

https://dspace.org/

Women's empowerment: a discourse analysis of the coca-cola 5by20 global initiative

Mupavayenda, Mercy

2017

https://hdl.handle.net/10539/25825

Mupavayenda, Mercy (2017) Women's empowerment : a discourse analysis of the Coca-Cola 5by20 global initiative, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, https://hdl.handle.net/10539/25825

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

Women's Empowerment: A discourse analysis of the Coca-Cola 5by20 global initiative

---

A Research Report Submitted in Part Fulfilment of the

MASTER of Arts DEGREE in DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

In the SCHOOL of SOCIAL SCIENCES in the FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

By Mercy Mupavayenda
886227

Supervisor: Dr Srila Roy – Associate Professor, Sociology Department.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my late mother *Lillian Chishamiso Madyara*, an organic theorist and a brilliant mind, without whom I would not have stood a chance. You were a living example of honesty, integrity, hard work, loyalty, and unconditional love.

That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud-puddles, or gives me any best place! And ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns ... And ain't I a woman? I could work as much ... as a man - ...and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman?

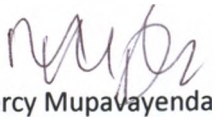
Sojourner Truth, 1851 in bell hooks ,1990

Abstract

Women's 'empowerment' has in the past few years become a central focus and major theme on the global development agenda. As a result of a causal link established between women's 'empowerment', gender equality, and economic growth by dominant development institutions (World Bank 2011; IMF 2013; IFC 2013) women have been framed as the answer to end world poverty (World Bank 2011) (UN Women, 2011). This huge claim has caused high contestation among development scholars and feminists who have argued that the development discourse and campaigns emanating from these institutions are deliberately designed to feminise poverty and feminise responsibility thereby creating a double burden for women (Chant & Sweetman 2012). The emerging partnerships between dominant developments institutions and multi-national corporations (MNCs) have further brought about a complex dimension to women's' empowerment'. These institutions argue that investing in women is common sense or 'smart economics'. However, feminists and other development critics suggest 'empowerment' campaigns mask the exploitative relationships private corporations and international banks have with the global South which seek to keep the system intact, turns girls and women into consumers while expanding market penetration and diffusing blame for poverty (Hengveld, 2015). This study takes a critical social science and feminist research paradigm approach, and employs a discourse analysis in order to analyse the Coca-Cola 5by20 global women's empowerment initiative. The study relies on a documentary analysis and uses documents collected mainly from the Coca-Cola website and other relevant institutional websites and research repositories. Findings show that the initiative is conceptualised around the gendered work carried out by women in the developing world. The concept of womanhood (strong, resilient, long suffering mother figure/ matriarch) employed in the empowerment development discourse exaggerates women's capabilities and has its roots in colonial and racist depictions of the 'masculinised black woman who possesses sub-human strength' (hooks, 1990). This concept of womanhood is overburdening to women, and ignores/entrenches the social order which keeps women 'powerless' to trump structural causes of poverty. The contribution of this research lies in that it offers an insight in the use of older women's bodies by the development discourse. It also interrogates the meaning and implication of the UN formalising Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) as a way of doing development thereby privileging markets as unproblematic spaces and a solution to promote gender equality.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university. While I have used the work of other authors, I have properly acknowledged them and it is not my intention to pass of their ideas as my own.



Mercy Mupavayenda

09 March 2017

Acknowledgments

This thesis research was made possible by generous financial, social and moral support from individuals, institutions, family and friends. So firstly, I would like to thank the University of the Witwatersrand for granting me the Post-Graduate Masters Merit Award and the National Research Foundation (NRF) for the Innovation Masters Scholarship.

I also would like to thank my supervisor Dr Srila Roy for her support throughout my research and for her unwavering belief that I was more than capable of producing the quality of work she expected. I would like to thank the Feminist Theory Class of 2015 and Prof Shireen Hassim in the Politics Department for an inspiring learning environment.

I would like to thank my friends and colleagues with whom I spent countless hours holding numerous conversations which helped to push me, challenge me, and comfort me when it was needed. To Thandiwe Ngwenya (Soul City) and Wendy Morgasen (Soul City) your sisterhood and prayers sustained me. To my dear friends Eve Hove, Dr Peace Kiguwa, Patricia Hlengiwe Ndhlovu, Emma Monama and Tsakane Mahlaule, for all the coffee, wine, food and uplifting conversations...aluta continua! Eve, thank you for the words of encouragement right up to the axhausting end. To my Graduate Centre study buddies, Amuzweni Ngoma, Gwinyai Taruvinga, Gabriel Shamu, Chiedza Taruvinga, Vivian Ngowi, Nhlanhla Moyo, Takalani Muloyiwa, Sethelile, Mwiza, Tebza, Zinhle and Simamukele Dlakavu, thank you for your friendship and support.

To my dear friend the late Dr Lindiwe Makhunga, whom I lost while on this journey I will miss your astute scholarship and our conversations, I will remember always that 'the patriarchy train is always on time' as you used to say. To my dear brother and friend, the late Dr Jeremy Gumbo, whom I also lost during this journey, I will cherish our conversations, and remember your kindness and wise counsel. The dream was to be able to go back and assist in the rebuilding of our country but alas, you took a detour to another destination.

Lastly and most importantly I would like to thank my daughter Tanaka, and my son Novic for not just being my loving and understanding children, but also for being my friends and critics. I can never repay the time and things you went without to make this possible. To my siblings Kudakwashe, Kudzayi, Maureen, Memory, Patricia and Precious, your love and support over the years has not gone unnoticed.

Table of contents

Dedication i

Abstract ii

Declaration iii

Acknowledgments iv

CHAPTER 1 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THEORETICAL RESOURCES 1

1.1. Introduction 1

1.2 Background 3

1.3 Rationale 5

1.4 Research questions 6

1.5 Research objectives 7

1.6 Scope of the study 7

1.7 Theoretical resources 8

1.8 Structure of the study 11

CHAPTER 2 12

2.0 WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT: AN OVERVIEW 12

2.1 Introduction 12

2.2 Feminist critiques of empowerment 12

2.2.1 A smart economics approach to empowerment 12

2.2.2 International banks' reliance on women 14

2.2.3 Double dividend, triple effect and overburdening 15

2.2.4 Racialised femininities in empowerment 17

2.2.5 'The cunning of capitalism' 18

2.2.6 Post-feminist subjectivities 19

2.2.7 A feminist vision of empowerment 20

2.3 Other Critiques of Empowerment 22

2.3.1 Development as a neoliberal agenda 22

2.4 The corporatisation of development 23

2.5 Public Relations (PR) campaigns, myths and fables 24

2.6 Conclusion 25

2.7 A synopsis of the research project 25

CHAPTER 3 27

3.0 METHODOLOGY....27
3.1 Introduction....27
3.2 Research design....27
3.2.1 A qualitative approach....27
3.3.2 Theoretical underpinnings to research design....29
3.3 Discourse analysis....29
3.3.1 Other Research Design Considerations....30
3.3.2 Foucault and discourse analysis....31
3.4 Sampling....33
3.5 Location of study....34
3.6 Accessing the field....34
3.7 Data collection and analysis....36
3.8 Analysis of data....43
3.9 Limitations in data collection....45
3.10 Reflexivity....46
3.11 Ethical considerations for secondary data....47
CHAPTER 4....48
4.0 THE CONVERGENCE OF CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND DEVELOPMENT THEORIES.48
4.1 Introduction....48
4.2 Background....48
4.2.1 Responsibility versus Accountability....49
4.2.2 Major schools of thought in SCR....51
4.2.3 CSR legislation and civil societies....52
4.3 CSR and development....54
4.4 Major schools of thought in (economic) development....56
4.5 An overview of the UN/UN Women....58
4.6 The UN Global Compact (UNGC)....60
4.7 The Business Call to Action (BCtA)....61
4.8 The instrumentalisation of women....65
4.9 Coca-Cola's CSR History....66
4.9.1 Behind the mask....67
4.9.2 Aspartame, the artificial sweetener controversy....69
4.9.3 Market research scandal....70
4.9.4 Coca-Cola philanthropy....70

4.9.4 A shift to sustainability 71
4.10 Conclusion 72
CHAPTER 5 73
5.0 THE 5BY20 PROJECT: A MICROCOSM OF THE CORPORATISATION OF DEVELOPMENT? 73
5.1 Introduction 73
5.2 A detailed account of the 5by20 Initiative 73
5.3 Positions along the Value Chain 76
5.4 Market focus – Brazil, South Africa, the Philippines & India 79
5.5 Profiling of 5by20 Participants 80
5.6 Women's Empowerment as depicted in 5by20 81
5.7 Partners to the Projects 82
5.8 Analysis of the 5by20 Partnerships 83
5.8.1 A sit at the table 84
5.8.2 The normalisation of corporate solutions to development 84
5.8.3 From citizen to stakeholder 85
5.8.4 The ambiguous role of the state 86
5.8.5 The politics of risk 88
5.8.6 The global financial crisis and Transnational Business Feminism (TBF) 90
5.9 Conclusion 91
CHAPTER 6 92
6.0 EMPOWERMENT OR FEMINISATION OF DEBT? 92
6.1 Introduction 92
6.2 The conceptualisation of the 5by20 initiative 93
6.2.1 Maternal instincts and immobility 93
6.2.2 Strength, resilience and hope 97
6.2.3 Appropriation of feminist ideas 102
6.2.4 Poverty as a feminised concept 102
6.2.5 Responsibility as a feminised concept 106
6.3 The making of individualised, gendered, entrepreneurial, grateful and disciplined subjectivities 109
6.3.1 Discipline as a technology of power 111
6.4 A regime of truth 112
6.5 Conclusion 116
REFERENCES: 118

APPENDICES 128
Appendix 1 128
Appendix 2 130

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 - Coca-Cola's Value Chain 74
Figure 2 - Producers (Smallholder groups) 76
Figure 3 - Retailers (Women Sari-Sari Store Owners) 78
Figure 4 - UNICEF Gender Equality The Big Picture 20017 95

CHAPTER 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THEORETICAL RESOURCES

1.1. Introduction

This chapter lays a background to women's empowerment as a development initiative, and the smart economics approach as a way of doing women's empowerment. I present the questions that gave rise to my study and explain in detail the theoretical frameworks informing my study. I give a brief analysis of the major debates of women's empowerment and also conclude the chapter by giving a brief outline of the rest of the chapters.

Mosedale (2005) correctly points out that "empowering' women has become a frequently cited goal of development interventions" (pg.243). Coming along with that goal is the consensus among international development agents and banks, Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) and private organisations that investing in women is common sense or smart economics i.e. women are an untapped abundant resource which, if utilised well, will grow economies worldwide (World Bank 2011). Main actors in the development field such as the UN and its subsidiaries like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Finance Corporation (IFC), UN Women, The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF); including governments, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), and private corporations have all committed resources over the past decade to invest in and or 'empower' women and girls.

Women are expected to benefit directly by participation in the labour market, while their children and families benefit from their incomes, and economies are expected to grow exponentially from women's participation (World Bank, 2011). These institutes argue that women constitute more than half the population of the world so investing in them should be considered common sense or smart economics since women are an untapped resource. The business case or rationale for investing in women or women's empowerment as it where is based on their strategic position between meeting family policy objectives, consumption and contribution to economic growth. There is currently a proliferation of women and girls' empowerment initiatives and the 5by20 Women's Empowerment Initiative between The Coca-Cola Company and UN Women – which I study in this research - is one such initiative unveiled in 2010. The programme promises to 'empower' 5 million women across the globe by the end of 2020.

In this research, I do not seek to prove that capitalist organisations or MNCs like Coca-Cola are out to make profit and have no desire whatsoever to carry out development projects through women's

empowerment initiatives as they purport to. This would be a myopic argument which fails to capture the nuances and complexities involved in the coming together of private organisations, international development agents and banks, and poor women. I also do not seek to prove that women have agency or are denied agency by MNCs but rather to see how and to what effect their agency is deployed in development initiatives.

I seek to analyse and understand the conceptualisation of the term 'women' as a category linked to 'womanhood' and thereby 'women's empowerment'. I do this by looking at the cultural, social, economic and political discourses that come together to create the discourse of women's 'empowerment'. I go further and try to see how the conceptualisation of women's empowerment enables it to be employed in the development initiative. In so doing I attempt to show how the coming together of some of the most powerful private sector and international development agent organisations like The Coca-Cola Company and UN Women help frame women's 'empowerment' as a discourse.

Other powerful institutions involved in similar girls' and women's empowerment initiatives are Nike, Unilever, Walmart, IMF, World Bank, IFC, Goldman Sachs, Bill & Melinda Gates, the involvement of these organisations serves to create a trend in the global approach to women's empowerment. While there is evidence of conflicting discourses in the 5by20 empowerment discourse, the coming together of powerful organisations in agreement that smart economics is equal to women's empowerment and therefore equal to gender equality creates/renders truth status to the smart economics discourse which in turn normalises it as a way of doing women's empowerment.

5by20 text demonstrates that the 'women' in question or recipients are found in the developing world and are therefore largely Black, Asian, Latino and Hispanic among others. The homogenous presentation of 'women' in 5by20 however, fails to articulate the intersection of race, class and ethnicity and how these determine who becomes a likely participant in the 5by20 project. Failure to acknowledge difference in a meaningful way results in the empowerment discourse depoliticising poverty. And yet it is precisely because these women are different (read strong) that they are tasked with carrying the weight of ending world poverty on their shoulders. Women's 'entrepreneur businesses' in 5by20 rely on the unequal status of women in the developing world to their male counter parts and to various structures in society and this renders the empowerment discourse a form of capitalist patriarchy (bell hooks 2000), and as serves to entrench rather than dismantle patriarchy.

The amalgamation of private business and development agents - which I suggest is the corporatisation of development - in delivering development give precedence to capital relations as the social order that governs communities. This may be problematic for instance as Ponté (2015) argues that in capitalist relations profit belongs to capitalist organisations while the responsibility for environmental degradation for example, is a shared responsibility by the community.

1.2 Background

Prior to the 1970s, women were invisible in economic and development discourses until feminism brought them to the fore through the Women in Development (WID) focus which argued for inclusion of women based on equity and efficiency (Wilson 2015). Women in Development (WID) evolved to Women and Development (WAD) and currently to Gender and Development (GAD) (Kotzé & Cornwell 2011). Unlike WID which sought only to include women based on their equality to men and their ability to be just as productive, WAD focused on showing that exploitation of women was intrinsic to capital accumulation, WAD also meant to highlight the importance of class distinctions in determining the impact of the development process on women (Visvanathan, 1997). GAD on the other hand, prioritised women's social reproduction and sought to expose that women's participation in the labour market occur within a context of gendered structures of power which intersected with race and class to compound inequality (Hickel 2014; Wilson 2015). Over time the relationship between feminism and development has been responsible for producing a series of approaches to development (Kotzé & Cornwell 2011). Women's 'empowerment' as a development agenda therefore has its origins in feminist theory and practice.

There have been major strides in the development agenda to include and invest in women from invisibility in the 70s to the current proliferation of literature and interventions into women's development. This inclusion should therefore be welcome compared to the previous silence on women's productive and reproductive roles. However, the attention that women are receiving through development campaigns and interventions has mostly been termed problematic by non-liberal feminists (Moser 1989 and Kabeer 2003,) due to its smart economics approach which encourages private liberal individuals to participate in private liberal markets based on neo-classical economics and liberal feminism (Wilson 2015; Chant & Sweetman 2012). Wilson (2015) argues that smart economics can be aligned to the WID approach which emanated from liberal white, middle class feminists in the North and is fraught with contradictions because neo-classical economics views markets as self-regulating and not requiring intervention. This approach does not recognise the unequal power relations which directly and indirectly influence the roles and positions women may occupy in the labour market. Liberal feminism in its genesis on the other hand has not dealt with gender relations, class, race and ethnicity differences which all work together to compound

oppression or inequity and also influence and shape the nature of women's participation in development.

The definition and practise of women's empowerment espoused by feminists is largely based on the GAD approach explained above (Moser 1989 and Kabeer 1999). In this approach, "empowerment refers to the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them" (Kabeer1999: 437). This entails equitable access to resources, the agency to decide, set and act upon goals, including the outcomes or achievements that follow. Following Kabeer's definition empowerment is therefore not quantifiable and where access to resources and agency are curtailed or denied it stands to reason that disempowerment exists. Development institutions however, try to quantify or measure empowerment in a bid to fulfil their policy goals, they tend to shape how 'empowerment' is currently mobilised in development discourse and Wilson (2015) argues that globally dominant development institutions have taken an explicitly neoliberal approach to gender and empowerment.

The World Bank and IMF as key funding institutions moved from a Keynesian to a neoliberal approach from the 70s to 80s. They were part of the Washington Consensus which sought to reduce the role of the welfare state in the developing world in the hope of stimulating economic growth. However, this has not been the case as women bore the brunt of the spread of the informal employment. Sharma (2006) sees the introduction of 'empowerment' approach as a direct replacement of the welfare state where international agents and banks attempt to create 'empowered' individuals who can tackle poverty without the help of the state.

Women's empowerment has therefore become a buzzword associated with dominant agenda setting institutions like the World Bank, IMF, IFC, DFID, NGOs, Goldman Sachs, UN Women and big private corporations like Nike, Coca-Cola, Uniliver and Walmart, as well as governments. 'Empowerment' as a buzzword in the development discourse currently seems to refer to the 'investment' in women to increase their participation in free markets in order to increase economic growth. The common understanding of empowerment used by these institutions is based on 'investing' in women through access to loans, so as to increase economic growth, manage population growth and maintain healthy families who in turn ensure healthy children who can eventually enter the free markets (Hickel, 2015). Based on this common understanding private corporations are increasingly collaborating with development agents on women and girls' empowerment campaigns. Empowerment is therefore based on specific models of material development (Wilson 2015, 807). While the term 'women' is in itself a political construction (Dogra

2011), there is an understanding that 'women' in development discourse constitute the so called 'Third World' or developing countries' women who are largely Black, Asian, Hispanic, Latino and are very poor.

A major argument of empowerment as a global agenda between development agents and private corporations is that empowerment is based on specific models of material development (Wilson 2015) as opposed to the holistic human well-being approach unveiled by the UNDP at the start of the millennium. The current version of empowerment focuses on increasing economic growth by "relying on activities that actively reinforce and extend existing patriarchal structures and gendered relationships of power" (Wilson 2015:807) that leave women overburdened with both underpaid and unpaid labour (Chant & Sweetman 2012; Mohanty 2003). To reiterate, the overburdening of women in the post-colonial development era started in the 80s when the Washington Consensus endorsed a minimised role of the state aimed at economic growth and poverty reduction (Hickel, 2014). This vision saw the state rolled back and social services such as the provision of welfare, health and education largely withdrawn (Chant and Sweetman, 2012; Mkandawire, 2010). Failure of this approach left women vulnerable to free markets. The overburdening of a certain class of women based on a racialised femininity however goes back to colonial periods in different parts of the world.

1.3 Rationale

Women's empowerment has moved from being the third development goal of the MDGs to being the central and pivotal goal of the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Women's 'empowerment' initiatives have over the years slowly become a global trend and the signature mark of all democratic governments. There is a global hive of activities in both the private and public sectors aimed at raising awareness of gender inequalities and supporting programmes meant to eradicate poverty and attain gender equality. There are serious concerns however, from scholars and development agents who indicate that the status of most women does not reflect the effort and resources going into gender equality programs. Recently BBC News (2015) reported that the World Economic Forum predicted that it will take another 118 years for women to earn equal incomes as men. While a few countries may reflect gender balanced figures in political representation, on a larger scale the rest of the countries are lagging behind in the economic sphere. Where gains and in-roads have been made in different sectors, women's representation is merely descriptive or token, and a lot of criticism has been targeted towards the lack of substantial representation such has having women in decision making positions. Hassim (2009) points out that the "persistent, and often

growing, gap between indicators of women's political empowerment and those of women's social and economic development must surely be one of the most significant development puzzles of our time" (p.2).

In fact, criticism for lack of empowerment for women ranges from the fact that change is taking place at a slow pace, to the fact that the interventions are misguided, or at worst that the interventions aimed at women's economic empowerment are exploitative in nature, rely on patriarchal social relations to maximise profits thereby serving to entrench structural causes of inequality. Gender inequality has been termed the 'biggest challenge of our time' (Half the Sky, 2015). It is therefore imperative for researchers to examine the seeming disjuncture between a plethora of local and global initiatives and women's seemingly worsening conditions.

Based on its global approach, the partnership of UN Women and Coca-Cola is set to formulate a global standard on women's empowerment; it is therefore worth a critical analysis in order to examine its contribution to women's empowerment. By focusing on a single initiative with a global reach, this study endeavours to understand the discursive formations working to maintain unequal power dimensions. Although there is growing criticism of women's empowerment initiatives from feminists and development scholars, positive and apolitical literature on empowerment initiatives is more readily accessible and organisations are winning countless awards for their efforts in empowering women. There is not enough literature examining the political nature of the project of empowerment or 'the violent bloody character of conflict' (Foucault: 1980) or gender inequality[1].

As will be demonstrated later, empowerment initiatives sanitise and depoliticise gender inequality. To that end, the only available review of the chosen study, the 5by20 initiative, is by the Harvard Kennedy School which fully supports this approach (smart economics) to women's economic empowerment. Therefore, set against the global interest in 'investing' in women's empowerment, this research seeks to provide a feminist critical analysis of the discourse and practice of women's empowerment through the 5by20 global empowerment project in order to create a more robust debate of women's empowerment as a global initiative.

1.4 Research questions

The focus of this research is to analyse the concept of 'women's empowerment', taking into consideration the cultural, social, economic and political meaning of 'women' and 'empowerment'.

[1] Foucault likens politics to conflict and I posit that the fight for gender inequality is akin to conflict. I see it as a type of on-going conflict mutating between the social, economic and political, it its worst form it degenerates to physical violence visited on women's bodies and minds by men and various institutions.

The terms are presented together in empowerment initiatives in the development discourse. Therefore, the overall question for this research has been formulated as follows:

How is women's empowerment represented in development discourse, and to what ends is this these notion mobilised'?

To address this question, the following sub-questions will be asked:

How is the category of 'women' presented in development discourse?

What are the implications of the collaboration of private corporations (Coca-Cola) and development agents (UN Women) on development as a discourse?

1.5 Research objectives

This study wishes to do a post-structuralist, post-colonial feminist theoretical analysis of the extent to which the notion of 'women's empowerment' is employed in a chosen global women's empowerment campaign. Use of post-structuralist theory offers a way of conceptualising the relationship between language and social institutions, with a view to analysing how power is exercised (Weedon, 1997: 19). This study will also unpack the power-relations within the development discourse in as far as they shape what empowerment is, who needs to be empowered, how and by whom. In order to understand the emergence of a particular discourse it is important to be able to locate it in time and history. Post-colonial feminist theory is important in this respect because it locates feminist concerns into colonial and post-colonial periods. This research is therefore an attempt at analysing the discourse of empowerment of women globally; following postcolonial feminist theory, the research takes cognisance of the fact that the discourse is constructed around gendered and racialised subjects located in the so called post-colonial era.

1.6 Scope of the study

The Coca-Cola 5by20 women's empowerment initiative is a global project which was conceptualised at Coke's headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, in the United States of America (USA). It is implemented in various countries around the world through Coca-Cola country offices, UN Women country offices, in partnership with NGOs, governments and other global financial agents who offer basic entrepreneur training and loan processing for women participants on behalf of Coca-Cola. Most of the beneficiaries of the 5by20 empowerment initiative are women located in the developing world.

1.7 Theoretical resources

This study falls under the critical social science and feminist research paradigms. A critical social science approach assumes that "there are multiple layers to social reality governed by hidden underlying structures, and a feminist approach assumes that there are gender-structured power relations that keep people oppressed" (Neuman, 2014:121). My study examines gendered power relations between women and men, and between women and various institutions. The 5by20 Coca-Cola women's empowerment initiative between Coca-Cola and UN Women I chose to look at, specifically empowers 'Third World' women. The developing world is also referred to as the 'Third World' in development discourse, as a sign of backwardness in terms of industrialisation and modernisation compared to the 'First World'. Post-colonial scholars and other critics consider the 'Third World' to be a derogatory term which signifies the imperialist relationship or unequal power relations between the two worlds. However, these terms came about because of the Cold War struggle between capitalist countries (First World) and communist (Second World) for dominance over former colonial countries which came to be known as Third World countries (Visvanathan, 1997). The North and South are references also used to refer to industrialised and non-industrialised global regions. As a result of the geographical location and historical background of the beneficiaries of the initiative, I chose the post-structural and post-colonial feminist theoretical frameworks to ground this empowerment research.

Before I further explain these frameworks, I will give a brief overview of feminism. Feminism like Marxism and Post-colonialism seeks to invalidate unjust power relationships (Mishra, 2013). Feminism however is not a homogenous philosophy; it is rather fragmented to represent different interests in the movement. Broadly speaking, there is liberal, socialist and radical feminism. Liberal feminism, also referred to as mainstream feminism, is individualistic in nature and has mainly been interested in gendered power differences between men and women in as far as to advocate for equality of the sexes particularly in the labour market. This brand of feminism has historically been represented by white middle-class European women. bell hooks (2000) criticises this brand of feminism because she argues that this Eurocentric mainstream feminist thought sold out to the feminist movement by siding with patriarchal white supremacist males (read capital). As a result, liberal feminism ignored the racial and class differences that intersect with patriarchy and keep non-white women at the bottom of the economic ladder. This study will show that development agents and MNCs are selective in their use of feminist rhetoric, preferring to identify with the efficiency approach based on Women in Development (WID) derived from liberal feminism as opposed to a Gender and Development (GAD) which attempts to mainstream gender in all aspects of development.

Socialist feminism on the other hand, appeals to Marxist ideas by recognising class oppression, and exploitation of the labour force. Unlike mainstream feminism, socialist feminism advocates for changes to societal structures as opposed to individualistic ones. It is similar in this respect to radical feminism which also advocates to structural changes, by dismantling male controlled capitalist and patriarchal hierarchies. In its most radical form this theory calls for an overhaul of institutions in order to completely eradicate gendered male power. Over time, other feminisms or theories have emerged from these major ones, post-colonial feminist theory, sometimes called 'Third World' feminism, is one of them. Other strands are black feminism or womanist (among countless others); these mostly appeal to the class, race, and ethnicity struggles of non-white women. The central idea in most of them is to highlight other oppressions intersecting on gendered non-white bodies that may not be catered for by mainstream feminism, and to bring to the fore the differences and historical specificity of women in other places and times (Mishra, 2013). I would like to think of the feminism I use and identify with within this study as 'intersectional' borrowing from Crenshaw (1989), because it tries to consider all possible conditions and oppressions which intersect to keep women in subordinate positions. I will now discuss the post-structuralist and post-colonial frameworks.

The post-structuralist and post-colonial feminist theoretical frameworks share certain tenets that make it possible to research an empowerment initiative. Post-structuralism arose out of the failing of structuralism. Structuralism was viewed as essentialist because it did not make room for divergent ideas; it only focused on dominant discourse. Post-structuralism "builds on the notion that meanings are derived from relations of difference" and emphasises "the gaps and ambiguities in the structure of meanings" (Harcourt, 2007:17). For instance, women are called women because they are different from men, they are perceived as different from men (sometimes for reasons feminists might disagree with) and they need empowering because they are oppressed and their oppression is based on perceived differences. Meaning in society is therefore derived from relations of difference. And as my research will show, the empowerment project is premised on these very differences that 'Third World' women possess, or are perceived to have. Post-structuralism also offers that meanings are not universal, and do not reflect ontological truths about humans or society, instead as Harcourt (2007) argues, poststructuralists try to determine how knowledge is formulated at any given time under specific historical conditions. A post-colonial feminist framework, ties in well as it interrogates a particular time in history in order to see how it contributed to conceptualising the post-colonial subject. Post-colonial feminist theory derives from post-colonial theory. Post-colonial theory

"focuses on subverting the coloniser's discourse that attempts to distort the experience and realities, while inscribing inferiority on the colonised people in order to exercise total control" (Tyagi, 2014:44). The theory however ignores the gender perspective of the colonised subject hence the emergence of the post-colonial feminist perspective.

The post-colonial feminist framework is well suited for my study because it helps to locate women in the developing world not merely physically, but in social, economic and political spaces, and consequently in the empowerment discourse. Mohanty (2003) a well-regarded post-colonial feminist in her seminal article '*Under Western Eyes*' chastises Western feminism for assuming that 'Third World' women are "a coherent group with identical interests, experiences, and goals prior to their entry in the socio-political and historical field" (Mohanty, 1995: 21 in Tyagi, 2014:.49). I find Mohanty's critique relevant to my study as the women recipients under study are largely presented as monolithic.

My interest in studying the conceptualisation of women and women's empowerment in the 5by20 initiative naturally translated into the study of power/knowledge formation because knowledge is implicated in power (Foucault, 1981). Post-structuralism lays a good background for studying power relations. There are however different scholars with different approaches to post-structuralism such as; "deconstruction by Derrida, libidinal economics by Lyotard, genealogy and archaeology by Foucault, transcendental empiricism by Deleuze, and dialectics by Deleuze, Kristeva" (Williams, 2005:6). William posits that together these theorists show post-structuralism as a thorough disruption of our secure sense of meaning and reference in language. Applied to my research I find this perspective helpful, I see 'a secure sense of meaning' as another way of referring to unchallenged discourses. I offer that the post-colonial and intersectional feminist critic of women's empowerment is essentially a destabilisation of a now shared meaning of empowerment by powerful players like MNCs and international development agents.

I am however specifically interested in a Foucauldian study of power relations, which I will later cover in detail in the methodology and analysis sections. In short, Foucault is considered a post-structuralist because his work falls "between determinism and freedom", believing that "we are historically conditioned even though we take our place in an open and contingent system" (William, 2005: 106). Foucault posits that "power lies in structures and their capacity to determine identities and acts, values and norms" (Williams, 2005:109). For him social actors are not necessarily free as a result of the effect of historical conditioning. Power for Foucault is therefore "the net of historical

determinations that we have to struggle in and cannot fully escape" (Williams, 2005:109). This is an interesting perspective for me, as I consider the ability for women in the developing world to escape structural causes of poverty pre-determined by history. I use this theory and method to try and examine to what extent the women's agency can bring them freedom or empowerment as it were. As demonstrated later in my study, I tend to agree with Foucault that their agency is constrained by structures, language and therefore the ideologies of the time they live in.

