause analysis we need to do first, why are we in this situation,* **why, why, why, why, why?…** *So I think…* **it needs a much better and bigger rethink***… **what does gender mean in to these women now?** *What would that look like, and what would really be worth arguing for anyway? Do we actually know?* (C4)

Implicit within these quotations, from staff at TradeFare and BCC, is the expression of emotions: 'I feel'; 'I'm asking myself', cognisant with the growing recognition of the role of emotions in disruptive institutional work (Voronov and Vince, 2012). What isn't captured in the text is the passionate and often forceful way these interviewees spoke to me when reflecting on, and questioning the way engendered CSR had been managed, and planned for. The paradoxical consequence of their institutional work, whereby they unintentionally maintained the gender institution, meant that for the most part these actors first experienced Questioning at the individual, personal level, before considering 'going public' with their reflections.

The process of engaging in a large-scale programme evaluation, and more mundanely, taking part in a reflective interview with myself, seems to promote Questioning, as resistance, though voice (Fleming and Spicer, 2007). Actors tentatively began to challenge taken-for-granted decision-making practices (Collinson, 1994: 25): 'You know, share-cropping, and tenant farming, is one of the most contentious parts of the agricultural supply chain. Fairtrade doesn't touch that' (C4). Managers at BCC and TradeFare increasingly pushed at Adwenkor to reconsider the

cooperative rules for membership, given that evidence suggests that women who aren't members are working on cocoa farms and receiving no reward (Chapter Five, Section 5.3.3):

> *What worried me about the women's groups… is are people members of Adwenkor?... And if you are not a member, you shouldn't be in a women's group…* **So we can negotiate that Adwenkor changes its rules and lets people in who are farm workers. Which I would like to see.** *But until that happens, people who don't have land, can't be members of Adwenkor.* (B1)

Actors continue to call out inconsistencies within existing institutional logics (Seo and Creed, 2002) when questioning the logic of 'women empowering women', and of the assumed shared norms of 'community' and 'fairness'. C1 and C4 reflect on how class, an unspoken element of Fairtrade, matters:

> **Life demands that I take the immediate returns,** *and so that stops you thinking more in the long term. And maybe that's* **reflected a bit institutionally… Because they** [farmer board members] *tend to be the wealthier, larger land-owning, probably not-that-poor, people…* (C1)

> *So women may be great, but sometimes they're fucking awful employers… she'll have people working on her farm… And Adwenkor has* **never made her feel like she has a responsibility** *to those people because* **they've over-glorified the rights of farmers** [as landowners] *to the detriment to everybody else*! (C4)

Thus both C1 and C4 engage in Questioning by highlighting the inequity of the Fairtrade structure, by speaking up across the organisations in the partnership.

Similar to Collinson's identification of 'resistance through persistence' (1994: 25), part of Questioning also included the demanding for more information, statistics, evidence and research:

> *I was quite … disappointed in the presentation I had when I was in Adwenkor in … Where clearly they were defending the thing they knew how to do, and* **I'm very un-keen to continue** *doing the things they've been doing,* **unless I can see evidence** *that they have,* **the impact they're saying they're having***.* (B1)

This drive for information was also very likely to slip into criticism of Adwenkor, and thus overlaps with the Distancing work of refusing responsibility for gendered CSR (Section 6.2.1). Yet it also portrays how Questioning, as resistance, can provoke changes in practice, as B1's 'resistance through persistence' (Collinson, 1994: 25) for gender statistics provoked the original gender programme evaluation. This will, in time, lead to changes with how Adwenkor, BCC and TradeFare translate gender into their CSR practices (see Chapter Eight).

Finally, Questioning took place at a meso-industry level, when actors engaged in reflection, and challenged assumptions of women's empowerment, in public spaces. C4 explained how they continued to question what a gender policy would achieve for Fairtrade businesses overall, engaging in meetings and networks to recapture the 'radical' nature of Fairtrade (C4):

> **So what's the objective?** *Is the objective a certain overall level of household income and achievement and well-being, or what? It's a bit like the gender policy for FLO [fairtrade labelling organisation],* **getting it back on the table.** (C4)

A senior BCC manager, attending a public Fairtrade event on gender, vocally questioned the utility, and accessibility, of the business case rhetoric on display:

You [other attendees] come from a development background and ***take for granted that we business people know why it is that women should be empowered.*** *You take it for granted that we know that women contribute to food security or whatever. Why is it good?* ***I think you've overshot yourself and need to go back and make some clear cases.*** (OBS11, 2013).

These more experienced actors moved through individual levels of reflection, to questioning within their organisations, through to more public levels of challenge, enquiry and the calling out of inconsistencies.

It is important to reiterate here the role of the gender evaluation, and my own questioning as a catalyst for Questioning work. The two are not easily untangled from eachother. Furthermore, as I discussed in Chapter Four, the GALS methodology (Section 4.3.4) and the experience of using innovative drawing techniques with Adwenkor staff also provoked reflection:

We need to ***further talk to the women.*** *Find a way to – if we can get something similar than the GALS, that will let them understand, or to find out whether they really understand what they are talking about.* (A4)

It taught me...that the farmers ... like us to hear them more*. To find out what's their problems. And if they can they apportion them. And* ***we are looking for ways to, solicit where their problems are****.* (A8)

Researching, 'hearing;, 'sharing', 'using examples' are all practices employed within Valorising work (Chapter Five, Section 5.1). This suggests that resistance through Questioning provokes a feedback loop into renewed Valorising work. Whilst for some reflecting on past decisions and critiquing management remained a personal affair, others engaged in 'interventive questioning' (Lüscher and Lewis, 2008) with the aim to provoke others, inside and outside the organisation, into changing

gendered practices, policies and programmes. In particular, 'resistance through persistence' with its push for 'further information and knowledge' (Collinson, 1994: 50), is often an effective means of challenging organisational practices. In this sense, resistance can be a form of creation (Fleming and Spicer, 2007) of something new, or in this case, renewed.

Resistance work, especially Blocking and Distancing Work, destabilised the partnership between organisations, and brought questions over understandings of, and translations of gender into CSR, to the fore. Yet this resistance provokes reflection, reigniting Valorising work and opening up the possibility of reinvention:

> *'We said "**what is the alternative** to this?". I said, "OK, if I were ripping this up, in some imaginary world, I would **reinvent it**."* (C4)

Questioning as resistance can thus be considered not simply as a negative practice, but as a productive, messy and on-going negotiation over meaning and power (Foucault, 1982). It is very much rooted first and foremost in the level of the individual, and their self. The implications for this on institutional work, and change, is discussed further in Chapter Seven.

6.4. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has outlined how actors employed by Adwenkor, BCC, TradeFare and farmers within the cocoa production chain, performed resistance against institutional work that intended to disrupt gender. I outlined how they engaged in Blocking and Distancing work against both Valorising and Legtimising work's narratives and arguments. Paradoxically, actors who first engage in disruptive institutional work may then go on to perform resistance work. Yet the resistance is rarely a simple rejection of gender equality, rather a resistance, or questioning, of the ways and means of achieving equality. This suggests institutional

work, and resistance work, centres around negotiation over what 'gender' actually is, an argument I pick up on in Chapter Seven.

Resistance Work complicates the engendering of CSR practices. In many ways, actors have held back the full potential of the gender programme at Adwenkor, through withholding funds, blocking meetings, and distancing themselves from responsibility. On the other hand, I have shown that resistance, especially in the form of Questioning, allows for new ideas, reflections and renewed institutional work. This offers a contribution to institutional work theory, in that it empirically demonstrates the circular, dynamic and unpredictable nature of how actors may disrupt, maintain or create institutions (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2013).

The productive nature of resistance (Foucault, 1982), especially with regard to gender (McNay, 1992) is the focus of my next chapter. I begin by bringing together my arguments on how institutional work to disrupt gender has shaped understandings of gender, and how this impacts on engendered CSR practices. I show how institutional work at the individual and organisational level has led to unintended consequences when it comes to gender (institutional) change. I posit that some of this may be because change strategies need to pay heed to the level of the individual's subjective self, especially when it comes to gender.

CHAPTER SEVEN:
RE-THINKING GENDER AND POWER RELATIONS IN THE VALUE CHAIN

'Identity is not fixed, but it's not nothing neither'

Stuart Hall

Feminists have long- argued for the dismantling of the assumed connections between gender, sex and men and women's identities. De Beauvoir's (1949) famous quotation stretches back over sixty years: 'One is not born a woman'. Our identities as men, or women, or somewhere in-between, are not fixed, as Hall (1997) states, yet they are also important considerations for how actors navigate the social world. In this chapter I part ways to some extent from my initial analysis to reconsider the role of the self, and identity, in how institutional gender change may happen through CSR practices. I ask, how might we further theorise how changes in the gender institution, and therefore men and women's experiences of work in the value chain, may happen? The conceptual framework I set out in Chapter Three drew on a set of theories that focused on actors' practices, and interactions: their talk, and actions, the text they produced, and so forth. In further reflecting on my data, especially that concerning actors' resistance work, I argue here that my initial framework needs expanding.

First, however, I discuss what we can learn from my empirical findings. Namely, how the processes of translating gender into CSR practices have a bearing on understandings and experiences of, gender in the value chain. I reflect on the dynamic, multi-level phenomena of institutional work, and re-apply the lens of power relations to explain why

it is that actors' efforts to instil social change are often manifest in uncertain, unexpected ways.

In so doing, I am forced to reconsider my initial theoretical assumptions, positing that the actor's sense of self is a somewhat overlooked, but crucial, consideration. Meaning that whilst gender is 'done' at macro, meso and micro levels of practice, in order to understand how gender change may occur in the 'responsible' value chain we need to incorporate the level of the intrapersonal: actor's sense of self, and identity, into our research. Contra other studies into institutional change and 'identity work' (e.g. Gawer and Phillips, 2013), I pursue 'identity' at the actor, rather than organisational, level. In terms of CSR, this means that influencing moves towards gender equality would require an up-front discussion about what equality, gender and 'being a man or woman' means to people in their everyday lives. Research into gender and CSR would have to grapple with this notoriously difficult level of enquiry: asking how individuals feel, think and make sense of their own gender identity, whilst exploring practice and process.

Drawing on two vignettes from the data, in this chapter I theorise again why it is that gender change has been relatively difficult to achieve at Adwenkor and BCC. The analysis of my data points to another level, that of an actor's sense of self, and identity, as being important in explaining not just how actors can behave, or work to affect institutional change (Creed, DeJordy, and Lok, 2010), but in their very readiness to *think about* change, especially in the context of gender. Explaining why this may be, I draw on feminist Foucauldian notions of gendered power relations, and how discourses on gender are very much part of ourselves. In particular, such theories blur the boundaries between structure and agency, as well as between discursive practices and the individual, in a way that may be useful for those exploring how business organisations can begin to formulate gender change strategies. I conclude the chapter by positing that CSR strategies for social change are possible, through the nature of human beings' capacity for re-action, hinting at institutional work to

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create (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006) new forms of the gender institution. Yet we are also reminded that CSR, and the actors performing it, are bound up in much larger systems of power relations that are discernible right down to individual thought.

The chapter therefore makes two contributions. First, it contributes to the CSR literature on institutions and change, by re-incorporating explicit questions about power relations, providing another consideration into *why* there is a 'black box' around CSR organising (Rasche et al., 2013) and why it is so difficult to effect social change. Second, I provide a contribution to institutional work theory by suggesting the need to incorporate levels of actors' self and identity in studies of social institutional change, as well as the practices of those individuals, nested within systems of power relations. In so doing, I also restate the point that CSR, and organisational theories more generally, continue to be enriched by incorporation of feminist and gender theories.

7.1. CHANGING UNDERSTANDINGS AND EXPERIENCES OF GENDER IN THE VALUE CHAIN

The institution of gender is conceptualised here as imbued with power relations (see Chapter Three). One contribution of this thesis to institutional work theory is to study 'big tent' social institutions, and the ways and means in which actors may affect them. In this case, I have concentrated on actors performing CSR practices, across multi-cultural business organisations, with the intention to in some way improve the lives of women cocoa farmers. My thesis is that changing the gender institution relies heavily on changing actors', and organisations', understanding of what gender actually is. In this section I thus provide summary answers to my research sub-questions 2 and 3: how are understandings of gender influenced by CSR practices, and how do these influence farmers' experience of gender in the value chain?

To summarise, in Chapter Five I explained how institutional work translates gender into a CSR issue, and then into practices. Figures 14 and 18 provide visualisations. Valorising work ensures value is given to working on gender as a CSR issue, promotes the social and political empowerment of women as an organisational goal and imbues value into women's roles and place within the cooperative, and in wider society. It translates an idea of gender as a social, and cultural construct into CSR practices which aim to mainstream women's voice and decisions throughout all areas of the cooperative business. These practices included quotas, policies and leadership training for women, which effectively disrupt the gender institution in cocoa farming by changing normative associations (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006) between women and their roles in business. This has meant that many women have been able to move into positions of decision-making authority, such as Farmer Board leadership, or become cocoa purchasing clerks. For some women in Adwenkor Women's Groups, the collective nature of the membership has given them more confidence, thus in some ways leading to a more equitable experience of gender in the Ghanaian cocoa value chain (see Section 5.3.2, Chapter Five).

Actors also engage in Legitimising work to ensure a fit between 'engendered' CSR and the 'trade' aspect of the Fairtrade business model. They stress the 'win-win' outcomes of empowering women in the cocoa value chain for families, communities and the business itself. These arguments are based on the assumption that economic empowerment has the greatest impact on disrupting the gender institution, and also results in mutual gains. These ideas translate gender into CSR practices that focus on economically empowering women through alternative income training schemes, and microcredit facilities for women's groups. In effect, these practices push women's recognition as cocoa farmers further from the organisation and thus contradicts the idea that empowering women will lead to a more productive cocoa workforce. This promotes an understanding of gender as an innate, static sex category, since women are

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reduced to their assumed identities as housekeepers and mothers earning 'pin-money'. Therefore, Legitimising work does little to challenge experiences of gender in the cocoa value chain, rather, it unintentionally maintains the incumbent nature of the gender institution.

Chapter Six introduced the simultaneous Resistance work that occurred across the three partner organisations. Resistance was not simply a rejection of gender equality for women in the cocoa value chain, but often particular resistance to the ways and means of translating gender into CSR practices. This conflict is rooted in normative and cultural considerations of what gender 'is' and what women and men 'should' be able to be and do.

Figure 25: Institutional Work to Disrupt the Gender Institution
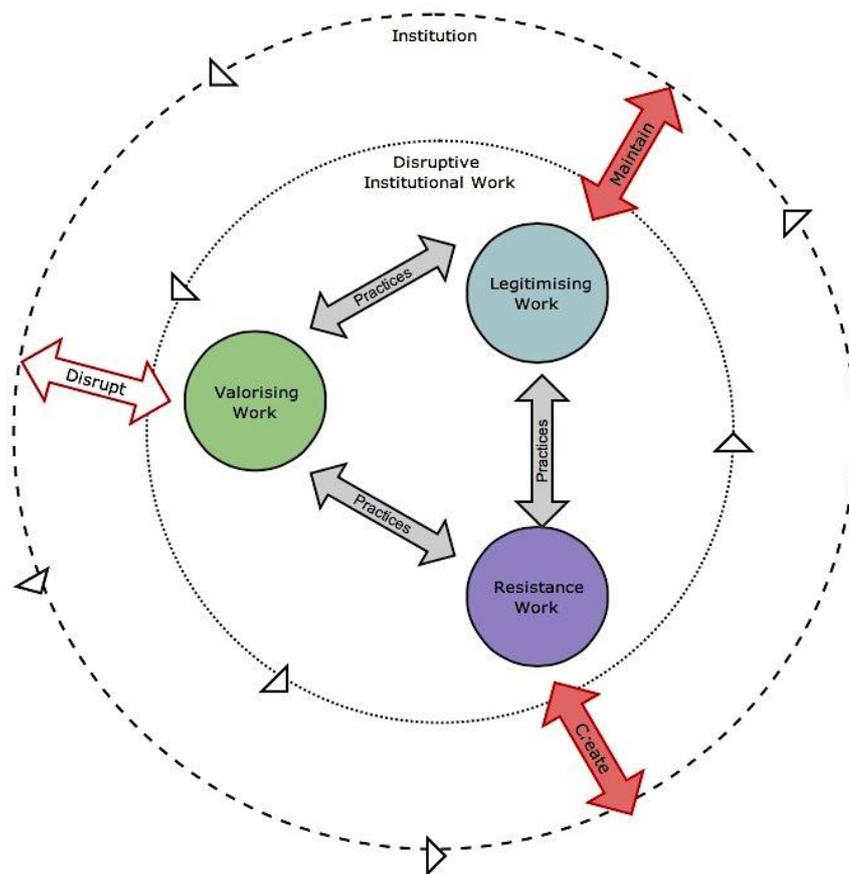
Source: Author's Own.