1.8 Structure of the study

Chapter 2 covers the literature review and so presents current debates about women's empowerment both from a feminist perspective and from the perspective of the UN and other development agents and private businesses.

Chapter 3 is a presentation of the method used; it offers a reflexive account of the researcher's journey in locating the research in critical social theory and feminist theory and narrowing it down to discourse analysis. It discusses the advantages and disadvantages of this method and considers the ethics of using secondary documentary data.

Chapter 4 gives an overview of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). This was necessitated by the realisation that the 5by20 Coca-Cola women's empowerment is both a CSR and development initiative for Coca-Cola. This chapter also presents the CSR history of Coca-Cola and traces the journey of the UN towards formalising CSR as a development method.

Chapter 5 is an analysis of the findings pertaining to the partnerships involved in the initiative, however it is preceded by a detailed descriptive view of the 5by20 women's empowerment initiative. The chapter discusses the privileging of markets as neutral spaces which can offer equality for women and interrogates the politics of risk associated with the precarious existence of poor older women.

Chapter 6 is an analysis of the findings of the initiative as a whole with a specific view to interrogating the conceptualisation of 'women' and women's empowerment categories. The chapter also contains the conclusion which offers a sythesised view of the findings and implications of the employment of smart economics to development discourse.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT: AN OVERVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on women's empowerment. The literature review highlights the contention and contestation surrounding women's economic empowerment. Emerging themes in the literature show that a material model of women's empowerment is normalised although it intensifies poverty and entrenches the structural causes of poverty and therefore structural violence. The literature reveals that "neoliberal practices and discourses of gender rely on exaggerating women's capabilities and are deeply racialised in their production of hyper-industrious, altruistic, entrepreneurial female subjects" (Wilson 2015, 807). Impressive public relations (PR) campaigns are employed to circulate information in this respect, leading feminists and other scholars, to see women's empowerment as not just an intervention to end poverty but a discourse which eventually works as a tool, and a power/knowledge formation that governs behaviour and produces specific kind of subjects – ones who are post-feminism. On the other hand, viewing and labelling women's empowerment simply as neo-liberal forecloses a look at the complex nature of discourse (Sharma, 2006) hence this research will endeavour to critically analyse the interaction of all relevant discourses that inform women's empowerment.

2.2 Feminist critiques of empowerment

2.2.1 A smart economics approach to empowerment

Feminist economists argue that most empowerment programmes coming out of international banks and multi-national companies targeted at women, are based on economic efficiency (Moser, 1989) also known as smart economics (Chant & Sweetman, 2012) as opposed to holistic women's human development needs. The idea behind smart economics is that women make up more than half of the world's population and yet they are disproportionately represented in most economic activities. Bringing more women into gainful employment is therefore seen by the proponents of smart economics as a common sense move or smart economics because it will not only increase economic activities but also attain gender equality in the process.

Duflo (2012) argues that when economic growth takes place, eventually the effect will trickle down to women and their condition will improve. Neo-classical economists expect that as poverty declines gender inequality declines because economic development is expected to reduce inequality by relaxing the constraints poor households face. In this scenario participation of women in economic activities on the free market is equated to gender equality as represented by the World Bank literature (1995, 2007 & 2011). The trickle-down argument where women will eventually benefit from economic growth is a tired argument which was discredited as far back as (Boserup, 1970). The argument says expanding women's opportunities in the labour market increases their bargaining power in the household. This assumption although partially true, obviously does not fully take into consideration the insurmountable hurdles that women face in the labour market (Chant & Sweetman, 2012). Duflo's (2012) argument goes further to say policies do not require to be gender sensitive, as long as they can improve the economic welfare of households, they can improve gender equality, and that diversifying the economy and increasing women's options in the labour market can cause households to adjust their behaviour, moving them toward gender equality. Arguably Duflo presents gender equality in its narrowest sense. In neoclassical economic fashion, all other inequalities of household and labour market conditions are not considered, market forces are the only driving force in this solution.

A Korean case study by Seguino (1997) takes into account how women face wage inequalities, lack of opportunities for promotion and how lack of fall-back positions keeps them in exploitative working conditions. Seguino demonstrates that merely accessing the labour market may not necessarily increase gender equality. (Chant & Sweetman, 2012) also allege that in addition to assuming that gendered macro-economic policies can right gender inequality at household level, there are clever conflations in the smart economics approach which suggest efficiency and women's rights are one and the same, although as demonstrated by Seguino (1997)'s Korean case study this is may not necessarily be true.

Contestation also arises from the fact that "smart economics critically assumes a much smoother and easier transition between individual 'economic empowerment' and engaging with the social and political structures which constrain individuals and/or women as a collective marginalised group" (Chant & Sweetman, 2012: 523). These social and political structures discriminate on grounds of gender, race, and class, as highlighted in gender and development literature since the inception of the field and there is no demonstration of the dismantling of these in smart economics which takes a micro-finance approach. The efficiency approach hinges on

empowerment of the individual and not the collective which essentially pushes the individual into what is termed the post-feminist era. I will address post-feminism a little later below.
Another contestation is that of the use of micro-finance being taken as common-sense solution for development. Critics argue that "the political economy of development is accompanied by an 'economy of statements' about development that normalise and fix the agenda as universally common sense and in this way, asserts its ideological power" (Escobar, 1995: 155 & Switzer, 2013:349). On the other hand, Moodie (2013: 280) argues that "micro-finance may not create but certainly increases the social vulnerabilities that precede it like race, class and gender" so normalising it as a solution in development is problematic.

In essence, critic arguments posit that smart economics seeks to use women and girls to fix the world in terms of increasing economic growth and ending poverty. As I will demonstrate in other paragraphs below, feminist contestation of the smart economics approach also highlights the exploitative nature of instrumentalising gender for the greater good, resulting in exaggerated expectations, overburdening of women and entrenching of social, political and economic structural barriers to gender equality. POWE[2] (2012) offer that gender inequality is a relational issue, and a matter of structural inequality which can only be addressed by governments, society and development institutions; as opposed to women on their own.

2.2.2 International banks' reliance on women

Chant and Sweetman (2012) following Elson (1991) trace the emergence of this reliance on women as a result of the failure of neoliberal Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the 80s and the recent economic meltdown in the global North:

> Through their [women's] efforts, in the form of increased efforts to earn money and cut back on domestic budgeting, and intensified unpaid labour at household and community levels, households were 'cushioned' to a substantial degree from the worst effects of neoliberal restructuring (Chant & Sweetman 2012: 519).

Programmes informed by economic efficiency focus on gender equality and women as being the solution to the crises like for example unemployment, under-employment and lack of public services created by SAPs of the 1980s (Elson, 1991). During SAPs, a period of high unemployment, women

[2] Pathways of Women's Empowerment is an international research and communications programme established in 2006 with the aim of understanding and influencing efforts to bring about positive change in women's lives. (http://www.pathwaysofempowerment.org)

were overextended with both unpaid household work and long hours in the informal sector. Elson (1991) argues that women found themselves substituting the failure of state institutions to provide health, education, and other services. After the realisation that women absorbed both paid and unpaid work which served to counter men's lack of and under – employment due to the liberalisation agenda, the World Bank (1995) soon announced that:

> Investing in women is critical for poverty reduction. It speeds economic development by raising productivity and promoting the more efficient use of resources; it produces significant social returns, improving child survival and reducing fertility, and it has considerable inter-generational pay-offs. (p.22)

This claim set the tone for the next 2 decades leading to the current smart economics approach at the forefront of which is the UN and its financial subsidiaries. I will explore below the said added advantages of investing in women as hinted in the World Bank quotation above.

2.2.3 Double dividend, triple effect and overburdening

Feminist analysis posits that micro-financial initiatives linked to smart economics rely on appealing to maternalistic gender stereotypes which expect gendered contributions from women, and these lead to increased labour burdens and perpetual female self-sacrifice (Brickell & Chant 2010, Chant 2008 & Chant & Sweetman 2012). Research circulating among international development agents and banks support that women constitute more than half of the world, do 66% of the world's work, earn 10% of the income and pour 90% of this income back into their families (UNICEF 2006, World Bank 2011, IMF 2013, UN Women 2011). The causal link assumed to exist between gender equality and efficient economic development now drives the objectives and change goals of a wide range of development organisations focusing particularly on young girls and women. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2007) has identified the correlation between women's well-being and children's well-being and calls it the double dividend of Gender Equality (Chant & Sweetman, 2012). UNICEF states that women's incomes are more likely to be spent on their families' education, health and food. Similarly, the World Bank (2011) and UN Women (2011) speak of the multiplier effect of investing in women based on the 'significant social returns, improved child survival and reduced fertility which result in considerable inter-generational pay-offs'. The double-dividend and multiplier effect arguments credit women's access to education with increased chances of entering the labour market and getting better incomes which in turn allow them to send their own children to school. These

arguments hinge on the assumed predictability of women's spending habits on their families; this has therefore led to the business case for gender equality.

There are particular or gendered reasons however, which determine women's working and spending habits. For instance, poor women live in perilous circumstances which leave them desperate without fall back opportunities. Fall-back options vary from anything between access to various resources to social networks and a support system. Women in patriarchal settings however, are expected to look after children and extended family on a day to day basis and they also double as caregivers of sick family members. Women's positioning therefore leaves them at the centre of family responsibilities like feeding, clothing and caring for family members. Chant and Sweetman (2012) posit that "smart economics messaging, and the programming emanating from it, focuses narrowly and exclusively on the agency of women and girls, and leaves men and boys out of the picture" (pg. 324). Ideally men and boys should form part of the support system by sharing family tasks and income with women. Chant & Sweetman (2012) assert that "the absence of men in development messages imply the perpetuation of stereotypes of male 'egoism' and 'irresponsibility' versus female 'altruism' and 'self-sacrifice'" (Brickell & Chant 2010).

The smart economics approach also frames women as loyal debt payers and smart economic initiatives are designed around this loyalty. At the centre of micro-finance rhetoric is the very high repayment rate when groups of women are loan beneficiaries, this trend is "usually attributed to women's good management and self-sacrifice - their ability to withstand perilous worlds and still meet their loan obligations" (Moodie, 2013:281). What is left out of this discourse is that because women's livelihoods are more than likely to be centred on the family, women are more likely to not be able to disappear without making loan payments. Smart economics rhetoric ignores the fact that women may be stuck without a choice as opposed being loyal and that a cultural upbringing centred on patriarchy conditions women to accepting this responsibility. Ethnography studies from India have also shown that in some cases women are just a conduit for men to access loans from development banks and NGOs, with the result that debt further pushes women into vulnerability and likely violence both from men and banks (Sharma, 2006). Moodie (2013) like many others argues that the increasing use of micro-finance by multinational banks where poor women are concerned depends on specific kinds of gendered work in poor households.

Development campaigns, initiatives or projects like the Nike's 'Girl Effect' premise that simply giving loans and/or training to women lead to unlimited agency and action. Similarly, a campaign

like the Half the Sky is also premised on the supposed life-changing nature caused by the injection of little amount of money in a poor woman's life. For example, the Girl Effect campaign depicts girls as strong and entrepreneurial, with un-ending sources of energy to cultivate into their lives, their families, communities and nations. Based on the amount of work expected from women, Chant & Sweetman (2012) argue that development discourse exaggerates girls and women's capabilities and that ultimately women's 'empowerment' programmes do not tackle the structural causes of inequality but instead serve to entrench them. To that end it is safe to say the expected outcomes of gender equality are also exaggerated. The assertion by the BBC News (2015) reporting on the World Economic Forum research findings that it will take 118 years for women to earn the same incomes as men therefore contradicts the smart economics perspective.

2.2.4 Racialised femininities in empowerment

Up to this point the arguments presented have attempted to show that smart economics is premised on the gendered work that women do and on the gendered use of their income. Smart economics is therefore premised on the view that women as gendered bodies are able to generate double dividends and cause multiplier effects to investment. Development agents rely on specific attributes which women possess as mothers and caregivers such as hard work and selflessness. Post-colonial feminists delineate between women in the developed world and women in the developing world and as such, argue that the concept of womanhood - strong, resilient, long suffering mother figure/ matriarch- employed in development discourse not only exaggerates women's capabilities (Chant & Sweetman, 2012) but also has its roots in colonial racist depictions of the masculinised black woman who possesses sub-human strength (hooks 1990). Wilson (2012) also argues that the gendered and racialized depictions of women in the developing world are not a new phenomenon. Although the language used in development has changed from depicting women in the developing world as helpless victims without agency, ultimately the new language of power and agency still masks the exploitative relationship between women and capitalism.

Furthermore, the unending strength and resilience praised in women of the developing world has its roots in slavery, colonial and apartheid systems which have largely relied on Black, Latina, Filipino and Indian women's free or cheap labour to multiply profits. Although these oppressive systems occurred in different periods and difference places, all these systems sought to instil systemic oppression, dehumanise the oppressed and, either cheapen labour or extract it free of charge from people of colour. Sojourner Truth (1851), in hooks (1990) laments that black

womanhood was defined by extreme hard work performed alongside their male slave counterparts. These oppressive systems across time and space bore the same characteristics; that of essentialising whatever qualities in the oppressed benefited each system. To that end, arguably the amount of space taken by work in black women's lives was established during slavery, therefore any study of the workloads of women of colour need to go back in time as opposed to just concentrating on the period of SAPs for instance. Qgola (2015) argues that race remains central to social, political and economic ordering of lives in South Africa - as in other post-colonial spaces. This argument in the context of empowerment suggests that depoliticising corrective initiatives seeking to empower women renders them redundant at most and entrench the same oppressions at worst.

2.2.5 'The cunning of capitalism[3]'

The growth of feminist theory as a radical discourse seeking a real shift in power relations has threatened to transform the distribution of power and capital. In the face of this challenge capital has had to strategically position itself to counter resistance. To that end, Wilson (2012) argues that "constructions of race have been repeatedly transformed, reworked, or reanimated in the context of both changing strategies of capital accumulation and resistance to them" (p.6). This has seen the deployment of new terms to support, sustain and reinforce structural inequality. A good example is the depiction of women as powerful and resourceful individuals, in most cases, in direct contrast to their lived experiences. hooks (1990) offers that this can be seen through women with no means of livelihood who are under immense pressure from structural inequality and yet keep regurgitating terms synonymous with power and self-sufficiency. These feminist terms are deployed to foreclose the absence of public services from the state and help from the men.

Qgola (2007) therefore points out that the version of empowerment being deployed currently lacks a feminist approach and as a result sits comfortably with violence against women. Qgola (2007) argues that the current empowerment discourse does not challenge what she calls 'the cult of femininity' – gendered expectations from women – but instead seeks to empower women by inserting them into unchanged capitalist and patriarchal institutions. For instance, hard work, selflessness and family care by women in their communities are concepts which are advocated and presented in moralistic tones in the smart economics approach. These attributes are also rewarded through participation in micro-finance projects for deserving stakeholders. In keeping with changing strategies of capital accumulation such as globalisation, feminist terms are

[3] Adapted from the article by Nancy Fraser (2009) called *'Feminism, Capitalism and The Cunning of History'*

therefore not only depoliticised before they are deployed, but they are also modified to meet desired ends.

2.2.6 Post-feminist subjectivities

The discourse on women's empowerment also produces subject positions and these subject positions discipline and subject subjects into certain or 'appropriate' ways of behaving. For instance, the discourse may be framed in a way that when women are given micro-loans they are grateful and disciplined enough to pay back the money. Various feminist literature argues that development discourse does not only produce development but produces new subjectivities. Sharma (2006) for instance posits that empowerment initiatives turn women into law abiding and responsible subjects or citizens who use legitimate civil society mechanisms to fight for their rights. From this perspective empowerment is a power/knowledge formation that produces effects in the world; these effects are seen in how interventions unfold.

Another feminist argument is that empowerment and development discourse only appeals to certain aspects of liberal feminism, which deal with the individual as an efficient subject able to trump inequality from sheer hard work. The idea of a rational being, making rational decisions, in a rational market pushes the subject into a post-feminist era, where collective bargaining seems redundant. Gonick (2006) argues that "when [women] encounter neoliberal discourse which claim that 'anyone who works hard can get ahead' they are led to understand their own experience of successes and failures is a product of their individual effort" (pg,7) as opposed to the hard-won gains of the feminist movement. Cornwall et al., 2008 in Switzer (2013) observe that the smart economics approach is entrenching post-feminism which as a norm is bent on selectively accepting some feminist ideas while rejecting others; a norm which can also be observed in development discourse as it over-emphasises some aspects of the feminist agenda at the expense of others. Switzer (2013) explains that "post feminism refers to the idea that feminism as a collective project of social justice and transformation is redundant and, moreover, that feminism itself is repudiated" (pg.350).

Wilson (2015) on the other hand coined the term 'neo-liberal feminism' to refer to this postfeminist arrangement of development, an approach which has institutionalised individualism, agency, and empowerment. Switzer (2013) following Gill and Scharff (2011) suggests that "postfeminist subjectification [is the result] within the neoliberal era in which subjects are required to be 'rational, calculating and self-motivating', and are 'increasingly exhorted to make

sense of their individual biographies in terms of discourses of freedom, autonomy, and choice – no matter how constrained their lives might actually be" (pg. 350). Self-motivation is necessary where the welfare state no longer exists or exists inconsistently, hence Sharma (2008) posits that neoliberal policies seek to deflect poor people's gaze from the state towards themselves. In addition, in the smart economics era, women's bodies are treated like "human capital investments and like any potentially productive capital, require expert management, regulation, and routine intervention" (Switzer, 2013:349). Neo-liberal interventions therefore serve the purpose of governing conduct towards specific capital output.

2.2.7 A feminist vision of empowerment

The various arguments above demonstrate that smart economics does not only fall short of gender equality but rather uses gender inequality to attain the smart economics objective of increasing economic activity at the expense of women. Wilson (2015) argues that:

> Approaches to gender which are currently being promoted within neoliberal development frameworks, while often characterized as 'instrumentalising' gender equality, in fact rely upon, extend and deepen gendered inequalities in order to sustain and strengthen processes of global capital accumulation in several ways (pg. 803)

On the other hand, Chant & Sweetman (2012: 523) see smart economics as "amounting to an efficiency approach with elements of empowerment bolted on to the side, while the programmes with which it is associated rely on a reductive understanding of development and its aims". Feminist scholarship suggests that firstly gender and development approaches need to recognise gender inequality is a relational issue, and therefore a political project because in essence gender equality is about power and resource sharing. "It is therefore a concern that development initiatives aimed at women's empowerment are depoliticised and packaged into neatly measurable goals with the result that development is interpreted as a linear calculation of inputs and outcomes" (Switzer 2013: 350). According to Kabeer (1999), women's empowerment is about the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such ability. She envisions the ability to exercise choice as a three-dimensional process where resources are the preconditions, agency is the process and achievements are the outcomes. To demonstrate the complex or non-linear state of development or empowerment, Kabeer (1999) breaks down the meaning of resources for example:

> Resources on a broader scale are acquired through a multiplicity of social relationships conducted in the various institutional domains which make up a society such as family, market, community (pg. 437).

Kabeer further explains that access to resources entails more than just a current allocation but one should have future claims and expectations of resources. What raises complications though is that:

> Access to such resources therefore will reflect the rules and norms which govern distribution and exchange in different institutional arenas (1999: 437)

In all societies, according to predetermined rules and norms:

> Certain actors have authority over others in determining the principles of distribution and exchange so that the distribution of `allocative' resources tends to be embedded within the distribution of `authoritative resources (Giddens, 1979 in Kabeer, 1999)

So, in that vein, giving someone a small loan may be a temporary reprieve from risk or peril but may not necessarily translate to empowerment as the individual does not exist in a depoliticised vacuum. Enabling conditions are necessary for empowerment and O'Neil, Domingo and Valters (2014) explain that in as much as "there are many pathways to women's empowerment, important enabling conditions are important and these include women's collective action, constitutional and legal reform, social and economic policy measures, and changes in socio-cultural norms" (pg.1).

It is also necessary to acknowledge that the contradictions and tensions apparent in development and gender discourses are as a result of many reasons. For example, some authors suggest that plural feminisms which exist and define the concept of gender in radically different ways makes it possible for some definitions to be used (or essentialised) and others to be ignored by different political actors (Cornwall, Harrison & Whitehead 2007). In other words, feminism is not a politics without contradictions hence it may be easy to be selective in applying it. In addition, Razavi also suggests that in a situation where resources are limited, "policymakers have to [play judge] between competing claims" (Razavi, 1997 in Kabeer 1999: 437). Furthermore, empowerment is a political project and the need to turn it into quantifiable goals for policy making poses challenges for development practitioners. In some situations, however, Benería and Sen (1982:157) observed that "although general awareness of the specific activities and problems of women in development have certainly increased, a feminist agenda has often been rather superficially added to ongoing economic development projects." In addition to all this, to add to the complexity of empowerment initiatives is the fact that there is therefore also the aspect of the pursuit of profit over women's wellbeing.

2.3 Other Critiques of Empowerment

2.3.1 Development as a neoliberal agenda

Wilson (2015) and Chant & Sweetman (2012) posit that in practise the discourse of women's empowerment is selective in nature, giving primacy to certain aspects of feminism which may appeal to capitalist profit objectives. From the 80s women's 'empowerment' interventions started to focus on investing in women through micro-finance lending. Micro-finance lending is also seen as an extension of neoliberal policies because it puts total responsibility for poverty alleviation on the individual as opposed to the state. However, according to Bateman (2014) there is no evidence of poverty reduction to micro-finance recipients, instead self-employment incomes are below living standards and intensify poverty.

The discourse on women's 'empowerment' which promotes the lending of micro-loans depicts women as especially hardworking and responsible in their work and expenditure around the family (Chant & Sweetman, 2012). Therefore, women are considered deserving recipients of loans. So, investing in women is essentially based on gender stereotypes with the understanding that it improves productivity and profitability. Policies and interventions tend to feminise poverty, feminise responsibility and exaggerate the difference that women can make. The Nike, Girl Effect project is a good example. Girls are framed as "saviours of the world who can end poverty and save humanity" (Koffman & Gill 2013: 86). This approach frames poverty as a woman's problem that she can overcome through entrepreneurial efforts; it fails to address powerful institutions like gendered macro-economic policies that cause women's inequality (ibid).

Proponents of women's economic empowerment make it the role of the individual/woman to lift herself up from her poor conditions through entrepreneurial efforts, and the World Bank is a good example of this approach (Narayan, 2005). Feminist economists have however put forward the exploitation thesis which argues that disparity in material status, and fall-back positions affect bargaining power. In some cases, a lack of fall-back position means that women do not have access to other opportunities, higher level of education or equal income opportunities as men. Lack of a fall-back position may keep women in undesirable work and personal relationships; and increase the likelihood of women to accept micro-loans (Chant & Sweetman, 2012).

Sharma (2006) offers a complex view, through her ethnographic study of a women's empowerment initiative in India, she posits that empowerment should not be viewed as an effortlessly functioning one-way hegemonic discourse (with oppressors and the oppressed). She

suggests that the discourse is rather filled with contestations and contra-hegemonic moves by women. She observed that in India, in some instances, contra-hegemonic moves included women demanding assistance from the so called 'rolled back' state. As a result, although empowerment attempts to name and normalise subaltern subjects, the result may not always be predictable. Sharma puts forward the argument that by insisting on viewing empowerment as neoliberal and as hegemonic only, feminist and other critiques serve to over simplify a complex discourse. Ferguson (1994) also through an ethnography study of a development initiative in Lesotho, demonstrates how subjects easily subverted, resisted or offered counter-hegemonic narratives to a seemingly seamless hegemonic development project. When a number of different players come together for empowerment initiatives the discourse and practise becomes even more complex. The section below examines the critiques of partnerships between private corporations or multi-national corporations with development agents.

2.4 The corporatisation of development

The involvement of private corporations in development have brought with them a Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) approach to development which centres on empowering individuals strategically positioned in corporate value chains. Consequently, development now targets stakeholders as opposed to citizens (Sharp, 2006). Development imbedded in capital enterprise activities favours economic growth at the expense of human well-being. Seemingly, this is in contradiction with the move in recent years by the UNDP which acknowledges that increase in economic growth does not necessarily improve quality of life or decrease inequality for the masses (Springer, 2015). Instead, Hickel (2014) posits that private corporations take advantage of women's lack of fall back positions and offers them interventions which keep them busy without actually lifting them from poverty. He attempts to demonstrate that a capabilities approach to women's empowerment depoliticises poverty (by treating empowerment as a simple list of goals and objectives) and as a result enable corporations and international banks to get involved in empowerment without undermining their own (profit) interests. Hickel goes further to suggest that PR campaigns which accompany empowerment campaigns serve to create emotional ties while hiding the exploitative relationships private corporations, international banks and the global South. Some of these include "fundamental drivers of poverty and hunger like SAPs, debt, tax evasion, labour exploitation, financial crisis and corruption in the global governance system" (Hickel 2014, 1356). Hengveld (2015) supports this argument, in analysing a girl empowering campaign she sees it as a corporate myth designed to entrench systemic inequality, encourage consumption, while expanding market penetration and diffusing blame for poverty. In her view, initiatives instruct girls to work to pay for their families' health and education with micro credit and pushes entrepreneurship schemes on them. According

to Hengveld this approach does not teach girls about living wages, labour rights and their rights to social services and as a result silences the role of governments. Hickel (2014) also argues that this approach creates new forms of dependency for women as workers, consumers and debtors.

The association of women's empowerment with smart economics directly links empowerment with capital accumulation. Feminists like Mohanty (2003) and Kabeer (1999) find this association highly problematic as empowerment requires more than capital accumulation. On the other hand, Mohanty points out that for institutions the conditions of capital accumulation are depended on intensifying racist, patriarchal and heterosexual relations of rule. Therefore, capital functioning through women's 'empowerment' initiatives brings with it relations of rule based on inequality and where these already exist, it exploits them for profit. Gender inequality is therefore contingent for capital accumulation.

2.5 Public Relations (PR) campaigns, myths and fables

The rising approach of mediated messages meant to appeal to donors and individuals to invest in women by private corporations has also brought about what scholars are calling myths and fables. Women and girls appear in condensed glossed up messages which misrepresent their circumstances.

> Ideas about women, gender, and development now occupy the status of 'myth' which work 'by encoding "truths" in narratives that nourish and sustain convictions [and] inspire action'. When deployed by development, gender myths tend to (re)essentialise power differentials between men and women, homogenise and universalise 'women's experience', and reductively '[define] the problem as well as the solution' (Cornwall et al., 2008: 5 in Switzer 2013: 350).

On the other hand, mediated narratives of gender and development tend to vacillate between women being both victims and heroines:

> Heroic in their capacities for struggle, in the steadfastness with which they carry the burdens of gender disadvantage and in their exercise of autonomy; victims as those with curtailed choices, a triple work burden and on the receiving end of male oppression and violence (Cornwall et al. 2007:3).

Another criticism is also that development initiatives are concentrating more and more on younger women, and besides leaving out men, are also leaving out older women thereby creating the idea that older women are disposable or no longer useful to development (Chant & Sweetman, 2012 & Koffman & Gill 2012).

The Nike initiative was rolled out in partnership with the World Bank among other partners. The current 5by20 Coca-Cola initiative has also been rolled out in partnership with UN Women. Partnerships of profit oriented organisations with local governments and or development agents on

women's empowerment therefore seem to be a rising global trend. Criticism for these initiatives centres on how these are driven by neoliberal policies and create a smart economics hegemonic discourse with the overall intention of profit making and population control. It appears that liberal Northern feminism and multi-nationals have moved from presenting women from the developing world as a homogenous helpless category lacking in agency, initiatives credit women with agency but find a way of channelling this agency into capital projects aimed at increasing economic growth. Discourses of women and girls requiring saving from harmful cultural practises are still prevalent and overshadow other causes of poverty. Women are however also presented as powerful and unstoppable entrepreneurial agents. This creates contradictions which waver between helpless women and brave but poor entrepreneurial subjects (Koffman & Gill 2013). The contradictions and contestation presented by these partnerships will be interrogated in Chapter 5 where I discuss the corporatisation of development.

2.6 Conclusion

The convergence of development agents and corporates in development sharpens a neo-liberal focus to development, which inadvertently also treats poverty as an individual problem. This approach sees poor women and girls as the solution to poverty and answer to economic growth but ignores dealing with the social, political structures which hamper women's empowerment. Other authors (Wilson, 2012 & Chant & Sweetman, 2012) however argue that this current approach to empowerment which silences structural inequalities not only takes advantage of but rely on these inequalities which force women to perform gendered labour. Feminists argue that programmes are designed around racialised feminine qualities which lead to the overburdening of a certain class of women. A neo-liberal approach to empowerment initiatives privileges entrepreneurial agency, creates debt dependency thereby entrenching the vulnerability of its beneficiaries. Sharma (2006) highlights however, that empowerment initiatives do not always have a predictable outcome as some subaltern subjects in India denied the silencing effect of regulation by imposing their demands on the state.

2.7 A synopsis of the research project

The 5by20 project is framed by Coca-Cola as a global women's economic empowerment initiative. It was rolled out in 2010. The main objective of this initiative is to economically empower 5 million women from 200 countries around the world including South Africa by 2020. Coca-Cola in

partnership with UN Women[4] its 'signature global partner' is also collaborating with business, government and civil society on this intervention (Coca-Cola 2015). The initiative offers financial resources (read loans), training and mentorship to participants who run their various 'entrepreneurial' businesses along its value chain. A fully detailed account of the initiative is in Chapter 5.

[4] "In July 2010, the United Nations General Assembly created UN Women, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women. In doing so, UN Member States took an historic step in accelerating the organization's goals on gender equality and the empowerment of women." http://www.unwomen.org

CHAPTER 3

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter I explored the various debates on the discourse of women's empowerment. In this chapter I look at the process of - and considerations that went into - a qualitative data collection. The main research question *'how are women, and women's empowerment represented in development discourse, and to what ends are these notions mobilised'*? Suggests that there is a way that women's empowerment is presented and this has an effect in shaping the development discourse. My main objective was therefore to understand how the discourse of women's empowerment is shaped through the 5by20 initiative and how in turn this impacts on the development discourse. The study of discourse naturally led to a qualitative research design, so I offer justifications for my research design in this chapter. I also discuss the complexities of discourse analysis as a theory and method, and my reflexivity during the process as I try to show how this method is indispensable as a system of inquiry into the relationship between knowledge and power.