Zooming out and looking at the empirical data as a whole, Figure 25 details how institutional work changed the gender institution. The gender institution surrounds all activity, and is affecting, and affected by, the disruptive institutional work in the inner circle. The dashed circles represent the cyclical, dynamic nature of institutions, and their practices. The disruptive institutional work is comprised of valorising, legitimising and resistance work, contained in actors' everyday practices. These forms of institutional work, as covered in Chapters Five and Six, relate to, and feed off each other, represented in the figure by grey 'practices' arrows.

In some ways, actors' disruptive institutional work led to its desired effect, i.e. greater gender equality. This was seen particularly with valorising work's ability to disrupt the gender institution through political representation of women in the cocoa value chain. In other ways, institutional work led to a mis-translation of engendered CSR practices, leading to the unintended consequence of maintaining inequalities in the value chain. Legitimising work's focus on economic projects led to the maintenance of the gender institution. Finally, Resistance work led to multiple outcomes, with Questioning work hinting at a renewed stage of institutional work (Section 6.3, Chapter 6), and potentially the creation of an alternative institutional outcome in the future (see Section 8.1, Chapter Eight).

What this suggests is that when actors work to effect institutional (social) change, outcomes are unpredictable and fluid. The red arrows in Figure 25 represent unintended consequences of purposeful disruptive institutional work. Importantly, whilst in my case valorising work led to disruption (the white arrow), in another context this may not be the case. Similarly, Resistance was particularly strong in the case of 'engendering' CSR, even when change was, to all accounts and purposes, supported at the micro and meso levels of the organisation. The unintended consequences of purposeful institutional work thus make it extremely hard to predict how actors can provoke changes to social institutions.

Institutional work theorists have been open to the idea of unintended consequences and non-linear paths of institutional change for a number of years (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2009; 2013; Slager et al., 2012). I posit, however, that in a sticky situation such as resistance to 'engendered' CSR, there is a need to further theorise why unintended consequences occur, specifically by revisiting the role of power relations in institutional work.

For example, Valorising, as an example of disruptive institutional work, was successful in disrupting gender because it changed normative assumptions about women's roles. Actors essentially challenged understandings of gender, and in so doing, challenged dominant gendered power relations in the context of Ghanaian cocoa farming. On the one hand, this is an example of institutional entrepreneurs' 'power to' effect change (DiMaggio, 1988). On the other, the failure of Legitimising work's translation in practice, and the unintended consequences of 'well-meaning' work, portrays how at multiple sites and levels:

> [Power relations] *do not reproduce… in any simple, mechanical and predetermined way but will have a variety of important organizational effects, many of which cannot be specified outside of particular workplace or industries.* (Collinson, 1994: 51).

This is brought into stark relief when exploring Resistance work, which suggests that actors are engaged in an on-going struggle to change institutions in often ambiguous and paradoxical ways. Since these institutions are full of multi-level, fluid and changing power relations: actors often thought of as 'powerless', such as the Fairtrade farmers, actually affected their influence in unexpected, but effectual ways (see Section 6.1.1, Chapter Six). In line with institutional work theory this corroborates the importance of paying heed to actors' agency in their everyday practice.

Yet there remains a level of agency absent from most theorising on institutional work. The particular focus of my thesis, that of gender

change, opens up (and complicates) the study of how social change may occur. Namely, in the next sections I argue that on re-reading the data, the level of actor's self, and identity, is an important but over-looked aspect of institutional work to disrupt gender. I stress the importance of a Foucauldian concept of relational, productive power (1977; 1982) that supports the idea of actors' subjectivity to challenge gendered power relations, but muddies the ways in which they may perform this. To explain further, I return to two stories of resistance drawn from my case study.

7.2. RE-THINKING CHANGE: WHY RESIST?

Chapter Six detailed the resistance work actors performed in response to institutional work that aimed to disrupt the gender institution within the Ghanaian cocoa value chain. Of particular interest, and somewhat perplexing, is the resistance work performed by actors who were very much in favour of gender change: promoting 'equality' and 'empowerment' of women farmers. Since institutional work theory argues that actors engage in *purposive* work to create, maintain or disrupt institutions (Lawrence et al., 2009), how can we theorise what has happened at Adwenkor, when actors seemingly without thinking, start to resist the very narratives they were instrumental in cultivating? I briefly highlight two vignettes drawn from empirical data, which delve deeper into changing gendered power relations through institutional work.

7.2.1. 'BIG MEN' AND 'LEADING LADIES'

In Chapter Six a particularly striking form of 'distancing' resistance work was seen in the way some women leaders promoted to positions of responsibility begun to imitate 'masculine' leadership behaviours, for example by looking 'very stern and you don't connect with people and you actually rarely speak directly, you speak through your representative' (C1). Furthermore, such leaders were accused of marginalising the more

'progressive' cooperative members (both men and women) (C4) and 'looking after number one' (B2). These behaviours ran opposed to the benign mentor/role model expected by the rhetoric of female empowerment: there was a purposeful 'distancing' from this narrative on the part of its leaders.

There are a few ways this situation could be examined. One is through a comparison of Ghanaian and British culture, and the expectations of what a leader should 'be'. Certainly, the enacted behaviour of a leader as described by C1 above, including speaking through a representative, appears extreme to British sensibilities. Yet the 'big man' culture of Western Africa is not so far removed from expectations of leadership in the UK, or other countries from the global North. Indeed, Joan Smith's chapter on Margaret Thatcher in *Misogynies* (1989) and the ways in which she aped male tone and delivery, yet maintained gendered roles at home, mirrors the situation at Adwenkor. Furthermore, numerous empirical studies have demonstrated how women leaders react to 'success' at the top by emulating 'hegemonic masculinities' (Connell, 1987) in British and American contexts (Fagenson and Jackson, 1993; Kanter, 1977; Wajcman, 1998). Marshall (1993) lists such masculine leadership traits as self-assertion, competition, separation, independence, control, rationality, and so on. Whilst 'masculinities' and 'femininities' are fluid and changeable, there are still stereotypes around these, especially in the world of business (Kerfoot and Knights, 1998; Knights and Tullberg, 2011). However, in this case the intersecting oppressions (Hill Collins, 1990) of ethnicity, nationhood and gender merge into dominant expectations of what a leader should 'be'. It is not just a case of patriarchal 'power over' women's behaviour in the workplace, but a combination of oppressions (Hill Collins, 1990). Yet, the women leaders were not unthinking automatons, but use their behaviour, identity and resistance to climb the career ladder.

I want to argue here that changes around gender roles are deeply connected to identity. So, in the example of women leaders becoming 'big men', theoretically what may be happening is a resistance to the narrative of women as carers and sharers, in preference for an embracing of a hybrid gender identity: a leading lady. The 'leading lady' does not deny her status as a woman, but she also emulates some traits associated with stereotypical male leadership, such as unapproachability and individualisation. To some extent this behaviour is conscious: C1 told of how new women leaders were trained by professionals in how to act once in power; but on another level, the implications of such an identity remain unconscious, especially when it comes to the contradictions between what the gender programme and policy aim to achieve ('equality') and the reality (continued difference between men and women). Such 'identity work' was also noted in an Australian context, where women agricultural leaders talked of creating a 'third sex' for themselves in which to succeed (Pini, 2005: 73).

It is the association between certain traits and behaviours as male and female which remain problematic when it comes to promoting gender change. It means that whilst women can be encouraged into positions of power, once they get there they may recreate inequalities inherent within the system. For example, the continued ignorance of the situation of tenant farmers untouched by Fair Trade has not been improved by a more diverse management team (C4). Further, the capacity for women leaders *to lead as women*, away from the schema of masculine leadership, is curtailed by dominant understandings of gender identity. Thus, I am a woman, with the expected roles and norms that associate that label, but I am also a leader. These labels are constantly negotiated at the level of the individual in their everyday life (Denissen, 2010). There is agency within these negotiations, but they are also limited by the contextual, cultural institutions in which we live (McNay, 2000).

The 'leading ladies' of the Adwenkor case embody the complexity of securing gender change within organisations, through CSR. On the one

hand, they resist narratives of expected 'femaleness'; on the other, they embrace masculinities to get ahead in their new roles. Re-orienting women (and men) to be comfortable to lead in a way different to the dominant mode of gender stereotypes involves considering what is happening at the level of identity, and self. It also means recognising that individuals resist, act and re-act in unexpected ways.

7.2.2. 'IRRATIONAL' RESISTANCE

I am particularly interested in those actors who had promoted narratives of gender equality, fairness, and women's empowerment (forms of Valorising work (Chapter Five)), who had turned to 'blocking' the gender project evaluation (see Section 6.1.1, Chapter Six). 'Ama' and 'Shirley'[17] had worked for over ten and three years respectively on the cocoa gender CSR programme. My observation notes detail how they worked hard, were impassioned when working with local communities, and squared up to reticent staff in a male-dominated environment. These were women who exercised agency to become 'empowered' within the Ghanaian cooperative, who rejected the gender status-quo. When the evaluation of the Gender Programme was called, in order to assess the impact of the programme, both Ama and Shirley resisted in unexpected ways.

Unlike B1, B2, A5 and C1, also powerful women in their organisations, who pushed for the research evaluation to gain more legitimacy for engendered CSR (Section 5.2, Chapter Five), Ama and Shirley began to withhold research funds, avoid meetings and employed delaying tactics. Ama locked away materials needed for fieldwork, under-funded research assistants and avoided interviews (Section 6.1.1.). Shirley, when faced with the results of evaluation, which showed problems with the economic empowerment projects, continued to push craft-based training, despite this being under-subscribed, lacking a market and failing to make women money (see Section 5.3.3.2, Chapter Five). Even as

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[17] Pseudonyms.

management began to reconsider the gendered CSR programme, calling for a focus on social empowerment in the form of literacy and numeracy training (see next Chapter Eight), they resisted still. It wasn't that Ama and Shirley didn't want to promote women's empowerment in the cocoa value chain, it was just that the threat of changes, especially a reconsideration of craft projects, provoked resistance.

Why is it that, faced with an ailing programme design, but committed to 'women's empowerment', actors such as Ama and Shirley engaged in this resistance? Or, put another way, why did they resist, and unintentionally stultify gender change? Without in-depth interviews with these women, I can only conjecture here, but it may be that the proposal to reformulate the gender programme to question the traditional roles of men and women went against Ama and Shirley's respective understandings of gender. Consider the quotation here:

> ***Even the women leaders*** *and the* ***people who are responsible for the gender programme*** *will be saying, "Women* ***should be this****, and women should be that". You know they're the same people who say to me, when I say "but there are no female auditing officers", that "well women can't ride motorcycles and they get pregnant!"* ***So there's a gap between where we and BCC are, and where Adwenkor is, in terms of what their vision for gender equality is I suppose****. And maybe that is a problem, and maybe that bridge is really difficult to cross.* (C1)

Programmes that continue to separate women from the mainstay of cocoa farming, and keep them safely in the sphere of the domestic (e.g batik crafts) are supported, whilst suggestions of deep-seated changes (e.g. the training of women auditing officers) are strongly resisted.

One could argue that they are unintentionally re-creating the powerful patriarchal structures of Ghanaian cocoa farming through their influence. Women farmers were 'allowed' to be empowered in economic terms since this fits well with the historic Ghanaian culture of working

women. Other necessary political and social aspects of empowerment were rejected since to implement a translation of gender in those ways would deeply challenge personal, cultural understandings of gender.

Ama and Shirley strongly fought for women's 'power to' challenge gender norms, they were aware of men's dominance and spoke out about it in their Moralising and Contextualising work. Still, there was something about the threat of changing the gendered CSR programmes that provoked resistance. Furthermore, they resisted in unclear and seemingly paradoxical ways. In this sense, Ama and Shirley appeared to be enacting agency, informed by their identities, and their own, personal ideas of gender in the Ghanaian cocoa context. They were not simply conduits for 'patriarchy', but 'multiple selves whose lives are shot through with contradictions and creative tensions' (Kondo, 1990: 224). The paradoxical and ambiguous nature of social change within systems of power relations is not a new development, yet one worth exploring in relation to institutional work. Of particular use here is the work of Judith Butler and Lois McNay, who draw on Michel Foucault to discuss how individual thought is connected to practice and the possibility of changing wider gendered power relations. In the next section I explain further how this may enrich my initial conceptual framework.

7.3. RE-THINKING POWER: FEMINIST FOUCAULDIAN INSIGHTS

Power as a concept runs through theories of gender-as-practice, and less explicitly, institutional work theory (Lawrence, 2008). The conceptual framework in Chapter Four privileged the role of power relations within institutional work, stating that gendered power relations in particular cannot be ignored in seeking to understand how actors may disrupt, maintain or create institutions. In particular I argued for a Foucauldian conceptualisation of power relations as pervasive and relational: not 'held'

by anyone or enacted 'against' anything, but existing in relationships between human subjects (Foucault, 1977b; Gordon, 2000). The subsequent data analysis supports such a conceptualisation, given the paradoxical nature of power relations described. For example, contra many feminist understandings of power, it was not the case that men were simply domineering women, but that women were often complicit in the continuation of inequalities. Thus, a more nuanced understanding on the role of the subject and their subjectivity in relation to gender and power relations is needed. To do this, I draw on feminist Foucauldian theories, namely the work of Judith Butler (1990, 1993, 2004) and Lois McNay (1992; 2000). Whilst both these theorists have developed their own philosophies since Foucault, their appraisal of the use of Foucauldian thought to feminism has been undoubtedly influential.

Feminist Foucauldians have tended to draw upon late-Foucauldian notions of power (Foucault, 1980, 1982, 1986), arguing that not only is it pervasive and relational, but that power relations are productive, rather than repressive (Sawicki, 1991:21; Fraser, 1989). Foucault stresses the 'conditions of freedom' (Crane, Knights, and Starkey, 2008: 302) that mean human beings as subjects 'struggle', 'resist' and recreate power relations (Foucault, 1986), such as those around the gender institution (Connell, 2009; Diamond and Quinby, 1988). As Foucault argued, to conceive of power only as a negative force undermines its strength:

> *What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us a force that says no; it also transverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse.* (Foucault, 1977/2000: 120).

Power 'constrains and enables' actors who have freedom to push at, and transform the boundaries of possibility (Hayward, 2000: 12; Foucault, 1977a, 1982). Thus, when actors create, maintain or disrupt patterns in the 'gender institution', they are also at the level of consciousness involved in negotiating meanings and 'truth': the mainstay of institutions and the

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'stuff' of power relations (Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips, 2006; Foucault, 1980). There is a *struggle* at the heart of this thought and practice, which means that resistance, as well as control, should be considered in light of any forms of institutional change (Knights and Vurdubakis, 1994; Scott, 1985, 1992), including and specifically 'work'.

What feminist scholars drawing on Foucault have developed further is the role of the self and agency within the power/resistance nexus. This is important, as it means that women are moved out of the category of 'victim' and afforded agency, meaning that 'despite large scale gender inequalities, women are not just passive dupes of patriarchal structures of domination' (McNay, 1992: 82). Individuals engage in 'techniques and practices of the self' (Foucault, 1984 in Fornet-Betancourt et al., 1984) that 'actively fashion their own identities' (McNay, 2000: 9), including gender identities:

> *I am interested… in the way in which the subject constitutes himself in an active fashion, by the practices of the self, these practices are nevertheless not something that the individual invents by himself. They are patterns that he finds in his culture and which are proposed, suggested and imposed upon him by his culture, his society and his social group.* (Foucault, 1984 in Fornet-Betancourt et al., 1984: 122)

Butler (1990), drawing on Foucault, argues that the subject is created through repetitive acts, which she calls performativity. Butler (2004) posits that agency lies in how performance is carried out, whether it probes at gaps in the discourse, or reveals 'the difference between the act and the ideal' (Kelan, 2010: 180). What this means is that we create and recreate 'gender', but in sometimes failing to 'do' gender 'right', we may 'undo gender' (Kelan, 2010: 180). These gaps in performance are indicative of the on-going constitutive nature of power relations: 'Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also

undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart' (Foucault, 1978/1998: 100-1).