The main aspect of the study was an analysis of text which consisted of fact sheets, press releases, interviews, photographs, organisational reports, videos, annual reports and other material. The study also relied on secondary data which involved policies, books, newspapers, journal articles and various reports which influenced the conceptualisation of the 5by20 initiative directly and indirectly. I also accessed the field by speaking to experts in the field of women's empowerment in South Africa.

3.2 Research design

3.2.1 A qualitative approach

This study took a qualitative approach because "a qualitative methodology focuses on assessment of subjective phenomena as ideas, opinion and pattern as opposed to a quantitative methodology which is associated with the rational and objective measurement of observable phenomena" (Ashley & Boyd, 2006: 71). In a quantitative approach, "science is considered value-free, based on objective and empirical evidence alone; there is 'no place for culture's values or the researcher's personal values or beliefs" (Neuman 2003: 547). In this approach, the goal of research is to be quantifiable,

measurable and dependable (Ackoff 1962 in Martindale 1988). As a result of this approach, there is consensus among feminists that scientific research has marginalised women in the past, as firstly, the male figure was the default measurement in research (Harding, 1987). Feminist research favours qualitative methodology and methods secondly, because it allows for the subjective experiences of women, since this research takes a feminist approach, it was appropriate for me to use a qualitative approach as it is also applicable to the study of institutions. It may be useful to mention here that feminist research is not averse to quantitative methods but rather makes use of them as and when necessary in conjunction with qualitative research to enhance and clarify arguments.

Qualitative analysis is also part of the interpretive approach; according to Sarantakos (2005) qualitative analysis allows the researcher to assess meaning. My study relies heavily if not solely on assessing or interpreting meaning. Feminist research agrees with the interpretive and critical social science approaches. Neuman (2000:82) says "the critical social inquiry goes beyond the surface illusions to cove the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves." My research interrogates the conceptualisation and effect of a women's empowerment initiative to the development discourse; a critical engagement with my findings can arguably offer a change of conditions if applied. It would also have not been possible for me to examine the 'how' and 'effect' questions in a quantitative approach. A quantitative approach does not allow interrogation of meaning or power relationships for that matter. The furthest it can go is in examining attitudes through participant surveys. In qualitative methods, however, as offered by Creswell (2003:18) "the researcher collects open-ended emerging data with the primary intent of developing themes from the data". I used the different themes that emerged from the 5by20 text to categorise my findings in order to allow for easier analysis.

In addition, if a concept or phenomenon needs to be understood because little research has been done on it, then it merits a qualitative approach (Creswell, 2003). As mentioned previously, there has not been a critical or feminist analysis of the 5by20 initiative. Also, as a result of the fact that studies with a quantitative approach belong to an old model of research which relies on calculated systemic procedures and rules laid out for the research, a "qualitative approaches allow room to be innovative and to work more within researcher-designed frameworks" (Creswell, 2003: 22). In a qualitative approach "the researcher often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives, i.e. the multiple meanings of individual experiences, which are socially and historically constructed" (Creswell, 2003: 18). In order to understand the social and historical construction of the knowledge around women's empowerment I had to identify theories that could assist in this regard. I therefore decided to lean on the post-colonial feminist theory and the post-

structuralist theoretical perspective. As Creswell (2003) explains, there are philosophical assumptions that inform knowledge claims, followed by strategies of inquiry, and specific research methods. When philosophy, strategies, and methods are combined, they provide different frameworks for conducting research (Ibid). As I will demonstrate further down, my chosen qualitative method of data collection i.e. discourse analysis is also both a theory and method.

3.3.2 Theoretical underpinnings to research design

"A theory is a systematic explanation for observations that relate to a particular aspect of life" (Babbie, 2010:45), whereas "a paradigm offers a way of looking, a theory aims at explaining what we see (p.44). This study therefore drew intellectual inspiration from the post-structuralism theory, which "compared to other forms of critical theory, focuses on the social distribution of power in its relation to the construction of knowledge in what has come to be known as the 'power/knowledge' critique" (Harcourt, 2007: 21). Looking at how women's empowerment is conceptualised entails looking at the knowledge constructed to support this phenomenon. Foucault uses the term 'power/knowledge' to indicate that power is established through accepted forms of knowledge, scientific understanding and 'truth'. The study also relied on post-colonial feminist theory which acknowledges what has been coined as 'double colonisation' whereby women in the developing world have simultaneously experienced the oppression of colonialism and patriarchy (Tyagi, 2014). I found this theory useful in locating the subject historically and to a certain extent geographically. Use of the post-structuralism framework enabled analysis of gaps and ambiguities in the structure of meanings in how women's empowerment is conceptualised. It enables one to formulate a contrary understanding of women's empowerment which may be opposed to or silenced in the current empowerment discourse. It therefore enables the researcher to think beyond the information presented by experts as complete and true when defining economic empowerment. On the other hand, a post-colonial feminist framework just like post-structuralism seeks an understanding of meaning which does not preclude history but rather seeks to see the role of history in creating meaning, hence knowledge.

3.3 Discourse analysis

It follows that the post-structuralist and post-colonial theories can only be complimented by use of qualitative techniques hence I chose discourse analysis. A qualitative approach to research according to Neuman (2006) allows an interpretation to discover meaning concealed between texts. A qualitative approach allowed me to decode meaning and influence behind 5by20 texts and helped me to recognise that texts are subjective. Michel Foucault (1981) is the proponent of the concept of

discourse as a power/knowledge formation; he sees discourse as a structured system of statements which may be expressed in various ways through all types of media. Discourse is about the production of knowledge. When different statements, opinions, comments, narratives and other forms of knowledge on a topic come together they form a discourse (Hall, 1992). Hall sees discourse as a coming together of different statements (which Foucault calls a discursive formation), discourse therefore can also be regarded as a certain way of talking about a certain subject or topic – a way of presenting the world. Discourse analysis on the other hand, enables understanding of the conditions behind a specific "problem", for, the essence of a "problem" and its resolution, lie in its assumptions; the very assumptions that enable the existence of that "problem" (Discourse analysis: 2008). I therefore approached the research with the view that the solutions that are suggested to the problem of women's empowerment are directly related to how the problem of women's empowerment is formulated, framed and understood. As my study sought to understand how 'women' are conceptualised and in turn how 'women's empowerment' is conceptualised with a view to analyse how this conceptualisation makes 'empowerment' development initiatives possible, a discourse analysis approach seemed fitting. So, in order to understand how the problem of women's inequality is formulated and understood, I followed Foucault's approach when he studied institutions. He studied modern institutions like the prison and psychiatric hospitals to see how discursive categories are produced; he studied 'madness' as a discourse i.e. as a way of talking about mad people, mental illness – so instead of presuming that madness was a social disease – already out there in the world – he looked at how madness was talked about, written about, diagnosed by a host of agents like doctors, the state, therapists, the family etc. to see how these different narratives constructed what we have come now to believe is 'madness'. Particular ideas or definitions of madness then came to legitimate treatment of (became power over) those classified as being mad. My approach therefore is that the way women's empowerment is researched, talked about, written about, etcetera, legitimates the empowerment initiatives (like the 5by20 under study here) that are prescribed by the UN and other dominant players in the development field, in this case Coca-Cola. My analysis however, seeks to unpack 'the discursive processes through which discourses are constructed in ways that give the impression that they represent true or false pictures of reality' (Foucault, 1981).

3.3.1 Other Research Design Considerations

Literature or language studies are usually employed to study meaning. Theories of Jacques Derrida, Julia Kristeva, and Michel Foucault are some of the related theories that can be used to interrogate meaning. The study of meaning however falls short of examining power relationships. While the

aforesaid theorists mainly focus on the study of language, Foucault (1980) considers this approach inadequate to the study of power and demonstrates by using the examples of dialectics and semiotics. Dialectics is a philosophy whose starting point is contradiction; it compares opposing information while in search of truth. Foucault (1980) argues that the study of dialectics by Kristeva, only examine the logic of contradictions but evade the study of conflict (or political struggle). Semiology or semiotics on the other hand is a way of analysing meaning by looking at signs like words, symbols and pictures (Bignell, 2002). Bignell asserts that semiotics is applicable to a wide range of meaning like literature, theatre, dance, fashion and architecture; and it attempts to reveal the myth and ideologies embedded in messages (Ibid). I still found however, the study of semiology or semiotics inadequate as (Foucault: 1980) alleges that it only looks at the structure of communication and reduces 'the violent bloody character of conflict' (read power/political struggle) to a calm platonic form of language and dialogue. Having said that, there are also quite a number of discourse analysis approaches mainly used in language and media (Bryman & Burgess, 2002), and these mainly study the meaning and context around language. None of these, except the discourse analysis by Foucault delves specifically into the power that is constituted in knowledge. I therefore decided to disregard methods that only examine language but fail to look at the intertwined relationship of knowledge and power. In this regard, I chose a qualitative assessment using discourse analysis by the French theorist Michel Foucault.

3.3.2 Foucault and discourse analysis

Foucault is a theorist whose main interest seems to lie in language, and systems of power that control human beings. Although Foucault's ideas seem to borrow from structuralism, he rejected structuralist thought as an influence, leading to criticism by other scholars. He however considered his objective as not necessarily that of interrogating power but rather, to be that "of creating a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" (Rabinow, 1984:7). Rabinow explains Foucault's work:

> The most famous examples from Foucault's work are the isolation of lepers during the Middle Ages; the confinement of the poor, the insane, and vagabonds in the great catch-all Hospital General in Paris in 1656; the new classifications of disease and the associated practices of clinical medicine in early-nineteenth-century France; the rise of modern psychiatry and its entry into the hospitals, prisons, and clinics throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and finally the medicalization, stigmatization, and normalization of sexual deviance in modern Europe (Rabinow, 1984:8)

In all these studies Foucault traces how knowledge is accumulated, gains truth status and how in the process human beings are made subjects.

> Foucault calls this attempt to locate historically and analyze the strands of discourse and practices dealing with the subject, knowledge, and power "the genealogy of the modern subject. (Rabinow 1984: 7)

"By tracing genealogies Foucault acknowledges that the past is actively linked with the present" (Pearson, 2007:7), hence my leaning on the post-colonial theory as I analyse the discourse around women's empowerment. It is my analysis therefore that where most people or scholars dedicate themselves to fighting for certain ideas in life, Foucault's approach is to try and unearth where the ideas emanate from, how they are conceptualised, who they service and to what effect.

As a result, Foucault's approach to discourse analysis, has also been used to critique development thinking and paradigms, by the likes of Escobar and Castells – termed the post-development critics, they see development discourse as saturated with power (Gaventa, 2003). They problematise the conceptualisation of the meaning of poverty by the West and the unequal power relations between the West and the developing world. The authors are however criticised for their failure to apply Foucault's ideas about power satisfactorily. Criticism for their approach is largely based on the fact that they present power as residing in one source with total control (the West) and failure to acknowledge the agency of the developing world. On the contrary, Foucault's approach is that power does not reside in any one actor all the time but is rather fluid and shifts discursively between actors. Nonetheless, the post-development critics' contribution adds to the discourse of development by challenging the technocratic knowledges presented as complete and true. I was careful therefore in my research, not to fall into the same pitfalls as the post-development critics. I kept an open mind in my approach to data collection and analysis, and realised that there is no one constantly dominant and repressive powerful actor, but rather there are many actors around which power shifts. However, throughout my research I also had nagging questions about the practicality of Foucault's approach – of power being everywhere per say. Surely institutions like the UN and Coke had way more power and know-how than the subjects they set out to empower? I will deal with this dissonance in the next paragraph.

What I did take away from the post-development literature and from Ferguson (1994) is that development is conceptualised in a way that allows or legitimises certain interventions. This helped my thinking in formulating my question; I needed to understand how women's empowerment is conceptualised in order to understand how it is then deployed in development discourse. Through an anthropology study, Ferguson (1994), observed development initiatives in Lesotho in southern Africa, and inadvertently discovered that the subjects who are the intended beneficiaries actively resisted (the largely misguided projects) thereby demonstrating their agency and power. The ability by beneficiaries to subvert well intentioned development initiatives demonstrate the Foucauldian idea of power being everywhere, and with different actors at different times. I realised also that just because power is everywhere does not mean that it is also in equal proportions, hence the dominance of some actors. Ferguson (1994) also goes further so as to label development an anti-politics machine – meaning that development is presented as neutral and apolitical. This alerted me to look into ways in which the empowerment discourse tries to ignore that both beneficiaries and institutions are political actors located at complicated intersecting positions. For instance, looking at women as loving mothers and wives willing to sacrifice 90 percent of their incomes for their families (Coca-Cola, 2010) is a representation which hides the unequal relationship a woman has with the family, the state, the labour market and consequently how women in general find themselves as political actors at the intersection of the so called private and public spheres.

3.4 Sampling

I chose the 5by20 Coca-Cola women's empowerment initiative as a 'case study' on the basis of its size; it has a global reach, and is therefore poised to set a global trend in women's empowerment. The idea of a sample however, is to make extrapolations about some larger population from a smaller one. In my search for a global project to study I came across a number of global campaigns like Nike's Girl Effect and Sheryl WuDunn's Half the Sky, Uniliver's Sustainable Living Plan and Walmart Foundation's Global Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative. These campaigns have received overwhelming praise (Swizter, 2013) and a few critical/feminist reviews and analyses. To date the 5by20 initiative has not been critically analysed from a feminist perspective. My approach to sampling was therefore purposive, with a view to identify a representative case for in-depth investigation (Neuman, 2003). Through my search for a project/initiative to study, I established that the Harvard Kennedy School's review of this project was depoliticised and spoke only to the empirical project and did not locate it politically or socially, although the project's main goal of achieving gender equality is political because it is meant to destabilise power dynamics that cause women's inequality. This discovery enhanced the importance of this sample.

3.5 Location of study

The Coca-Cola 5by20 women's empowerment initiative is a global project which was conceptualised at Coke's headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, in the United States of America (USA). It is implemented in various countries around the world through Coca-Cola country offices, UN Women country offices, and NGOs, governments and other global financial partners offer basic entrepreneur training and loan processing for women participants on behalf of Coca-Cola. Most of the beneficiaries of the 5by20 empowerment initiative are women located in the developing world, where I also reside. As a result of constraints related to cost, distance and time, I decided to study this project through an analysis of documents as opposed to interviews. Document analysis is a valid research method as "organisational and institutional documents have been a staple in qualitative research for many years" (Bowen, 2009: 27).

3.6 Accessing the field

I decided to approach UN Women in South Africa and Coca-Cola South Africa, to get a background to the 5by20 initiative and for guidance as to where I could source relevant documents. At the time of accessing these organisations I was also open to the idea of using interviews as a data collection method. I met with representatives from both organisations who are responsible for implementing the local 5by20 project in South Africa. They both directed me to the Coca-Cola website, and pointed out that all relevant text for the initiative could be accessed there. The process of requesting and being afforded a meeting however, took over two months. The approved meeting was initially an hour long, it was later changed to thirty minutes, when the meeting time finally arrived I was only afforded fifteen minutes. The perception I got from this meeting and other communication prior to the meeting was that getting hold of any information or conducting interviews, would have been a near impossible task because of bureaucracy/red tape and outright distrust of researchers by these organisations.

The UN Women representative also made it clear that it would take several meetings in which they expected to scrutinise my research proposal and intentions before they could decide to allow the research or participate in interviews, they also denied the request to hand over any internal documents pertaining to the 5by20 project. After the proposed scrutiny, personnel from both organisations also expected to be allowed to contribute to my research design so as to influence a 'positive outcome' as they termed it, as opposed to what they termed a likely 'biased outcome'. Our meeting also revealed that dealing with the South African office would alter the research from a

global to a strictly local perspective. Both the Coca-Cola and UN Women representatives could only answer questions pertaining directly to the South African project they were in charge of. I therefore concluded that a documentary analysis was in fact the best approach to this research.

My initial concern was that document analysis is usually used in combination with other methods such as interviews and or participant observation as a means of triangulation for the sake of corroboration (Denzin, 1970 in Bowen, 2009). I soon established however, that document analysis does not only serve to complement other research methods, in some cases it has also been used as a stand-alone method (Bowen, 2009). According to Bowen (2009), Glaser & Strauss (1967) also acknowledged that although data in most grounded theory studies come from interviews and observations, entire studies can be conducted with only documents(ibid). Recently, Moodie (2013) analysed a money lending programme through website documents and Koffman and Gill (2013) also use text to analyse the Nike girl empowerment initiative, while Hickel (2014) also uses text to analyses the empowerment discourse. After sifting through the 5by20 documents on the Coca-Cola website I established that some of the documents had videos embedded in them, and some contained interviews, press releases and various other material, all of which would assist in triangulation. Triangulation speaks to getting information from different sources for comparative purposes.

In an effort to access the field of women empowerment I also met and talked to senior personnel in the Commission for Gender Equality in South Africa. Personnel from this organisation confirmed their ignorance of the 5by20 initiative. Their organisation serves to arbitrate where companies fail to meet gender equality regulations. They pointed me to the Department of Women in the office of the Presidency. The department confirmed that they (the government) knew about the 5by20 project and also participated in the project. My several requests for documents and or interviews in order to understand the involvement of the government were however fruitless over a period of six months. I managed to download documents pertaining to the SA government's understanding of and involvement in women's economic empowerment from the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) website. I noted through this experience the advantage of documents over interviews and observation, as they lack reactivity and offer easier accessibility. The documents analysed in my study allowed me to continue with my research in the absence of responses from bureaucratic institutions like the Department of Women in the South African government.

3.7 Data collection and analysis

After settling on the use of documents for my research, it also came to my attention that when a study relies heavily or exclusively on the use of documents, "access to a wide range of documents in order to provide a preponderance of evidence is required" (Bowen, 2009: 33). I therefore made a point of accessing documents pertaining to different stages of the initiative. Upon reading documents which state the rationale behind the initiative, the purpose of the initiative, and the goals of the initiative, I realised that different policy documents emanating from the UN and its subsidiaries and subsequently the UN Women, inform the initiative. This led to my search and access to secondary data which inform the initiative such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), this document is one of the first in which the UN alluded to women's empowerment as a development agenda. Another example is the World Bank Development Report of 2012, this report was dedicated to gender equality and this report has become one of many, where the smart economics approach to women's empowerment is cited as scientific knowledge. Pertaining to the use of secondary data, social research can and does utilise data previously gathered for other purposes (Baker, 1994).

I was aware of the need to be reflexive in my search for information as Bowen (2009) warns against selectively choosing information that may serve to enhance one's preconceived notions as a researcher. After looking at the Coca-Cola website I decided to analyse only the documents chosen and posted by the organisation as the best representation of their 5by20 initiative. I compared documents in order to elaborate, corroborate or disconfirm some of the information found in the Coca-Cola fact sheets and other text. I also "extracted and analysed data from documents as part of theoretical sampling—that is, sampling on the basis of concepts that have proven theoretical relevance to the evolving theory" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 176) – in this case theories such as smart economics, empowerment, and development.

I tried as much as possible, to establish the authenticity, credibility, accuracy, and representativeness of the selected documents (Bowen, 2009). For instance, where reference is made to research from UNICEF, World Bank etcetera, I would download and read the source documents. I also made sure to establish the meaning of each document and its contribution to the issues being explored. For example, when studying a press release statement I was aware that the text is influenced by the target audience and the purpose of the communication as opposed to, say, an annual report which addresses a different target audience and is compiled for a different purpose. For instance, a fact sheet condenses information, while an annual report gives background to the

thinking behind Coca-Cola's Corporate Social Responsibility in general, and women's empowerment in particular. In some cases, I contrasted reports to looks for gaps and ambiguities.

Another institute cited by Coca-Cola for contributing to the rationale of the 5by20 is the Harvard Kennedy School. Their report supported the reasoning that, for private businesses to participate in empowering women, they need to do so at a profit in order for empowerment to be sustainable. The Harvard Kennedy School, through their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) section compiled a report on the conceptualisation and success of the 5by20 initiative and reported that it is operating at a profit (Jenkins, Valikai & Baptista, 2013). I address this report in my critical analysis of the initiative in Chapters 5 and 6.

At this point in my data collection, I realised that in order to understand the implication of Coca-Cola's partnership with UN Women, I needed to conduct an extensive literature review on both organisations. I mainly relied on documents from the websites of both organisations. This research led to Chapter 4 where I discuss the functions of the UN, and trace its gravitation towards combining private business and development - which the UN named the Global Compact, and subsequently the Business Call to Action (BCtA) – with effects which may be termed the corporatisation of development. I discuss Coca-Cola's approach to CSR in Chapter 4, but prior to that in order to give a background to my research; I present the broad debates pertaining to CSR immediately in the same chapter. The Women's Empowerment Principles — Equality Means Business initiative, launched in March 2010, by the UN Women (2011) also informs the 5by20 initiative (as secondary data) and is testament to the deliberate process of the UN to combine business and development, stakeholders from this initiative include business, civil society, international organizations and governments.

The process of sifting through documents and going from website to website, and search engines also entailed content and thematic analysis. Content analysis is the process of organising information into categories related to the central questions of the research (Bowen, 2009). As I gathered relevant information into categories, patterns started to emerge. For instance, Coca-Cola and the UN Women like other corporates and developing agents are combining their knowledge and joining forces on women's empowerment (see Appendix 1). Through this coming together of powerful organisations, I observed what Foucault terms the formal systemisation of knowledge. On the other hand, the way a number of MNCs together with the UN have come together to agree that economic empowerment for women is smart economics demonstrates the power/knowledge formation. Foucault (1980) argues that mere scientific discourse or research is a form of power. For

instance, during my data collection I observed that the UN uses its sophisticated access to research data, through its various units, to generate research which demonstrates that smart economics is equal to women's empowerment. This research is then formally written into policies, then systematically disseminated through programs like the Business Call to Action (BCtA). This research then informs how various organisations like Coca-Cola, Nike, Uniliver, Walmart and others, formally adopt the research through their CSR programs which are now also considered equivalent to development initiatives. I established that the partnership between Coca-Cola and the UN Women is a result of this expert knowledge. Tania Murray Li (2007) calls it authorising knowledge or specification of the requisite body of knowledge in a given discourse. Foucault (1980) further sees this as a possible tyranny of globalising discourses with their hierarchies and all their privileges. He posits that "each society has a regime of truth, its general politics of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true" (Foucault, 1980; p.131). In line with this thinking I view scientific research from the UN and Coca-Cola and other institutions affiliated to 5by20, as a form of power, the power is demonstrated when interventions unfold, interventions show us that discourse informs social practises. These institutes lend even more credence to the power of research by virtue of their names and reputations, for example, the UN and Harvard give credibility to development knowledge through their esteemed research and the work of 5by20. Foucault (1980) posits that discourse produces knowledge and knowledge is implicated in power. When statements from these different actors converge they form discursive categories.

Foucault's approach to the study of power however, acknowledges that there is contestation and resistance to power at different levels, there is therefore no absolute uncontested discourse. I therefore looked for literature that resists the current empowerment discourse. I discovered that resistance discourses in development and women's empowerment in particular, largely emanate from feminist theory and scholars. I therefore collected feminist texts on empowerment. Thereafter, I also noticed the complexity of discourse when I observed that the 5by20 conceptualisation for instance appeals only to certain sections of liberal feminist theory, which fit in with what critics term the neoliberal development agenda (Hickel, 2014). It soon became evident that the smart economics approach is selective in its use of feminist theory choosing to heavily rely on the capability approach (Boserup 1970 & Kabeer 2003) which argues that women are as capable as men to enter the labour market. This is based on an aspect of liberal feminism and leaves out other important feminisms that

challenge the gendered power dynamics in the formal and informal labour market which may hinder women's full participation.

I then decided to go in search for silenced discourses as my research sought to establish the dominant discourses (and silenced discourses) and subsequently to ascertain the versions of social reality they privilege that legitimate existing power relations (Hall 1992). To that end, I established that the only available analysis of the 5by20 initiative done by Harvard seems to privilege the view that women are good subjects for economic growth and that investing in women is good because of the multiplier effect mentioned in the first chapter, in the introduction section. This approach subverts other forms of knowledge, for instance that women can be empowered for the sake of their human rights and not just for their multiplier effect on economic development (Kabeer 1999, Chant & Sweetman 2012, and Wilson 2015). I looked at various discourses because Foucault (1980) posits that power circulates through discourse. I kept in mind that the Foucauldian idea of power however is different from usual conceptions of power as an oppressive force. Most importantly Foucault argues that power eludes the total control of any one centralising body (Weedon 1997, 118) such as the state or multi-nationals, these are important forces among others. Discourses are therefore intertwined; the marginalised or subverted, the silenced and the dominant all work together to produce the discourse of empowerment in this era.

At this point I also realised that the women who participate in the 5by20 initiative were not part of the conceptualisation of the project. From the onset of my research, my concern had been that by not interviewing the women, I also served to silence them. I then realised that their lack of involvement in the initial conceptualisation of the project rather presented a finding for me. Their contribution to the discourse came through their testimonials in participating in the project, and in sharing their life experiences before and after the project through videos recorded by Coca-Cola. I viewed these testimonials on the videos I found on the Coca-Cola website and I address the limitations of this exercise later in this chapter. I have to point out here that the lack of consultation of women in the conceptualisation of the project may not be totally disempowering. I considered Foucault's notion that power is not resident in one particular entity or institution; and also, Ferguson on his ethnographic research on micro-politics which revealed that villagers in Lesotho, in southern Africa resisted and disrupted a carefully planned development programme (Ferguson, 1994) thereby contributing to the discourse. I realised that the interaction of the women with the project would not merely serve to form their subjectivities which I explore in my analysis but is also a contribution to the discourse.

I noted that Coca-Cola, in their videos about women participants, present them as hardworking and grateful subjects without so much as a hint of conflict, resistance or contradiction. Although I find this problematic as I suspect that it does not fully show the women's experiences with the project I also realise that absence of contradictory information does not in any way limit the purpose of this research – which is to see how women's empowerment is conceptualised and to see how this conceptualisation enables development initiatives. I realise that the women or beneficiaries of the 5by20 initiative were not specifically consulted during the conceptualisation of the project. Coca-Cola relied largely on their own and UN Women's research on gender equality and women's economic empowerment.

Throughout my research project I kept a diary where I recorded my ideas, reflections and notes relevant to the research. It occurred to me during my research that there were certain approaches to development which were now normalised and firmly embedded it was easy to overlook them. The taken for granted approaches in the development discourse -these are also evident in the 5by20 initiative – are the neoliberal and capitalist ordering of economic and social relations. Post-development and CSR critics (Escobar 1995, Frynas 2007) write extensively and controversially on the normalisation of the neoliberal approach to development. I say this in order to demonstrate that global trends eventually turn into systemisation or normalisation of certain knowledges and with time these become unquestionable.

Keeping in mind that discourse analysis reveals the archaeology and genealogy of knowledge through analysing systems and structures; in my analysis of documents as a source of discourse, I sought to understand the structure of the 5by20, the structures of the organisation/s which have conceptualised the initiative and the knowledge used. Foucault (1980:117) posits that "a genealogy account serves to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework". This also led me to seek the historical conceptualisation of womanhood in the context of institutions such as the state and the family by use of secondary data such as feminist literature. I needed to locate the subject and see how it is that the subject fits into the empowerment plans of 5by20 or rather what characteristics of the subject make the subject ideal for empowerment in a global economy.

I also gathered from the Coca-Cola website that implementing partners of the 5by20 initiative include NGOs, and other partners who train women entrepreneurs in business skills, these NGOs then source funds from the financial partners and disburse to participants as loans. In terms of structure, I noted that this empowerment initiative is bringing together development agents, private

business, civil society, governments and individuals within a neoliberal approach to empowerment. Neoliberalism is therefore a privileged discourse or the universalised way of doing business compared to say, the obscured socialist discourse in development theory. Women's empowerment therefore takes a neoliberal approach in terms of the loans given to individuals and the outcomes promised such as that of an independent individual free to consume and to transact. Bearing in mind that neo-liberalism is a widely and loosely used term currently, for this research I follow Ferguson and see it as:

> In perhaps the strictest sense, neoliberalism refers to a macro-economic doctrine. The key elements of the doctrine are variously described, but always include a valorisation of private enterprise and suspicion of the state, along with what is sometimes called "free-market fetishism" and the advocacy of tariff elimination, currency deregulation, and the deployment of "enterprise models" that would allow the state itself to be 'run like a business' (Ferguson, 2009:170)

The idea that the state is under 'suspicion' in neo-liberalism is based on the fact that international NGOs and others have in the recent decades mushroomed and taken over various social services which were previously offered by the state. In the developing world as previously discussed, the shrinking state also began with the Washington Consensus, the state in the developing world has been framed as either corrupt or inept or both by international banks like the IMF (Mkandawire, 2010).

In order to study implementing partners I chose to focus on 2 countries, South Africa and the Philippines, through a random selection. In each country where Coke 5by20 is implemented, they are specific partnerships utilised by Coke to subsidise the projects and to implement them. In South Africa for instance, Coke partners with UN Women for conceptualisation and strategy of the project, and with Hand in Hand a local NGO, to carry out the training of beneficiaries and disbursement and collection of loans. In Philippines, Coke partners with TEDSA a government department responsible for training and development. In this initiative, partners like Goldman Sachs finance the loans for the women, while partners like Bill & Melinda Gates offer expertise in the farming projects in countries like Kenya for example.

I studied all (8) of the 5by20 videos about women participants uploaded on the Coca-Cola website, including one located on the UN Women website. I sought to establish the extent to which women's empowerment is an inclusive category, for instance whether the initiative shows the heterogeneous

nature of the composition of the category of women? The 5by20 videos revealed that participants are identified by their existence along the Coca-Cola value chain. Certain characteristics like hard work, self-sacrifice, determination and self-starter or initiative are used to identify women who are eligible to participate in the empowerment initiative. I came across videos of women participants from different continents in the developing world, where women are recorded talking about their lives prior to and after joining the 5by20 initiative. In the videos, the women's views of the initiative neatly align with those of Coca-Cola; they see the initiative as a life saver and a success that lifts them from poverty. I noted how social structures like family and gender, are employed by institutional structures like Coke to determine participation of subjects. Hall (1992) posits that discourses give meaning to social practises. The entrepreneurship journey as a social practise is named an empowerment initiative and is modelled around the gendered family structure.

At the core of discourse analysis is the understanding that reality is accessed through language, this is in line with post-structural and postmodern influences which inform this form of inquiry (Cheek, 2004). I noted that the language formulated around 5by20 from the conceptualisation to the implementation and up to the recipients seems to seamlessly deliver the same message; there are no obvious contradictions, gaps or ambiguities revealed in all the text. Armed with the knowledge that language however, is not transparent or value free I recognised that despite the carefully structured text in 5by20, the conceptualisation of 'women' and 'women's empowerment' cannot be taken at face value as it may invisibilise other knowledges.

This research followed that of Michel Foucault because of his post-structuralist approach to discourse analysis, his emphasis is on analysing how power is constituted in discourse from various institutions which is in line with the aim of this study. This analysis informed my decision to use discourse analysis supported by the aforesaid theories, as opposed to a semiosis or dialectics analysis. As demonstrated throughout this chapter, I was guided by Fairclough's (1995) model for critical discourse analysis which has three steps for analysis that identify interconnected elements of discourse as follows:

1) Considering the socio – historical conditions that influenced the processes:
(of women's empowerment)
b) Identifying the object of analysis
(all relevant materials such as written texts, visuals, videos and other verbal information)

c) Taking note of the process through which the object of analysis (text) was produced, sent, conveyed and received, that is, written, announced and read (Fairclough, 1995)

I therefore considered all the above in my analysis of discourse.

Criticism for discourse analysis is usually directed towards the interpretation which some might perceive as biased. In order to minimise bias my qualitative discourse analysis followed a clear decision trail, as suggested by Cheek (2004:1147)

> Such a trail involves clarifying what theoretical understandings of discourse and discourse analysis are in use, articulates clearly the theoretical framework underpinning the analysis, contains detail about which texts were analysed, why they were chosen, and how they were generated. All in all, there must be a rationale given for the choice of texts, and it must stand up to scrutiny.

In essence however, it is impossible to eliminate subjectivity or to remove oneself from discourse to be totally objective (Foucault, 1972). As some authors have previously argued, the problem of valid interpretations will remain with the production of knowledge and competing interpretations of the truth are mostly likely to weigh in favour of the people who have the capacity to produce knowledge (Foucault, 1972), since the truth will vary with the political spaces that are transient. That is, it is acceptable to have different people reading the same text and reaching different interpretations. The guiding factor is that if someone carries out an intersectional feminist analysis relying on post-structuralist and post-colonial feminist theory, using the same sample, they should arrive at more or less the same conclusions I have.

3.8 Analysis of data

There are countless ways to analyse data, the difference lies in the purpose and preference of the researcher. Data analysis can however be reduced to three basic functions, "1) language oriented – the use of language and meaning of words as a means of understanding interactions, 2) Descriptive and interpretive – for describing and interpreting social phenomena, and 3) theory building approaches -which attempt to link connection between phenomena, and demonstrate that events are structured or influenced by how actors define phenomena" (Tesch 1991: 17-25 in Dey 2005:2). These classifications serve as guidelines in order to help researchers process their information, in practise they may overlap. It suffices to say that in dealing with qualitative data such as the one for this research, the data collection and data analysis were not exclusive functions, the two were intertwined. Analysis in qualitative text, particularly in discourse, is not a process that is exclusive or divorced from data collection. These processes overlap, as one finds data, it is sorted mentally even

before the actual physical sorting of data. For instance, because of my background and knowledge of feminist theory I could immediately see themes and certain gaps in information; take for instance where the 5by20 text represents women as happy, industrious subjects happy to plough back 90% of their incomes back into their families at their own expense because of 'love'. According to feminist theory and my own lived experience women do not necessarily pour their incomes into their families because of 'love' but rather out of necessity and this necessity is created by society's expectations based on patriarchal beliefs which expect certain actions from women, and these expectations permeate through all spheres of life i.e. the social, economic, and political. So, while collecting data, I would make notes of possible themes I could see emerging and group them together. While continuing to collect data, I would also be mentally trying to see what kind of meaning these themes implied.

> Writing and analysis comprise a movement between the tangible and intangible, between the cerebral and sensual, between the visible and invisible. Interpretation moves from evidence to ideas and theory, then back again. There can be no set formulae, only broad guidelines, sensitive to specific cases. The researcher is freed from a division of labour which splits fieldwork from analysis (Bryman & Burgess, 2002:32).

I also gathered that analysis of qualitative data relies not only on extensive reading but I also realised that to a certain degree, the richness and depth of analysis is also influenced by the researcher's prior knowledge of the topic. If motherhood for instance, seemed to be the central theme or selling point of 5by20, what then was the meaning of motherhood and what about the construction of motherhood enabled the 5by20 initiative to utilise it? To that end I relied on familiar feminist texts on motherhood and also looked for more evidence to enable a rich textual analysis.

As noted earlier my data consisted of text from documents, which was broken down into fact sheets, press releases, videos, interviews, progress updates and annual reports etc. I sorted through these various documents to determine the purpose, object, values and desired outcome of the 5by20 initiative. My themes for meaning making, for instance came from information/statements which were repeated often (in the same way or different variations), and found almost in every 5by20 document, like the Fact Sheet (2014) below:

> The Coca-Cola Company believes there is no better investment than women to spur economic growth and foster sustainable development. Women are pillars of the communities where we operate, they are critical to local and global business success and are an essential cornerstone for 2020 vision, our long-term system-wide plan for growth and doubling the business. Studies show that women are much more likely to reinvest their income on food, education and healthcare for their children and their families. And women control $20 Trillion in spending worldwide, representing an economic impact larger than the U.S., China and India combined (assets.coca-colacompany.com).

The statement above and the ones below appear almost on every document to do with 5by20 initiative and on secondary data like the World Bank (2011), Development Report and the UNICEF (2007), Gender Equality Report:

> "Women do 66% of the world's work, earn 10% of the world's income, yet invest 90% of their income into family and community" (UNICEF, 2007).

> Women are not only pillars of our business but also pillars of their communities. Women invest a sizable portion of the money they earn in the health and education of their children and in their local economies, creating a tremendous economic ripple. Unleashing the entrepreneurial potential of women is one of the surest ways to make our business sustainable, and one of the most effective and lasting ways we can help families and communities prosper. (5by20 Women's Economic Empowerment 2012-2013).

These statements present a condensed reading of the UN Women policies on women's empowerment and smart economics. While these statements brought out the rationale behind the initiative, I also noted the use of quantitative data to support the rationale in women's empowerment. Bryman & Burgess (2002: 49) say "quantification is used in the production of factual versions of knowledge". Quantitative presentation amounts to truth in research and other spheres.

3.9 Limitations in data collection

Limitations in data collection came in the fact that for instance, the texts I analysed from women participants were only available through either written documents or recorded videos by Coca-Cola. It was therefore not possible to separate the views of the participants from those of Coca-Cola. Videos show women responding to questions but the questions posed are not heard. To a certain extent it is therefore difficult to understand how much of what they say is influenced by the framing of questions by Coke, and how much are their own ideas. In some cases, though it was obvious women were regurgitated smart economics terms and rhetoric. Most importantly however, the opportunity for me to speak to participants would have meant that I could ask entirely different and probing questions to get a richer and in-depth understanding of their lives and livelihoods in relation to the 5by20 initiative. Lack of interviews with the women however, did not alter the understanding behind the conceptualisation of the project, but I think in-depth interviews could reveal in what ways the women maybe subverting the discourse, as opposed to being completely agreeable as depicted in videos by Coke.

When undertaking a broader project, I would like to interview individual women so as to be able to represent their views as accurately as possible. In the current videos, which were recorded for specific purposes (like marketing), it is not possible to fully ascertain other aspects of their

experience. As a result of the marketing purpose of the videos, they do not have enough or the kind of information in-depth interviews would yield. However, there are certain statements the recipient's makes which still manage to give a glimpse of their livelihoods. For instance, a respondent in South Africa mentions that her day starts at 03h30am in the morning while another also tells a tale of looking after at least nine extended family members. In all these expressions, the women do not complain but rather see it as their duty and burden to work long hours and look after extended family members. The framing of the 5by20 initiative also praises the women's altruism. Although interviews with women in particular could have given richer data, for the purpose of this research, the data provided is enough to formulate an understanding of the thinking behind the project.

While the lack of interviews with the personnel who conceptualised the project may be considered as a limitation by other scholars, I beg to differ. Initially I thought interviews may have been carried out with those who conceptualised the project if it was not for time, money and geographic constraints. While interacting with personnel from Coke and from UN Women however, I also later realised that these organisations are very guarded in their responses. For example, I spoke to 4 different people at Coke on different occasions and they all managed to give me a similar response, as if reading from a written script. I later realised that they might as well in fact refer to a written script (as prescribed by their communication strategy) in their responses to the media, researchers etc. Image means a lot for organisations like Coca-Cola and they invest billions to maintain their image, to that end most of their responses are structured and consistent. What I realised from this is that direct interviews may not have generated any more information that that already available on their websites as they advised me. To a large extent, their personnel simply repeat what they have already written and distributed through different media channels.

3.10 Reflexivity

In my awareness and quest for reflexivity I also realised that firstly there is no knowledge production which is value free (Lupton, 1992) and secondly; by doing this research I was creating in Foucauldian terms, a regime of truth of my own, thereby creating a certain way of viewing the world. The best I could do under these circumstances was to make sure I considered all information presented, and to consistently interrogate it using the aforesaid theories and methods. To demonstrate my application of reflexivity for instance, I considered Ferguson (1994) who warns that arguments which only say neo-liberalism is exploitative are rather unproductive. He even suggests ways in which to use neo-liberalism if possible to meet desired ends. So as opposed to carrying out research which essentially says neo-liberalism and therefore capitalism is bad or is exploitative of women, I try to demonstrate the ways in which neo-liberalism and capitalism employ women's agency to certain ends and

hopefully in the process establish how the global society has created a discourse privileged with truth status when it comes to women's economic empowerment; and "the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth and the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true" (Foucault, 1980; p.131).

3.11 Ethical considerations for secondary data

Heaton (1998:1) defines secondary analysis as "the use of existing data collected for the purposes of a prior study, in order to pursue a research interest which is distinct from that of the original work", this process is most applicable to the secondary analysis of quantitative data. On the other hand, Hakim's (1982:1) definition of secondary analysis is "any further analysis of an existing data set which presents interpretations, conclusion of knowledge additional to, or different from, those presented in the first report on the enquiry as a whole and its main results". In cases where different information sources have been placed on public platforms such as the internet, researchers or readers may make use of secondary data without the need to seek consent. Darlington and Scott (2002:30) argue that "researchers have little control over how published data are re-analysed and the selective use of quotes may prove problematic and at odds with the original purpose." Also, in some instances where people's names and words are used in secondary data analysis, there may be a need to ask for further consent if no on-going consent in primary data was not given. All the names and information pertaining to 5by20 participants have been placed on public domains such as You Tube, I was therefore satisfied that I adhered to the ethical requirements of secondary data collection.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 THE CONVERGENCE OF CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter – an analysis of CSR theories and literature - was necessitated by the realisation that the legitimating of corporates as authority figures in development governance may have inadvertently become in practise the legitimating of CSR as the way to do development (Roberts & Soederberg, 2012). This chapter therefore discusses major CSR arguments and analyses them in relation to development theory with a view to see how CSR influence may contribute to or reinforce the existing neoliberal shift in development discourse. This research takes a radical political economy approach to CSR of which the overall sentiment is that "CSR is a completely inadequate response to the sometimes-devastating impact that Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) can have in an ever-more globalised world – and that it is actually used to mask that impact. Those who suffer the most as a result are the poor and vulnerable people in developing countries and the environments in which they live" (Christian Aid[5], 2004:2). The chapter will also discuss Coca-Cola's CSR history so as to locate their theoretical approach to CSR and to as a way to foreground the discussion of the 5by20 initiative between Coca-Cola and UN Women which will follow in the next chapter.

4.2 Background

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is a complex concept incorporating an ever-growing range of issues, thus it is constantly evolving (Prieto-Carrón, Lund-Thomsen, Chan, Muro & Bhushan, 2006). CSR came to the fore as early as before the second world war, but did not take root until the mid-fifties. Howard Bowen's book *The Social Responsibilities of the Businessman* published in 1953 made what could be termed the first significant scholarly contribution on CSR. Various arguments and

[5] "**Christian Aid** is the official relief and development agency of 41 British and Irish churches,[2] and works to support sustainable development, stop poverty, support civil society and provide disaster relief in South America, the Caribbean, the Middle East, Africa and Asia. Christian Aid campaigns to change the rules and systems that keep people poor, speaking out on issues such as tax justice, trade justice, climate change, and Third World debt." www.christianaid.org.uk

practises have taken place in CSR since then and following Blowfied and Frynas (2005), Prieto-Carrón et al (2006: 978) settled on a broad definition of CSR as:

> an umbrella term for a variety of theories and practices all of which recognize the following: (a) that companies have a responsibility for their impact on society and the natural environment, sometimes beyond legal compliance and the liability of individuals; (b) that companies have a responsibility for the behaviour of others with whom they do business (e.g. within supply chains); and that (c) business needs to manage its relationship with wider society, whether for reasons of commercial viability, or to add value to society.

There currently seems to be more disagreements however, on what constitutes (CSR) than there are agreements. The meaning of CSR is not only contested but it also seems to differ in context within different business and national environments. Since inception CSR has involved aspects of corporate conduct that include social, environmental and human rights issues, and currently it has broadened to also include the role of business in relation to poverty reduction in the developing world (Prieto-Carrón at el 2006).

Neoliberal or free-market advocates believe that the business exists to make profit and should therefore not be burdened with social responsibility. To this end, Milton Friedman, an economics Nobel Prize winner believes "there is only one responsibility of business, namely to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits" (Friedman, 1970:1). His views echoed those of Adam Smith more than two centuries earlier. It Friedman's view in the long-term CSR could even be profitable for business. Other views are that the business will not thrive if the environment it exists in does not. As a result of the contradicting views there is contention on whether or not CSR should be voluntary or regulated. Almost twenty years to the release of Bowen's book, the Committee for Economic Development commissioned a study in 1970 which contributed to a paradigm shift in the CSR debate by recognizing that a balance between social and economic interests was a necessary factor (Smith 2011). This report may have been a response to some of the corporate power abuses which occurred around the 70s.

4.2.1 Responsibility versus Accountability

Carroll (1979) identifies the four stages of CSR development as economic, legal, ethical, and philanthropic obligations. Responsibility, from an economic point of view expects that companies should provide goods and services as per society needs and sell them at a profit. Legal responsibility means that companies should obey societal laws and regulations. Ethical responsibility on the other hand can be described as societal expectations of business beyond the

legal requirements. While "philanthropic responsibility indicates that these roles are purely voluntary, dependent only on the business' goodwill to engage in social roles not mandated, not required by law, and not even generally expected of businesses in an ethical sense" (Carroll 1979: 500).

At face value the lack of agreement to a singular definition seems to be because social responsibility means different things to different organisations in different contexts. Some organisations may see their basic requirement to abide by the law as a social responsibility, while others may see social responsibility as giving back to the communities and environments in which they operate. However critical analysis reveals several reasons as to why CSR is fragmented and conflicted. These are whether or not CSR should be voluntary or regulated, whether in fact it should be social 'responsibility' or 'accountability', and whether CSR should be synonymous with profit making or not. Fundamental to these arguments is the relationship between capital and power and its ability to do both good and bad and sometimes both simultaneously. It is through asymmetrical power relations that corporates can decline regulation and opt for voluntary CSR instead. Regulation would also address the issue of accountability, if CSR is regulated it would mean that they are legal obligations to not meeting set standards.

These unequal power dynamics are addressed by Christian Aid a development agent for sustainable development and poverty eradication, critical of voluntary CSR. Their analysis sums up the theoretical position driving this CSR research when they say "CSR is a completely inadequate response to the sometimes-devastating impact that Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) can have in an ever-more globalised world – and that it is actually used to mask that impact. Those who suffer the most as a result are the poor and vulnerable people in developing countries and the environments in which they live" (Christian Aid, 2004:2). This position was arrived at by Christian Aid after undertaking a case study which combined Shell, Coca-Cola and the British American Tobacco companies' business and CSR activities. The case study revealed gross human rights and environmental violations by all three MNCs. I will dwell on Shell and Coca-Cola case studies a little later on.

Ultimately, corporations do concede that at least CSR is a way to manage the compounded socio-political challenges businesses face, and serves to minimise risk for their organizations (Smith, 2011). In today's world, possible risk for businesses can emanate from issues ranging from climate change, lack of gender equality, absence of a set minimum wage for labour and ethical issues among others.

The business needs to be accountable to both its shareholders and its stakeholders; shareholders usually consist of investors and stakeholders may include employees, consumers, civil society and government. Smith (2011) argues that a systems approach (a whole is a sum of its parts) enables the business to see the interrelatedness of the businesses to its various stakeholders. Stakeholder management is therefore a concept that is considered to strategically lessen risk largely and at the centre of CSR. It however also leads to one of the major arguments in the CSR debate, which claims that CSR is largely based on image management or public relations (PR) as it were.

4.2.2 Major schools of thought in SCR

Literature on CSR has revealed that there are as many as 37 different definitions for the term (Smith 2011). Broomhill (200:6) therefore, undertook a study of CSR in a bid to shed light on the practise; he narrowed CSR down to three discernible approaches each representing a school of thought along the "neoliberal, neo-Keynesian or the radical political economy". The neo-liberal school of thought is based on the fundamental values and tenets of the capitalist enterprise which are centred on the right to make profit, the universal good of free trade, the freedom of capital, the supremacy of private property and the superiority of markets in determining price and value (Blowfield, 2005). Friedman's views therefore fall within this school of thought which is premised on the notion that business exists to make profit, and consequently that social responsibility should be voluntary and not regulated. Within this school of thought, CSR is viewed as an unreasonable intrusion to business. Neoliberal scholars however acknowledge that CSR can serve as an important insurance strategy for minimising risk, government intervention, unwelcome media attention and negative reactions from consumers and stakeholders. It is therefore seen as a good source of image management, hence the longstanding association of CSR with PR. In addition to the fact that CSR should be voluntary some of the neoliberal arguments against CSR are that it reduces competition and economic freedom and undermines the market economy.

Like the neoliberal school of thought, the neo-Keynesian school also thinks CSR should be voluntary, and sees it "as a company's commitment to operating in an economically, socially, and environmentally sustainable manner, while recognising the interests of its stakeholders' (Broomhill 2007:9). Both neo-Keynesian and neoliberals agree to the sentiment that at least CSR increases corporate value by minimising corporate risk as demonstrated above. Neo-Keynesian discourse differs from neoliberal in that it makes room for the positive role of the state and also entertains the idea that corporate behaviour can at times have harmful impacts on the environment whether intended or not. This view is consistent with Keynesian economics which advocates for a

predominantly private sector with a role for government intervention as and when necessary. As will be demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6, the very act of determining when it is necessary for government to intervene is based on the prevailing economic and political ideologies and usually left to institutions who hold the sway of decision making.

As a school of thought the radical political economy takes on a critical stance which prefers to interrogate the presence and abuse of power by corporates in local, national and global economies (Broomhill, 2007). Radical political analysts therefore do not view CSR as a voluntary exercise because in their view corporates operate in their self-interest, and more often than not can cause harm to society and environments they operate in. In fact, the radical political economy out rightly rejects voluntary CSR and is of the view that most CSR activities by corporates are designed to deflect attention from socially and environmentally destructive corporate practises (Jenkins 2005; Broomhill 2007, Hickel 2014). This school of thought also criticises what it terms 'systematic exploitation' of the developing world by US corporates. Examples usually quoted include the use of sweat shops and child labour, environmental damage by oil companies like Shell, and the infamous attempt by a US transnational company ITT to topple a democratically elected government in Chile in the 70s, the backlash suffered by Coca-Cola previously in Indian communities were water - the main ingredient in their drinks - was a scarce commodity. Coca-Cola was accused of depleting water sources and leaving only muddy and contaminated water for communities (Christian Aid, 2004).

In practise the overriding approach to CSR by corporations is based on the neo-liberal school of thought which occasionally incorporates the neo-Keynesian approach. The joining of development agents with private corporations which I will explore later on, has increased the neo-Keynesian approach to CSR. On the other hand, a radical political economy still remains a form of critique as opposed to a form of practise of CSR.

4.2.3 CSR legislation and civil societies

After the 70s incidents of corporate power abuse, attempts at regulating international trade took a more concerted effort which resulted in a number of multi-lateral agreements sponsored by the ILO, the UN, the OECD and other international organisations (Broomhill 2007). However, regulating of CSR activities was not well received within the corporate sector. The result is that over the years most corporations have come up with their own codes of practice, guidelines, principles and systems that are held up as CSR best practice (Blowfield 2005). The rise of neoliberalism in the 80s led by the

Washington Consensus which resulted in the significant shift away from state intervention created an environment of fierce competition for foreign direct investment (FDI) thereby countering the desired effects on international trade regulation. This is because corporates could easily move from country to country looking for flexible legislation. Jenkins (2007) and Blowfield (2005) argue that by this time globalisation had opened up new rights and freedoms for corporates without the proportionate obligations and responsibilities in developing countries.

By the 90s a lot of corporate scandals had emerged in the US, not least of which is the Niger Delta oil spillage and explosions by Shell in Nigeria. The resultant pollution affected the well-being and lives of the Ogoni people of Nigeria and caused outrage and demonstrations. The police and the military government requested by Shell to intervene, reacted by beating up, shooting and imprisoning protesters (Christian Aid, 2004). After a lengthy and botched up trial, 9 protesters from the Ogoni people of Nigeria were hanged by the military government of Sani Abacha, among them the well-known author, lawyer and environmental activist Ken Saro-Wiwa (Christian Aid, 2004). This gross abuse of human rights and environment degradation attracted global media attention to the abuse of power by MNCs. There was realisation that globalisation and economic liberalisation were altering the balance of rights and obligations that structure the behaviour of corporates. This case demonstrates an extreme example of the possible collusion of the state and private business and the use/abuse of their power against communities.

At this time criticism of the MNCs escalated from a variety of sources including development NGOs, human rights organisations and environmental groups, and international trade unions. Therefore, over the years NGOs have mobilised around major environmental disasters and social disasters linked to large corporations. The role of civil society as a corporate watch dog, and the mushrooming of human rights organisations have led corporates since the 90s to adopt various CSR strategies in order to generate a favourable image and remain sustainable. According to Smith (2011) over 40,000 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) operate globally and their objectives include but are not limited to environmental sustainability, corporate ethics and transparency, human rights and economic development. Although NGOs are increasingly facing criticism for conflict of interest, their influence on corporate behaviour is perhaps one of the single most recognisable forces in the era of privatisation and a reduced role of the state.

According to Bendell (2005) the criticism of corporations by development NGOs and civil society led to protests and eventually to engagement with corporations. It is this engagement with corporations which would eventually lead to both negative and positive feelings about CSR in the development world. Blowfield (2005) posits that while NGOs and civil society have been instrumental in the

adoption of CSR strategies, however, failure by governments to regulates corporates have led to NGOs seeking non-confrontational solutions which include collaborations and partnerships with corporates. Divergent views exist between development NGOs and civil society on the carrying out of CSR as a voluntary activity and on collaboration and partnerships. Some of the concerns include that collaboration and partnerships of corporates with NGOs and civil society may shield corporates from accountability to the state (Jenkins, 2005). The European Union (EU) and official development agents though were to eventually take a positive view of and in some cases, encourage CSR (Broomhill, 2007). The UN and the World Bank are some of the official development agents which later released positive statements on how corporations through CSR could work with the development agents to counter the effects of poverty and environment degradation for the poor.

4.3 CSR and development

This section seeks to look at how business and development came to work together with a view to later analyse assertions that business is shaping development (Blowfield, 2005) and not the other way. Blowfield argues that business has shaped development; the fact that the UN has invited businesses to carry out development objectives and in the process business has shaped development instead of the other way has resulted in what can be viewed as the corporatisation or privatisation of development. Blowfield (2005) makes this assertion based on the contention that "business thinking has been allowed to dominate the way we view the world, and to become the norm against which everything else is tested for true and false value" (Blowfield 2005: 516). As mentioned earlier, the neo-liberal school of thought is based on the fundamental values and tenets of the capitalist enterprise which are centred on the right to make a profit, the universal good of free trade, the freedom of capital, the supremacy of private property and the superiority of markets in determining price and value. These are non-negotiable values on which the neo-liberal ideology and practise is based. Blowfield (2005) argues that whenever businesses find themselves in communities in which different values may exist, capitalist values take precedency, thereby confirming the argument that business has become the standard against which everything else is measured.

For the longest time the widely-accepted view of business was always that of creating economic growth and the belief was that those around business would indirectly share in the benefits of healthy economies. There was no particular expectation on business other than for it to carry out its business activities and to do so in a socially responsible manner. This view seemed to have changed however and international bodies like the British Department for International

Development (DFID), and the EU followed by the World Bank and the UN were some of the first to, firstly; speak of business as a partner in human development, and secondly; to explicitly link CSR to development objectives. Blowfield (2005) posits that in 1997 DFID alluded to the fact that even though international trade continued to be a great idea for global economic growth, it could however bring with it undesirable consequences. DFID therefore saw CSR as a major way of countering these undesirable consequences in order to protect workers and the environment. After a couple of years in 2003, the World Bank also presented CSR in unmistakable positive terms as "the commitment of business to contribute to sustainable economic development, working with employees, their families, the local community and society at large to improve their quality of life, in ways that are both good for business and good for development" (Blowfield 2005: 515). This proved to be the beginning of a turnaround in the expectations that international development bodies held towards the business function in society. In 2004 NGOs and trade unions in Europe approached the EU in a bid to demand business to formulate specific CSR objectives in respect to the developing world. This further cemented the expectations between corporations and development in the South, for the new millennium.

Blowfield (2005) also posits that the developing world itself in the 80s only viewed the business as a source of generating employment and government taxes. Although the corporate scandals of the 90s had somewhat dampened the perceptions of business as a partner in economic issues, the positive perspective of business' contribution returned again after failure of SAPs. The new millennium has therefore seen most governments begin to look to business and NGOs as partners in poverty alleviation and offering the primary services that the state is failing to offer. As official development agents started taking a generally positive outlook to CSR they saw it as a partner that could compliment their development work. Jenkins (2005) posits that development agents expected that if economic growth generated by the private sector was equitably and inclusively managed through socially responsible activities of CSR, communities would benefit through poverty alleviation. The perception is that CSR is in fact voluntary development carried out by the private sector. The World Bank started promoting CSR through a special training unit the World Bank Institute and the UN started an official call to partnership between business and development in 2000, otherwise known as the Global Compact (Jenkins 2005, Blowfield 2005).

The change in view by development agents towards CSR happened gradually from the 90s. This change was precipitated by the change in outlook of what constitutes development. Whereas leading up to the 90s the overriding approach to development emphasised the growing of economies, creation of the Human Development Index by the United Nations Development

Programme (UNDP) was evidence to the changing dimension with an emphasis on the social and human centred aspect of development. This shift to human development incorporated all aspects of individuals' well-being, from their health status to their economic and political freedom. In the *Human Development Report* (1996), published by UNDP, human development was recognised as the outcome while economic growth was a means to get to this outcome. This move resulted in the creation of the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs were dedicated to eradicating poverty and hunger, achieving universal primary education, promoting gender equality, reducing mortality and improving health, and ensuring environmental sustainability. Poverty was a central focus of the MDGs and their major goal was to reduce in half the number of people in abject poverty between 1990 and 2015. Anyone living on less than a US$1 a day fell under this number and most of this population was to be found among women in the developing world.

The MDGs were however criticised for failing to protect the human rights of the poor, the environment and for failing to leverage the contribution of the private sector (Springer, 2015). The Christian Aid (2010) also criticizes the MDGs for targeting symptoms of poverty as opposed to dealing with structural causes and enforcing accountability of those in power. Hence, the move to sustainable development which now seeks to involve and leverage the private sector in development activities. Currently, what this means in practise is that the poor are expected to be protected by voluntary CSR activities and to also have their poverty alleviated by the same. The two chapters following this one will examine the contradictions of this move. For now, I will explore briefly the schools of thought in development theory in order to demonstrate how it is possible for development to align with CSR.

4.4 Major schools of thought in (economic) development

Development as a body of knowledge which articulates ways and means to achieve modernisation and progress is highly criticised for privileging a Eurocentric perspective of modernisation and progress. As such, the premise of the modernisation theory is based on the idea that the backwardness and primitiveness in poor nations' traditional means of production and living are the hindrance to economic growth increase economic growth. This approach is evident today in empowerment policies and initiatives which currently see cultural attitudes as the reason for inequality and poverty. Other views such as the structuralist approach are based on examining how different structures in a society may impede economic growth. This approach also favours government intervention to protect upcoming industries from competing with MNCs from

developed countries. This should be achieved through import and export regulations enforced by the state. A structuralist approach which also emanated in South America and moved to Latin America encourages the reduction of dependency of developing nations on trade with developed nations. This move also led to the dependency theory which articulates that wealthy nations (the core) depend on exploiting natural resources from their colonies or former colonies (the periphery). Most sentiments and critique espoused in radical political economy arguments have their genesis in the latter two theories. "The structural change models focused on the pattern of development and hypothesized that the pattern was similar in all countries and was identifiable" (Springer, 2015:17). This view has proved to be limited.

Whereas in its early stages development in Europe saw the creation of employment as a major thrust to economic growth the move to the emphasis on poverty eradication has also been synonymous with the shift to a market approach. Although the International Labour Organisation (ILO) tried to advocate for the basic needs in approach in the 70s, this was countered by the neo-classical approach to economic growth. The basic needs approach emphasised the need to establish a poverty line so as to determine who is beneath or below it and the need take action to eradicate debilitating poverty for those under the poverty line. This thinking influenced how most current development projects are run but the neo-classical approach emerged to counter this approach. Therefore, development theory which came to the fore after WWII has been grounded on neo-classical and eventually neo-liberal economic theories. Neo-liberalism is a refined form of liberalism that has its origins in classical liberalism. Classical liberalism was premised on the individual rights of 'all man' to own property and partake in free trade, and left just enough room for state intervention when required.