A feminist Foucauldian approach to power relations (and social change) brackets the structure and agency debate, by arguing that *all* actions and structures are influenced by socialised norms, identities and knowledges (Hayward, 2000), and that they are therefore one and the same. Therefore, actors such as Ama and Shirley are neither subsumed into a patriarchal system rendering them unable to 'throw off' power, nor are they able to operate as discursive mavericks. Their seemingly 'irrational' behaviour (supporting empowerment and CSR, and then blocking it) can be explained through a Foucauldian lens: power relations, and the knowledges they produce, are part of us, and of our identities (Foucault, 1977). Thus, Ama and Shirley can enact gender change in a contradictory manner. They can simultaneously 'perform' disruptive institutional work, to improve women's equality, *and* recreate the status-quo (e.g. by blocking non-traditional means of women's empowerment) as their particular discourse or knowledge around gender is challenged. As McNay eloquently argues, in reimagining the role of the self in creating power relations, it is necessary to consider that 'individuals may respond in unanticipated and innovative ways which may hinder, reinforce or catalyse social change' (McNay, 2000: 6). What such a theorisation posits is that an actor's sense of self, especially how they understand gender identity, is deeply bound-up with that actor's purposive efforts to change institutions.

Gender change can therefore be said to be occurring at both levels of structure and agency, but in dynamic, unpredictable, often paradoxical ways (Butler, 1993; McNay, 2000; Cooper, 1994). I want to argue here that gender change is particularly difficult due to the bound-togetherness of our notions of self, and discourses on gender and power. Whilst individuals within my case study may well be practising change, 'undoing gender' in their everyday lives through institutional work, there continues to be, for some, resistance at the level of individual thought and identity.

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This resistance can manifest itself in practices (such as the blocking of research, or emulation of masculine leadership styles), but it is also part of a deeper process of constant negotiation over what 'gender' is, and what a 'gendered self' is. As I have previously stated, further research which asks pointed questions about resistance, gender identity and motives would be needed to give these theorisations further empirical standing. Nevertheless, I argue that my existing conceptual framework, which draws on institutional work and theories of Gender-as-Practice, only goes so far in explaining how gender change may happen. Future research could begin to expand on our understanding of institutional work, and practices, through the inclusion of the level of self, or identity, in theory-building. Figure 26 visualises the gendered institutional conceptual framework with the addition of this.

Figure 26: Diagram showing levels of the gender institution, and how it may be influenced through institutional work, updated.
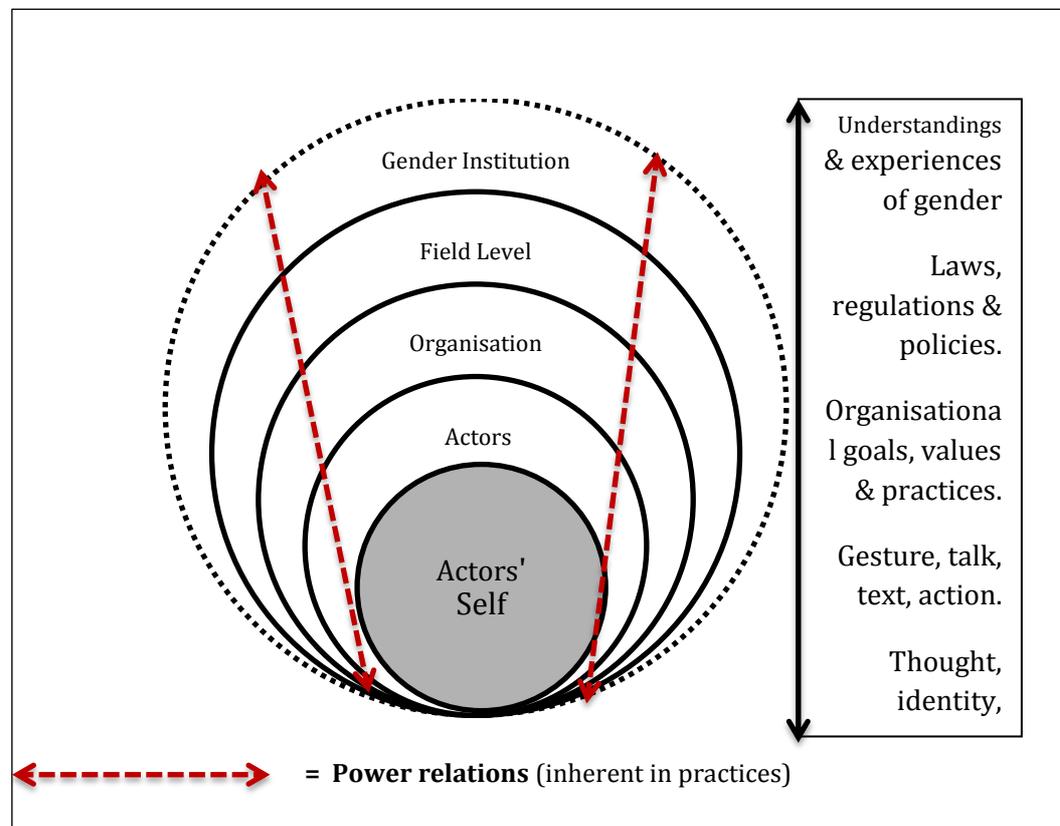
Reconsidering how actors practicing CSR may begin to promote gender equity and equality in their value chains, by incorporating the importance of actors' sense of self, offers theoretical contributions to the theory of institutional work. Yet such a claim is understandably challenging to those working in the area of CSR. How does this translate into practice? What does this mean for CSR in value chains? In the next and final chapter I offer some suggestions in this vein.

7.4. CONCLUSION

How CSR in global value chains contributes to greater gender equality is unpredictable, disordered and often paradoxical. This thesis has explored the ways in which actors attempt to disrupt centuries of gender discrimination against women in Ghanaian cocoa farming, and has detailed the day-to-day practices undertaken by those committed to such a cause. I have also shown how resistance to such practices can occur in unpredictable ways, especially when those seemingly pro-equality begin to resist, and when women themselves are involved in the continuation of inequalities.

In this chapter I have contributed to the field of CSR and gender by delving further into why this resistance may happen, highlighting the need to explore the self, and gender identities, if we want to better understand how change happens. This also makes a contribution to institutional work theory, by suggesting that to some extent actors' subjectivities are also important for how they may create, disrupt or maintain institutions, given that institutions are sites of constitutive power relations, closely connected to our sense of self.

I have continued to impress the utility of drawing upon existing feminist theories to better understand both institutional, and social,

change. Feminist Foucauldian theorists carefully walk the line between the need the understand gender inequalities as a subjective experience (pertaining to identity), and material experiences (pertaining to economic, social and political needs). Echoing McNay (2000) I wish to stress that *both* aspects of gender are important to the study of social change: we cannot completely turn to gender as an identity, which runs the danger of underplaying the very-real material deprivation experienced by millions (Fraser, 1997), nor can we answer why gender inequalities continue as they do without turning to an exploration of our subjective selves, and how we are all complicit in continued global inequalities.

CHAPTER EIGHT:
CONCLUSION

"Nobody knows how many rebellions besides political rebellions ferment in the masses of life which people earth. Women are supposed to be very calm generally: but women feel just as men feel; they need exercise for their faculties, and a field for their efforts, as much as their brothers do; they suffer from too rigid a restraint, too absolute a stagnation, precisely as men would suffer; and it is narrow-minded in their more privileged fellow-creatures to say that they ought to confine themselves to making puddings and knitting stockings, to playing on the piano and embroidering bags. It is thoughtless to condemn them, or laugh at them, if they seek to do more or learn more than custom has pronounced necessary for their sex."

Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre* (1847)

Charlotte Bronte's indignation against women's perceived 'tranquillity' in her 1847 novel bears a striking resemblance to the conclusions of this thesis. Women need 'a field for their efforts, as much as their brothers do'. Engendered CSR practices, launched and sustained though institutional work, can provide that field. Yet the ways and means of promoting more equitable opportunities (such as craft-based income) are still very often based on the assumptions *Jane Eyre* sought to challenge in the 1840s.

In this final chapter I begin with a thesis summary before updating BCC, Adwenkor and TradeFare's story to show how resistance work has seemingly launched a new era of Valorising work (Section 8.1.). I then reflect on what the findings, and theoretical observations, mean for practice (Section 8.2.). I summarise my thesis contributions (Section 8.3.), and reflect on the limitations of the study described here. Finally I provide suggestions for avenues for future research (Section 8.4.), and end with some concluding remarks.

8.1. Thesis Summary

The Foucauldian elucidation of power relations, and resistance, is especially pertinent to those who study gender and CSR. In Chapter Two I laid out some of the various practices of CSR, and some of the ways they are imbued with gendered power relations. These included community investment, stakeholder engagement, monitoring, evaluation and reporting, and philanthropic financial endeavours. Scholars had already begun to explore how actors engaged in such work can disrupt the gender institution, and exercise power to change or resist inequalities (although they may not have put it in such terms). For example, Grosser (2009) and Prieto and Bendell (2002) draw on a rich history of gender and development scholars to theorise how enabling women's 'voice' though stakeholder engagement could provide a platform for change. CSR practices can thus be theorised as processes which enable various actors or groups of actors to engage in disruption to the gender institution, through voice, participation and resistance (Benschop and Van den Brink, 2011; Wicks, Gilbert Jr, and Freeman, 1994). Important here is the recognition that CSR practices are sites of power *and* resistance, enabling consent *and* dissent (Whelan, 2013; Bondy et al., 2012).

Less well-studied is how individuals enact, and react to, CSR policies and programmes. This thesis has contributed to this gap in our understanding by showing not just the day-to-day 'work' actors perform to attempt to change the status-quo, but how this work may be resisted. Valorising and Legitimising Work (Chapter Five) both made inroads into challenging the gender institution in a Ghanaian cocoa farming context. I detailed the types of everyday practices, narratives and goals actors employed to attempt to disrupt the gender institution. In some ways, they were successful, and in others unsuccessful, as unintended consequences led to a mis-translation of 'gender' into CSR practices, and re-positioned women as 'non-farmers'. Resistance work (Chapter Six) was theorised as resisting against the disruptive institutional work identified previously,

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entailing actors blocking, distancing and questioning the ways and means of translating gender into engendered CSR practices. Resistance work can emanate from unexpected sources, and can block, re-route or undermine CSR practices. Yet this is not necessarily a negative phenomenon, as Questioning work, with its reflective, persistent calling into question of the taken-for-granted aspects of engendered CSR, hints at a renewed stage of institutional work to disrupt the gender institution, as explored in Section 8.1.1, below.

Institutional work to disrupt gender, and resistance to these types of work, are practices of contested meaning-making around what gender is, and what gender equality should look like. Since this institutional work occurs across geographic space, and temporal time, meanings are a site of constant negotiation (Kemp, Keenan, and Gronow, 2010). How gender is translated into CSR practices has an influence on understandings of gender, but such understandings are also bolstered by existing contextual cultural norms and expectations.

Finally, in Chapter Seven I drew on this further and argued for the importance of addressing individuals' sense of identity, especially with regards to gender. In many ways, such a finding seems common-sense. During an extended interview a former Adwenkor Gender Officer mused upon the different strategies used by the organisation *vis à vis* gendered CSR. They reflected on the importance of 'going from village to village', 'talking to the people' in order to 'orient their minds' (A5). Whilst the latter phrase sounds relatively dictatorial, it again picks up on the need to conceptualise social change as not just occurring at the level of organisational strategy, or of practices, but also at the level of individual thought, belief and understanding.

8.1.1. CASE DEVELOPMENTS

As detailed in Chapter Six, Questioning work at TradeFare, Adwenkor and BCC had involved reflection at the intrapersonal level, demanding for

more research, and deeper organisational thinking on the goals of 'empowerment'. Actors at BCC and TradeFare began to see the contradictions at play within the translation of the issue of gender to CSR, and using both the research evaluation and a renewed interest in making the programme work, began to reinvigorate 'engendered' CSR.

At the time of writing, TradeFare staff had completed a new draft for a Gender Policy for the partnership and their cocoa value chain[18]. Within it were qualifications on the business case, arguing that whilst there may well be efficiency and productivity gains for economically empowering women, there are also normative reasons for supporting them. In this sense, the draft policy signified a return to the arguments of Valorising work: that of a holistic, 'triple-legged stool' concept of empowerment. Furthermore, the revised policy states that women should be empowered not just financially, but socially and politically. This is a huge development, as it indicates a shifting understanding of gender and empowerment. It hints at the possibility[19] of creation, through the resistance that preceded the latest iterations of organisational goals.

New developments afoot also see a re-appraisal of alternative income training, with a more nuanced understanding of the needs of women and men farmers in particular areas. For example, those further from cities would be helped to gain skills more suitable for a rural community. Literacy classes are to be started, for men and women, with the rationale that without basic numeracy and literacy few of the poorest farmers could move into the cocoa purchasing clerk role (TradeFareAR, 2014).

The new policy and practices are too new to be evaluated here, and to predict their effects on the experiences of gender for men and women in the value chain would be foolish. What the proposed developments show,

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[18] At their request I have not reproduced any of the text here. The policy was very much draft, and had not yet been agreed to by all parties.
[19] See footnote above: the draft nature of the policy suggests there may yet be another round of legitimising, or resistance work, before practices change once more.

however, is that institutional change, through organisations and their CSR, is rarely linear, simple or predictable. In the last three chapters we have seen that institutional work to disrupt the gender institution is fraught with contradictions and feedback loops. What lies in store for Adwenkor et al. remains to be seen, but recent developments confirm the dynamic capacities of institutional work, and the possibility for resistance to be a productive experience.

8.2. IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

As Gita Sen explains, 'Empowerment is, first and foremost, about power; changing power relations in favour of those who previously exercised little power over their own lives' (1997: 2). Such a simple-sounding directive may understandably strike fear into the heart of any CSR practitioner. Here I attempt to explain what the conclusions of my thesis findings mean in practice.

In the Adwenkor/BCC/TradeFare case, the translation of 'gender' into CSR practices, such as leadership training, was muddled and conflicting. Fundamental questions need to be asked about what such practices aim to achieve. What is gender equality for a female Ghanaian cocoa farmer? Furthermore, is there a difference in the experience of gender for women who are higher up in the class system, and those who are migrant workers? My thesis case demonstrates how understandings of gender across cultures are bound up in intersecting inequalities, such as ethnicity, nationality, able-bodiedness and class (Mohanty, 1991). Whilst not easy to operationalise, a good first step would be to ponder such cross-overs of experience in the stakeholder group.

With regard to CSR practices themselves, what this translates into is that practices need to address both the economic needs of women and men in the value chain, and the political and social aspects of inequality. These aspects are often bound up in identity and self-belief (Cornwall, 2014):

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> *One unique feature of this* [our] *approach is the stress placed on changing* **women's self- image***: unless women are liberated from their existing* **perception** *of themselves as weak, inferior and limited beings, no amount of external interventions … will enable them to challenge existing power equations in society, the community or the family.* (Batliwala, 1993: 31, stress my own).

Thus, CSR programmes and policies can only go so far if they speak to just economic 'empowerment', without recourse to the overlapping, dynamic nature of why inequalities between men and women exist in the first place. Simply putting more money into certain demographics' hands will not necessarily lead to instant equality or equity. The Adwenkor case demonstrates this well. Rather, long-term gender sensitisation needs to take place at multiple levels: within policy, practices, interaction, and at the level of individual identity.

Such an approach profoundly challenges the tick-box metrics favoured within CSR programmes, and within business more widely: social, political *and* economic empowerment are not easily measured. It necessitates more than one-off workshops on leadership skills, but in-depth discussions on women and men's roles. Gender sensitisation programmes have run with varying levels of success through NGOs across the world (Bott, Morrison, and Ellsberg, 2005), but it remains to be seen whether they would be appropriate, or realistic, through CSR policies and programmes. Promoting reconsideration of gender identity through CSR is a contentious area, although one that I argue must be considered if business intends to take gender change seriously. Part of this means being open to making mistakes, for allowing 'safe spaces in which to explore and practice new ways of thinking, being and acting' (Parpart, 2013: 392). Adwenkor's playful experimentation with a gender programme over twenty years speaks to the importance of this process, but also, again, shows how despite all the best intentions, outcomes manifest themselves in unknowable ways.