Since the 80's development ideology has fallen within the dominant capitalist paradigm and the alternative is the critical approach or radical political economy. A capitalist approach favours market fundamentalism and corporate led development while the radical political economy based on dependency and Marxist theories emphasises inspecting relations of exchange and relations of production respectively. The radical political economy espouses the equitable distribution of wealth and in-line with the dependency theory believes in the exploitation thesis and questions wealthy countries' exploitative relationships with previous colonies and people. Within the capitalist approach in development there are three variations, the first one valorises the markets, the second favours population control, and the third one favours government intervention which should help to distribute wealth, and offer public goods. For example, population control approaches are usually evident in the managing of women's reproductive rights, within the empowerment discourse they

manifest through the governing of women and girls' agency which is usually presented through the rights discourse. This discourse centres on the evils of child marriage and teenage pregnancy as seen in the Nike's Girl Effect campaign and other initiatives centred on girl children. The amalgamation of development and business is therefore not an impossible one to conceive because both seem to be driven by neoliberal ideologies and theories as evidenced by the genesis of the Global Compact.

4.5 An overview of the UN/UN Women

A global leader of development and development theories is the United Nations (UN). The UN is an inter-governmental organisation which was established in 1945 after WWII, it currently has a membership of 193 states. The purpose of the UN after the Second World War was to maintain peace and security among its member states and to mitigate the various after- effects of the war. Other broad functions of the UN include, providing humanitarian aid, promoting sustainable development, protecting human rights and upholding international law. In practise the UN facilitates "international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion" (www.un.org). The UN is made up of over 30 Funds, Programmes and Specialised Agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), World Food Programme (WFP), UN Women, World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Health Organisation (WHO) and World Trade Centre (WTO) to name just a few. These Funds, Programmes and Specialised Agencies are major think tanks which generate extensive research in specific areas of expertise and also offer and deliver economic aid, and financial and technical expertise. Critics such as Ponté (2015) however, argue that these organisations hide their neoliberalism ideology and present it as research expertise.

In line with the UN's operational philosophy of creating specialised agencies to respond to specific issues and challenges, it established four different bodies working as the UN system, which focused exclusively on gender equality and women's empowerment. These were the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) (www.unwomen.org). A decision was made to amalgamate the four into one and in 2010 the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women known as the UN Women was created. This

agency was created with the aim to be "a dynamic and strong champion for women's and girls' rights, providing them with a powerful voice at different levels. Grounded in the vision of equality enshrined in the UN Charter, the UN Women, among other issues was designed to increase women's leadership; end violence against women; engage women in all aspects of peace and security processes; enhance women's economic empowerment; make gender equality central to national development planning and budgeting; and increase coordination and accountability across the UN system for gender equality" (www.unwomen.org). The creation of UN Women by the UN was envisaged to bring together resources and mandates for greater impact.

Major goals of the UN Women include, supporting inter-governmental bodies, such as the Commission on the Status of Women, in their formulation of policies, global standards and norms and also helping Member States to implement these standards. The UN Women provides suitable technical and financial support to those countries that request it, and works to create effective partnerships with civil society. Lastly the UN Women lead and coordinate the UN system's work on gender equality as well as promote accountability, including through regular monitoring of system-wide progress (www.unwomen.org). Overall according to the UN, the work of the UN women is meant to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and girls; empower women, achieve equality between men and women as development beneficiaries.

At the basis of the UN Women's mission of empowering women is the belief that women are the missing resource required to fuel thriving economies by stimulating productivity and growth (www.unwomen.org). The UN Women believe that gender inequalities remain deeply entrenched in every society and that women lack access to decent work and face occupational segregation and gender wage gaps. Their research shows that women are mostly denied access to basic education and health care and also suffer violence and discrimination in all parts of the world. This results in under-representation of women in political and economic decision-making processes. The UN Women cites lack of funding as one of its serious challenges in its efforts to promote gender equality globally over the years. The other challenge was to identify a single recognized driver to direct UN activities on gender equality issues, creation of the UN Women was therefore meant to address this challenge. The UN Women is expected by the UN, to be a dynamic and strong champion for women and girls meant to provide women with a powerful voice at global, regional and local levels.

Over the years there has been mixed reactions to the UN's effectiveness in general. While some critics see the organization as pivotal to peace and human development, others have called the organization ineffective and biased. It is beyond the scope of this research to measure the effectiveness of the UN or UN Women. This research is interested in analysing the role of the

UN/UN Women in privatising development and the subsequent consequences with particular focus on the 'empowerment' of women as one of their goals central to development policy. It seeks to see how the UN Women contribute and shape the discourse on women's empowerment. The UN Women is considered to shape discourse because as an institute it generates policies which define how different actors approach women's issues globally. Their research informs their policies and in turn state policies globally, on the issues they chose to focus on such as leadership and political participation of women, economic empowerment, ending violence against women, peace and security, humanitarian action, governance and national planning, HIV and AIDS, and the current 2030 agenda for sustainable development (UN Women, 2015). The UN and related bodies also have financial influence to fund the issues they deem relevant to the status of women and development.

The UN Women has of late partnered with the private sector in tackling development challenges; its calls for the private sector to empower women have been very specific and consistent. It is partnership of UN Women with the private sector in a bid to work on sustainable development which is of particular interest to this research as this move is set to redefine development. The next section will look at the creation of the Global Compact in 2000, a voluntary movement meant to encourage corporates to adhere to sustainability principles. Soon after in 2008, an official call for business to partner with the UN, other agencies and governments in development work was issued. This has seen a major shift in development initiatives in the new millennium and calls for a critical analysis so as to understand the aims and the effects of these shifts in the UN.

4.6 The UN Global Compact (UNGC)

According to the Global Compact website, the UNGC is a yet another initiative of the UN, it is a voluntary initiative based on CEO commitments to implement universally sustainability principles and to support UN goals. The 10 principles at the core of the UNGC are all derivative of rights ranging from human, labour, the environment and anti-corruption values. The UNGC is considered the world's largest corporate sustainability initiative; it was launched by the UN in 2000. Through the UNGC the UN encourages companies to operate responsibly and take strategic actions that support society such as adopting the triple bottom line. A triple bottom line goes beyond the usual (financial) one, to include people, communities and the environment. According to the UNGC website, this is a comprehensive approach to sustainability which incorporates five essential elements companies must adhere to. These elements include operating responsibly in alignment with universal principles; taking strategic actions that support the society around them; pushing

sustainability deep into the corporate identity, to do this companies are expected to commit at the highest level, report annually on their efforts, and engage locally where they have a presence.

Of note however, is that the UNGC is a voluntary initiative which companies may or may not choose to participate in. For decades since the idea and inception of CSR internationally, companies have been pushing back on regulated CSR activities, hence the UN voluntary approach. There is however a lot of apprehension and mixed feelings between development agencies, civil society and NGOs on the voluntary approach to CSR (Jenkins 2005, Blowfield 2005, Christian Aid, 2005), which in fact what the UN Global Compact is. Some of the criticism for the UNGC is that it makes no mention of poverty at all (Jenkins 2005, Blowfield 2005), although it was formulated to ensure the success of the MDGs. The Christian Aid (2005) has noted how lack of regulation of CSR leaves corporates without the legal accountability to governments of the countries in which they operate. In addition, the Global Compact has been termed the biggest corporate social responsibility initiative yet, by analysts giving weight to the view that business is taking over development.

4.7 The Business Call to Action (BCtA)

Eight years after the creation of the UN Global Compact, the Business Call to Action (BCtA) was officially launched at the United Nations in 2008. According to the UN the BCtA is a multilateral alliance that challenges companies to come up with core business activities that are inclusive of poor populations by engaging low-income people as consumers, producers, suppliers, and distributors of goods in commercially viable business ventures and services thereby contributing to the achievement of sustainable development goals (www.un.org) Companies have responded to BCtA by making commitments to improve the lives and livelihoods of millions. 186 companies had joined BCtA venture as of 2017, and member initiatives include pledges to provide access to financial services (read loans) for more than 59 million people, promote improved health outcomes for 63 million people, and enhance access to energy for 90 million low-income households (www.un.org) The BCtA is set to be a ladder between the MDGs and the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) whose deadline is 2030. The official involvement of business and development seems to have been met with largely a positive response from MNCs and also with critical appraisal by academics and development critics.

The UN system in the past two decades, has "invested heavily in partnerships in order to bring in and engage private companies and philanthropic foundations in development initiatives. Corporations are seen as the main driver of economic development, as the 'principal engine' of growth and job

creation and are regarded as crucial to achieving sustainable development" Adams & Martens (2015:7). Due to the economic size and financial power of MNCs the UN Global Compact has emphasised the need to create "business-led" global platforms aligned to specific sustainability challenges post 2015. Whereas MNCs were once viewed only as a source of DFI leading to employment creation especially in the developing world, their role has been evolving over the years with a notable shift at the beginning of the millennium. As noted earlier, it is at this time that the UN and related institutions officially called business to partnership in development initiatives. Up until that time MNCs were only involved in 'development' through voluntary CSR activities in regions where they operated. The current global trend of MNCs working with international development agents, governments, NGOs and civil society to deliver development is seen as inevitable by those who have always viewed CSR as development by private organisations (Blowfield 2005), on the other hand there is also a lot of concern and criticism for what is now considered the privatisation or corporatisation of development (Blowfield 2005, Blowfield & Frynas 2005, Jenkins 2005, Ponte 2015).

As mentioned earlier one of the major challenges of the UN has been the financial capacity to deal with diverse challenges globally. Adams & Martens (2015) observe that while global economic, social and ecological crises have intensified in recent years, the ability of states and multilateral organisations to tackle these crises appears to have diminished. On the other hand, most writers, critics and analysts of development (Mkandawire 2000, Chant & Sweetman 2012, Elson1991, Hickel 2014, and Blowfield 2005) have observed that private organisations are being called on to take the role of the weakened state by the very institutions who advocated the weakening of the state. Failure of structural adjustment programmes left high unemployment in developing countries and a weakened state. In addition to this, dealing with civil wars, droughts, diseases like HIV/AIDs and Malaria left the developing world dependent on aid which in turn created high debt. The lack of state sponsored public services has left huge gaps causing vulnerability to the poor, hence the need for private organisations to join multilateral development agencies, civil society, NGOs and the state in development activities. Adams & Martens (2015) posit that these partnerships termed multi-stakeholder, are based on the understanding that governments are not able to solve global problems by themselves.

Adverse and fast occurring effects of globalisation are also cited as another rationale for the involvement of business in development. While globalisation is generally seen by states and institutions alike as a source of FDI, creation of employment and sharing of innovations between the

developed and developing world, (Sassen 1996 and Ponte 2015) allude to the asymmetries and inequalities that are inevitably produced by the flows of global capital and geopolitics. "Mainstream analyses of economic globalisation however present it as an apolitical universal force, while the economic and political institutions through which it is facilitated are positioned as seemingly neutral" (Bisnath 2001: 2-3). Bisnath argues that globalisation is mediated through gender, class and race relations and yet these intersecting categories are assumed to be without relevance to the functioning of the global marketplace. Sassen offers a nuanced definition of globalisation, as "a range of cultural, economic, and political changes: the proliferation of capital, the international flows of finance and investment, and the predominance of multinational corporations, the emergence of supranational forms of governance, the spread of cultural homogeneity, and the rapid compression of time and space" (Sassen 1996:1). This definition hints at the possible asymmetries and inequalities created by globalisation and challenges the mainstream analyses of globalisation which is embedded in the belief of the free market as a "level playing field" (Bisnath 2001). Mohanty (2003) also posits that globalisation privileges particular actors and sectors over others for instance; market over state, global over local, finance capital over manufacturing, finance ministries over social welfare, and consumers over citizens. This approach according to Mohanty further entrenches imperialism, racism, gender inequality, poverty and structures that exacerbate unequal power relations and poverty. Faced with a fast-paced global economy and the resultant effects, the UN and other international development agents do not have the capacity to remedy these effects, they therefore realise the need to include the private sector in development efforts. Mohanty (2003) however argues that the so-called development efforts of transnational organisations are questionable as analysis of globalisation shows that MNCs have a direct hand in creating inequalities through the global economy. It is important to point out that the involvement of business in development initiatives is largely and almost exclusively through voluntary as opposed to compulsory CSR initiatives. Hickel (2014) and Mohanty (2003) concur with Christian Aid (2004) who see CSR as an inadequate response to the damage created by global capital.

In 1997 and 2008 international developing agents alluded to increasing inequality and interrelated global challenges such as an increase in food insecurity, volatile energy and commodity prices, climate change and a global financial crisis, as well as the lack of results in the multilateral trade negotiations and a loss of confidence in the international economic system (Ponte 2015). They cited these challenges as rationale to call business to development. Ponté who writes for the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), posits that the Doha Declaration on Financing for Development a document drafted in 2008 as a follow up to the International

Conference on Financing for Development in 1997, was necessitated by the above challenges including specifically the financial and economic crisis in Asia in 1997. Different governments called for the instrument of the UN to foster sustainable, gender-sensitive, people-centred development which they see as a holistic and necessary approach to development in a global economy. The private sector was cited as "the principal creator of long-term jobs and promoter of sustainable development" (Ponte 2015:7). The EU, United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and Switzerland are among the developed nations to stress the inclusion of the private sector in the finance for development initiative. Furthermore, the countries offered a joint statement specific to the role of the private sector as "an important partner in advancing gender equality and the women's economic empowerment agenda" (Ponte 2015:7) thereby framing the private sector as an important partner to women's empowerment. Women's empowerment features as the single biggest cause on the global agenda on international development calendars in the 21st century.

Ponte (2015) however, argues that there is no automatic link between the private sector, jobs, gender equality, and sustainability, and no specific data to prove these links. She also points to documented evidence and experience of the negative effects of involving the profit-driven private sector in development. Ponte (2015) noted that gender equality and women's empowerment was an overriding theme in the financing of development discussions. She however argues that despite the spotlight on gender equality and women's empowerment, women are most likely to be exposed to the negative impacts of the involvement of the private sector in development for several reasons. For example, women who reside in rural areas and informal settlements represent some of the poorest populations, without a cost-effective way to reach them the profit oriented private sector may not be inclined to provide services to these women; and because women are overrepresented in the low income sector they are the most affected by increased tariffs; women absorb the cost of economic adjustments through unpaid work, and in turn the increase of unpaid work affects women's participation in educational, social, economic, and political activities.

Analysis of the issue of private funding of development reveals that it is not only taking place through development projects rolled out in communities through CSR by private corporations. Private funding is also taking place through the various private corporations funding the UN directly. Therefore, possible negative effects of business and development partnerships include the growing influence of the business sector in the political discourse and agenda-setting, the fragmentation of global governance, the weakening of representative democracy, unstable financing which is a threat to the sufficient provision of public goods and a lack of monitoring and accountability mechanisms

between business and development financing (Adams & Martens, 2015). These authors argue that changing funding patterns not only influence programme priorities within the UN but they also distort the practice of governance. According to Adams and Martens, multilateral mandates become increasingly difficult to carry out because funding is project specific and an excess of earmarked projects fosters confusion and under-mines coherence, planning and coordinated action. The underlying concern over the private funding of the UN is also the power that the private sector can now yield over a body that should be autonomous, and what the consequences might be of the possible or some might argue evident loss of autonomy of the UN.

4.8 The instrumentalisation of women

On analysing the financing for development discussions, Ponte (2015) concludes that there is a general consensus from both developed and developing countries that women are at the centre of development initiatives as they constitute the poor and marginalised. Investing in women or a smart economics approach to women's empowerment as advocated by the World Bank and IMF was endorsed by all countries which were present in Doha. Therefore, development and corporatised development per se has a particular subject (woman) at its centre. Ponte (2015) notes that after Beijing 1995 there is a definite shift from the challenge of a lack of women's visibility and equality in development, to an instrumental approach to gender equality as the cause of poverty without addressing structural barriers that limit implementation of policies on equality and empowerment. Ponte (2015) contests that financial inclusion of women without dealing with structural challenges of gender biased labour markets is futile and ignores women's human rights.

Inviting the private sector as a development partner means embracing the markets as an answer to end world poverty. While this move is fraught with contradictions, Blowfield (2005) suggests that development theory itself is not clear on defining poverty and does not acknowledge structural causes of poverty. Blowfield (2005) and Hickel (2014) also posit that development theory sees poverty as a matter of access, capacity and opportunity as opposed to structural. It therefore does not address corporate tax evasion, SAPs, debt, labour exploitation and financial crises. Hickel (2014) argues that the developing world is impoverished by conditions created by institutions like IMF and the World Bank to enable the developing to service its debt. He observes that inflation is kept low for the debt not to lose value which has an adverse effect on economic growth, in other circumstances the developing world has to create conditions which attract corporates, such as tax holidays, and offering resources below real value. Hickel (2014) also indicates that SAPs enabled 'accumulation by disposition' by creating an environment where debtors are forced to sell off public

assets and to cut public expenditures so as to channel resources to into debt repayment to the IMF and World Bank. Development language however does not highlight these structural causes but rather frames poverty and empowerment in specific ways, and several authors (Chant & Sweetman 2012, Hickel 2014, Wilson 2015, and Koffman & Gill 2013) argue that it is precisely because of this framing that development and business can work together comfortably without addressing the contentious issues of capital power at the centre of poverty. The language of liberalism is central to development and to business; it is at the centre of Western conceptions of business (Wilson 2015).

Up to this point, it is clear that the UN expects the private sector and their CSR efforts to address economic and social issues relating to the poor and marginalised. To reiterate, Blowfield and Frynas (2005) suggest that after taking into consideration the differences in meaning and the various shifts in perception, CSR is still an encompassing term for a diverse number of theories or approaches and practices all of which acknowledge that organisations have a responsibility for their impact on communities in society and the natural environment. Businesses are expected to hold those along their value chains accountable for any misconduct beyond legal compliance. Management of its relationship with wider society, should also exceed commercial viability or to add value to society. In the optimistic view of the UN and other bodies, this broad perspective of CSR allows for overlap between business and development. In a contrasting view, however, Mitchell (1989) in Banerjee (2008) sees "discourses of corporate citizenship, corporate social responsibility, and corporate sustainability as ideological movements that are intended to legitimize the power of large corporations" (p.52).

To conclude this chapter's overview of CSR, the section below serves as part literature review of The Coca-Cola Company's CSR history and also as part analysis of their controversial CSR record. The discussion will reveal the ideologies or theories which direct Coke's approach to CSR and philanthropic work before the next chapter analyses their 5by20 empowerment project. After taking a broad look at the UN/UN Women above, this last section therefore seeks to discuss Coke in order to give the reader a nuanced understanding of the major partners coming together for the 5by20 initiative.

4.9 Coca-Cola's CSR History

In following Coke's history, this last section of this chapter will reveal that overall, Coca-Cola, like McDonalds, Nestlé, Nike and others, has been severely criticised for their social, economic and environmental practices over the years. Also, an analysis of Coke's CSR record reveals that their

approach seems to be in line with Friedman's perspective that businesses should do whatever it takes to make profit and squash whatever narratives that may exist to the contrary (Hoffman, 2006). In addition, Coke's website also claims that over the years they have invested millions into CSR and improving their relations in the communities in which they operate.

4.9.1 Behind the mask

To date the single most accessible scholarly assessment of Coca-Cola (Coke) CSR seems to be that offered by Christian Aid in 2004 in their report *'Behind the mask: The real face of corporate social responsibility'*. In this report, Christian Aid exposes the war for water between Coke and the community members of Plachimada in India. According to this report Coke was accused of depleting levels of drinking water, affecting the quality of drinking water, and selling toxic waste as fertilisers to local farmers (Christian Aid, 2004). The depleted levels of well-water left residents without water to drink, cook, wash or carry out necessary household chores. As a result, women and children were forced to walk long distances to fetch water for consumption. The various experts consulted by Christian Aid and BBC confirmed that the little water that was now intermittently available contained harmful chemicals and was no longer fit for consumption.

The perception held by the community and experts was that the involvement of Coke in extracting water for their business caused both the shortages of water as well as the harmful effects found in the water. When contacted by Christian Aid, Coke was of the view that the locals who had now permanently positioned themselves at their plant entrance in protest, where disgruntled elements influenced by Marxist ideology. A representative of Coke was quoted saying "the small number of protestors and their organisers are self-declared Marxists and communists and they are dealing with what they perceive to be a high-profile, American 'capitalist' company" (Christian Aid, 2004: 47). Coke appears to infer that these 'elements' Christian Aid included, were not really concerned about water but rather just resented Coke being in this community for ideological reasons – and that in fact the water shortages were imagined not real.

An investigation carried out by BBC through the University of Exeter in the UK on the toxic waste Coke was also selling as fertiliser to the Plachimada community, however revealed that this 'fertiliser' was harmful, it caused skin infections, sores and caused a poor crop yield. Coke thereafter stopped selling the 'fertiliser' and started disposing of it as harmful waste. The damage caused to the soil by the toxic waste left a lasting impact. This meant that in the long term the farm labourers were affected by the drop in agricultural labour demand because of the low yield and could not find sustainable employment. The BBC report showed that the soil would

take years to recover from the damage of the 'fertiliser'. Although Coke did not take the blame for the water shortages and/or contamination, it did receive a court order to stop extracting water in Plachimada. In their defence Coke also highlighted how they were working to provide water tanks to residents affected by water shortage. Community members however, alleged that when Coke did provide water it was inconsistent in quantity, availability and distribution and this caused division in the community.

It is interesting to note however that Coke was operating in India with the 'blessing' of the state. The state had given Coke 15% rebate on capital invested, as an incentive to attract foreign direct investment (Christian Aid, 2004). The relationship between the state, the MNC and citizens therefore becomes a complicated one posing seriously unequal power dynamics. Nothing is reported about either the state providing alternative water sources for the people as access to water is a basic right for citizens; or intervening in the battle for water between Coke and the community. The role of the state only comes up in the report when the authors of the report discuss the 15% rebate incentive provided by government to lure Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). The silence of the state may also point to the fact that MNCs are only bound by corporate social responsibility as opposed to accountability or laws which regulate their behaviour. The absence of regulations towards CSR means that businesses have little or no legal obligation to hold them accountable to the sometimes-detrimental effects of their operations (Christian Aid, 2004).

When MNCs enter foreign countries in the developing world, they wield a relevant amount of power because the need for the state to attract FDI may conflict with the social welfare of the people thereby creating precarious conditions of living and working for the people. In an increasingly neoliberal market oriented world, some corporations' net worth is way above that of some developing countries. Feminist critics posit that sometimes "the asymmetry between enforced mechanisms to protect investor's rights on one side and voluntary guidelines to respect human rights on the other allows multinational companies and other businesses to sue governments but limits the access to effective remedy for human rights violations against women, indigenous people and other groups, perpetrated by transnational corporations and other businesses" (Ponte, Durano & Rodríguez Enríquez, 2015)

When consulted about Coke's alleged abuse of water in India and the subsequent activist actions against the corporation, Milton Friedman stated that ideally any voices that are against the business should be silenced, in order to maintain a good image for the company. In an interview published on the Bloomberg website Friedman went on to say about activists: "they should

consider them as problems for running the business. They have to be counted, and it's perfectly sensible for Coca-Cola to spend money on trying to reduce the influence of such groups" (Online extra: social responsibility...2005). Seemingly approaching CSR from a neoliberal school of thought, Friedman analysed that Coke only owes its allegiance to its stakeholders and activists were not among its stakeholders.

However, in their 2010/11 sustainability report, Coke were to later state (in an apparently revised approach) that "as a consumer of water and as a company with a presence that is at once global and local, we have a particular obligation—and a unique opportunity—to be a responsible steward of this most precious of resources" (Sustainability report... 2010-2011: 19). In the same report, Coke states that their "production capabilities are dependent on local water sources [...] as demand for water increases and water stress intensifies, the communities that host our facilities may face serious health and economic challenges, and we may face challenges to our growth" (Sustainability report... 2010-2011: 19). This may be a telling sign of the lessons learnt from their experiences in India almost a decade earlier. At the time, Christian Aid (2004) reported that Coke were reluctant to produce the local environmental impact assessment (EIS) report prepared prior to opening of its operations. In the 2010/11 report Coke alludes to putting systems in place that make it an obligation for their bottling partners to carry out assessments prior to operations and to state mitigation actions put in place to counter the risk that may follow.

4.9.2 Aspartame, the artificial sweetener controversy

In the 80s Coca-Cola also came under fire over the use of aspartame, an artificial sweetener used in diet sodas. Aspartame is made of methanol, aspartic acid, and phenylalanine, which can lead to depression and neurological problems (Olson, 2014). Although the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) had initially banned aspartame in 1980 due to fears of its ability to induce brain tumours as confirmed by 3 different scientists at the time, the FDA approved the use of aspartame as a food sweetener a year later. Prior to this, the FDA had consistently banned use for aspartame for 16 years. The FDA confirmed that previous damning research results had been misleading. Allegations for this sudden turn around by FDA however say this may have been due to the involvement of the National Soft Drink Association as soft drink organisations stood to benefit from aspartame (Olson, 2014). Currently, the artificial sweetener is now also used by other beverage organisations other than just Coke. Pepsi, however one of Coke's biggest rivals reported

in 2015 that they will no longer use Aspartame in their Diet Pepsis (Wattles, 2015). Use of this product is still fraught with controversy. Olson (2014) reports that there are over 900 studies revealing the damaging effects of aspartame, compared to the 200 studies crediting its safety, and finds this circumspect. If the use of aspartame is indeed as dangerous as alleged, no amount of social responsibility programmes can reverse the damage caused by a product deliberately used in order to enhance profits.

4.9.3 Market research scandal

In 2003, Coca-Cola found themselves amid yet another corporate scandal; they were accused and admitted to manipulating market research in order to show a favourable response to one of their sodas. Ultimately, Coke paid over a thousand children to buy promotional meals which came with a Coke beverage at Burger King (Day, 2003). This was done in order to convince Burger King that soda was a popular product which they could sell on behalf of Coke when in fact the demand for sodas was falling because a sizeable number of people in America had started shunning fizzy drinks and going for fruit juices and water instead. As a result of this drop in local consumption, to date most of Coke's income now comes outside of the US from developing countries. The falsifying of market research data perhaps serves to demonstrate that businesses are driven by profit above all else and also reinforces Friedman's perspective that businesses should do whatever it takes to make profit and to squash whatever narratives that may exist to the contrary. There is a therefore a clearly neo-liberal approach to Coke's CSR.

4.9.4 Coca-Cola philanthropy

Having noted Coca-Cola's major gaffes, it is imperative to also note that Coke is considered one of the organisations with the biggest footprint in giving back to communities and they have won many awards to that effect. According to the Coke website since its inception in 1984, The Coca-Cola Foundation has given back more than US$820 million to enhance the sustainability of local communities worldwide (The Coca-Cola Foundation, n.d). Coke administers their CSR work through a foundation called the Coca-Cola Foundation (CCF). Initially the foundation focused only on philanthropy but now includes CSR which Coke refers to as sustainability as opposed to responsibility. Porter (2003) a management guru consulted by executives from large corporates, and is also a Harvard Business School Professor uses corporate philanthropy and corporate social responsibility interchangeably. The different names given to CSR point to the shifts and tensions

within CSR over the years as well as the need for organisations to manage perceptions of investors and stakeholders. When CSR is referred to as sustainability it appeals to both internal investors and external stakeholders, it holds the promise of sustaining the people, environments and communities where the business operates while also making profit to sustain itself. There is also the noteworthy move by the UN from Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to Sustainability Development Goals (SDGs) post 2015 which has also set 'sustainability' as a buzz word.

4.9.4 A shift to sustainability

Currently Coke's major CSR or sustainability projects are listed as women, water, and well-being. The Foundation expanded its support in 2007 to include global water stewardship programs, fitness and nutrition efforts and community recycling programs. Currently Coke's strategies "align with the Company's Sustainability platform and include women's empowerment and entrepreneurship" (Coca-Cola, 2015). Regarding women, Coke focuses on economic empowerment and entrepreneurship; in terms of water, the focus is access to clean water, water conservation and recycling; and on well-being Coke focuses on fighting obesity through fitness and nutrition programmes. Their other endeavours include arts and culture and community and economic development programs in the United States, as well as HIV/AIDS prevention and awareness programs in Africa and Latin America (Coca-Cola, 2015).

While Coke sustainability reports are written in glowing terms to praise the work of the corporate in the communities, it suffices to say there is no scientific measure of their effectiveness. Porter (2003) argues that academics and managers have so far failed to come up with a CSR theory to help understand, support and critique CSR, and that much CSR work is reactive based on 'fear' of activists by organisations on one hand and the desire to improve the competitiveness of organisation brands on the other. As a result, there is no actual scientific measure for the impact of CSR projects but Coca-Cola, like McDonalds, Nestle' and Nike has been severely criticised for their social, economic and environmental practices over the years. Their partnership to the UN through the UN Global Compact has been critically viewed as institutional capture (Richter, 2001). Broomhill (2007) on the other hand posits that through partnerships, consultation and dialogue with governments and civil organisations, and other mechanisms TNCs are increasing penetration and influence of the public-policy processes.

4.10 Conclusion

In a critical report written after studies on Shell, Coca-Cola and the British American Tobacco environmental blunders, the Christian Aid (2004) arrived at the conclusion that corporate activity is driven by the need for MNCs to protect their images, to control any possible damage to their reputations and mostly to make profit. While these are all plausible priorities for business to pursue CSR, however the concern is that in the long-term business CSR efforts based on these priorities are likely to be partial, short-term and inconsistent leaving vulnerable communities at risk. Organisations like the Christian Aid are therefore not opposed to CSR or development by corporates but rather encourage regulated MNC activities so as to foster accountability. Blowfield (2005), Jenkins (2005) and Wilson (2015) among others also highlight that development itself is a complexity of unequal material relationships and processes; therefore, its choice of language and actions towards empowerment and its seemingly deliberate silence on poverty and its structural causes allow for a perfect fit with CSR based on the neo-liberal school of thought.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 THE 5BY20 PROJECT: A MICROCOSM OF THE CORPORATISATION OF DEVELOPMENT?

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter drew a broader perspective of the coming together of business and development agents, together with civil society, NGOs and the state in the global development agenda. This entailed giving a background to the theories and ideologies that drive business and development agents, and highlighting the possible tensions and ambiguities that may result from this new way of doing development. This chapter takes a closer look at the partnerships of 5by20 in order to demonstrate and interrogate a working example of these relationships and to put forward the premise that the coming together of business and development has resulted in the corporatisation of development. This chapter will be limited to analysing the partnerships of 5by20, and the following and final chapter will analyse the rest of the project. This chapter will therefore answer in part the sub-question *"what are the implications of the collaboration of private corporations (Coca-Cola) and development agents (UN Women) on development as a discourse*? The first part of the chapter however, is devoted to giving a descriptive account of the project.

5.2 A detailed account of the 5by20 Initiative

The 5by20 is The Coca-Cola Company (Coke) global women's empowerment initiative established with a goal to empower 5 million women around the globe between 2010 and 2020. Coca-Cola is a signatory to the Global Compact and the UN Women's 'Women Empowerment Principle'; initiatives set to involve business in development and to participate in gender equality as discussed in Chapter 4. The strategic partnership between Coca-Cola and UN Women is meant to leverage on the later's wealth of expertise on matters of equality, gender and empowerment of women. In the various countries represented by the 5by20 fact sheets, Coke works through different partners to train, finance and implement projects. Partners include, NGOs, Micro-Finance Institutions (MFIs), International Banks, Coca-Cola's own bottling companies and government departments.

According to the Coke website the 5by20 programs are aimed at addressing the challenges that stop women entrepreneurs from entering and thriving in the marketplace (5by20 Progress Update... 2012). Identified barriers include "lack of access to business skills, training courses, financial services and assets and linkages to networks of peers or mentors" (5by20 Progress Update... 2012:5) for

women entrepreneurs; and the programs focus on closing these gaps. This training is offered to women running businesses ranging from small farmers, retailers of Coca-Cola products and artisans. Artisans are people who pick up littered bottles and plastics from Coca-Cola products to make crafts for resale. The women entrepreneurs targeted by the initiative are to be found along Coke's value chain. The diagram below shows the Coca-Cola value chain.

As stated elsewhere, rationale for the project is based on the economic multiplier studies which show that investing in women increases economic growth while improving family and community welfare. Through the 5by20 initiative, Coca-Cola joins other major institutions in fulfilling the SDGs while furthering its own economic objectives. The business case is therefore multi-dimensional and expected to be a success, the Harvard report in 2013 stated that the program had started yielding profit for the corporation. Expected outcomes in addition to economically empowering women are an increase in economic growth for different countries.

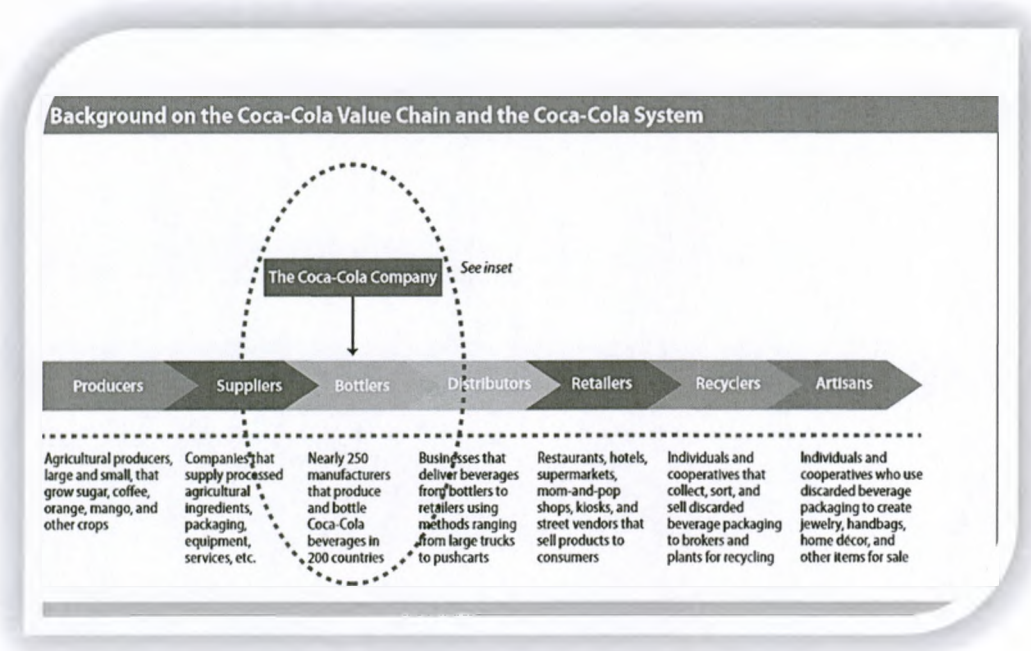


Figure 1 - Coca-Cola's Value Chain

Adapted from The Coca-Cola Company's 5by20 Initiative: Empowering Women Entrepreneurs across the Value Chain

Key markets were the programs are aimed are largely in the developing world in Africa, Asia and Latin America and later in China. Specific countries were projects will run include "Brazil, Costa Rica, Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Haiti, India, Kenya, Liberia, Mexico, Mozambique,

Myanmar, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Philippines" (Fact sheet..., 2014). The initial roll out of this initiative was in South Africa, Kenya, India, the Philippines and Brazil, (the analysis of the program will largely focus on these areas). Coke "expects 5by20 initiatives to reach 1.5 million women in 20 to 30 countries by 2015 and 5 million women in 100 countries by 2020" (Jenkins, Valikai & Baptista, 2013: 8). By year end 2013, more than half a million women had been reached through the initiative (Fact sheet..., 2014). The 2014/2015 sustainability report shows the number of women impacted by the program as almost at 865 000 in 52 countries.

The 5by20 'women's empowerment' intervention is of interest because it has received critical acclaim from different sectors. For example, Coca-Cola won the 2013 Catalyst award for exceptional initiatives that expand opportunities for women in business and in 2014 it was named best Global Initiative for Women's Economic Empowerment at the Women in Leadership Economic Forum in Dubai (Johnson, 2014). In 2013, through their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) section the Harvard Kennedy School, (Jenkins et. al, 2013) compiled a report on the success of the Coca-Cola 5by20 initiative. The report is endorsed by Coke and over 25 senior Coca-Cola employees were consulted and several beneficiaries were interviewed during the preparation of the report. The report is premised on the view that partnerships between the private sector and development are long overdue, and its analysis of the 5by20 initiative is meant to highlight lessons and serve as an example for companies who want to follow suit.

Based on economic multiplier studies from the World Bank, IMF and others, the report finds that empowerment initiatives are successful when corporates can identify a business case to participate. "A business case is financial return on investment over an acceptable period of time and risk profile. Each of the 5by20 programs in this report has a business case" (Jenkins et al. 2013:35). The report points to Coke's commitment to end poverty, unemployment, gender inequality and environmental degradation. The business case for Coke's participation to end these development issues lies in that the company can penetrate high-growth markets and establish what they term reliable sources of supply of their products in form of the poor, women and youth who according to them constitute a previously ignored segment. The report points out that:

> While 5by20 is a global commitment, implementation is focused mostly in developing countries for now, where growth prospects are greater and barriers to women's participation are higher. (read: growth prospects are greater where inequality is higher) (Jenkins et al 2013:12)

The report also states that "women are also the primary buyers of Coca-Cola products. This means that The Coca-Cola Company cannot realize its potential for growth without women" (Jenkins et al

2013). To that end, Coke expects to double their profits by 2020 alongside empowering 5 million women. Women's business case for participation is stated in the report as gaining financial reward and choice. Women's ability to work near their households and spend their incomes on their families are stated in the report as enlarging women's choices. However, another part of the report also states that:

> At the end of their three years of participation in the program, women will be evaluated on business sustainability and economic empowerment in areas such as decision-making, reinvestment of profits in the store, and family health and education spending. (Jenkins et al 2013).

So, the loans women receive are contingent on their reinvestment on family welfare. Below is a description of the various positions in the value chain where women operate.

5.3 Positions along the Value Chain

As shown in Figure 1, positions along the value chain include producers, suppliers, distributors, retailers, recyclers and artisans. (Although bottlers are shown in Figure 1, they are not empowerment beneficiaries). Producers are small scale farmers who grow ingredients which may be used in beverages. 5by20 targets them for empowerment because they grow ingredients fruit useful for Coke beverages. Coke offers them training on farm productivity and agronomy, and access to markets in partnership with the Gates Foundation and other organisations. Coke cannot purchase all the farmers' produce hence the need to give farmers skills in market penetration for their produce. Small scale farmers are mostly based in Kenya, Uganda and India in the initial roll out of the initiative. The diagram below shows the funding and the capacity building partnerships for the initiative. Coca-cola and the Gates Foundaion are both financial funding partners,

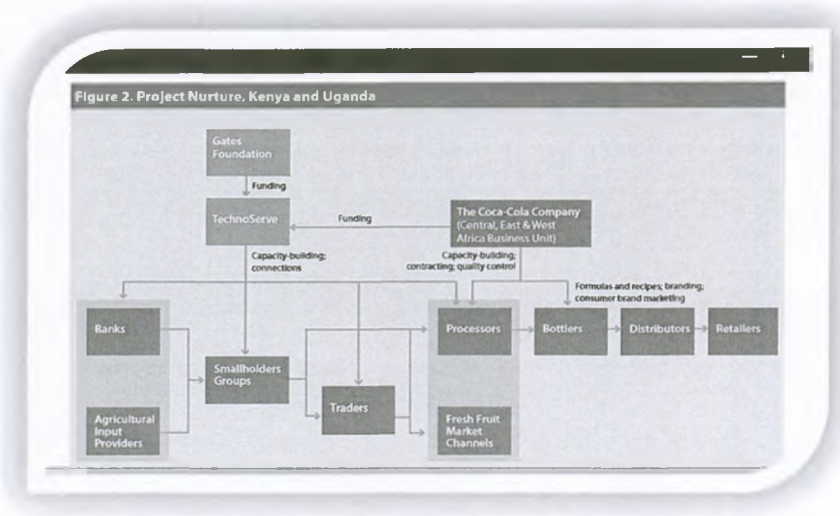


Figure 2 - Producers (Smallholder groups)

and Technoserve is a capacity building partner which recieves payment from the two major partners who carry the financial risk for investment. There is no information on whether women own the land on which they do their farming activities.

"Suppliers are the partners who provide the Coke business system with ingredients, packaging, machinery, as well as goods and services" (5by20 Progress Update... 2012). This is a business which requires a substantial amount of capital outlay and business skill expertise. Distributors are people working to deliver beverages from bottling partners to retailers daily, they help bring Coca-Cola's global products to local communities. Deliveries are mostly done by bicycles, animal and motorcycle drawn carts depending on the size of the business. Retailers range from those who work from hand driven carts to large convenience shops accessed directly by consumers of Coke products. They usually also cook and sell food stuffs to go with the beverages. In the Philippines, they operate in form of small shops called Sari-Sari operated by women. Coke launched the Sari-Sari Store Training and Access to Resources (the STAR) Program in 2011, it is a 3-year partnership which includes Coca-Cola Philippines (CCP), their local bottling partner Coca-Cola FEMSA Philippines (FEMSA), and the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA), an agency of the Department of Labour and Employment of the government of the Philippines. TESDA specialises in technical and vocational education and is headed by a minister in the government. More than 20 NGOs, microfinance institutions (MFIs), and local government entities across the Philippines also take part in the program. The following diagram shows the flow of funding.

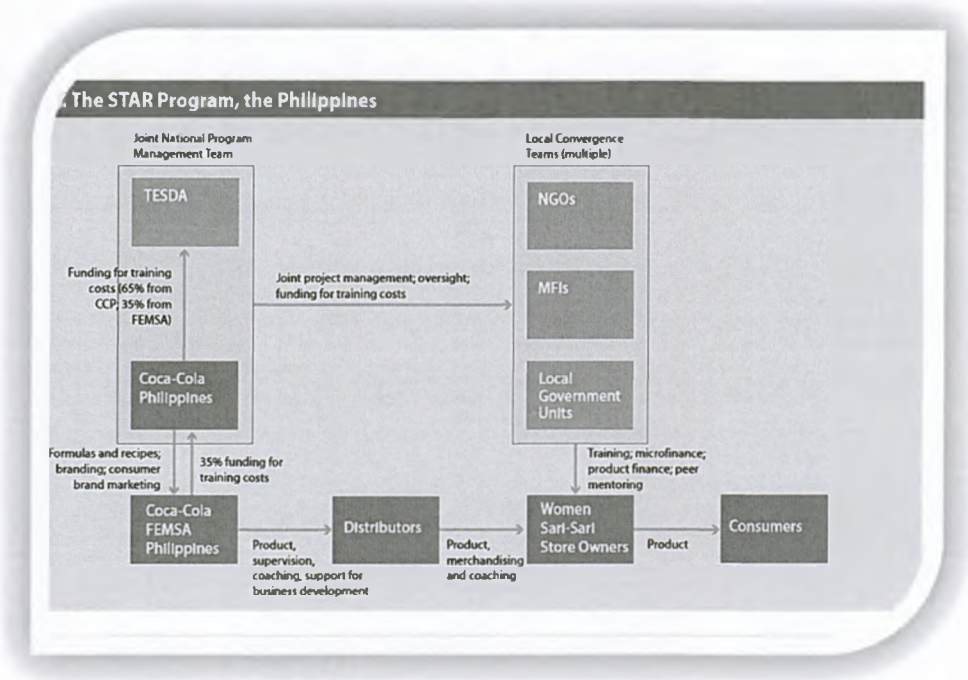


Figure 3 - Retailers (Women Sari-Sari Store Owners

Adapted from The Coca-Cola Company's 5by20 Initiative: Empowering Women Entrepreneurs across the Value Chain

Coke and their bottling company carry the cost for training costs, while Micro-Finance Institutions (MFIs) offer loans and NGOs and local government offer training. Training costs for training partners are covered by Coke. The Philippines example shows that government, although involved in training they have to meet the cost of their own staff participation. In South Africa, Coke and the UN Women share training and capacity building costs. Involvement of the South African government appears to have been minimal.

We are told through the 5by20 fact sheets that Coke expects to double or triple all their investment throughout the value chain in a number of years. It is not ascertainable whether investors like the UN Women also expect to recuperate their training expenses. The Harvard report however states that:

> Another 5by20 partner, UN Women, plans not only to manage a series of three-year pilot programs targeting small-scale retailers within and outside the Coca-Cola value chain, but to leverage the lessons learned in its ongoing policy advocacy efforts with governments – in the pilot countries and beyond – for much larger scale, more systemic impact. (Jenkins et. al. 2013: 41).

Seeing that empowerment programs rely on micro-finance, it is not clear whether going forward the UN Women may also give out loans in their anticipated three-year pilot programs.

Other positions on the value chain are the recyclers and artisans. Recyclers collect, sort and trade used packaging for a living thereby bringing the Coke product life-cycle to full circle. After recycling, used packaging is transformed into artistic items of value by artisans. Coke says artisans help drive their family incomes as well as clean local economies thereby helping Coke meet their goal of keeping a sustainable environment. Initial roll out on artisans is in the Philippines and Brazil (Coca-Cola 5by20 progress update 2012).

5.4 Market focus – Brazil, South Africa, the Philippines & India

The role out of the initiative was initially focused on Brazil, South Africa, the Philippines and India. The materials and videos available on the Coca-Cola website are largely based on these countries. The analysis in the next chapter will also be based on these countries. In Brazil, Coca-Cola launched projects mainly based on collecting recyclable materials constituting of their own cans and bottles. The program targets female headed households and teaches women management, pricing and retail skills as well as opening a formalised individual business. Another aspect of the program deals with art projects and teaches design skills to artisans, this assists them to make a variety of handmade objects including fashion accessories (Coca-Cola Progress Update Sheet, 2012). In Brazil for instance, local NGOs and government are part of the training of women and women pick up litter from Coke's products and other plastics for recycling (Coca-Cola fact sheets; 2012, 2013, 2014).

In South Africa, UN Women and Coca-Cola South Africa announced the 5by20 program in 2010, supported by local partner Hand in Hand[6] based, in Johannesburg. The partners planned to train 25,000 women entrepreneurs by the end of 2015 in nine South African provinces, many of whom were running small retail businesses that sell Coca-Cola products. Training and development for South African women participants was tailored to tackle the challenges they face in the context of their economy. In India, as in other countries, Coke studied the context which revealed that women across the densely-populated country are faced with challenges in building business capability amid inconsistent access to resources. Inconsistent access to electricity is combated by the supply of solar energy providers so that participants are able to operate convenient shops. Training of participants in India is enabled through mobile classrooms made available to the rural population. In India, as in South Africa and the Philippines, women sell airtime, cooked food etc. and Coke beverages from their Sari-Sari or Spaza shops - as they are known in South Africa - mostly stationed outside of their

[6] "Hand in Hand International is a member of the Hand in Hand Network, a global group of NGOs working to fight poverty in 10 countries and counting. Our goal is to create 10 million jobs in some of the world's poorest communities". http://www.handinhandinternational.org/about-us/

family homes. Coke supplies distributors and retailers with Coke fridges to store their products. In addition, Coca-Cola also started a mango farming initiative for women targeting small farmers which makes use of a drip irrigation system and other innovative ideas.

According to the (Progress Update Sheet, 2012:14), "in the Philippines, almost 86 percent of the retail shops, or 'sari-sari stores,' that Coke does business with are owned and operated by women." According to Coke, these shops are an important part of the economy, training is therefore meant to maximise women's contribution to the economy. Coca-Cola's training partner in the Philippines is the government department called Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA). The department is tasked with to creating policies, programs and standards that foster quality technical education and skills development. In what is considered by Coke to be an innovative partnership, TESDA and Coke are implementing a comprehensive entrepreneurship training program (Progress Update Sheet, 2012).

5.5 Profiling of 5by20 Participants

There are 5 women used as faces of the 5by20 project by Coke; they are from South Africa, India, Brazil, The Philippines and Kenya. Most of them are notably over middle age, largely over 40-50 years of age. The 'women' participating in the 5by20 initiative are therefore largely from the developing world, black, African, Indian, Asian, Latino and Filipino. The only photograph depicting a white woman is found under the supplier part of the value chain, this is a business that requires more capital and expertise.

The 5 women used as faces of the 5by20 initiative from South Africa, India, Brazil, The Philippines and Kenya also appear in testimonial videos recorded by Coke and available on their website. In the videos, the women recount harrowing tales of poverty before Coke stepped in and changed their lives. All the women presented are mothers or grandmothers working for their immediate and or extended families; motherhood therefore plays a central theme in 5by20 text and videos. While some of the women beneficiaries are married, some are widowed and some are single parents. All the women are lauded as hard workers who work tirelessly for their families. Family is another theme which runs through the 5by20 text.

The 5by20 initiative as presented through words and narratives in interviews, reviews, annual reports, as well as pictures, videos and other text therefore present women as caring, hardworking mothers, resilient in the face of abject poverty, endlessly optimistic and almost singularly

responsible for their family welfare. After receiving training all of them report to be strong, independent, and powerful; in a way, they see themselves as matriarchs, at least 2 of them say they are expecting to buy their own houses soon from the profits they are now making. All of these aspects of womanhood and empowerment will be interrogated in Chapter 6, in a critical analysis of the project.

5.6 Women's Empowerment as depicted in 5by20

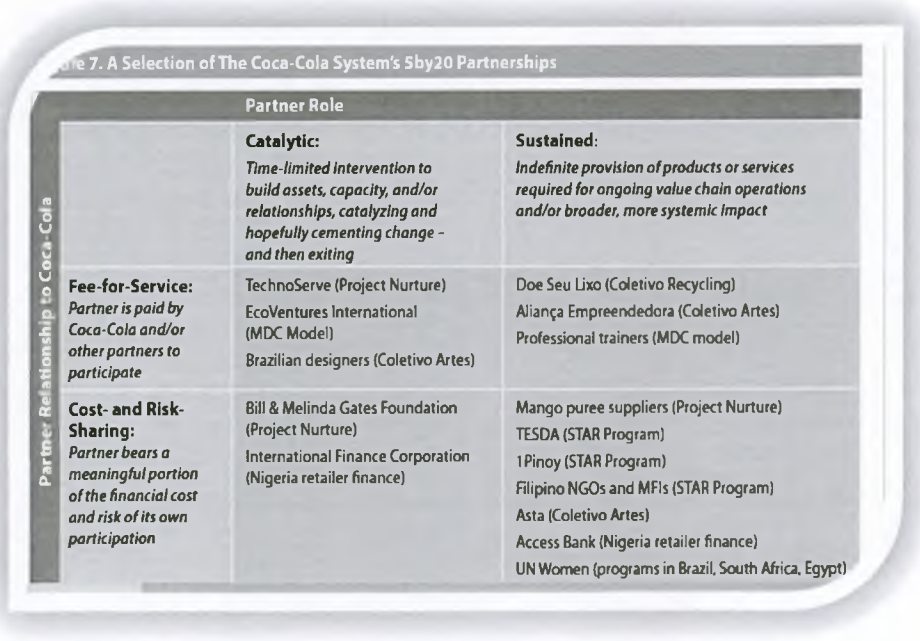
As presented in the 5by20 initiative, women's empowerment constitutes helping women entrepreneurs associated with the corporate (along the Coke value chain) to gain access to three essential economic enablers, namely: business skills training, financial services (loans and loan applications) and assets, and peer networks and mentoring. This is done through the 5by20 initiative which focuses on women in the six segments of Coke's value chain. Women who complete the training programs are then eligible to apply for business start-up loans. Women's economic empowerment is considered a priority by Coke given the crucial role of women in the Coke system as demonstrated by the different roles they occupy in the value chain and the economic barriers too many women still face (Coke 2012). On examining the training however, as per the pictures published in 5by20 information sheets, the level of training offered for example in record keeping skills is elementary and consistent with running an informal business, the skills mentioned are therefore not transferrable to a formal working environment.

In 5by20 information sheets, women's empowerment is equated to gender equality which in turn is expected to be achieved through smart economics. Women are seen as and referred to as an untapped potential and an under-utilised resource which can grow country and world economies exponentially. 5by20 text, through videos, the written word, pictures, adverts, talks, speeches and interviews by Coke executives and employees; links training to increased knowledge, increased confidence, and increased profits for women. Women qualify for these loans after they receive training. They then use their acquired skills of business management to manage their various entrepreneurial projects. All of the women who speak in 5by20 videos say they are empowered as a result of receiving training and loans which they invest into their businesses. Women are also said by Coke to have access to mentors and support groups where they can discuss their business challenges. 5by20 therefore links empowerment directly to 'business' ownership and the ability of the women to increase their incomes and access basic needs for their families.

5.7 Partners to the Projects

5by20 is implemented through strategic partnerships with Coca-Cola's bottling partners; government organisations such as USAID, UK DFID, and TESDA; and civil society organizations, including Mercy Corps, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, TechnoServe, Asta, Hapinoy Store and international development organisations such as UN Women (weforum.org, 2013). In each country where Coke 5by20 is implemented, they are specific partnerships utilised by Coke to subsidise the projects and to implement them. For example:

> A complex array of partners beyond The Coca-Cola Company, the Gates Foundation, and TechnoServe are thus involved in Project Nurture (a farming project in Kenya and Uganda). These include banks, agricultural research institutes, fruit processors, traders, and exporters, and government ministries. ...the founding partners aim to catalyse a business model and broader enabling environment that will continue creating value long into the future. (Jenkins et al, 2013:17)



e 7. A Selection of The Coca-Cola System's 5by20 Partnerships

Partner Relationship to Coca-Cola	Partner Role	Catalytic: *Time-limited intervention to build assets, capacity, and/or relationships, catalyzing and hopefully cementing change - and then exiting*	Sustained: *Indefinite provision of products or services required for ongoing value chain operations and/or broader, more systemic impact*
	Fee-for-Service: *Partner is paid by Coca-Cola and/or other partners to participate*	TechnoServe (Project Nurture) EcoVentures International (MDC Model) Brazilian designers (Coletivo Artes)	Doe Seu Lixo (Coletivo Recycling) Aliança Empreendedora (Coletivo Artes) Professional trainers (MDC model)
	Cost- and Risk-Sharing: *Partner bears a meaningful portion of the financial cost and risk of its own participation*	Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (Project Nurture) International Finance Corporation (Nigeria retailer finance)	Mango puree suppliers (Project Nurture) TESDA (STAR Program) 1Pinoy (STAR Program) Filipino NGOs and MFIs (STAR Program) Asta (Coletivo Artes) Access Bank (Nigeria retailer finance) UN Women (programs in Brazil, South Africa, Egypt)

Figure 4: The Coca-Cola System's 5by20 Partnerships, adapted from
The Coca-Cola Company's 5by20 Initiative: Empowering Women Entrepreneurs across the Value Chain

Partnerships as shown above are determined by institutional capacity to foot cost/investment required and ability to shoulder risk related to investment. Other partners participate on the basis that their costs are financed by Coke and its major partners. Some partnerships are catalytic; they establish, cement the programs and then exist, while others are sustained over a longer period of time.

The 5by20 initiative is conceptualised based on expert knowledge gathered by think tanks like the UN (UN Women), World Bank, IMF, UNICEF, Harvard Kennedy School and others. At the core of the initiative is the goal of gender equality which essentially came out of the UN MDGs, specifically the 3rd MDG which focused on gender equality and women's empowerment. This goal was then operationalised at international, regional and national levels. The UN Women website together with the World Bank report on gender equality demonstrates a clear understanding by the institutions of the structural causes of poverty for women, in theory. These are clearly articulated and linked together to show how they intersect to cause feminisation of poverty. The wording of the initiative and its goals express, infer, that the initiative will end structural causes of poverty for women.

5.8 Analysis of the 5by20 Partnerships

Following Roberts and Soederberg (2012) and Calkin, (2015) my analysis of the 5by20 partnerships posits that their approach to the initiative represents "the offloading of governmental power to the private sector and the subsequent empowerment of corporations as legitimate authority figures in development governance" (Calkin 2015:301) which in turn implies the turn to a neoliberal agenda in development (Blowfield 2005, Blowfield & Frynas 2005, Jenkins 2005, Ponte 2015). Concentrating wealth and reducing public expenditure is considered a neoliberal agenda by political economy critics. In line with Adrienne Roberts (2015a) this research finds credible the idea of the "discursive assemblage of 'Transnational Business Feminism' (TBF) which comprises a coalition of liberal feminist organisations, capitalist states, nongovernmental institutions and international financial institutions' convergence on the goal of promoting gender equality" (Roberts 2015a: 301). Characteristics of the emerging TBF discourse include "its transnational scope, increased role for corporate power, focus on the 2008 global financial crisis, conceptual reliance on instrumentalised narratives of the 'business case' for gender equality and an overriding message of convergence between feminist and neoliberal capitalist goals" (Roberts, 2015a: 303). Led by the partnerships between powerful development banks, investment banks, corporations and others, "the gender equality as smart economics approach frames corporate citizenship as a natural, inevitable and a rational feature in development, in which market-led initiatives can create equal opportunities (and rewards) for women and businesses alike" (Roberts & Soederberg 2012: 951).

Further to the above, I find that the conceptualisation of the project involves all the partners except the women; it is also led by a team from Coca-Cola with an extensive background in business and CSR. Whenever the team requires understanding the local context for their projects, they consult local NGOs, government representatives and community leaders as opposed to women. I also find

that the risk which is acknowledged and discussed by the conceptualisers is that which pertains to the cost of implementing the initiative and lending to women although these costs are eventually recuperated. The initiative forecloses any discussion of women as risk carriers both as a result of the global financial meltdown i.e. a failure of capitalism – and risk carriers as micro-finance borrowers. Women are also not recognised or addressed as partners although the initiative -which represents a global shift towards feminisation of development - hinges on women's support both as consumers and retailers of Coke products, and consumers of debt.

5.8.1 A sit at the table

As indicated above, the 5by20 was conceptualised by a team entirely made up of Coca-Cola staff with a technocratic background in business management. According to Coca-Cola (2012) this team was put together to come up with an integrated global initiative dedicated to economically empower women participants and also to lead in coming up with strategies as well as to act as a support system for teams across the world participating in the initiative. This team reports to Coke's Chief Sustainability Officer, and includes staff with diverse business backgrounds, which include, publicity, business strategy, marketing and public affairs; all with numerous years of experience within the Coca-Cola system (Jenkins et. al, 2013). The team therefore is overwhelmingly constituted by experts in business and CSR. Consultation with stakeholders included the financial and training partners or as noted in the Harvard report:

> Many country programs also involve external stakeholders such as community leaders, government agencies, and NGOs. Anyone with a role to play in decision-making and implementation ***needs to be at the table*** as 5by20 programs are conceptualized, designed, and rolled out (Jenkins et. al, 2013:9). (Bold italics mine)

There is no evidence or mention of consultation with beneficiaries or participants. Beneficiaries are identified during the roll-out of the program and not prior, by teams such as bottling companies and NGOs paid to train them; as a result, they are not a part of the conceptualisation. Women therefore do not get a sit at the table where the initiative is conceptualised as they do not constitute partners, decision-makers or implementers.

5.8.2 The normalisation of corporate solutions to development

In a 5by20 Progress Update Sheet, Coca-Cola posits that:

> Partnerships are critical to 5by20's success. When business, government and civil society come together we can bring to life creative solutions to the world's most intractable problems. Women's economic empowerment is no exception. Our partners provide essential insights and innovation on development that work in powerful synergy with our business experience and footprint. Together, we have the potential to bring these solutions

to scale around the world (5by20 Progress Update, 2012:7).

In the same vein the Harvard Kennedy report compiled on the project offers that:

> The development community has come to recognize the private sector as a crucial partner in helping to address [development] challenges. [...] more inclusive business models are helping to improve livelihoods and quality of life for millions of low-income households while at the same time improving the efficiency of natural resource use and decreasing environmental degradation (Jenkins et. al, 2013:4).