Speaking more widely to the CSR community, a practical implication of this thesis is the acceptance of resistance as part and parcel of actors' endeavours to change dominant ways of thinking or doing within an organisation. This could speak to a wide range of CSR contexts and issues: from those trying to launch diversity initiatives in Chicago, to those fighting for recycling services in Bogota, or community investment schemes in Kenya. In Chapter Six I touched upon the potential that resistance work had for reinvigorating a time of reflection and reappraisal of company policies and direction. I have since detailed how 'Questioning' as a form of resistance showed signs of producing a new era of Valorising work, and had prompted (alongside the evaluation) the writing of a new policy on gender for Adwenkor. This indicates that resistance to CSR practices and policies need not always be a bad thing, but that they may be catalysts for further, deeper, organisational and/or institutional change, especially around reflecting on the meanings and understandings of tough concepts such as 'equality' or 'empowerment'.

Finally, the thesis also has implications for how we view the achievement of social change through CSR networks. The case detailed here was intended to be an 'exemplar', in its use of long-term, Fairtrade partnering between organisations. To some extent great steps have been taken towards engendered CSR and an opening up of cocoa farming for women. Institutional Work of Valorising and Legitimising relied heavily not just on actors working within their own organisations, but between organisations and out to industry. Partnerships, network-effects and working on 'sticky' issues together, is a key approach for 'corporate-oriented' CSR (Moon and Matten, 2013). Yet this thesis also joins the chorus of voices urging organisations to realise that partnerships are not easy, nor are they a panacea for social problems.

In particular, network approaches to CSR may overlook the need for joined-up-ness within the organisation itself. By this I mean that gender, and social issues more generally, are easily pushed towards certain departments or individuals. In my case, gender became a 'political

football' passed from place to place. The thesis shows how this is both a form of resistance (from those less keen on social and environmental responsibilities of business) and can lead to resistance (vice versa). Embedding gender into the core of the business, as opposed to its ghettoization 'elsewhere', stresses again that network approaches to CSR do not mean just across organisations, but within organisations themselves.

8.3. THESIS CONTRIBUTIONS

This thesis has advanced a pragmatic step towards understanding more about the evolving phenomenon of 'engendered' CSR. To this end, I have contributed to the literature on this area by delving in to the everyday goings-on of organisations attempting to improve gender equality within their value chain. This expands the literature by looking at the organisational processes involved in gender and CSR, whilst keeping in mind the transnational power relations that flow through value chains (Acker, 2006), and the people themselves whose lives are bound up in international trade.

Further, I make a contribution to the gender and CSR literature through the development of a 'gendered institutional' conceptual framework. This framework employs the concepts of institutional work (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006) with gender-as-an-institution (Lorber, 1994; Martin, 2004) to theorise how CSR practices, enacted in networks, may change or hinder gendered power relations in the value chain. My conceptual approach contributes an ambitious means of studying institutions, gender and change, covering multiple levels of action and understanding.

The thesis also makes a methodological contribution to the field of CSR. I employ a participatory methodology (GALS) that is particularly innovative in its use of visual research techniques: farmers are asked to

draw symbols in order to get closer to gender experiences in their everyday life. Whilst in the sections below I reflect on some limitations of such an approach, the methodology provides a new route into translating complex social concepts, feelings and experiences across cultures and countries. Despite the limitations such an approach may encounter, the methodology provides a nuanced technique for researching gender, institutional change and value chains in the CSR context.

Unpacking the 'black box' of CSR organising was the focus of a recent special issue on CSR (Rasche et al., 2013). My thesis makes a contribution to how we understand CSR's operation behind closed doors, privileging the study of processes, practice and interactions, and bracketing (to some extent) the success factor of any initiatives. To do this I utilise the theory of institutional work, and in so doing make a theoretical contribution to the study of institutional work and CSR, by identifying two forms of institutional work that are necessary for re-orienting CSR towards gender equality goals. Valorising and Legitimising work are both performed with the intention of disrupting the gender institution, yet unintended consequences, including resistance work, challenge and complicate the taken-for-granted linearity of social change.

I make a further contribution to institutional work theory by theorising why actors resisted *against* institutional work. I identify three forms of Resistance work: Blocking, Distancing and Questioning. I show how despite intentions to disrupt the gender institution, unexpected and ambiguous outcomes arise, thus contributing to and enriching the study of unintended consequences of institutional work. I then go further to argue that a source of this ambiguity lies in the closeness between actors' sense of self, and identity, and the social change they are being asked to enact.

I contribute to the study of institutional work, change and CSR by theorising that the level of the intrapersonal is also important to consider when we theorise how actors may create, maintain or disrupt institutions. I draw upon feminist Foucauldian thought to better understand how it is

that self and power relations are bound together, and how this has an impact on whether and how social change is possible through CSR practices. This is also a contribution to the field of CSR, by demonstrating how the ostensible social and environmental goals of business are tied to multiple levels of action: at intrapersonal, interpersonal, organisational, field, and institutional levels.

Finally, my thesis contributes to the growing call for academic work to speak both to theory and to practice (Birkinshaw, Healey, Suddaby and Weber, 2014) and to bridge the entrenched 'camps' between academic theories (Suddaby, 2014). I draw on critical theories and institutional theories and apply them to the current big challenges facing not just management practice, but society at large. The thesis has real-world implications for how those wishing to provide more equitable experiences for men and women farmers in the value chain may choose to operate (Section 8.2). I show the steps taken to affect changes within a value chain, whilst showing how there are limits to how far we can call these changes successful, and how strategising change is never an exact science. Specifically, I show the importance of shared understandings of gender, but paradoxically, how shared understandings are difficult to achieve given the tight-connections between identity, gender and power, made all the more complex by the global nature of value chains.

8.4. THESIS LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The empirical study of institutional work can be difficult to achieve given the need to capture practice, talk and interaction (Lawrence et al. 2009). Further, elaborating on work to make observations on gendered power relations, at the level of thought and identity, is notoriously difficult to achieve: 'many gendering practices are done reflexively; they happen fast, are "in action," and occur on many levels' (Martin, 2001: 343). Institutional

work and power relations are on-going, multiple processes which mean that at best this study can only offer snapshots or examples of practices of power and institutional change in one period of time, and in one context. This may well be one reason why the explicit study of the interplay between power relations and institutions is empirically weak in extant research.

Therefore future research on gender and CSR may benefit from pursuing the study of power in its different forms, documenting 'power over', 'power to' and 'power within'. This last form is under-researched in organisational studies and would require in-depth research techniques that allow individuals to talk freely and openly about their personal experience of empowerment. Future research on institutional work could elaborate on gender theories by further capturing the control and resistance mechanisms at play over transnational contexts. What is the role of ethnicity, nationality and class in this? The connection between women's leadership behaviour in the Ghanaian context hinted at such links, but this thesis did not set out to empirically demonstrate the intersections of class, gender, ethnicity, able-bodiedness and so forth. Studies into gender remain accused of ignoring other dimensions of social identity and experience, and future research increasingly needs to find ways of incorporating this into our methodological and theoretical toolkit (Hoogte & Kingma, 2004). Picking up the connections between intersectionality and institutional work would be the next step in such a study.

Further limitations are connected to my methodological design. Participatory qualitative research is a way of getting closer to people's understandings, experiences and identities, yet within my study there were problems when trying to do this. First, key limitations of participatory research centre around the necessarily small sampling groups, which limit who gets to participate (Mosse, 1994), and thus whether the resultant data bears any resemblance to the 'reality' on the

ground. In Chapter Four I touched briefly on some of struggles of my participatory research: translators sub-sampling from the farmers in the mistaken belief they needed to be able to write; and farmer owners being sampled as opposed to the tenant farmers who were more likely to be working the land. When these problems were made known to me, I did my best to ensure they were addressed *in situ*. However the very draw of participatory fieldwork, in its richness and proximity with those we wish to study, means the experience is often disorganised and chaotic. Participatory research techniques can break down power imbalances between the researcher and researched, but they are also incendiary sites of power relations which have to be tread carefully (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). Future research using participatory research techniques within CSR, and business and management research, needs to walk the line between 'tyranny' and participation (Cooke and Kothari, 2001).

Second, I utilised GALS as a participatory methodology, particularly the use of drawing symbols, to capture what 'gender' could be in everyday life, across language and context. The GALS approach is an imperfect approach, but it hints at a means of developing how we might study complex social phenomena across cultures. Symbols, and counting their use by participants, provides a crude translation service for analysing what is intended to be a mutual form of communication on gender. Such an approach could no doubt be further developed, especially given more time in the field with participants. Future research could develop the ways and means of capturing concepts such as gender, power and empowerment using research techniques that are appropriate, sensitive and methodologically rigorous. Importantly, GALS is a first-step towards incorporating more 'fringe stakeholders' into CSR research.

This would also address another limitation of my case study: that of a weak amount of verbal data from the farmers themselves. Considering the theoretical developments of the thesis, in that I argue for the importance of considering identity and individual thought in social change processes, I did not give enough space for this in my own research design.

Being able to show more examples of farmers' institutional work, their resistance and their knowledge would enrich future research. This requires more one-to-one, in-depth interviews with farmers, perhaps using visual research techniques such as photo diaries.

In sum, the ambitious span of my research topic, coupled with slippery concepts such as 'power' and 'gender', and multiple research techniques, have meant that there have been challenges with the research. Yet the limitations here hint at new directions for research into CSR, institutions and change, drawing upon more innovative qualitative research techniques and closer attention to the role of multiple-levels of institutional change, and power relations.

8.5. REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

On presenting portions of this work, I have been asked on more than one occasion if I am an apologist for corporations' bad behaviour. How can I be a feminist, and work in a business school? Less accusatory, but no less important, are the questions I have received on whether I think CSR is actually a useful conduit for gender equality. Have I assumed too much of what is often a dynamic process led by under-resourced individuals within busy businesses?

On the first point, talking to my colleague Kate Grosser has helped immensely with this 'middle' position. She pointed out Meyerson and Scully's (1995) piece on tempered radicalism, and it struck a note with me as much as it had with her (Grosser, 2011). This thesis, I believe, echoes the 'tempered radicalism' of so many people who try to change the ways things are by engaging with them. My international development background, and my own personal drive to study gender, means it is important to me that any academic work speaks to on-the-ground practice. Business organisations are engaging in 'engendered' CSR. We need to know what it is that they think they are doing, how they are doing

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it, and whether it is in anyway commensurate with gender equality goals. Thus, in response to the second point, I argue that it is better to subscribe to the pragmatism outlined by Margolis and Walsh (2003) with regards to CSR: not ignoring the normative arguments swirling around the contested phenomenon, but bracketing them in order to keep up with the relevant developments of the day.

This approach also informed my use of critical (gender) theories alongside institutional work. It is important to me to try to bring issues of power, gender and the messiness of everyday life to bear on institutional theory. I believe this thesis has taken steps in this direction, and continues the cross-fertilisation between critical theory and institutional theory (Suddaby, 2014).

In the end, the role of business in society has, and probably always will be, contested, especially when it comes to gender. The way businesses position themselves with regard to responsibility in a global economy are changing (Scherer and Palazzo, 2008). 'Engendering' CSR entails bringing the issue of gender inequality to the table, and enacting policies and programmes that hope to address this. The ambiguity, dynamism and unpredictability- the sheer difficultness- of such practices has been pointed out here. Yet this does not mean that the study of, or translation of gender into CSR practices is a fruitless endeavour. On the contrary, it demonstrates the continuing need to research, monitor and understand the role of businesses in the gendered global value chain context.

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APPENDIX 1: STANDARDS, CODES AND REPORTING TOOLS RELEVANT TO GENDER IN AGRICULTURAL VALUE CHAINS

Code or Reporting Tool	Required Elements of Standard and Reporting	Notes
ETI Base Code	Based on ILO Conventions. Contracts for all workers; non-discrimination in hiring or promotion; maternity rights; reduced overtime; no harsh treatment or harassment.	Evaluations by Barrientos and others (2006; 2007) found occupational segregation, discrimination, lack of women in leadership & temporary workers still as the norm. No explicit reference to women. Latest ETI workbook includes section on gender.
SEDEX supplier ethical data exchange & SMETA (SEDEX members ethical trade audit)	Follows ETI Base Code for auditing.	Very popular auditing/reporting tool for supermarkets.
GlobalGAP	Follow ILO conventions 111 on discrimination, 87 on right to organise, 100 on equal remuneration must be displayed & explained to all staff. Hiring and complaints systems to be transparent and non-discriminatory. Must follow local law on maternity leave. Workers must have contracts.	From GRASP (GlobalGAP Risk Assessment for Social Practice). This doesn't affect accreditation but is an 'add-on'. No exclusive mention of women or harassment.
Global Reporting Initiative	Turnover of staff by gender; breakdown of wage & governance by gender; return to work after childbirth by gender. Training by gender; follow ILO conventions & UDHR. Optional: career development opportunities & performance reviews by gender.	The 3rd version of the GRI (2010) included further gender measurements. Sector supplement for food processing firms available but adds no further info on gender. Benefits unavailable to temporary staff.
FTSE4Good	Statement of equal opportunities/diversity; Adoption of policies Inc. flexible working, maternity/paternity pay, minimum 40% female managers, jobs shares & child care support.	
UN Global Compact	Key principles include statement on non-discrimination based on gender.	Women's Empowerment Principles were launched in 2010 under the human rights resource section.
SA8000	H&S; Collective Bargaining; Discrimination; Working hours; Compensation	Barrientos et al. (2001) shows that there is no reference to maternity benefits or those without contracts.

		No explicit reference to women.
OECD Guidelines for Multinationals	Follow key ILO conventions on workers' rights.	According to Clean Clothes Campaign & OECDwatch.org auditing and reporting is not transparent and inefficient
Gender Equity Seal (GES)	H&S; Non-discrimination in recruitment & training; equal pay; no sexual harassment (including pornographic material in the workplace); confidential complaintsl; maternity pay; equal pay; protections for pregnant women, new mothers and new fathers; respect trade union membership; respect time-off for family/health reasons; ethical marketing practices; help with childcare.	Launched by Social Accountability International (SAI) and UN Women in 2012. Specifically applies standards to all workplaces- including the value chain.
EDGE (The Global Business Certification Standard for Gender Equality)	Equal pay; non-discrimination in recruitment and training; leadership training for women; flexible working offered; 'company culture'.	Certification launched in 2012. Focuses on workplaces. As of 2014 only 6 certified companies.
COLEACP (Liaison Committee Europe- Africa- Caribbean- Pacific)	Non-discrimination; non-abuse; confidential complaints; no sexual harassment; maternity pay; equal pay; protections for pregnant women	Formed in Kenya and the Zambia.
GCSP (Global Social Compliance Programme)	Follows ETI Base Code for auditing, based on ILO conventions.	Used by UK supermarkets.
MPS (floriculture environmental project)	Includes statements on ILO conventions. Discrimination; sexual harassment; maternity leave; equal pay	Based on the 'Social Chapter' of the Dutch flower auction.
KFC (Kenyan Flower Council)	Discrimination; maternity leave; equal pay, protection for pregnant women	Used by a number of UK supermarkets

Sources: Prieto-Carrón, 2008; Barrientos & Dolan, 2006; Barrientos et al., 2001; UN Global Compact, 2011b; Bain, 2010; Maxfield, 2007; Prieto & Bendell, 2002; Grosser & Moon, 2005a. Websites for SEDEX, GlobalGAP, ETI; Global Reporting Initiative, GSCP, SAI, EDGE. All accessed October 2014.

APPENDIX 2: EXAMPLES OF 'ENGENDERED' CSR PRACTICES IN AGRI-VALUE CHAINS

Company/ Products/ Location	Issue	Solution	Partners
The Cooperative; Divine Chocolate (Chocolate) **Ghana**	Access to resources; leadership; remuneration.	Quotas for women in leadership roles; training; alternative income programmes.	Kuapa Kokoo; TWIN; WIEGO.
Finlay's (Tea & coffee; horticulture) Kenya; Rwanda.	Access to resources; leadership; working conditions; data collection.	Women encouraged to join co-operatives in their own name, with eligibility decided by production of crop, not land ownership. Supervisors trained on sexual harassment; women recruited into leadership roles. Women's coffee offer launched in 2014.	Food Retail Industry Challenge Fund; ETI; TWIN; Sainsbury's.
Mondelez (formerly Cadbury Kraft) (chocolate) Ghana; Cote d'Ivoire.	Access to resources; working conditions; leadership; remuneration; data collection.	Offers business training and microfinance to smallholders. Inclusion of women in working groups. Health, education and water facilities for community use. Advocacy at international level. Improved data collection.	CARE.
Mars (chocolate) **Cote d'Ivoire.**	Access to resources; data collection.	Data collection; training of female cocoa producers.	Oxfam America.
Coca-Cola (soft drinks) Over 20 countries.	Resources; occupational segregation; remuneration; data collection.	The #5by20 plan aims to empower and educate women in order to bring them into the value chain as suppliers and distributors. Includes training, financial help, mentoring, Has included gender analysis in the supply chain through poverty footprint with Oxfam.	Oxfam America; Technoserve; Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation; IFC and others.
Wal-Mart (various foodstuffs, including cocoa) Cote d'Ivoire; various.	Decision-Making; Resources; wages; occupational segregation.	Literacy, finance and farmer training.	CARE; SBA; Vital Voices; Technoserve; WBENC, World cocoa foundation.

Aarhus Karlshamn AB ("AAK") (vegetable oils and fats) Burkina Faso.	Access to resources; care work; access to fairtrade.	Works with women's groups to source shea kernels and access fairtrade chains. Training. Installed diesel generators to save women's time.	UNDP; DANIDA; L'Oreal, local NGOs.
Chiquita (bananas) Ecuador.	Working conditions; decision-making	Offers childcare facilities; training; safe transport; access to housing & promotes women to supervisory & management positions. Uses monitoring groups to audit women's views.	GMIES; COVERCO (NGOs)
Unilever (raw ingredients used in beauty products)	Resources; wages; leadership; decision-making' occupational segregation	Policies and board to tackle inequality; education initiatives in value chain. BoP initiatives in India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka involve finance, literacy and leadership training and access to microfinance.	Oxfam GB; local NGOs; CARE Bangladesh;
The Body Shop (raw ingredients used in beauty products)	Decision-Making; Leadership; wages; women as smallholders; working conditions; care work	Community trade initiative offers training and assistance to women smallholders. Suppliers must follow code of conduct which covers maternity pay, equal rights between men and women. Runs strong diversity policies and programmes in HQ. Supported cooperative in Nicaragua to pilot paying women for care work.	Tradition of working with development institutes (e.g. IDS) and NGOs, as well as small local co-operatives such as 'Women in Business Development'
Nestle (cocoa products and chocolate) Cote d'Ivoire	Data collection; access to resources; leadership.	Improvements in data collection; training; access to finance.	World Cocoa Foundation; International Cocoa Initiative; Oxfam.

Sources: Chan, 2010; UN Global Compact, 2014;; Prieto-Carrón, 2006; Hoskyns et al., 2012. Websites for The Body Shop, Coca-Cola, Wal-Mart, Nestle, Mondelez, AAK and Mars. All accessed October 2014.

APPENDIX 3: LITERATURE DETAILING WORKING CONDITIONS IN AGRICULTURAL VALUE CHAINS

Working Conditions specific to Women	Product & Location of study	Authors
Sexual harassment/ Workers expected to perform sexual favours for job security	Horticulture in Kenya, Zambia Tanzania & Uganda Vegetables & flowers in South Africa, Kenya & Zambia Fruit in Chile	WWW (2007) Smith et al. (2004) Barrientos et al. (1999)
Very long hours	Fruit in Chile Horticulture in Colombia Vegetables & flowers in Kenya etc. Banana workers in South America Kenyan flower industry Horticulture in Kenya,	Raworth (2004) Corporación Cactus (2010) Smith et al., (2004) Hale and Opondo (2005) Barrientos et al. (2001; 2003)
Forced and/or obligatory overtime at short notice	Vegetables & flowers in Kenya etc.	Smith et al. (2004)
Harsh treatment e.g. restricted toilet breaks	" "	" "
Lack of toilets, cleaning, food and drink facilities	Horticulture in Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania & Uganda	WWW (2007)
Unsafe conditions e.g. exposure to pesticides, unclean water supplies	Horticulture in Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania & Uganda Bananas in South America South African, Kenyan & Zambian veg. & flowers Kenyan flower industry Fruit & veg. in Chile Vegetables in Kenya	WWW (2007) Smith et al. (2004) Hale and Opondo (2005) Bain (2010)
Unsafe transport to and from work	Bananas in South America	Prieto-Carrón (2006)
Unfair dismissal for pregnancy	Horticulture in Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania & Uganda Horticulture in Colombia Fruit & Veg. in South Africa, Kenya & Zambia	WWW (2007) Corporación Cactus (2010) Smith et al. (2004)
Restricted or no maternity leave	Horticulture in China Poultry in Thailand Grape exports in South Africa	Lawler & Atmananda (1999) Barrientos et al. (2000)
Forced pregnancy testing	Horticulture in Colombia	Corporación Cactus (2010)

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1/ Introductions- including recording permissions, outline of research, confidentiality etc.

2/ Ask for brief job description, length of time at company.

3/ Does their work intersect with the value chain? If so, how? (If yes, ask about CSR policies and programmes intersecting with gender)

4/ Knowledge of gender in the value chain. What? Why? How?

5/ Knowledge of gender in their workplace. What? Why? How?

6/ What is 'gender'? What is gender equality?

APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEWEES ACROSS ORGANISATIONS

Interviewee	Job Family	Length of Time in Organisation
UK Company Interviewees (BCC)		
B1	Management	10+ years
B2	Marketing & Communications	10+ years
B3	Marketing & Communications	5+ years
B4	Marketing & Communications	5+ years
B5	Management	1+ year
B6	Management	1 + year
B7	Marketing & Communications	2+ years
Supplier Interviewees (Adwenkor)		
A1	Management	10+ years
A2	Management	2 years
A3	Management	5 years
A4	Mid-Level Staff	2 years
A5	Mid- Level Staff	8 years
A6	Gender Committee	10+ years
A7	Gender Committee	2 years
A8	Mid-Level Staff	5 years
NGO Interviewees (TradeFare)		
C1	Management	2 years
C2	Board Member	10+ years
C3	Mid Level Staff	1 year
C4	Board Member	10+ years
C5	Board Member	10+ years

APPENDIX 6:
COPY OF PARTICIPANT INFORMATION LETTER

<div align="right">

ICCSR
Nottingham University Business School
Business School North
Jubilee Campus
Wollaton Road
Nottingham
NG8 1BB

</div>

20/03/13
Dear Research Participant,

My name is Lauren McCarthy and I am a PhD researcher from the University of Nottingham. I am currently researching sustainability issues and gender, and how those two things fit together. I am seeking views from organisational staff members, including those at XXXXXXX. I would be very grateful for your time as an interviewee: more details below.

Who are you interviewing? I would like to talk to staff from as many different roles as possible. Although the topic is about sustainability & gender, I am also keen to speak to those who don't work directly in this area e.g. marketing, finance.

How long do the interviews take? 30-60 minutes each.

What do I need to talk about? Views on gender in the organisation- specifically how gender issues are thought about in the supply chain side of the business. You don't need to be an expert on gender, just be willing to have a conversation with me about the topic. There are no right or wrong answers; I'm just interested in your ideas and opinions.

What kind of questions will you ask?
Our interview will be more like an informal chat, but some of the questions I will be asking are:
1/ What do you think of when I say 'gender'?
2/ Is gender something that gets talked about at XXXXX?
3/ Speaking as an individual, do you ever think about gender issues in your work activities?
4/ Are you aware of any differences between genders in the supply chain side of the business? Can you give me examples? Were you aware of these before you worked here?
5/ Are there projects that touch on gender in the supply chain that you know about? Have you been involved in these?
6/ Would you be supportive of more work on gender issues in the business' supply chain? Why?

Anonymity: All interviews are completely anonymous and you will be unidentifiable in any resultant documentation. Interviews will only be tape-recorded if allowed by the interviewee. Data will be stored in locked cabinets, and only I will listen to and read the transcripts. Company employees will not have access to the data.

Thank you very much for your interest- any questions please do not hesitate to contact me. I look forward to meeting with you.

From top left- to right, symbols represent work including:

Planting cocoa seeds; weeding; clearing land; fermenting; drying; bagging; fertilising/spraying pesticides; cutting open pods; carrying cocoa; selling; harvesting.

Growing cassava, bananas/plantain, tomatoes, aubergine; palm oil processing; tailoring; trading small goods; growing maize, onions; batik making; soap making; gari processing; mechanic; taxi driving; carpentery.

Cooking; childcare; sweeping; cooperative membership; carrying water; carrying firewood; washing & drying clothes; cooperative committee membership position.

From top left to right, symbols represent spending on:

Food; school fees; school books; transport; bicycles; medicine/hospitalisation; TVs; funeral attendance; clothing; fuel (first two attempts rejected); housing; cutlass (representing farming equipment); seeds; fertiliser; pesticides; cooperative membership fee; alcohol; entertainment/parties.

Symbols then represent ownership of: land; housing; money; loan receipt.
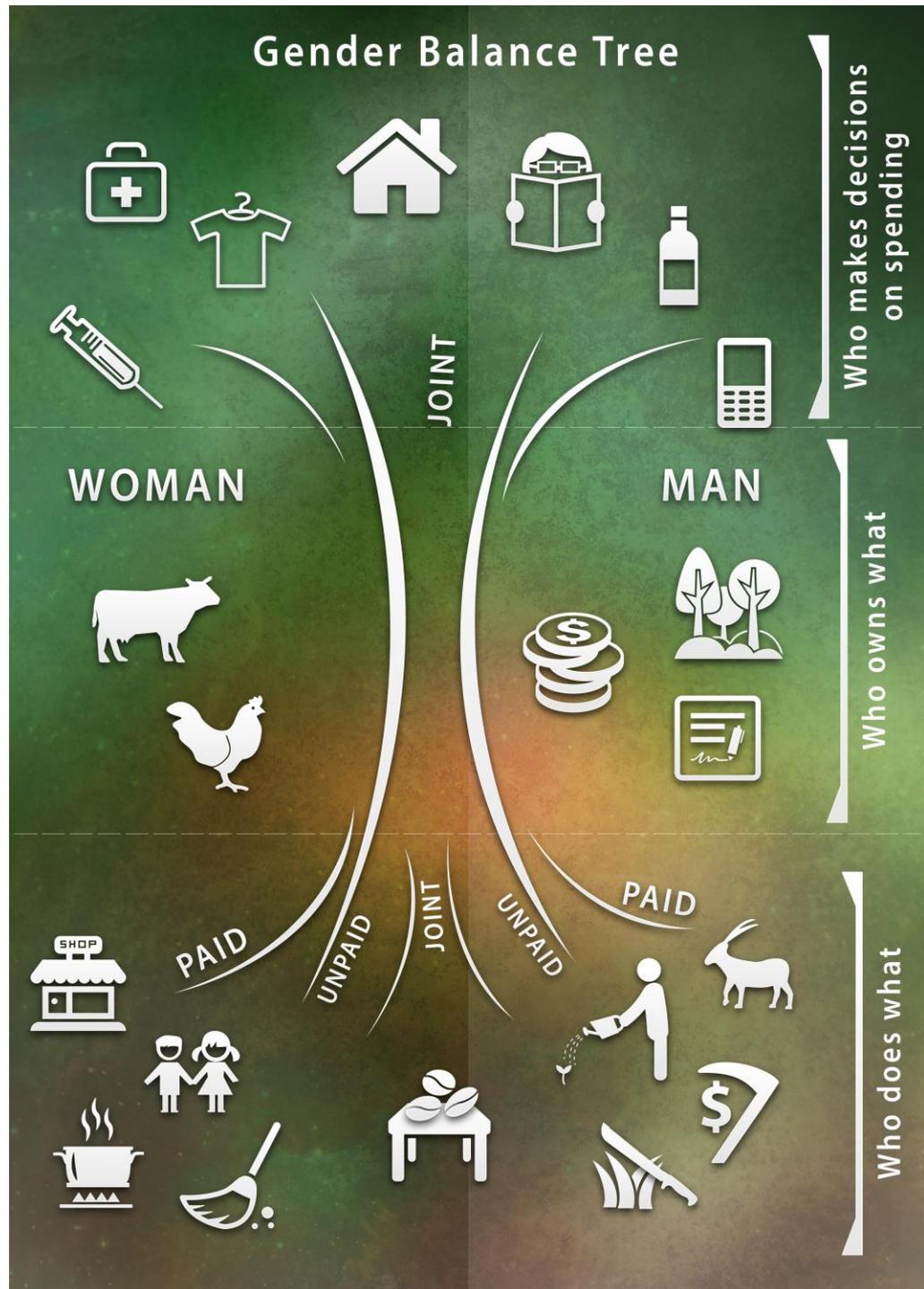
Source: Author's Own.

APPENDIX 9: CATEGORIES AND LABELS ASSIGNED TO SYMBOLS ON GENDER TREE DIAGRAMS.

Value	Variable
Sex of Participant	Male; Female
Location	Ashanti 1; Ashanti 2; Western 1; Western 2
Family Size	1-12
Main Decision Maker	Male; Female; Shared
Ownership of Land	Male; Female; Shared
Ownership of Housing	Male; Female; Shared
Ownership of Money	Male; Female; Shared
Adwenkor Member	Male; Female; Shared; Not applicable.
Adwenkor Committee Member	Male; Female; Shared; Not applicable.
Men's Cocoa Tasks	Clearing land; Weeding; Planting seeds; Spraying pesticides/insecticides; Fertilising; Harvesting; Transporting pods; Bagging pods; Drying Cocoa; Fermenting; Selling; Carrying Water; Splitting Pods; Not applicable.
Women's Cocoa Tasks	As above
Shared Cocoa Tasks	As above
Men's Alternative Income Tasks	Tailoring; Hairdressing; Selling cooked food; Batik making; Soap making; Vegetable growing (inc. Cassava, onion, plantain, aubergine, pineapple, peppers); fowl rearing; livestock rearing (inc. goats, sheep); palm-oil processing; gari making; furniture making; taxi driving; kente cloth making; petty trading; preaching; Not applicable.
Women's Alternative Income Tasks	As above
Shared Alternative Income Tasks	As above
Men's Purchasing Decisions	School fees; school books; food; housing; land; transport (taxi, tro-tro, shared car); TV; radio; mobile phone; mobile phone credit; alcoholic drinks; soft drinks; clothing; hairdressing; accessories; fertiliser; farming tools; seeds; pesticides/insecticides; furniture; own car; funeral attendance (inc. cloth, gifts, travel to); trading items; craft materials (inc. cloth for batik); medicine/hospital costs; church donations; livestock; fowl, Not applicable.
Women's Purchasing Decisions	As above
Shared Purchasing Decisions	As above

APPENDIX 10: ILLUSTRATIVE QUOTATIONS SUPPORTING FIRST AND SECOND-ORDER CONSTRUCTS IN RELATION TO THE CONSTRUCT OF 'VALORISING WORK' (CHAPTER FIVE)

First-order Construct	Second-Order Constructs	Illustrative Quotations/ Evidence
Informed by Observed Actors' actions/work	Informed by Conceptual Framework	
Highlighting inequity in farming through research and dissemination	**Valorising Work** consisting of: **Contextualising**	Gender **scoping studies** carried out in 1996 and 2013 (ID5; 2012; ID2; 2014; ID6; 2013). Researchers and NGOs granted **access to carry out research on gender** (NGO 4; 2010; NGO7; 2013; NG012; 2004; NGO5; 2004; NGO14; 2002). Adwenkor and TradeFare actors **presenting research to management** (OBS2; 2013; OBS3; 2013). **Publication** of research online and launched at national event (OBS11; 2013). **Gender managers** hired from beginning (C4; NGO11, 2004) 'We said they had to be at the table too' (C4) 'You can't have that discussion until you **know more about who the women are'** (C4) 'Every time I go [to Ghana] I try and **share a bit more** and I've done lots of presentations, and every conversation I bring in "and **do you remember the report that said this?"** And so I'm not suggesting that we do a literacy project just because it's fun, I'm doing it because **the research showed** that 77 per cent of the people, the women, surveyed, couldn't read or write and they said it was a major barrier to them

		getting involved (C2)
		'It's more powerful to be able to **show things**.' (C2)
		'Now, you have more **information centres** in the villages. So we see **information dissemination** is better… We're thinking of now, instead of holding a meeting and A is not there, B is not there, why don't we send some of our information to the information centres and it gets it admitted to the whole village. That is good! (A5)
		'TradeFare is about… building relationships. Working closely with people and **helping them to… recognise their own women** in the work they do (C2).
Platforming		The **production, presentation and dissemination of research reports** internally (OBS3; 2013; 0BS2; 2013) and externally (OBS5; 2013; OBS11; 2013).
		'Part of their work [the first managers] was to **gain support and make it a reality**' (C4)
		'She's [gender programme manager] a **show-woman**' (C2)
		'She is a **mobiliser,** she isn't just all nicely-educated middle-class about it, **she bullies them… and gets things done.'** (B1).
		'Often I'd say **I was fighting** ___- look for money and put it in to the gender programme! (laughter) Look for money and **I worried her**, and I worried her, if you meet her she'd say! (laughter) **I kept worrying her sending her, you know, arguments for and whatever, whatever, whatever**' (A5)
		'When you really think things are no so good you can **say so**, and everybody hates you, but that's fine. I think that's always been quite a useful role and I've purposefully **triggered some crises'** (C4)

		'[Someone must] play that role, of a **germ in the petri dish**. To help **ferment,** or reintroduce, or re-inject the **argy-bargy'**. (C4)

'She [a visiting farmer] explained that through Adwenkor's commitment to **democracy and fairness**, women cocoa farmers have been afforded **the same opportunities** as men (Blog6, 2009). |
| **Stressing the importance of the household to CSR** | | 'Some of them do waste a lot of time and feel **they have not time to take up any of these programs** or responsibilities because of household chores. **There is no time for rest, they say**.' (A4)

'For them also to move forward – to be able to accept leadership positions, they will need training. ..Because you know as women, **we are challenged**. **We are taking care of the home and everything** so we really need guidance and hope to be able to, come up.' (A6)

'Women participants said they **did not have time to attend training sessions'** (NGO7, 2013).