As noted in the introduction of this analysis, a smart economics approach sells CSR as the inevitable, unproblematic next step in development initiatives that seeks to eradicate poverty. To create a fit between business and development however, critical concepts are redefined to suit business objectives. For instance, in the foreword to the Harvard Kennedy report, the Director of the CSR initiative says: "Of the many development challenges facing our increasingly interconnected and interdependent world today, reducing poverty – or, put another way, expanding economic opportunity and choice – is among the most pressing" (Jenkins et. al, 2013:4). Presented in this way, there appears to be a seamless integration between fighting poverty and penetrating new markets. Since markets are presented as the solution to end poverty, a smart economics approach frames gender inequalities as located outside of markets, and markets are treated as neutral spaces, free of power relations. When inequalities are acknowledged, they are only seen as result of segmentation in economic activity or cultural practises which cause gender differences and lack of access to credit, equipment and formal institutions. Hence the Harvard report states:

> Too often, the poor, women, youth, and similar segments remain underserved because of barriers like insufficient information about their capabilities, needs, and aspirations; low levels of education and skills; limited access to financial services; social and cultural norms; misguided public policies; and inadequate physical infrastructure (Jenkins et. al, 2013:6).

The market is presented as neutral and not a creator of inequalities but rather the solution to end them. Silence about complications related to the markets serves to naturalise the market as an apolitical space that can create equal opportunities.

5.8.3 From citizen to stakeholder

As pointed out earlier in the chapter, participants for 5by20 are found along the Coca-Cola value chain. The Harvard report says:

> To reach five million women entrepreneurs by 2020, women's economic empowerment must become *embedded in the way the Coca-Cola system operates*. 5by20's role is a catalytic one, driving and enabling the Coca-Cola system to aim higher and do more to *empower women in the course of its normal business operations* (Jenkins et. al, 2013:11) (Italics mine)

For the business case to work, Coca-Cola approaches development by imbedding it within its normal business processes, causing what has been termed by various critics, the corporatisation of development. Coke locates and deals directly with individuals within its business environment. It also identifies previously ignored segments such as the poor, women and youth in the developing world where there is the highest possibility of growing new markets and increasing economic growth. As Visvanathan (1997) observes, all theories in the realm of the capitalist model use the individual as a unit of analysis and equate development to economic growth, as such organisations endeavour for the maximum rate of economic growth. Due to micro-finance being at the heart of 5by20, an individual approach to poverty eradication implies the shifting of debt from the state to the individual.

Therefore, an important shift in the development discourse caused by corporatisation of development is the movement of the burden of debt from country to individual. Whereas international banks and donors primarily used to borrow nation states, 5by20 shows that 5 million women will be directly receiving loans from institutions in partnership with Coke. Lending to individuals makes MNC involvement in development possible. Sharp (2006) argues in relation to CSR discourse that it positions a new language of categorisation in which the concept of entitlement to development has moved from citizen to stakeholder. In this scenario, undeserving subjects are those who do not fall under the value chain. By implication undeserving subjects constitute those who are not proactive and creative in tackling their own poverty before Coke comes in to rescue them, as loans and training are given mostly to those who are found attempting to sell their own wares in the informal market along the value chain.

5.8.4 The ambiguous role of the state

In the Philippines and South African examples given in the outlay of the program, the role of the state varies. In the former, TESDA, the technical and vocational training department run by government shares the cost and risk of participating in the program. In South Africa, state employees were contacted over a period of six months in which they failed to provide any meaningful information on their participation in the local 5by20 programme. They eventually directed me to Coke and UN Women for comment although the request for information was specific to the state role in the initiative. This led me to the argument I introduced earlier in the introduction to this analysis - that there is a considerable offloading of governmental power to the private sector.

The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) website in South Africa also showed that their target for empowerment are women in formalised small to medium business enterprises (SMEs) as opposed to poor women in the informal markets. Analysis of the partnership relationships and

conceptualisation of the 5by20 program also reveals that state partnership is not necessarily different from other partners who are identified for the strategic purpose of implementation of programs. That is to say, the state is not in a position to carry empowerment costs as a public good for women hence the need for women to receive loans; the involvement of the state has not stopped the privileging of private consumption over public consumption, ultimately the state role is ambiguous. On the other hand, participation of the state in whatever form it takes in the initiative projects points to the possible reconfiguring of the state which may require independent studies.

The Harvard report highlights that women are going to be evaluated on business improvement and on reinvesting profits on family expenditure. In terms of being evaluated on reinvestment into family, this 'evaluation' will be carried out by different partners in 5by20 including governments and NGOs. Essentially this evaluation is an enforcement of the loan conditionality or coersion as it where, which will drive women's expenditure towards their families in order to fulfil the broader objectives of the SDGs. As Calkin points out:

> Transnational business initiatives for the governance of gender constitute manifestations of 'roll-out' neoliberalism and embody new forms of interventionist social policy which aim to train and shape bodies for particular forms of economic agency and participation. Women and girls have become a central focus for social policies in areas like health and education which aim to shape their 'human capital' (Calkin 2015:301).

Historically, NGOs have filled the gap left by government when public services were withdrawn or reduced. As demonstrated in the different diagrams presented earlier in the chapter, NGOs are receiving payment to train women, in some cases they disburse and follow up on debt with the participants. Paradoxically, 5by20 demonstrates that both NGOs and government are coopted by the corporate to police women's expenditure arguably to make up for minimised or non-existen public goods. In the recent years NGOs have increasingly been criticised because their sources of funding may represent a conflict of interest and also because their role has molded a citizen distanced from the state and state obligation. Imerging development networks or partnerships are therefore changing the meaning and practise of development from diverse angles.

In view of the idea of policing or channelling women's incomes and expenditure in a specific direction, the state and capital become partners in 5by20 to that effect. I therefore consider that "capital accumulation processes require states, with their monopoly on the legitimate use of violence and ideological functions in depoliticising class conflict (Roberts & Soederberg 2012: 956). In other words, a neo-liberal smart economics approach to development such as the 5by20, would not run as smoothly if it were not for the help Coke gets from the state in monitoring women

beneficiaries as well as the role played by the state at a macro-economic level to naturalise class divisions. In addition, the smart economics approach also presents the corporate as a responsible philanthropic citizen in charge of improving women's lives. This view silences the tension highlighted by the major CSR argument that corporations oppose state-led forms of regulation and enforcement in favour of self-regulation which lacks accountability. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, (in the example of India, where Coke depleted water reservoirs for the poor population) when the state and corporations manage to overlook their own differences and contradictions it is usually at the expense of the under-privileged. To that end, the role of the state remains ambiguous as it vacillates between inconsistent provision of public goods, and inconsistent responsibility towards the citizen. Some of the challenges facing the state include being constrained by lack of capital and as a result having to 'partner' with MNCs as opposed to regulating them. In most cases MNCs have more money and power than some or most states in the developing world, so the globalisation of capital results in the undermining of state power; in addition, the changing demands and expectations towards the state keep it constant flux and yet its role remains ambiguous.

5.8.5 The politics of risk

Figure 4 demonstrates the partnerships which make 5by20, and categorisation of these partnerships according to their responsibilities, such as those that are carriers of financial cost and risk and non-carriers of cost and risk. Financial institutions and foundations together with Coca-Cola mostly carry the financial costs and risk of participation. Women are not categorised as partners but interestingly, the Harvard report states that: "women are [also] the primary buyers of Coca-Cola products" and that they represent the largest segment for targeted market growth, so "this means that The Coca-Cola Company cannot realize its potential for growth without women" (Jenkins et. al. 2013:7). Neither are women listed among risk carriers although analysis of the initiative shows that women carry a large amount of risk, due to the double and sometimes triple burden between productive and reproductive work, their participation in precarious informal work, and in direct relation to the initiative, the risk related to their being borrowers of micro-finance. For example, a 5by20 information sheet details the conditions under which Regina from Brazil started picking up used items for recycling and became a participant in the initiative:

> The streets were littered with trash and infested with rodents. It was a dirty job, but a job nonetheless. For Regina, it was an opportunity to support her grandchildren. It also provided a way for her to serve her community and, in her words, gave her "a reason to live" (Women's economic empowerment..., 2012/2013:5).

Regina lives in a slum or shanty town where 90% of the population have not completed high school and single parents make up 57% of the households. Regina is widowed and her two sons also

'tragically' died leaving her as the caretaker of 5 grandchildren. On another section of the information sheet we are told that: "With no practical business skills she alone resorts to picking up litter in her community and recycling it for income" (Women's economic empowerment..., 2012/2013:5). The information sheet does not disclose how Regina lost all 3 male members of her family; we are just told it was 'tragically'. Their deaths have put Regina in a position to be the caretaker of 5 grandchildren; hence Regina participates in recycling supposedly 'on her own accord'. Regina's life is marred by poverty and her circumstances show that there are structural causes of her poverty that are beyond her control. She therefore is vulnerable to both tangible and intangible risk. Unemployed and living in a slum, Regina is vulnerable to the risks associated with living in a slum, such as overcrowding, communicable diseases, lack of access to primary services such as running water, electricity, refuse removal, high levels of crime among other life-threatening issues. As the quotation above shows, Regina's streets are filled with uncollected litter. The videos accompanying Regina's and other women's stories shows them rummaging through dirt, filled with broken bottles and expectedly, pungent smells. So, Regina also runs the risk of getting hurt or contacting disease through her work.

Participation in 5by20 for someone in Regina's precarious position however is both good and bad. Good because micro-finance alleviates the day to day violence of deprivation, but bad also because it exposes Regina to the risk of debt of which failure to pay can lead to dire consequences. Regina though, is not categorised as a risk bearer in any way by 5by20. As Moodie (2013: 281) surmises, "In micro-finance, risk is always thought to accrue to the lender and not to the borrower. The loan, not the person, is the site of risk". Regina is only portrayed as a grateful recipient of training, mentorship, assets for collection of recyclables and a loan – which is rarely referred to as a loan – it is labelled as a financial asset or resource in 5by20.

The risky business of picking up litter on the other hand is arguably a public good which should be offered by the state but is increasingly offered as a privatised good by municipalities. Life in the slums is akin to life at the margins as slums or informal settlements are found at the periphery of cities and suburbs and usually municipalities are either not legally bound to offer basic services such as refuse removal to them or if offered the residents cannot afford them. I will discuss further the implications of the lack of such public goods on poor women in the following chapter. Meanwhile, having analysed all the stories and personal testimonies on 5by20 I posit that poor women, and older women are highly subject to risk, or as Moodie (2013) terms it – peril – or the violence of deprivation – a kind of numbing poverty – this is the risk that makes them attractive and available as

'investment targets' for neoliberal development. Only the conceptualisers and their partners however, are seen and acknowledged as risk takers, while the risk the women take by participating in the micro-finance centred projects is completely silenced. Moodie (2013) argues that "one of the central political achievements of risk is to divide the world into risk givers and risk takers" (pg. 279) and that "risk produces a radical asymmetry between those who take, define, and profit from risks and those who are their targets" (Ibid). So, women constitute both consumers of Coca-Cola products and business partners who enable Coke to penetrate new markets at their own cost and risk. However, consistent with a neoliberal approach to development, risk is spread around while profits are privatised and micro-finance valorises risk to the lender and not the borrower.

5.8.6 The global financial crisis and Transnational Business Feminism (TBF)

Previously released reports by the World Bank and IMF on the global financial crisis highlight that the poor, and/or women are the most affected by the aftermaths of the crisis. There is mounting criticism on how organisations such as the Goldman Sachs who were instrumental in the financial collapse are now one of the leading partners in championing borrowing to poor women. Through their own initiative called 'Womenomics' which is similar to 5by20 in ideology, "Goldman promote an understanding of the corporation as the best-placed and most efficient provider of development services, all while rendering invisible its own role in the 2008 global financial crisis" (Roberts and Soederberg, 2012: 301). Critics argue that financing partners such as investment firms, rating agencies, banks, and other corporations have assisted in privatising and securitising microfinance loans in order to make a profit from the poor and particularly and excessively from female borrowers. Female borrowers make most of the feminised populations and are more vulnerable to the changes caused by global labour markets. The inconsistent nature of capitalist development has led to changes in the global labour markets which in turn influence informal labour and affects the security of workers. Micro-lenders are set to gain from lending to the growing informal economy created by these volatile markets.

The 5by20 initiative joins a plethora of other women and girls' empowerment initiatives which have been lauded as the answer to economic growth in the aftermath of the financial meltdown. Liberal feminist organisations such as UN Women are at the forefront of openly seeking to endorse gender equality through existing institutional channels by enunciating feminist discourses. The intertwining of business, civil society, feminist and other organisations represents a form of transnational business feminism, because women's empowerment imbedded in business practises is premised as achieving the feminist goal of gender equality. In 5by20, the marriage between Coke and UN Women with their other partners, represents a form of TBF, it privileges a business case approach to gender

equality, especially with the announcement that the UN Women intends to take the 5by20 blueprint and introduce it outside of the Coke value chain.

5.9 Conclusion

It suffices to say the 5by20 initiative represents a microcosm of the corporatisation of development. I see the heading of the empowerment initiative by Coca-Cola signifying the offloading of governmental power to the private sector and the subsequent empowerment of the partner corporations as a legitimate authority figures in development governance. The imbedding of the 'development' initiative within the corporate system privileges a neoliberal agenda over an interventionist approach and financialisation of the program allows for diverse partnerships such as the state, the NGO and the corporate to co-exist while foreclosing debates on the removal of the burden of debt from the state to the individual.

The cost and risk acknowledged in the program is only that of conceptualisers, financiers and implementers, the program is silent about the risk women shoulder through compounded workloads, debt and coerced expenditure on family members. To that end, a program like the 5by20 is prototypical of Transnational Business Feminism because "it functions to a great extend to 'naturalize and de-politicize' the power of the corporation in development governance and poverty eradication, while framing gender equality in terms of its relationship to efficiency and competitiveness" (Calkin, 2015:303). Following Calkin (2015), I conclude that "the successes of elite liberal feminists (read UN Women) to articulate a politically appealing account of gender equality as economic growth represents an ambiguous achievement" for feminism (pg.305). This is evident in the way narratives of "Gender Equality as Smart Economics' legitimise harmful neoliberal economic policies" (as will be demonstrated in the final chapter), "empower corporate actors in the governance process, and compound the invisibility of social reproduction and close off space for resistance by anti-capitalist feminists" (Ibid).

CHAPTER 6

6.0 EMPOWERMENT OR FEMINISATION OF DEBT?

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is a discourse analysis of The Coca-Cola Company's 5by20 global empowerment initiative (hereinafter referred to as 5by20). It is premised on critical development thinking which holds that the "critique of development should see it as a complex of unequal material relationships and processes which structure engagement between the global South and the global North as well as the primary discursive framework within which these relationships have been constructed for more than sixty years" (Wilson, 2015: 804). This chapter therefore offers a close reading of the project which seeks to situate the text within a social, political and economic context. To that end my analysis assumes and seeks to prove that there are particular notions of womanhood around which the project is conceptualised. These notions make up the themes under discussion below and help to answer the main question *'how are women, and women's empowerment represented in development discourse, and to what ends are these notions mobilised'?* This chapter therefore endeavours to interrogate the different notions and their implications to the women concerned as well as to development discourse at large. I will also discuss the gendered and classed subjectivities which are generated by the discourse of the 5by20 initiative.

My analysis of the use of race as a category which informs material processes agrees with that of authors such as Kalpana Wilson (2012& 2015), Pumla Dineo Qgola (2010 & 2015), Chandra Mohanty (2003) and bell hooks (1990) who variously call for "the need to consider not only the discursive construction of racialised bodies but equally the racialised material production of bodies" (Wilson, 2012: 11). This view allows for an analysis which sees capitalism not only as productive of difference but an ideology and practise which relies on inequality and operates in ways that sustain and intensify inequalities based on variables such as gender, class and ethnic difference. Following authors such as Koffman & Gill (2013), Chant & Sweetman (2012), Moodie (2013), and Hickel (2014), I demonstrate that "empowerment has been hijacked by a neo-liberal economic agenda, resulting in a particular form of women's empowerment that privileges individualism, women's access to material and financial assets and their participation in the informal market" (Chant and Sweetman, 2012: 5). Furthermore, "a neoliberal approach does not simply 'instrumentalise' and dilute gender equality objectives and neglect questions of consciousness in favour of an exclusively material understanding of empowerment... rather, these approaches to gender, and the specific models of

material development they are embedded in, rely on, and actively reinforce and extend, existing patriarchal structures and gendered relationships of power" (Wilson, 2015:807).

I find that the seemingly new racialised constructions of the empowered, agentic, entrepreneurial subject in 5by20, which appear emancipatory at face value, are in fact parallel to previous colonial depictions of Third World women and lead me to the view that "neoliberalism's has a peculiar ability to appropriate and incorporate critical concepts with the result that it makes selective use of elements of feminist thinking" (Wilson, 2015: 809-810). Certain depictions and notions as will be discussed in the analysis make for an indispensable neoliberal subject disposed to the use of micro-finance. Micro-finance represents a shift in development practice over the last twenty or so years from state-led to market-led approaches. Micro-finance however works as a governmental strategy which produces subjectivities which limit critical consciousness and point instead towards the subject as both the source and the answer to poverty.

Further to the current arguments around women's empowerment my research offers an insight into the use of older women's bodies in development. Where other analysts have alleged that development ignores older women I propose that their desperation works as an incentive for micro-finance distribution and their agency is utilised in specific ways that profit a neoliberal approach. Older women are strategically positioned in caring for different generations of their families and therefore serve as the magic bullet needed by development to meet its various policy objectives towards younger girls and communities. I also posit that the project's silence on the role of men in tackling poverty goes further than what other analysts have suggested (that man of colour are racially depicted as irresponsible and only invested in sexual pleasure at the expense of their families) to suggesting that global capital is in fact aware of the increasing number of men who are unemployed (as a result of the failure of markets) and also that these poor men are most likely to be part of the populations performing low paid feminised work like immigrants and poor women.

6.2 The conceptualisation of the 5by20 initiative

6.2.1 Maternal instincts and immobility

According to the fact sheets and progress update reports of 5by20, investment in women is premised on the basis that "women are a powerful but undervalued economic force [...] and studies show they devote more of their earned income to food, education and healthcare for their children and their families" (5by20 Progress Update... 2012:4). There is therefore a perceived multiplier effect to investing in women. This information is repeated on almost every important document, and in

interviews were the company explains the 5by20 'business case' for empowerment. A business case approach to investment simply means that research has been done and there is assured return on investment for companies and development agents.

On a fact sheet under the heading '*A case for empowerment*' Coca-Cola expands:

> At The Coca-Cola Company, we believe women are a powerful but undervalued economic force. Women control $20 trillion in spending globally and studies show they devote more of their earned income to food, education and healthcare for their children and their families. Additionally, studies from the World Economic Forum show a strong correlation between an increase in gender equality and an increase in per capita gross domestic product. Investing in women can strengthen entire communities and bolster local economies. (5by20 Progress Update... 2012:4)

As discussed in earlier chapters, this is a smart economics approach to women's economic empowerment. As Wilson (2015) explicates "smart economics is premised on the assumption that women will always work harder, and be more productive, than their male counterparts; further, they will use additional income more productively than men would" (pg.807). In the statement above, women's working and spending habits are instantly connected to improved economic outcomes for their families, their communities and global society at large. This is in line with macro-economic theory whose measurements valorise economic growth at the expense of human-wellbeing. Throughout the 5by20 stories found on videos compiled by Coke on their websites and on YouTube, women are presented as self-sacrificing mothers, grandmothers, and wives in conjunction with being business owners or entrepreneurs. For instance, the case of Aida from South Africa in a video compiled by Coke states that:

> My name is Aida, I am 51 years old, I am a divorcee, I have got 3 kids, I am staying with 11 people in my household, I am staying in Meadowlands in Soweto. I lost my job in December, 2009 and started selling snacks and cool drinks. I started the business so I could provide for my family Coke (A Hand Up: UN Women and Coca-Cola...2014).

Also, when telling the story of Regina Gomez, a recycler from Brazil Coke (Women's economic empowerment...2012-2013) alludes to fact that Regina is a single caretaker of 5 grandchildren from the shanty towns (*favelas)* in Rio de Janeiro. Regina is widowed and her two sons died leaving her as the sole caretaker of her 5 grandchildren. Through these recorded stories, Coca-Cola manages to support their argument that women do most of the work in looking after families, and use this as the common-sense rationale for investing in women. The project however does not question the reason women have to take care of extended family members. Instead, the Coca-Cola 5by20 Women's Economic Empowerment (2012-2013) document breaks down in numbers just how likely women are to reinvest their incomes, so in practise smart economics entails that:

> Women do 66% of the world's work, earn only 10% of the world's income and yet invest 90% of their earnings into their families. (Women's economic empowerment...2012-2013)

The information is also provided in figures and pictures in what Coca-Cola terms 'info-graphics' as follows:

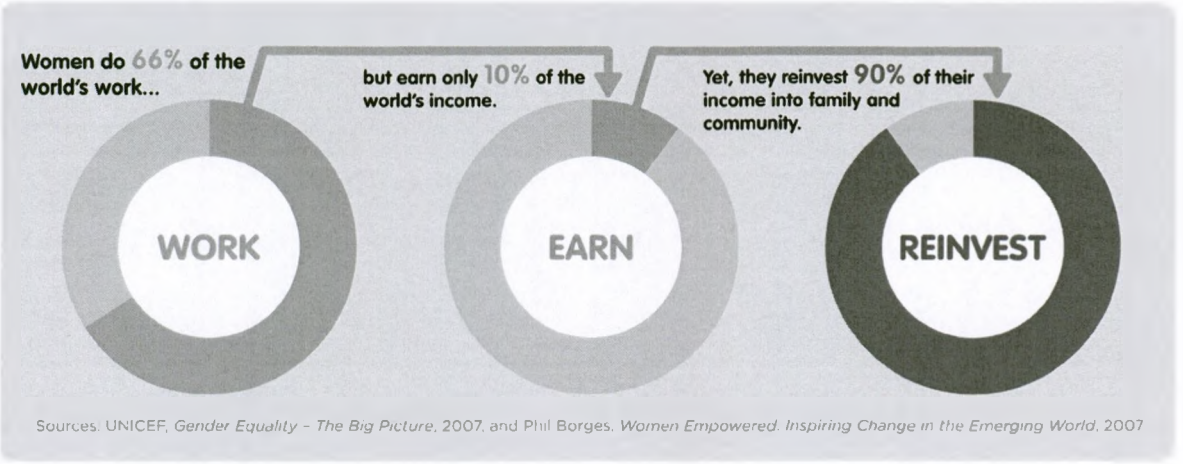


Figure 4 - UNICEF Gender Equality The Big Picture 20017

Source: Coca-Cola 5by20 Women's Economic Empowerment (2012-2013)

A smart economics approach posits that if more or all women could be involved in economic activities, even more work can be accomplished based on the amount of work they already do. Under the heading '*A case for empowerment*' in a 5by20 fact sheet, Michelle Bachelet, former Executive Director, UN Women says: "We can no longer afford to waste the potential of half the world's population. It is both a matter of justice as well as good business and economic sense." (5by20 Progress update..., 2012:4). Smart economics is presented as common sense, leading some scholars to argue that "the political economy of development is accompanied by an 'economy of statements' about development that normalise and fix the agenda as universally common sense and thereby assert its ideological power" (Escobar, 1995: 155 & Switzer, 2013:349).

Such presentation of quantified research which demonstrates the amount of work women do, and how they channel their earnings is powerfully persuasive in showing that women are 'powerful yet undervalued resources' in 5by20. The project is therefore conceptualised based on and around the gendered amount of work women do and their supposed selfless expenditure on family. Feminist critics have argued that it is women's maternal instincts that are appealed to in such initiatives. I however also want to add that more than just maternal instincts, it is the women's inescapable proximity to household, children and family needs that place a demand on their labour and incomes. Following Bisnath (2001) I argue that mobility is a gendered concept, i.e. women's gendered

responsibilities are more likely to render them immobile compared to their male counterparts. Although a neo-liberal theoretical framework presumes labour to be mobile, in practise skilled labour is more likely to be more mobile than unskilled labour and women mostly represent the later. To further expound Bisnath argues that:

> [w]omen's ability to enter markets as employees is often hampered by lower levels of education and skills qualification, often due to structural reasons, and restrictions in mobility due to tradition, religion and/or family responsibilities/demands (2001:9)

Furthermore, as seen in the first 5by20 statement above, an increase in economic activity is conflated with gender equality, wherein a strong association is made between an increase in gender equality and an increase in GDP is claimed by the World Economic Forum. Gender equality in this manner however, only seems to refer to participation in economic activities despite the nature and conditions of these activities. This view is based on the integration thesis associated with neoclassical and some Marxist perspectives which posit that capitalist expansion and thereby economic growth increases gender equality as women enter economic activity. A Korean study by Seguino (1997) however, following feminist economic thought, discounts this premise and considers the context in which women enter the labour market. Implicit in this view is that economic, social, legal political and cultural factors contribute in shaping gender relations and determining outcomes (Chant & Sweetman, 2012).

The info-graphic above paints a vivid picture of women's work and subtly implies that women are able to do this work because they are different. Implicit in the statement that 'women do 66% of the world's work' is that men do less, and 'women are more likely to spend their income on their families' as opposed to men and arguably as opposed to women in the global North. Black feminist thought has long argued the narrow representation of women in the developing world by mainstream feminism as homogenous and preoccupied with nurturing activities (Mohanty, 2003) and has called for acknowledging of difference. A neoliberal approach however essentialises these differences and is able to also present difference in ways that benefit the capitalist enterprise. The essentialised qualities that women in 5by20 allegedly possess allow for increased economic growth as demonstrated in the statement below. I re-visit the earlier quoted statement from Coke to make a different point:

> ...studies from the World Economic Forum show a strong correlation between an increase in gender equality and *an increase in per capita gross domestic product*. Investing in women can strengthen entire communities and *bolster local economies* (5by20 Progress Update... 2012:4) (Italics mine)

There is noted focus on participation based on difference without a focus for example on redistribution of proceeds from the *bolstered economies* leading critics to surmise that "feminist focus on the cultural politics of recognition of difference overshadowed and prevented adequate attention to the politics of redistribution, [thereby] permitting the [...] legitimisation of neoliberal economic policies in the name of individual freedom, agency and difference (Fraser, 2009: 114). In other words, the acknowledgement of difference is employed for capital accumulation as opposed to promoting equality as intended by feminist scholarship.

In addition, women's economic activities are financed by loans that are designed around their differences to men (they are considered more loyal in payment). Most of the women in 5by20 are involved in activities financed by micro-loans in proximity to their households. Feminist and Marxist economists acknowledge the role of power in influencing resource allocation, it is not by accident that most of the activities the women in 5by20 do are at a small-scale level financed by micro-loans. Micro financing is by nature gendered and considered feminine as a result of its micro or small scale and domestic use, it is therefore well suited to gendered bodies and activities. To that end, a neoliberal model of material development is not only immersed in work influenced by patriarchal structures but works to normalise, depends on these structures, thereby exacerbating the effects of existing gendered relationships of power.

As will be demonstrated below, women are praised in 5by20 for their unending strength, resilience and industriousness in trying to overcome poverty. Strength is therefore another central notion of womanhood and a theme which runs through the 5by20 initiative. I will explore it below.

6.2.2 Strength, resilience and hope

In a 5by20 video, Phiona Namirembe who owns a distribution centre for Coca-Cola products in Uganda, Africa says: "...because I grew up in a big family I felt I should be strong and resilient". In a different continent in Mexico, Sandy echoes Phiona's sentiments and says: "my advice to other women is to be strong". In the Philippines Jocelyn Tondo narrates her story amid tears:

> Right after my son's passing I experienced depression, I stood up gained strength and devoted myself to handicrafts. (5by20 Meet the artisans...2015)

Sandy and Jocelyn are artisans, they make different products like jewellery and bags from Coca-Cola used bottles, bottle tops etc. They explain that it takes 50 bottles to make one bag. What all the three women above have in common is their participation in 5by20 by way of training in business skills, receiving financial loans from Coca-Cola and being part of peer networks organised by the

programme. Business training, access to loans and mentoring are identified by 5by20 as the barriers to women's participation in economic activities. Participation in the programme however is for women who exhibit attributes such as strength and resilience, in most cases these women qualify because they are found already trying to make a living along the Coca-Cola value chain.

The Coca-Cola Fact Sheet (2014:1) under the heading '*A Commitment to Women*' states that:

> ***Women are pillars*** of the communities where we operate, they are critical to local and global business success and are ***an essential cornerstone*** for 2020 Vision, our long-term system-wide plan for growth and doubling the business. ...And women control $20 Trillion in spending worldwide, representing an economic impact larger than the U.S., China and India combined. (Bold italics mine).

It is important to note that the wording above represents a condensed cocktail of statements based on research that has come out of different institutions (see Appendix 2) by mainly the UN and subsidiaries and now private organisations such as Coca-Cola. Women's strength is referenced indirectly when they are referred to as pillars of communities and the cornerstone of 2020 vision (both to the UN SDGs and Coca-Cola's vision of doubling their business by 2020). A pillar and a cornerstone depict unparalleled strength, or fortitude. In videos recorded to support the initiative, women refer to their own strength directly. For instance, Ms Maganyele of South Africa is quoted by the UN Women website saying:

> "I believe women were made to be strong and to never give up" (UN Women, 2016)

These are sentiments expressed in various ways by women from different continents in the videos, along the value chain. In another 5by20 video made by Coke in South Africa, Malehlohonolo Moleko a participant, states that her working day starts at 03:30am every morning, she states elsewhere that she sometimes works up to 15 hours a day (Jordan, 2012). In a separate recorded interview with Regina Gomez, a recycler from Brazil, we are told by Coke that Regina is widowed and is the sole caretaker of her 5 grandchildren (Women's economic empowerment...2012-2013). Unemployed, she resorts to recycling. Recycling entails digging into piles of dirt to retrieve used Coca-Cola products and selling these for cash, one has to collect a lot of these for very little money. Strength, resilience and hard work are therefore central themes in the 5by20 initiative. All the participants in the value chain demonstrate these qualities; it is the basis on which they are chosen to participate.

To demonstrate this point, Coke (5by20 Progress update...2012: 4) point out that:

> The women we reach through 5by20 exemplify the spirit of entrepreneurship – they are creative, determined and optimistic.

And that:

> Regina's resilience and perseverance opened doors where circumstances had closed them (Ibid).

It suffices to say strength and resilience are highly valued notions of womanhood in 5by20 because this framing positions women as ideal neoliberal subjects. In a context where neoliberalism is understood as "as a mode of political and economic rationality characterised by privatisation, deregulation and a rolling back and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision" (Gill & Scharff, 2011) women, once depicted as strong and rational actors are positioned to tackle poverty in their private capacity, undertake unpaid work to aid economic recovery and replace social provisioning withdrawn by the state without the help of men; and in the absence of regulated markets take the fall for failed projects and paying of private loans.