'[Trade Aid's vision is that] 'women and men farmers are empowered to realise their full potential as economic and social actors through a **just division of labour** and **distribution of returns within households** and through equal participation and decision making in collective producer organisations.' (TradeFareAR, 2012)

'[The research objectives] 'aim to assess current gender relations and roles at organisational, community **and household/farm level** and identify key points of intervention for any future programme activities' (ID3, 2012).

'Reproductive labour: work done in and for the **household limits the time women can devote to farm labour**, leadership, and leisure.' (ID6, 2013). |

			'**Changing gender dynamics at household level**, TradeFare is piloting the Gender Action Learning System (GALS) methodology, which is **designed to support households** in overcoming gender challenges.' (TradeFareAR, 2013)
Positioning gender as a cultural, social construct			'There's **lots of round and round conversations** with them [Adwenkor] about….[how] it's not enough to just go and spend half a day with a group of people and lecture them about why it's important to take up leadership positions…**there's a whole set of circumstances that affect whether a woman is able, or wants even, to put herself forwards for that leadership position**' (C1) 'As I saw it, and I've only been there twice, it's to do with the **culture of Ghana**, rather than – and it's different from the culture of the UK. And a different outlook on a lot of things, to the UK.' (B4) 'It's [gender] the roles – the **assumed roles** that are taken on within – within society… But **I think those roles are blurring'** (B4). '**Gradually we will have a change.** But it is not easy. Some women, very qualified, will want to ask permission from their husbands. Not discounting their husbands, asking permission. So their coming up **depends on their frames of their mind.** (A3) 'It seems differences between genders are very much **cultural**. In every country.' (B5) 'In **this part of the world**…' (B8) 'There was nothing in the way we wanted Adwenkor to work that didn't **test or challenge the way things are normally done**, whatever dimension of it, **including gender'** (C4) 'Whatever they have saved, [women will] give it to the husband. They say that, 'Yeah,

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		you will go and spend it. But since I am married to you, whether I like it or not,' **because culturally**, when they go and complain, your uncle or your father or your friends will get [say], 'Go back and marry.' **Because it's like we've accepted that norm here.** (A8)
		'[We] **will have to meet the men alone somewhere**… Let the men know that by helping their women– they are helping their own future.' (A8)
Equating fairtrade with Equality of opportunity	**Moralising**	'Another big benefit that happens in Fairtrade communities is the empowerment of women - **as part of the Fairtrade system, women have to be involved in any decision making**.' (NPR9, 2010).
		The co-op stresses the principles of quality, accountability, **fairness and gender balance** (NP10; 2013).
		'I mean **how could it be fair** if there's inequality within the fairness?…. **That's not fair!'** (B4).
		'It's just wrong. It's not right. **It's not Fairtrade.'** (C4).
		'When I first joined, and sort of found out about this… I was a bit surprised 'why do we need that?' [The gender programme] … **You'd expect a fair trade brand to be looking for equal rights.** For all… I think if you asked the man in the street or the woman in the street, they'd say, 'Well look …' I think **they would assume** that there were equal rights!' (B4)
		'Shouldn't everyone who works for Adwenkor **be paid a certain rate**, isn't that your responsibility?' (C4)
		'There are more **meaningful parts of the package** which is Fairtrade, other than just the price and the Fairtrade formula' (C4)

		'When you come to Adwenkor, you've been to school, or you've not been to school. You are a woman or you are a man. **There is democracy.** No matter what is your level of education, or religion, or whatever, **you have a say**. And at meetings **everybody's allowed to say his or her mind**… And they cannot say because you've not been to school, they will not listen to you.' (A6) 'The **'fairness'** of Adwenkor is also demonstrable in a number of other ways. Union membership is **open to all cocoa farmers irrespective of gender**, ethnicity, religion or any other factor' (ACA3, 2011).
Positioning women's political and social empowerment as an organisational goal		'If you believe that if you design something that **plays to people's cultural strengths** then it's going to take itself forward… In Ghana, you've got several, if not all the tribes and cultures, that have women as responsible for business, right? Where you've got women as traders and they're bloody good at it.. So **there wasn't an inherent barrier to women being active in the organisation**. On the contrary there was a **cultural plus**.' (C4) [Strategy outcome] 'Women **should gain more confidence** and become assertive. Women more aware of men's responsibility' (IDS 4, undated) 'Participation in the women's groups **builds women's confidence'** (Blog 17, 2012). 'The main goal was to **give women a voice on the board**, to be a part in the decision-making' (A4) '**Gender equity was one of Adwenkor's core values**, and it was **implemented on all levels** from the head office's efforts for greater representation of women, down to the village levels' (ACA11; 2012). 'The **main part of the structure [of the organisation] is where gender is most**

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		important, because that's the bit that makes the most important economic decisions' (C4) '"When we meet our male counterparts, **we can express our opinions confidently**; we are not shy anymore. **We feel in control** and enlightened!...**They have opened our eyes.**"' (NPR16, 2007; NPR19, 2008) 'Adwenkor are helping women farmers of Ghana empower themselves and **build their confidence** and independence.' (NPR21, 2005; NPR25, 2002). 'If a person is not empowered, the person does not know how to manage his or her own affairs, **no matter how much money you give a person they are going to need more**.' (A1) 'Beyond membership and attendance levels at meetings it is important to understand how far women **are confident and feel able to speak up during meetings**. The feedback from certified groups is generally positive, with women freely speaking up.' (NGO7, 2013). 'Adwenkor has assisted women, they ensure that **women have a voice** and that we are heard' (NGO10, 2010). 'So I'm aware in a kind of very… top-level that they're being encouraged to do other things so they have more kind of say. Um, in terms of, you know, their **household kind of clout**.' (B7) '[We had] the idea of empowering the woman, **letting them drive their own destiny**. Letting them understand that, all the man can do, they can also do. Sending them very good messages - information that will let them **have confidence** in themselves.' (A3)

Instigating CSR practices that increase women's participation in decision-making		'What I have seen is that the gender programme has allowed so many women in this company to handle positions of responsibility… Even now we have **50% ladies on the executive committee**.' (A7)
		'It's not just about a gender programme… that's just projects. **The far more important part is the norms'** (C4)
		'When it comes to elections, **we orient their [farmers'] minds**. We take time to [go from] village by village, education by education, you know – it's very, very laborious' (A5)
		'Participation in the women's groups builds women's confidence' (Blog17, 2012).
		'Sometimes **they are not even aware** there's something they can do with their present skills. Sometimes **they have the raw skills** and they need to be polished, they need to be encouraged.' (A1).
		'Now I know places – now **I know places, I've met so many people**.' (A6)
		'The gender dimension in Adwenkor's work included **promoting women in all positions of the co-operative**, [through] **formal rules, as quotas** for women to participate more effectively in management, as well **as informal manners** in which women were promoted. There was also a **women's executive committee** on the regional level to look over gender-specific issues, including the executive, regional and local village levels in the relevant committees' (ACA11; 2012).
		'In the first five years it [gender-focussed leadership training] was to make sure when you have a rule like that [quotas for women's representation] there were enough women who can step up' (C4)
		'You have to **sensitise our farmers** when you meet them, one on one.' (A2)

		[Develop] 'Resource materials for **gender sensitisation** e.g. audio-visuals; Gender planning, implementation and analysis of projects; Legal awareness' (ID4, undated)

APPENDIX 11: ILLUSTRATIVE QUOTATIONS SUPPORTING FIRST AND SECOND-ORDER CONSTRUCTS IN RELATION TO THE CONSTRUCT OF 'LEGITIMISING WORK' (CHAPTER FIVE)

First-Order Constructs	Second-Order Theme	Illustrative Quotations
Promoting Efficiency and Productivity Arguments	**Legitimising**	'I think women will be probably more supportive of our need and desire to ensure that **child labour is not exploited**. I think **women will have a significant role** in that, probably more so than the men.' (B6) 'Where women are strong, there's a good chance that their **children, especially their daughters, will do well**' (NPR27, 2002). 'When we go to societies and talk to them, we explain things to the men—we say, **women's empowerment is for the family**. Men understand and support them.' (A4) 'Generally, you know as women, we talk, we socialise, we make the world go you know, less serious… So when you have women at a place, and there is tension, it is the women who bring the tension down… **Women they hold the community, they hold the society, together**… And as you work with the women, everything starts flaming up. Just like that. Because they are the fuel, **they are the ones that flame the co-operative up**.' (A5) 'So if you wanted to change practices in small-scale agriculture, I suspect **training women is a more effective way** of doing it than training men who think they know better' (B1) 'I think it should **harness the power of women** for the **benefit of the farming communities** and for the members of the co-operative' (B6) 'Women are at the centre of our programmes because we believe that an **empowered woman**

| | | **means an empowered family**' (Adwenkor web content, 2013).

'In terms of **loyalty,** we've seen in communities where the women's group is strong the total commitment of the society to the company is very strong'. (A1)
'Our women members have been more **successful at recruiting new members** than Adwenkor's formal membership campaigns' (NGO4, 2010).

'When the women say to other women, 'Adwenkor is good. You come and get this.' So - the gender programme also markets Adwenkor a lot. Because **women, they talk. So yeah we market Adwenkor**. And fair trade as well. We market Adwenkor' (A6).

'But from what I've seen and what you've alluded to, there's probably **some output benefits from pursuing this programme. So it's win-win**.' (B6)

'[Adwenkor] see the value. But that **value has to be financial, cultural, and very explicit** for them to really get behind it... What are the benefits to men and women and to the organisation as a whole? So it's not just about women, women, women, it's the **whole'**. (B2)

'Women become a shorthand for families. In some respects, don't they?' (B1)

'We need to build a **strong business case** for Adwenkor and other supply chain partners' (BCC staff; OBS5; 2013).

'Don't forget that **if the person working is happy, it will definitely result to output on the farm**... the woman's happiness will depend if they see their husband after [he gets] the [cocoa] money... **it will affect this thing [productivity].** So you cannot divorce one from the other.' (A8)

Examples of reference to **women farmers as mothers** in external documentation:
    '[The programme] helps me pay my children's school fees' (NPR17, 2007)
    'A widow and a mother of five....' (NPR28, 2007).
    'A widow and a mother of seven...' (NGO12, 2004).

		'She is the proud mother of three' (Blog13, 2011) 'She is the proud mother of a little boy, and provides extensive support to her father and brothers.' (Blog13, 2011). 'Now a treasurer of her village cooperative, **she has also encouraged other women** to expand their range of crops to earn more income.' (NPR5, 2006). 'And **it's women who bring new members in**… they do **evangelise,** as far as I can make out, about why Adwenkor's great. So their growth has been a lot to do with women I think.' (B2) 'So it [women's economic empowerment] **will help family, the promotion of family health and well-being, and the education of children and so on'** (C2)
Championing economic empowerment		'We are pleased to continue our partnership with Adwenkor as we work together to empower women in rural Ghana to become **economically self-sufficient'**. (ID40, 2002). 'We feel that … **we should find something for the woman to also do**, that when they have that financial way with the **financial independence'** (A8) 'If a woman is not empowered economically, it's hard to be a leader; men dominate. If a woman needs to attend meeting, etc., the men prevent them. **It boils down to helping them economically**.' (A4) 'All women should have been brought under a gender programme by way of acquiring training, by way of empowering them through capacity building programme. So that they can undertake certain **minor economic ventures** within their invested development, so by generating **extra incomes.** Also by way of providing to farmers **small credit facilities** to generate and as capital, to do something'. (A3) 'When it started, it was more of capacity building. Skill training. No microcredit. But **the women asked for it, they actually requested for microcredit**, because… Capacity building good. Skill training good. But if you teach me to drive and I do not have a car, what do I do? So if you teach me all the skills, numeracy, literacy, what have you, and there is nothing that I'm going to account, so what? So they wanted something more meaningful. And they started with the **group work.** '(A5)

		'For some time now… they **[CSR practices] became credit-based.'** (A1) 'It is the **aim of the Gender department** to help the women's group to **increase their productivity**, **expand their IGAs,** [income generating activities] **meet their obligations** (school fees, hospital bills etc.) and get a **better living condition**' (ID13, undated). ' [A] small commercial farm… was set up by the women, with a loan and training from Adwenkor, to create a fund that could be drawn on, and **to develop trade activities away from cocoa.'** (NPR16, 2007). '**We need to provide women farmers, whatever their status, **with alternative ways of making money**, for themselves, which we then now they're more likely to spend on the family.' (C2) 'And that is why the gender programme, [is] propping up the woman, to **empower them financially**, so that they wouldn't rely on to be only a woman.' (A3) 'So I was saying if we had a shop, those who do batik can also use their items there for sale. And **once they get a market for their product they'll be able to do something and produce more**. And also people who see, it to showcase what the women are doing. And we can also buy things for them and keep them going – ' (A4) '**Cocoa purchasing** is the **best income-generating job** in the whole thing for farmers…. It's where the income is.' (B1)
Focusing on numbers of men and women		'So the MD was running around and saying to people **'we need to get to 10% How do we get to 10%?!'** (C1) [in reference to the number of women cocoa buyers within Adwenkor] BCC management unhappy with proposed qualitative data method, **favouring survey** (OBS8; 2013). Existing **interview data is 'wishy-washy'** (B1).

		'[Strategy aim:] To **increase women's membership** of Adwenkor.' (ID2, 2014). '[Strategy aim:] To **increase number of women** in positions of leadership.' (ID2, 2014). 'There is a specific commitment to encourage **an increase in women's membership and participation'** (NGO9, 2006). 'Of the **growing number of farmers** who are involved in the co-operative, 28% of these are women- **a positive outcome** of some of the projects undertaken by the co-operative' (NPR1, 2012). 'There was no time left for going through the GALS stuff and ensuring words and phrases were correct at the survey stuff took up most of the day… Worried that **not enough effort is being put into the GALS preparation**.' (OBS1, 2013). External documentation **references to numbers of men and women** i.e. **percentages** of women in roles stated: BCC's annual reports (BCCAR2006; 2010; 2011); Blogs (2010; 2011); NGO reports (NGO1, 2004; NGO3, 2008; NG04, 2010; NGO6, 2005; NGO12, undated; and newspaper articles (NPR2, 2013; NPR9, 2010; NPR11, 2013; NPR12, 2007; NPR15, 2013; NPR19, 2004; NPR24, 2011; NPR25, 2007)
Focusing on monitoring and evaluation		'I would be interested to see **the whole of data**, so… you know **how many are women**? Are women proportionately cocoa buyers, if that's where the value lies, because [they] get money for the amount of sacks that they buy for Adwenkor… And are women getting access equal to their membership on that? So if a third of the members are women, are a third of the buyers women? **So I'd be interested in that sort of hard data.** And a – **and targets to achieve that'** (B1) 'I think, you know, the emphasis is on "which chemicals are you allowed to use on your farm?" "How do you store them safely?" "Make sure your children aren't working on the farm during school hours and aren't using any sharp instruments", **but not the softer stuff.** And so **I think that's part of the problem actually**.' (C1)

| | | 'Let's bring in an **internal control system**, blahh … Then <u>all</u> the officers were pushed to internal control. So the officers do internal control in internal control. Then recently, when the R and D were about, 'Oh no staff,' say, 'Okay, okay, now you do education in addition to the….' (A5)

'**If [Adwenkor] were good at holding data**, and you could then very **simply communicate top-line figures** on gender- then it becomes much easier to have a conversation' (B1).

Two measurable items in relation to the gender programme within M&E guidelines: 1/ **Female participation** in meetings and, 2/ **Number of women's economic projects** (ID32, 2007).

'Adwenkor will **monitor compliance with this [gender] policy**…Areas to be covered will include: Male/female members of staff per department and level of seniority; Male/female farmer members disaggregated by district; Male/female farmer leadership roles…amount of funds raised and spent on gender activities' (ID2, 2014). |

First-Order Constructs	Second-Order Constructs	Illustrative Quotations
Withholding funds	**Blocking Work**	'In the AGM last year… the farmers have generally come to expect that this amount [the Fairtrade bonus] will increase every year... And so **there was a really, really almost mass protest, a really hot debate, at the AGM about increasing the bonus** from what it was… And the cooperative leaders were very much "This is about the Fairtrade premium. **The Fairtrade premium isn't about individual benefit, it's about supporting stronger farming communities** and the idea is that you have more sustainable long-term benefits from the problems that you invest in." And so**… it's about doing something that isn't just cash hand-outs**. So, you know, **in a huge group of 300 people, what they want is their money**, And so if everybody's standing there and they all have a vote because they're all members and they've all paid up, and **this is their organisation and they're shaking their fists, it's difficult.'** (C1)

'You know how you do when things are owned communally… People are not educated enough. And some people work harder than others, and… you know when it comes to Fairtrade, you are thinking yourself your family first, I mean **being rational**, you are thinking **of course** **your family first before you also think about community**… So the women started, for me, **how do I help myself, my family, first?'** (A5)

'When it comes to the village, you need to ask why the M&E officer is there? Like, why he comes?.. He's coming to a specific meeting, whatever – **has no time for other things**. And **he has all the logistics**, he has the motorbike, he has his rent, he has risk allowance, he has… **the gender officer did not have <u>any</u> of those**! They not have any of those!' (A5)

'If BCC have not come in and other people, donors –to help the programme go on. Other than that, **whatever** |

		Adwenkor contributes to the gender programme is <u>so</u> insignificant, that we cannot do much' (A4) '__ **had taken resources and locked them in her office**, meaning we were unable to leave for the field (OBSGhana2) '**I don't know how much support [the Gender Lead] is getting**. And it's partly where they sit, is key. You know **how integrated** they are into what's going on in the rest of the organization' (B2) '**I could not do the work all by myself**—spreading the work down to the communities, it's *hard*. It was challenging—we will say things to cheer the members, but when it comes to delivering, **we have no resources'** (A4) 'A lot of women came and requested loans, **but the district leaders didn't explain all aspects of the gender programme**. The programme is not about loans, but that's what the women think. They came in with the idea that once they organized, they will all get loans. **It's getting out of hand.** We cannot be everywhere at the moment, and if they don't get loans they feel they will not do well. Where are we now? **We need to get whatever we are doing <u>to</u> the members. We've suspended all the programs we are doing**.' (A4) **Only 1.5%** of fairtrade premium goes to gender programming (IDS7, 2013) In 2012 the Adwenkor fairtrade premium spent nearly 1380000 cedis (c.£288,000) spent on auditing and child labour prevention, and **35,000 (£7280) spent on women's group programmes** (NGO7, 2013) 'I feel like ____'s **a block to getting anything done**….Because **she hoards everything'** (C3) A8 told me how they 'were 70% sure I would not come to work today, and not do the research'. When asked why they told me it was because the **previous day provisions had not be bought for them**, in terms of water or food for the long day on the road. This was despite generous research funds to provide for all staff (OBSGhana4) Evidence that funds for **women's projects were mismanaged** (NGO, IDS8, 2005; 1DS12, 2002; IDS14, 2005; A5; A4; A1; A3)

		'I think everybody is happy that the programme runs. Of course. **Some people would have wished that the funds were diverted** elsewhere! (laughter)' (A5)
Avoiding meetings		'We talked about… [the need to] carve out a section of the business to support and empower [the most disadvantaged]…and **they would resist, these guys [Adwenkor management] would resist like hell'** (C4) '[TradeFare] allows Adwenkor to get away with this' (C4) 'Gender is **not a priority at the moment'** (OBS5) **Senior management didn't attend the meeting,** as 'he has too much on his plate at the moment' (OBS2) **Key female manager didn't show up to attend meetings**/interviews three times during the research evaluation (OBSGhana4; 5)
Silencing dissenting voices		'In the ecosystem of Adwenkor if you force things to change, they will change. Though **they might pay lip-service and manipulate and resist'** (C4) 'She **resisted and divided and ruled'** (C4) 'She had become unreliable and a **bully'** (C4) 'One by one **the really strong women got picked off and side-lined**. They re-wrote the constitution so a whole generation of women who'd been serving in some other capacity couldn't stand!' (C4) 'So I think **there weren't champions**. Some of the women who were champions got kind of **stomped on by the women who weren't**. I've witnessed it. I've witnessed it a lot, unfortunately' (C4) 'And I think the other thing is, with Adwenkor, they've had so much external interference, often in a really unwelcome way, and people saying things and doing things for them that isn't in their interest. **So, when people come along with an idea, they're very suspicious.** Which I can understand, because they wonder why, what are they doing it for, what they're going to get out of it' (C1)

		'I definitely heard that they **[BCC] were not at all convinced by anything we had done.** [laughter] The only things that they really took on-board was the **stuff that was consistent with what they already believed**. So there was nothing new to them. And the stuff that was…didn't fit with their idea, **they just dismissed**.' (C3) 'And it was **a silencing strategy** on their part' (C3) 'When she was taken out of the gender [programme], she did **complain, complain, complain.** 'It was 'It was my idea, my brainchild.' (A8) 'TradeFare worried about gender staff members being at interviews when I travel to Ghana, as 'their jobs are on the line', and there is a lot of **'job protectionism'** going on' (OBS7) BCC keen I don't talk to Adwenkor management but get to **speak to farmers independently**. Claim they have their **own agendas**, give information they think I want to hear etc. (OBS8) BCC staff **unhappy with my feedback** re: organisational conflict on ownership of the programme. Told me I'd spoken to the wrong people, and lots of new people. Told me the key informants had only been in post 6 months, but checked with them and they had been there 5 and 2 years respectively (OBS5)
Marginalising others		'I don't think I would blame the people who wrote the constitution, I think they were trying to update and make it better. But in fact they facilitated a kind of **internal coup**, which **totally marginalised** a lot of very experienced women.' (C4) **'Ruling out** a lot of people who had earned their credentials lower down in the structures' who then couldn't stand for election, especially **'the strong women' from lower classes,** and backgrounds, who one-by-one **got picked off and side-lined**.' (C4). 'These larger [female] farmers are the ones who **control and dominate the really vulnerable and poorer souls**. They call it in Latin America the *gente humilde*. And that's exactly what happened. These people **don't have progressive values at all**. Does that make sense?' (C4)

		'So they **removed themselves from what I would call the point of friction**, the ratcheting up, **the calling to account**, whereas all my interventions in that period of deep crisis… I sat in those board rooms and said "I think this is a piece of corrupt nonsense"… well I didn't say it like that, but I was definitely a rock, and a hard place, or they were going down' (C4)
		'Nobody even invited me to that meeting!... **Nobody invites me to anything!**' (C4)
		'The women feel that you are not working' (A4)
		'People felt, people felt it was like – 'I started it. So I should also be in the position to determine how it goes.' So people – there are some who like, they own it. **And to my surprise, it's like, management allow those'** (A8)
		'Funding is key**. A shop would give us internal funding, but some are not in favour**. What they don't see is that the gender program is always an expenditure, we generate no income but a shop would give us internal funding' (A4)
		'But so if we are like, brought to a certain level, where we can take care of ourselves - it will help. Because if we are going to rely almost every time on funds**, it means when the funds are not coming, we are hungry cat.** So I think we should think about doing some produce as well, **or that way we will be able to sustain the programme'** (A4)
		C1 fed back on a three day gender event (approx.150 women at women's forum presentation; plus farmer board) that had taken place in Ghana, where she had shared preliminary results from research. They said that 'to be honest, was bit of a **shambles**' mainly because of **＿ trying to control everything and 'failing to delegate to anyone'.** (OBS2)
Paying lip-service		'It's really **bolt-on**, it's **not in the DNA**' (C4)
		The new constitution 'was used for the gap it created… there was a group of women and men.. they shouldn't have been in those positions at all… **but they had manipulated their way, legitimately, manipulated their way into those positions of power'** (C4)

| | | 'I think that's because the gender thing, the consciousness of the rule-making and the gender consequences of rule-making, were **not internalised at all'** (C4)

'Unless you position a gender policy appropriately there will always be people saying **"we've got much more complicated fish to fry"…** I think you could say that part of the Adwenkor DNA is gender sensitive, it is. Some of those original rules still apply, for better or for worse. But I think that, and this I suspect you would find in common with most corporations and their gender policy, **it's all bolt-on'**. (C4)

'They've **learnt to conform** with it you see' (C4)

'The executive board should be upset, **if they cared** about any of this' (C4)

'It's all a performance, a part of the **lip-service performance'** (C4)

'It's just them **learning to tick-boxes** isn't it? We're back to that Pavlov's dog thing.' (C4)

'It amasses a whole host of different things I suppose, those **magic figures** [on women's representation]' (C1)

'I think it's about which women get there as well, so if it's only the privileged women, so you know, the first wives of rich men, **that's not to the benefit of all women at all.**' (C1)

'Despite the successes of Adwenkor and the positive evaluations, I find it rather difficult to assess their achievements. Not only because I interviewed only a small number of registered Adwenkor members, but also due to **the absence of critical self-reflection among Adwenkor's staff-members'** (ACA5, 2010)

We were concerned that some of the Adwenkor staff **were trying to put words into the mouths of focus group discussants** before we started. (OBSGhana2)

'The board members… go out and they will make a lot of, 'Now we have women leaders.. **we do this, blah, blah,**' they say, but meanwhile **they don't make provisions for all those promises**. Nothing on the ground, to do |

| | | anything' (A4)

'And for the gender programme, for the top management people**, I don't really see it.** I don't see it. Even from the way we wanted to interview them, how they are responding – **'How many minutes?** Blah, blah blah' – they had to sell it to them– because if you really want something, you just, 'Welcome to come. I'm ready,' and all that.' (A4)

'When they are having their meetings, I will go there so that they give me some two minutes or five minutes, to talk to them…we sit they all talk nicely about it. But their actions, doesn't really – they are doing something different. So one of my friends was saying, **'Your actions are speaking so loudly that I can't hear what you are saying.'** (A4) |

First-Order Constructs	Second-Order Themes	Examples from Data
Deferring Responsibility	**Distancing**	'Because the thing is now is like **it's nobody's business'** (A4) 'The gender programme has become a bit of a **political football'** (OBS5) 'We've said it's important, but we're not knocking on doors and checking that people are … being treated differently…we're saying it quite forcefully, and relatively clearly, but I don't think –but no we're not saying, **we're not prescribing how they – how they get there**.' (B6) 'If this thing [gender evaluation command] has not come… since I came, I've been writing my projections, action plan, what I have to do, giving it to the boss, giving things to all the many people, and **nothing seems to be happening until [external NGO] came in and BCC also came into help.** Other than that it's like, I don't know what to do. Nothing gets approved. **Nothing gets done**, you see.' (A4) 'You know so clearly, when you look at it, gender isn't a box. But it might be, you might have some gender projects. There's nothing wrong with those. But then what we used to do early on was **"who runs the organisation…? "whose word matters?" was always an issue'** (C4) 'So that was behind the design, the change, so that the moving parts, which make these three, BCC, TradeFare, Adwenkor, **the interlocking parts of the supply chain**, a different supply chain' (C4)

'The second answer, and which relates to your question of whose responsibility is it... I think initially TradeFare was the agency to support, to keep it on the straight and narrow, to keep it living up to that alternative. We had to be within the market, but we want to be against it.... **I think over time, and that's definitely where we were at the beginning, I think over time TradeFare couldn't play that role.** It was hard to sustain that role.' (C4)

'So the central relation, the social solidarity part, **which is so depressingly abysmal**, and when you started you were asking "what's this to do with that?" **Well the staff don't get it, and if the staff don't get it? They're usually the educators, right**?' (C4)

'I'd say gender, along with labour rights and social solidarity, **shouldn't be negotiable to BCC**, because it's part of what the brand is about. And the more they allow Adwenkor to pay lip-service to that, I don't know what your report says about that, but if they allow Adwenkor to pay lip-service to that social inclusion, the most-disadvantaged piece of the story...That's the most shocking thing to me. **Fair Trade isn't enforcing values, but still is willing to call them Fair Trade, when the most disadvantaged are invisible, and certainly not reflected by the leadership!'** (C4)

'Maybe part of it is, **I think, is to do with management and leadership capacity as well**. It's to do with how do you negotiate, how do you bring people with you, **how do you not just respond to the baying masses** but you try and do things in a way that they change things incrementally. And **Adwenkor doesn't have strong enough management** that's for sure' (C1)

'I could give two examples. Say we will not engage with them unless they don't permit children to be on the farm when they're spraying chemicals. That's quite a strong statement. But it's quite clear that the – this is about human safety. Child safety. **To say that unless you equally share the rewards from the sale of the cocoa with the women, they're very different**' (B6)

'It's **too easy to cut a cheque** to Adwenkor that would just go into the Adwenkor & would never really do the right thing' (B6).

'I do think that this history between Adwenkor and BCC has been **very conscious, anti-imperialist strategy,**

		where 'we're not going to impose, we're going to'… And that's a real problem. Because **you can't be constantly saying 'It's up to them it's up them'.** Because we've seen it, we've seen how organisationally thin they can get on the ground'. (C3)
		'I mean honestly, from a programmatic point of view **somebody has got to own this leadership**. <u>Somebody has got to</u>. And that is the only way that whatever recommendation is chosen is going to go forward' (C3)
		'**Whoever gave them advice**, got them to do it [alternative income generation] – **it's insane'** (B1)
		BCC management really want Adwenkor to **'own this'**. A steering group was vetoed for this reason, because gender '**needs to be about communication between the farmers, the staff and the management.**' (OBS5)
Shuffling departments & resources		'There was a moment when there were a lot of fights, where **we repositioned the gender programme** inside the credit program' (C4)
		'I think the decision to put gender in there was not ideal, but **there was nowhere else it could go and not be crushed, or abused**, actually.' (C4)
		'So in… 2009/10, whenever the last big child labour scandal happened… the response was to develop a proper internal control system. Which has grown and grown and they now have 30 officers. **So they moved resources basically wholesale from what was the Research and Development department.** So the Education and Training program, which was the team of people who were actually based regionally and went out and did things like training on cooperative values, and what it means to be a member, and the importance of democratic participation, and why a strong farmer's organisation is a good thing, and, you know, **all that kind of, nuts and bolts stuff, that basically got scrapped and got turned into a compliance system** with none of the education about why these things are important, just "are you having a meeting or not? Tick!" (C1)
		'The R and D officer, in the past, was responsible for training, education, capacity building, extension service, everything one man, thousand. (laughter) Everything!…**now the M&E officer [does] just one aspect of the work and leaves the rest'** (A5)

		'Despite successes, there is a feeling within Adwenkor that **enthusiasm for the Gender Programme is at a low'** (IDS3, 2012) **Very few female staff members** at Adwenkor, and no auditing or education officers whatsoever are female (IDS2, 2014; OBS7; IDS12, 2002) 'I think the other thing that's been disappointing in Adwenkor is that they used to have a team of research and development officers, inside, that were there to do training for people…. and they had a reasonable mix of men and women. And over time… they've ended up with [M&E officers]… And then **from a role model perspective, they are young men**, who are good on computers. Whereas this was a whole group of people who were people – some of them were people like __. And so there was a range. **Range of people**.' (B1)
Insisting gender only relevant for members and in work time		'I'm interested in **recognizing this is a business**. So that I appreciate that – well I don't really apprec – **I don't really understand but – this thing to do with what happens in households**. I'm not sure how much you can affect that. Directly. But I think you can affect it indirectly by getting women to be in more powerful positions, getting more income of their own, getting in a better position to negotiate, as they are here.' (B1) '__ argued that Adwenkor had **never meant to help the 'poorest of the poor''** (C3) 'They're [wives of farmers] not Adwenkor so in a way **it's not Adwenkor's business'** (B1) 'I'm **not necessarily sure there is any responsibility for them to influence it [roles in the home]**' (B5) 'I think fair trade doesn't deal with it [gender] in so much as **it's about the trade, it's not about the home relationship**. So within Adwenkor, you could say it's permeated down and it's throughout the organisation, and we can say there's equality for women **within**… and that's good, but it doesn't mean there's equality within the home.' (B4)
Stressing cultural		'Quotas… were very, **very perplexing to a lot of Ghanaians'** (C4)

| distance between Ghana and the UK | | 'The way they talk about, um, pregnancy and conception, um, is **completely like fairy land'** (B1)

'I've been in quite a lot of meetings with the Adwenkor board plus BCC where, for example, we've talked about things like the tenant farmer issue…**can't you see that they're the people who are working on your farms,** so probably it makes sense for them to have access to training and access to the right tools, so in the end it's a win-win situation. So you have conversations like that and you can see that they're agreeing and they agree with this vision **in principal,** everybody's on the same page, but **operationalising it is very different.**' (C1)

'I do think that this history between Adwenkor and BCC has been **very conscious, anti-imperialist strategy**, where 'we're not going to impose, we're going to'… And that's a real problem.' (C3)

'I think that we use certain, the development community generally, we use certain words which get picked up by the people that we work with in a **really unhelpful way**. So I have lots of conversations with __ and ___ about "we need to go empower the women!" **Well, what actually do you mean?** "We need to go and empower them!" Well, no. Say that without using the word empower. What actually do you mean? **And they really can't break it down.**' (C1)
'There is, there's certainly a **set of expectations of a leader** that… yeah, kind of serve to intensify that hierarchy I think, not break it down. But, I mean, I think the other things that, with all of this stuff, **the Ghanaian education system is obviously very different from ours**, and we are always very analytical and very theoretical, I suppose, about things, and that's doesn't work in Ghana. **You can't talk in abstract**. You can't… it's very difficult to ask people to think analytically about something, everything's very practical and straightforward. And I think we to find a way, if we want to influence we need to find ways of influencing on that level, because we can't change people's education and so… and **I think maybe that's part of the reason why there has been such a focus on figures, because that's something people can understand**. Whereas really this concept of "empowerment" is quite difficult' (C1)

'BCC staff engaged in lots of conversation on how 'translate' or 'sell' information from reports to Adwenkor **'so they get it'** or 'understand it'' (OBS5)

'You know… **you'll upset the balance**. You upset things. I mean ideally obviously you want to take your lead from them. You don't want to come in say, 'Well WE think, it should be this and this and this and this', you want |

to hear them say what they would like…. **They're not stupid people** – they've seen women do well' (B2)

'But we, at TradeFare and BCC, **come to it with our European-British perspective.** Of course there isn't gender equality in this country, and most of us are aware, many of us are aware… I think that key people in Adwenkor probably share a similar view of gender equality, **but what does it mean?** Because in Adwenkor they've had to do some analysis of what it means, and have done so, and everything's so much more stark, in terms of helping women to break out of poverty, and then they've had, I think this is where the strategy wasn't so clear' (C2)

'We believe democracy is the be-all and end-all, is that the you know – **should we impose that on groups?** Is something else better?...And similarly with women and men's relationship – how i**nterventionist** – what's the difference between sort of stopping abuse, that end of things, violence, abuse, slavery, so on – to an arrangement that suits them, sort of feeling?' (B2)

'I don't know quite know how that works **out there'** (B6)

'I think what you're needing to work out is for an organisation like Adwenkor, **what's useful to tell them**… And **what's actually too much to tell them?** And sort of **they're not sophisticated enough to see the cause** – to link the cause and effect.' (B1)

'I mean you know there are **different values in different societies in different cultures** and different religions, and **who are we to say that ours is the right way**? And everybody should be doing it sort of. Even if we think that it would benefit them, sort of thing' (B3)

'The Ghanaian education system is **obviously very different from ours**, and we are always very analytical and very theoretical… and **that doesn't work in Ghana**. You can't talk in abstract… it's very difficult to ask people to think analytically about something, everything's very practical and straightforward… and I think maybe that's part of the reason why there has been such a focus on figures, because **that's something people can understand**. Whereas really this concept of "empowerment" is quite difficult.' (C1)

'I think it's a very good question, it's sort of **'Northern intervention'**. We believe people should be treated

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		equally and I suppose equal is seen in different ways by different… There's more recognition of a woman's role. From what I can see women are quite strong in these communities, really, just not, it's not registered. So you know they're doing a lot of work, they're doing – they're actually better with the money, and so on. So in certain ways they actually do have a key role, it's just recognizing it and being more overt about it. And I think they would … I think they would register as an organization, let's recognized the role women can play in an organization to make the <u>whole</u> better. I think there is that … I think they would buy into that, if it was communicated properly and people really understood it. And it addressed men's issues as well as women's issues' (B2)
Returning to profit based ideals		'Things get **lost**' (C4)

'Ultimately, we're selling chocolate that make money for farmers. And at the same time, trying to do lots of things to make their lives better. **But the core thing is to make money.'** (B3)

'We're all **focused on selling chocolate and promoting chocolate**. And whilst on one hand it's a little bit, uh, bit of a disappointment even, I understand the business rationale behind that. You know. **We've got to focus, we can't all be doing everything**' (B4)

'They **don't have as much fire in their bellies** as some of the early people' (C4)

Fairtrade Labelling Organisation removes gender component of aims and objectives.

'I think then you've also got a little bit of attribution to push into the Fair Trade system, which is actually, **even quite formally recently, demoted women and the gender**… So you've got nothing from TradeFare much, over many year, you've got nothing from FLO, you've got a gap in your constitution which means only a certain type of women get through… you know, you've got **big business interests** and a **lot of difficulty in recruiting** and **keeping progressive men'** (C4)

'I do think **the nature of the partnership**, or the sense that we are greater than the sum of our parts, **has been lost a little**.' (C4) |

'I think in a complex structure like this **you do need some very hard heads**, but those hard heads need to be **forced to make space for an overriding social dimension**, because otherwise you just create a monster machine, **just like any other capitalist machine**' C4)

'But I think what BCC, the vision that BCC has, which they would really like Adwenkor to share with them – and I think already some people in Adwenkor do, and some people in Adwenkor don't – **is a kind of holistic vision of sustainable cocoa communities**, **rather than a profitable cocoa business** that returns greater monetary value to their members' (C1)

'If you interview the male farmers, they will think that there is too much emphasis on gender. To their detriment. In any case they are in the majority. And since gender is male/female, then you should be doing more male programmes. Than female programmes... if you go to the communities where you have the gender programme, sometimes **the men, they don't feel good.** They feel that there is **too much pampering for the women's programme'** (A6)

A large number of men and women reported that Adwenkor was 'gender sensitive', but also **a large number of men felt disadvantaged against'** (NGO13; 2008)

'I'll be honest with you – **a lot of our buyers don't give a ... toot, about gender**, or even fair trade, a lot of them. They just wanna know how much it's gonna sell, what the margin is, and **how much profit they're gonna make'** (B5)

'I don't – I don't see there's a need to specifically use gender programme improvements as part of our message. It can't harm. But **I'm not sure that it's necessarily something that's of significant benefit to use as a USP**.' (B6)

'I can imagine there's a bit of a **backlash**. I know we've been in groups where we've been talking about women's empowerment and the men have been, 'Ughh mmm ughh.' Sort of mumbling in the background. And in our office as well. So men involved in running Adwenkor' (B2)
'We're a commercial entity and we've got commercial goals, and we're still a business.' (B6)

		'It looks like **all these social things are weighing us down a little**.' (A5)
		'I'm interested in **recognizing this is a business'** (B1)
		'I'm then interested in the **core business** instead of what I would regard as peripheries.(B1)
		'So from a development perspective, it might be leading to more gender equity, but if it isn't leading to livelihoods, then there's a problem? **Adwenkor is a trading company. The bit that Adwenkor can influence is – is economic.** In a way? (B1)
		'Talked to C1 on the phone to hear how feedback on report had gone. She said Adwenkor management had "**fixated" on the links between women and productivity, increased yields, membership and so on, the business case**.' (OBS2)
		'I think it should harness the power of women **for the benefit of the farming communities** and for the members of the co-operative. And so giving women equal rights is clearly important' (B6)
Re-enacting masculinities in leadership		'It would be easier to say, but it wouldn't be true, in the end the men outdid the women. They marginalised the women's activities over there and took their jobs. **But actually it wasn't like that**. So **some women were part of a coup** who took control **and marginalised many women** in the main part of the structure.' (C4)
		'It's a very "**big man" culture** and there are only one or two "big men" really.' (C1)
		'So **even the women leaders** and the people who are responsible for the gender program will be saying "women should be this, and women should be that". You know they're the same people who say to me, when I say "but there are no female auditing officers", that "well women can't ride motorcycles and they get pregnant!" and so it's… there is a gap, definitely. So there's a gap between where we and BCC are, and where Adwenkor is, in terms of what their vision for gender equality is I suppose. And maybe that is a problem, and maybe that bridge is really difficult to cross.' (C1)
		'I think maybe we may have made some mistakes in **assuming that the original cultural impetus would**

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| | | **push the full spectrum of women representatives into the openings that it offered**. And of course it didn't. It's just politics.' (C4)

'The idea that gender, **that all women are the same is rubbish**. You can have good women leaders and not so good…' (C4)

'You'd have thought that the whole point of more and more women being on the board, **which we're constantly crowing about…** should give more backing to more happening that will empower women the way they are now. **To going in their footsteps**… If **they're looking after number one…That isn't a community feel**. It's an 'I've got here now I've got to protect my position' feeling. It's not an 'I want to share this with the rest of the women in this organisation'. But you know certainly when you talk to people **you feel that's what they would like, but I don't know if that's the reality'**. (B2)

[Reflecting on women's leadership training]: 'I kind of find it slightly infuriating….it was all about how leaders behave and, you know, **it was kind of not looking at people directly and being very distant**, the complete opposite of how we would see charismatic, effective leaders as behaving. But **that's what Ghanaian culture, or at least Ashanti culture, demands**. That you're a "big man" and **you look very stern** and you **don't connect with people** and you actually rarely speak directly, **you speak through your representative** (C1) |

APPENDIX 14: ILLUSTRATIVE QUOTATIONS SUPPORTING FIRST AND SECOND-ORDER CONSTRUCTS IN RELATION TO THE CONSTRUCT OF 'QUESTIONING WORK' (CHAPTER SIX)

First-Order Constructs	Second-Order Themes	Examples from Data
Demanding more research or evidence	**Questioning**	'So the question I would go back to…is **how do you know who this is for?** So there's some **root cause analysis** we need to do first, **why are we in this situation, why, why, why, why, why?…** So I think… it needs a **much better and bigger rethink**… **what does gender mean** in to these women now? What would that look like, and what would really be worth arguing for anyway? Do we actually know?' (C4) 'You know I think the adage is that **you can't manage what you can't count'** (C4) 'I think they're **describing one thing and doing another**. So I don't think – I think that's why it's incomprehensible, it's because they know that if they tell it you clearly, you'll go and test that it's not true?' (B1) 'You know **I feel very uncomfortable if I'm talking about something in very broad sort of glowing terms that is not real**. So I would like it to be real I would like it be **delivering real value to women**, real value to young girls going to school. And by that I mean that it's – that they're really happening, that they really get something' (B2) 'If they're all doing stupid things, i.e. we're wasting their time, **I don't want pictures of it all'** (B2) 'There is also a sense of **self-preservation** in the answers. And so I was quite … disappointed in the presentation I had when I was in Adwenkor in … um, January. Where clearly they were defending the thing

		they knew how to do, and **I'm very un-keen to continue doing the things they've been doing, unless I can see evidence that they have, the impact they're saying they're having'** (B1)
Reflecting on past decisions; planning for the future		'I think **institutionally the rules were not helpful.** They didn't sustain any kind of debate. I mean, rules need to be changed all the time. It's not bad. It's not like you can have one rule and it lasts forever. **But you can have principles that shouldn't change too much'** (C4)
		'Too lax! Too lax! **They don't have that vision**. But it doesn't mean to say there are not other people who do. You know, some time ago, when __ said **"what is the alternative to this?"** I said "ok, if I were ripping this up, in some imaginary world, **I would reinvent it**."' (C4)
		'I think that's **a contradiction that we struggle with, because we're a business and a development organisation essentially**, and the objectives of the two aren't necessarily completely compatible' (C1)
		'Yeah. And when you go to Ashanti region, Central, Western, Eastern – they are all learning batik tie and dye, soap-making, dye processing. **But each region have their particular needs**. **There are no things that - here, this place, is there anything that they like most?** So maybe they will come up with those things, and they will ask you about to come and train the farmers on yeah those things' (A8)
		'The coop should represent everybody, because it's democratically elected to represent everybody, isn't it?... But then if your electoral process is excluding people who have different views, then it doesn't... which is why I think we'll always end up saying that, **constitutionally, they fucked up big time, and it allowed a narrowing of representation'** (C4)
		'You know, share-cropping, and tenant farming, is one of the most contentious parts of the agricultural supply chain. **Fair Trade doesn't touch that'** (C4)
		'So we – **we need to further talk to the women**. Find a way to – if we can get something similar than the GALS, that will let them understand, or to find out whether they really understand what they are talking about. You see. Uh huh. Because sometimes they – um, they want to focus batik, you know how you - it's not find out whether the tie dye they are going to sell it, because I know that the batik doesn't have that much market, in the very West. Uh huh. And **I know it's most, some of them are saying batik tie dye because**

		they know other people are doing it. And it doesn't work that way!' (A4) 'For myself, I – some of it say that **I learnt new things…** They are smart. And **I wasn't expecting them to be that smart**. Looking at some of the answers that they give, to some of the questions, how they answer it… they know what they are about. You cannot put the **– you cannot like, force things on them**. So I see it's so. In all, **I learned that with a little help, the women can do marvellous things.** I thought that even especially when it comes to the literacy, I thought it's going to be something difficult. When it comes to the women especially those who have never been to school, but I learned they can do a lot' (A4) 'It taught me, was that the farmers … **like us to hear them more**. To find out what's their problems. And if they can they apportion them. And we are looking for ways to, solicit where their problems are.' (A8)
Calling out of inconsistencies		'What worried me about the women's groups… is are people members of Adwenkor?… And if you are not a member, you shouldn't be in a women's group… **So we can negotiate that Adwenkor changes its rules and lets people in who are farm workers. Which I would like to see.** But until that happens, people who don't have land, can't be members of Adwenkor.' (B1) **'Life demands that I take the immediate returns,** and so that stops you thinking more in the long term. And maybe that's **reflected a bit institutionally…** Because they [farmer board members] **tend to be the wealthier, larger land-owning, probably not-that-poor**, **people…'** (C1) 'So **women may be great, but sometimes they're fucking awful employers**… she'll have people working on her farm… And Adwenkor has never made her feel like she has a responsibility to those people because they've **over-glorified the rights of farmers to the detriment to everybody else**!' (C4) 'There's a bit where I think they just left them to get on with it, and anything they did they just labelled as a success because they'd done it. **But I'm like, "I'm sorry, that's not very robust is it?"** (C4) 'What worries me is that by calling it a gender project, and by looking at income-generation, **you allow it to be put on the side**. And then male farmers are complaining that women are getting access to microfinance without having had to… save. And that's complicated. 'Cause they're not wrong. **And if it's not income-**

		generating, then it's quite interesting why it's legitimate?' (B1) **'So what's the objective?** Is the objective a certain overall level of household income and achievement and well-being, or what? 'I'm missing the framework, so how can you do that? I don't know how you'd do it. It's a bit like the gender policy for FLO, getting it back on the table.' (C4) 'I met one woman who told me that she hadn't been on [an Adwenkor] course, but she was already baking every day little tasty bun things, and she set up a stall by the side of the road and she waited there from about 6 in the morning until 9, or until she'd sold these things to people passing by on the road and then after that she would go to the farm, for the rest of the day or until the children came home from school. And earlier of course she'd got the family up, swept the yard, fetched the water, fed the animals, made breakfast for the family, and got the children off to school. So it's a very long day, and hard work. **I think it's a bit of a distraction from, you know, helping women become better farmers.'** (C2) 'They didn't to start with, [but] I think it's changing now, **we need to prioritise encouraging the women to become better farmers.'** (C2)