So, central to the vision of economic recovery in 5by20, is women's strength and resilience to not only withstand poverty but to maintain hope and determination through these circumstances. A lot of work is required to eradicate poverty and improve economies after the global financial meltdown, just as it was after the structural adjustment programmes (SAPS) of the 80's. As demonstrated the amount of resilience expected of women in 5by20 includes starting work in some cases at 03:30am and working late into the night, while looking after immediate and extended family members, and balancing reproductive and productive work in a precarious informal sector, (all the women mentioned here sell wares around or near their households assisted by loans from Coke) all the while being grateful and happy to plough 90% of the earnings into family welfare.

These experiences portrayed in 5by20 give credence to Chant and Sweetman's views based on their analysis of similar micro-finance initiatives. They posit that these programmes "rely on essentialising maternalist gender stereotypes and expect particular kinds of contributions from women, often leading to increased labour burdens and the perpetuation of 'female altruism" (Chant & Sweetman 2012: 524). To contextualise the circumstances surrounding the work expected of women in the developing world Chant & Sweetman (2012: 521) explain that:

> [I]n the wake of macro-level global economic changes and the imperatives of poverty reduction, women and girls in many societies are faced with a grassroots reality of compensating for economic austerity measures and decline, which are compounding various complex crises including food security, climate change and the ongoing spectre of HIV.

As a result, Chant (2012:202) argues that the expectation that women can change the world emanating from various development agents is nothing short of expecting "super-human sacrifices in terms of time, labour, energy, and other resources". The idea that women have super-human

strength and boundless energy is however not a new one, especially regarding women in post-colonial nations. I trace the emergence of this perspective in the following section.

Further to Chant & Sweetman's problematisation of the super-human sacrifices expected of women, other critics also problematise the assumption by development agents that women in the global South have "infinitely elastic time and energy at their disposal, and can always incorporate more income-generating activity... even when agents are aware of the notion of a double or triple burden of productive, reproductive and community labour" (de la Rocha, 2009 in Wilson 2015:812). I follow hooks (1990) who argues that the belief that women from developing countries have some innate peculiar capacity to endure suffering originated in slavery discourse. In her book *'Ain't I A Woman'*, named after the speech by Sojourner Truth in 1851, where Truth laments the overburdening of black women during slavery, bell hooks (1990) refers to the implied peculiar strength of black women's bodies (they were expected to carry out manual labour alongside their male counterparts) as the masculinisation of black women. hooks argues that capitalist patriarchy played a part in entrenching gendered and racialised expectations of labour from women of colour in a bid to raise profits.

Although hooks writes about the African-American slavery experience, Qgola (2010:6) suggests that slavery, colonialism and apartheid should not be seen as distinct and mutually exclusive periods but rather should be seen to exist along a continuum. For, the ultimate effect of these oppressive systems was to devalue and dehumanise. Taking cognisance of this view, and without attempting to homogenise experiences, hook's views can be broadly applied to other post-colonial subjects such as the African, Asian, Filipino and Latino women. To demonstrate, in the South African context Baderoon (2014) argues that "the legacy of slavery still permeates South Africa today, and the inscription of slavery is apparent today in forms of labour that are crucial yet continue to be undervalued, underpaid and characterized by systemic violence, such as farm labour and domestic labour".

To carry the argument further - that women in developing nations have sub-human strength to carry the world out of poverty - I consider Wilson's contribution through her 2012 book titled *'Race', Racism and Development: Interrogating History, Discourse and Practice*', where she says the depiction of women in the developing world may use different terminology but is still reminiscent of colonial and racial views. Elsewhere in an article, she says:

> ...It is in this context that we can understand the emergence of the hyper-industrious entrepreneurial [girl/woman] from a low-income household in the global South as a central trope of twenty-first century neoliberalism. Just as colonial representations of contented and productive women workers in colonial enterprises 'symbolically affirmed the need for

> empire' (Ramamurthy, 2003), so these contemporary representations implicitly confirm the 'empowering' potential of neoliberal globalization and erase questions of structural injustice (Wilson, 2015:809)

The existing racialised repertoires of Third World women's strength suit neoliberal discourse' agenda of capital accumulation. The representation of women as subjects with infinite strength and time erases not only the issue of their unpaid work, their basic workers' rights to a living wage but also the circumstances which push them into the informal sector. Neoclassical economics has historically centred productive work around the patriarchal view of a male breadwinner with a supportive female spouse who did not need to earn as much. However, the rising job losses among men in the eras of globalisation, structural adjustments also referred to as neoliberal restructuring and the financial meltdown has seen most men unable to function as breadwinners, poor men are also forced to perform low paying 'feminised' work. In the few instances where men are mentioned in 5by20 they are unemployed and working alongside their wives on projects financed by loans. These compounded circumstances push women into the informal sector which has now turned out to be a lucrative market for micro-finance. Micro-finance in turn has become the cornerstone of a neoliberal approach to development. In the presence of increasing criticism for the way capital reinforces gendered and racialised relations, constructions of race are reformulated and redeployed in the face of resistance to capital and to accommodate new ways of capital accumulation.

Qgola (2015:37) cautions that "the idea of race as a way of seeing, defining, experiencing and ordering the world is a fairly recent one in human history" suggesting that any valuable critique of social, economic and political relations (i.e. development) should pay attention to these differences. In the opinion of Wilson (2012), although race is a social construct and a historical variable which should not remain constant, it is however a lived experience which still regulates distribution of resources, bodies and space. She therefore highlights the need to acknowledge the relationship between development and race because in her view "development is also a social construct produced by the interactions between liberalism, capital and race" (Wilson 2012:20).

Furthermore, although the concept of strength emanates from feminism it is misappropriated in 5by20, because it is used to represent the over-burdening of women. Feminist liberal thought presented women as able to carry out work just as men, thereby arguing that incorporating women into economic activities improved efficiency. This approach advocated for women's participation in economic activities and silenced the social and political issues around women's entry on to the market on unequal grounds with men. Although feminism shifted with time and shined a spotlight on gender as a relational issue which affected women's access to resources and the nature of their participation in the market, neoliberal development still focuses on a reductive approach to

empowerment based on liberal thought proving that neoliberalism has an uncanny ability to adopt and integrate critical concepts and as a result manages to selectively apply elements of feminist thinking.

Women in 5by20 are depicted to be strong and resilient with boundless energy for entrepreneurial tasks thus it is common sense that they should be given micro-loans and training to carry out entrepreneurial activities. As I demonstrate above, gendered and racialized conceptualisations of women in the developing world justify interventions which are created to creatively make use of their energy. As indicated earlier, conceptualisation of 5by20 relies on information coming from various dominant institutions thereby shaping the discourse of women's economic empowerment and helping the discourse gain truth status. I will demonstrate the hegemony of this discourse later in this chapter.

6.2.3 Appropriation of feminist ideas

Labelling women as 'the essential cornerstone for 2020 Vision and long-term system-wide plan for growth and doubling the business' as per the Coca-Cola Fact Sheet (2014) places a huge burden on so called women's strength or capabilities. It also naturalises the ability of certain bodies to possess extra-ordinary strength to overcome insurmountable burdens such as world poverty. Appealing to the strength and capabilities of women, as noted earlier, is a concept that is borrowed from feminism. However, appealing to the strength of women to overburden them is also a misappropriation of feminist objectives. There is therefore, a selective uptake of feminist goals by development agents and corporates which dilutes feminist goals and favours a capitalist approach. Feminist authors have termed approaches which dilute, or borrow minimal feminist thinking either neoliberal feminism (Wilson, 2015) or post-feminism (Gonick, 2006).

I therefore posit that womanhood in 5by20 is thus an exploitable category, malleable enough to use as conduit for development policies aimed at children, families and communities; and for economic restructuring and austerity. It is a category marked with strength, resilience, hope, hard work and juxtaposed with vulnerability and lack as will be demonstrated below.

6.2.4 Poverty as a feminised concept

The information and testimonials shared in 5by20 show that most of the women participants from different continents come from extremely impoverished backgrounds which resulted from systemic disenfranchisement. In a 5by20 compiled video on South Africa, the narrator says:

> South Africa is a country of many opportunities and yet *not everyone* has access to these opportunities. The 2013 MDG Report acknowledges that poverty levels remain high and the

> country continues to grapple with high levels of inequality (A Hand Up: UN Women and Coca-Cola...2014).

Further to the above, a fact sheet about South Africa highlights:

> In South Africa, where unemployment among *women* is nearly 27 percent, *many women* are entrepreneurs out of necessity (Progress Update, 2012:10). (Italics mine)

Although statements such as 'not everyone' and 'women' are too generalised and may erase the difference in inequality they do point to differences which I explore below. In South Africa, in the hierarchy of inherited inequalities, black women still represent the highest number of the unemployed and the poorest in the economy. Therefore, participants in the 5by20 from South Africa come from places such as Orange Farm, Soweto and Vander Bjilpark. These are either townships formerly set up to contain black people during apartheid or informal settlements 'illegally' set up by people without housing, flocking from rural areas into towns in anticipation of employment opportunities post-apartheid. For instance, participant Moetsana Setlabo, lives in Orange Farm, known as one of the largest, and most densely populated informal settlements in the country and home to high levels of unemployment (de Wet et al 2008).

In the Philippines, we are told in a 5by20 progress update sheet that "approximately 86 percent of the retail shops, or 'sari-sari stores', ...are owned and operated by women. The women sari-sari store owners in the Philippines are already driven entrepreneurs, many of whom open their businesses out of their own homes" (5by20 Progress Update, 2012: 14). In a testimonial video, Coca-Cola 5by20 Teresita Antonio (2013) says about a sari-sari store owner:

> Teresita Antonio still gets teary-eyed when she recalls her old life. Living off the minimal earnings her husband collected as a seasonal carpenter in Palawan, the Philippines, she and her husband struggled to provide for their family, especially when her husband searched for work. So, Teresita took matters into her own hands and decided to open a sari-sari store – a convenience store – near their home.

Sari-sari shops represent businesses found in the informal economy which can be operated with minimum skills and money. Poor Filipino women operate most of the sari-sari shops in townships and informal settlements. In India, Coke points out that Preeti Gupta lives in a dusty rural area, 15 km outside the nearest city of Agra, her living conditions were also defined by lack of employment and income before 5by20 set in. Coca-Cola Progress update (2012:13) narrates:

> Like many women in her village, Preeti was expected to remain at home and care for her family after having children. But, Preeti was determined to give her children a chance at a better life. She needed to generate additional income to support these dreams, so she and her husband took out loans to open a small shop in their living room where today she sells grains, snacks and beverages as well as many other household goods. Living and working

> with only intermittent electricity proved challenging, but the recent addition of a solar-powered cooler provided by The Coca-Cola Company has begun to change Preeti and her family's lives. ...income means Preeti can invest in needs many others consider basic: healthcare for her family and an education for her children. They now have an opportunity to get ahead.

Although Coca-Cola demonstrates through personal stories from their participants that women are by no means homogenous and their experiences differ according to their context, there seems to be an underlying theme of extreme lack in all the stories exhibited in the programme. Participants' lives are thus characterised by poverty. The Coca-Cola 5by20 Progress Update (2012:9) narrates the circumstances surrounding a Brazilian participant:

> Zilda Bareto's neighbourhood in Rio de Janeiro is constantly bustling as residents crowd the narrow streets on their way to work, the market or their homes. Zilda, and thousands of others who live in the *favelas*, or shantytowns, live in densely populated communities with limited access to resources and conventional modes of transportation. Even the recycling trucks that service the rest of the city cannot fit on the narrow, steep streets of Zilda's neighbourhood, causing trash and recyclables to pile up in plain view. But where others saw a problem, Zilda saw an opportunity. Ten years ago, she was struggling to find work and lived in a makeshift home with her son and husband. Inspired by a television program on recycling collectors, Zilda was soon traversing the streets of her *favela* to pick up bottles, cans and other recyclables that she could trade for a small sum at her local cooperative.

Photographs and videos available on the Coca-Cola website show the piles of dirt that Zilda and the other women she works with have to scavenge from in order to pick up the litter from Coke bottles and other recyclables. The 5by20 programme is conceptualised around the understanding that poverty is a defining category of women's identities hence the nature of informal economic activities they have to perform and the fact that they perform this work in proximity to their households while caring for their families.

> When telling the story of Regina Gomez, a recycler from Brazil Coke (Women's economic empowerment...2012-2013:5) alludes to fact that Regina is from the *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro and that:
>
> 90% of the adults in the *favelas* (densely populated informal settlements) do not have high school education, while 57% of the households are led by single parents.

Bennet (2013) argues that "in most contemporary histories of poverty, explanations of current poverty are grounded in colonial legislation around land ownership and the control of labour. This legislation also determined entrenched racial discrimination around employment, housing, education, mobility, and citizenship resulting in systematic disenfranchisement" (p.53). This may help to explain that women of the 5by20 initiative who are largely Indian, Black, Asian, Latino, and Filipino are also very poor. In the info-graphics I studied, the only time a photograph of a white

woman appears in the initiative is as a producer in the value chain. This is a business which requires a substantial amount of capital and specialised business skills. Poverty is therefore not only feminised, it also has a race and class dimension to it and is a defining feature for participation in 5by20.

In a testimonial video a participant from Kenya says "I am married with 12 Children", later she says "I can now manage to buy my kids food" (5by20 in the Euroasia and Africa...2014) echoing other participants who also spend their money on basic necessities. Participants, Aida, Ramatsiba Maphefo and Moetsana Setlabo also chronicle their lives of poverty before encountering the initiative. In a video both women are seen running their 'businesses' from outside their homes. Moetsana says:

> My name is Moetsana Setlabo, I live in Orange Farm, Extension 4, I have 3 children in this house ...I also look after my deceased sister's children. I started my business in 2005 selling Achar (sauce), my customers suggested I sell *kotas*" (this is a quarter of a loaf of bread). "I started selling Achar in the streets and making and selling kotas (A Hand Up: UN Women and Coca-Cola...2014).

Moetsana eventually breaks down in tears as she recalls the death of her husband and her sister, and not knowing where to turn before she started selling Achar out of her backyard. Like the other women in videos from Mexico, India, the Philippines and other places, she expresses her gratitude for the program. Consistent in the women's stories is desperation and lack of fall back options which led to joining the programme. In 2013, through their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) section the Harvard Kennedy School compiled a report on the success of the Coca-Cola 5by20 initiative. They stated that one of the business cases for Coca-Cola's interest in women is that women are willing to work in areas with minimum growth potential but offer income security as opposed to men who are unwilling to work in these areas (Jenkins at. el. 2013). This further shows that women have no fall back options as viable as those of their male counterparts.

Poverty is therefore considered a motivation for women's entrepreneurial attitudes and efforts. As demonstrated in the different 5by20 stories, the survival of the women "often involves extreme deprivation and yet engenders forms of ingenuity or self-discipline that work despite the odds" (Moodie, 2013:285). In fact, as analysed by Narayan (2007) the World Bank, one of the major proponents of the smart economics approach views poverty as a necessary motivation for entrepreneurship. To that effect their report '*Measuring Empowerment: Cross Disciplinary Perspective'* claims that "Poor people are the most important resource in the fight against poverty. They have imagination, guts, knowledge, experience, and deep motivation to move out of poverty" (Narayan, 2007: vii). A smart economics approach to women's empowerment however, ensures

participation of women in the precarious informal sector but does not demonstrate ways in which this participation challenges existing systemic oppression which causes women's poverty.

6.2.5 Responsibility as a feminised concept

We saw earlier that women do 66% of the world's work, for 10% of the income and yet plough back 90% this income into their families and communities (UNICEF, 2007). Women are depicted in 5by20 as very hard working and very responsible. In different materials and videos of the Coca-Cola 5by20, women participants profess to working hard to either help their husbands or their children. Women are also consistently depicted as role models for their children and families. Preeti Gupta from India says: "my daughter's willpower and strength are like mine, she wants to work hard like me" (Coca-cola 5by20 Preeti Gupta...2013). In Mexico, a young girl says, "when I grow up I want to be like my grandmother and do artisan work" (5by20 Meet the artisans...2015). 5yb20 material very clearly shows that women are the answer to ending poverty if their entrepreneurial efforts and energies can be mobilised well. In a document titled '*5by20 by the numbers*' (2013) we are told that "4 generations of 77-year-old shopkeeper Bernardita's family depend on the "sari-sari" store she runs". Women's responsibility is shown at family, national and global levels, as noted earlier on a progress sheet that an investment in women equals strengthened communities and boosted local economies (Progress update... 2012:4).

Sheryl WuDunn, of the Half the Sky Movement is also quoted in a 5by20 document under the heading: *Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide*, asking:

> If you're not using half the potential workforce in your country, how can you possibly reach the full potential of your economic growth? (Progress update...2012).

Women are also on tape professing to tackling their poverty on their own. In a 5by20 interview, Sandy from Mexico says: "Now I feel like a strong woman, independent and complete. I was able to earn my own money and take care of my children on my own". In South Africa, Malehlohonolo says: "As women, I think we should learn to stand for ourselves, do things for ourselves and not expect husbands and our boyfriends to support us financially". Except in a few places where men are mentioned in passing, the discourse of 5by20 excludes the role or responsibilities of men. Consequently, women see poverty not only as something they are singularly responsible for but also as something to be ashamed of. Speaking to an audience at a TEDx talk in America in 2012, Malehlohonolo said:

> Several times I had to turn to my brother and ask him to lend me money so I could get by. This was embarrassing and frustrating because I could not figure out how to make ends meet, no matter how many hours I worked each day. (Jordan, 2012)

Following Karim (2008), Wilson argues that "the prevalence of microfinance projects support the idea that responsibility for survival rests with the individual poor woman and not with the state, whereas poverty has been stigmatised and is increasingly portrayed as a source of shame and individual failure, rather than a basis on which to make collective claims on the state" (Wilson, 2015:809). Qgola (2015) concurs and posits that the way capital operates is designed to make the poor ashamed of their poverty.

In telling Zilda's recycling story in Brazil, the narrator says:

> She identified a need in her community and was soon recruiting other women in her favela to join her. Today, 28 people work at her cooperative. Without proper transport Zilda and her team still faced the challenge of efficiently gathering the recyclables that would normally litter the streets. In 2011, the Coca-Cola Brazil Institute partnered with Zilda's cooperative (Progress Update..., 2012).

Coca-Cola gave Zilda equipment like a motor cycle to help in collection litter. In another part of Brazil Regina Maria Silva Gomes does similar work to that of Zilda, we are told that:

> [a] local community leader recognized Regina's potential and asked her to lead a project to clean up their community. The streets were littered with trash and infested with rodents. It was a dirty job, but a job nonetheless. For Regina, it was an opportunity to support her grandchildren. It also provided a way for her to serve her community and, in her words, gave her "a reason to live" (Women's economic empowerment...2012-2013:4).

In Mexico, Sandy also narrates that "it takes 50 bottles to make one bag, so this means 50 fewer bottles on the street and this has improved our environment a lot". Improving gender equality and empowerment while maintaining the environment in a sustainable manner are cited as major corporate goals for Coca-Cola and the UN in the new SDGs. The phenomenon of dirty littered streets is prevalent in South African townships as it is in Brazil and Mexico, and similarly the responsibility of maintaining a sustainable environment in these countries rests with poor women. Poor women are driven by circumstances to curry the burden of cleaning their own streets through voluntary projects which expose their lives to all forms of exploitation.

In examining the above stories however, we see that responsibility is feminised and portrayed in a way that erases the role of men and the role of the state. While some feminist critics in the literature have been concerned about the representation of 'Third World' women as lacking agency, this initiative rather demonstrates that women's agency is not disputed, it is rather employed to specific ends such as cleaning the environment and increasing economic growth in the informal sector. A key approach in 5by20 is constructing poor women from the developing world as more efficient and responsible neoliberal subjects as opposed to their male counterparts. Based on the evidence that

women work harder, and restrict their personal consumption in favour of family their agency is channelled to a specific mode of neo-liberal entrepreneurialism.

It seems also that it is easier to channel the agency of women of a particular age group. The 5by20 partners largely with older women as evidenced by pictures on the fliers to promote the project and on video interviews. In addition, statements such as "4 generations of 77-year-old shopkeeper Bernardita's family depend on the "sari-sari" store she runs" [and] "the streets were littered with trash and infested with rodents. It was a dirty job, but a job nonetheless. For Regina, it was an opportunity to support her grandchildren. It also provided a way for her to serve her community..." (5by20 By the numbers..., 2013:4) point to two things. Firstly, the desperation of older women which I suggest leads to their availability for micro-loans and their strategic (read constrained) location as caregivers and providers to different generations in their families. There is overwhelming literature which supports that grandparents in the developing world have had to step in as parents' due to HIV and AIDs deaths. In summary, once older women's agency is harnessed towards entrepreneurial ends, they serve as the magic bullet needed by development to hit several policy objectives towards extended families and communities.

To that end, the 5yb20 project is designed in a way which channels women's agency towards keeping the environment clean at the risk of their own health, as opposed to questioning the absence of public goods such as service delivery. Consistent with a neo-liberal approach to development discussed in chapter 5, the project individualises women's poverty and offers solutions on an individual basis. So, at an individual level Regina picks up litter and manages to survive and feed her family on a day to day basis. The corporate on the other hand lends her money to do so and collects with interest, and in the process also manages to use Regina to attain the long-term objective of sustaining the environment. For Regina, critics argue that micro-finance offers temporary reprieve to its receivers, but holds no long-term solution in either eradicating poverty or ending gender inequality. Fraser (2009) and others have argued that mainstream development emphasises equality of opportunity but is reluctant to promote equality of outcomes for women i.e there is emphasis on economic growth but silence on redistribution of wealth. To that end, Wilson (2015) cautions that these approaches do more than just rely on gendered structures, they also reinforce and extend these unequal structures and relations.

6.3 The making of individualised, gendered, entrepreneurial, grateful and disciplined subjectivities

Malehlohonolo, a participant lauded for her success in 5by20 ended her speech at the TEDx Talk by saying:

> I still have a long way to go to achieve all my dreams — but I love knowing that everything I have, I accomplished on my own. ...I did not need someone to give me money or a hand-out... What I needed was a "hand-up" (Jordan, 2012).

The 'hand-up' concept is repeated throughout the 5by20 documents and interviews. It suffices to say a 'hand-up' is a loan. As explained above and in earlier statements the idea is that women work hard, are self-sufficient and do not expect help from husbands, the state or even the corporate Coca Cola. The corporate offers entrepreneurship training to women before giving them loans, in other words the training can be viewed as insurance for the corporate's investment. The statement above shows that Malehlohonolo exhibits an individualistic and self-reliant attitude. Gonick (2006) argues that when [women] encounter neoliberal discourse which claim that "anyone who works hard can get ahead" they are led to understand their own experience of successes and failures is a product of their individual effort (Gonick, 2006:7) as opposed to the hard-won gains of the feminist movement. Gonick terms this a post-feminist approach, and Wilson (2015) posits that "the advent of the adolescent girl [woman] as the agent of development marks the transition from liberal to neoliberal feminism in development in which responsibility shifts entirely onto the individualised figure of the girl [woman] after the initial investment in her human capital" (pg.819). The presentation of women as independent and powerful figures is however also tempered with their gratitude. Women are also grateful subjects as evidenced in most testimonial videos where they tearfully thank Coca-Cola for intervening in their circumstances.

The idea that women do not need anyone to give them money even though they are poor silences collective action against the state, forecloses the role of male members of the family, and implicit in the idea is the shame accorded to anyone who expects a hand-out. There is an implied dignity in working hard or pulling oneself up by one's own bootstraps. Hard work is framed as the answer to poverty. As indicated earlier, Coca-Cola mainly deals with women working in various capacities along their value chain. Regardless of the size of their informal businesses, all the women are called entrepreneurs and receive entrepreneurial training from the corporate. The 5by20 discourse produces agentic and entrepreneurial subjects. As seen in the lauding of entrepreneurship as opposed to employment, and a hand-up instead of a hand-out, under neo-liberalism empowerment is an ideal tool for producing self-governing and self- reliant actors thereby positioning these actors to participate in a free market. Even if paradoxically these actors are 77 years old and working to

feed 4 generations of family members. A corporatised version of development currently offers new racialised constructions of the empowered, agentic, entrepreneurial subject. Furthermore, the current discourse also reproduces gendered subjectivities as women continue to perform gendered work and receive a feminised version of debt.

I posit that women willingly embody the empowerment discourse because it feeds into cultural, religious and political discourses already found in societal discourses on womanhood. Women's identities are formulated through self-knowledge and also around the work they do. For instance, Ms Maganyele of South Africa is quoted in a 5by20 video saying:

> "I believe women were made to be strong and to never give up" (UN Women, 2016:33).

These are sentiments expressed in various ways by women from different continents in the videos, along the value chain. So, the project mobilises around women's own aspirations because women already embody the power/strength discourse. They align well with the empowerment initiative because they see themselves as victimised and then empowered subjects. This has been the case in both colonial and post-colonial spaces, women understand the need for strength to trump both racial and gendered oppression. Tsitsi Dangarembga, a Zimbabwean feminist writer captures this understanding in a novel set in the Southern African country during the colonial era:

> this business of womanhood is a heavy burden [...] when there are sacrifices to be made, you are the one who has to make them. And these things are not easy; you have to start learning them early, from a very early age, the earlier the better, so that it is easy later on. And these days it is worse, with the poverty of blackness on one side and the weight of womanhood on the other. *Aiwa!* what will help you my child is to learn to carry your burdens with strength (Dangarembga, 1988:16).

So, the idea that women are or need to be strong to trump structural inequality is an idea that has been circulating for ages hence the argument that development relies on gendered and racialised structures of power. Because women already embody the power, strength discourse, they align well with the empowerment initiative and the neoliberal discourse of 5by20 mobilises around women's own aspirations for strength and power. Briggs' (2002) study of the World Bank revealed that power works through the dispositive by selling the desire of development to developing countries. Without the consistent desire for development within the developing world, the power of the World Bank would collapse (Brigg, 2002). Development therefore operates through the mobilisation of interests and aspirations of the empowerment subjects. Women take part willingly in as much as they are motivated by both lack and a desire to empower themselves.

6.3.1 Discipline as a technology of power

Lending to women is premised on the fact that they make better payers than men and they are most likely to spend their incomes on their families. So, women are depicted as disciplined subjects both in their consumption and payment habits. The process of training and tracking women's progress by NGOs within the project further instils discipline as well. So, this section is interested in interrogating the discipline that is generated by women's participation in the project so as to demonstrate how the 5by20 discourse which is by implication the neoliberal discourse produces a disciplined subject.

Foucault studied the emergence of a new type of power in European societies, and suggested that society was moving from sovereign power to a new form of power which he terms bio-power (see Briggs, 2000). There is a marked contrast between bio power and sovereign power but the two do not necessarily exist in isolation. Sovereign power functions by deduction, this is seen in death penalties and suppressive regimes which make use of threats of force which may be applied to subdue rebellion. Whereas, "bio power fosters, organises, incites and optimises life; it simultaneously redefines and administers life in order to manage it in a calculated way" (Briggs 2000:4). Arguably, the 5by20 discourse embodies both forms of power. Sovereign power could be applicable through debt collection and seizure of goods if the women fail to pay their loans. Bio-power on the other hand works through surveillance, where disciplining techniques exist it can be seen in the way in which the discourse of empowerment centres on women's enterprise, their productive capacity.

Foucault posits that "power technologies come into play in ensuring apprenticeship and the acquisition of aptitudes, or types of behaviour, that are developed by means of a whole ensemble of regulated communications, including lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations and coded signs of obedience" (Foucault 1984:426 in Pearson, 2010: 54). Comparatively, I suggest that the process of vetting of women along the Coca-Cola value chain and the criteria used to determine those who qualify for training, and receiving loans, and the process of compulsory meeting attendances and payback of loans constitutes disciplinary power. I see disciplining acts as those which include, availing oneself for training exercises, following training timetables, meeting training requirements, applying for loans, putting together and providing documentation to qualify for loan processing, following training kits in ordering stock, marketing and bookkeeping, availing oneself for mentorship programmes, repaying loans according to specified contractual agreements. The process has a disciplining effect as one must follow instructions in order to qualify.

The following up of participants by NGO personnel coordinating the initiative, serves as surveillance, and also the accounting books where one accounts for their stock and expenditure also serve as

another form of surveillance. As Moetsana says: "they follow up on us weekly. They constantly check on our progress in the business" (A Hand Up: UN Women and Coca-Cola...2014). If books are not kept properly they shine a light on the participants' lack of discipline. Follow up by mentors and peers also serve as disciplining acts. Both poverty and 'empowerment' appear to play a disciplining role on women.

6.4 A regime of truth

When the 5by20 was launched in 2010, in New York, The Coca-Cola Company CEO, Muhtar Kent said:

> The only way we are going to have a profound and lasting impact on global issues is by joining the forces of business, government and civil society to pool our collective expertise and experience (5by20 Launch announcement, 2010).

The 5by20 is a direct response by Coca-Cola to the UN's Business Call to Action, and Women's Empowerment Principles where private organisations have joined the global effort of improving women's economic empowerment. There is therefore a commitment of coordinated efforts and resources by powerful actors globally. In the same launch statement, which was attended by journalists, heads of state, real life royalty, and other prominent figures, the CEO mentioned that their research on the issues affecting women was based on the Harvard Kennedy School research and also that it was based on the World Bank 2012 development report as well as the Women's Empowerment Principles by the UN Women. He also alluded to partnering with the UN Women because of their experience and expertise in gender equality (5by20 Launch announcement, 2010). Research and data quoted on the 5by20 fact sheets show that all these powerful actors agree that smart economics is equal to women's empowerment and gender equality. Indeed, some of the leaders are quoted in 5by20 information brochures as follows:

> We can no longer afford to waste the potential of half the world's population. It is both a matter of justice as well as good business and economic sense. (Progress update...2012)
> Michelle Bachelet, Executive Director, UN Women (2012)

> If you're not using half the potential workforce in your country, how can you possibly reach the full potential of your economic growth? (Progress update...2012)
> Sheryl WuDunn, Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide

> There is a mountain of research today that is coming from all sources – multilateral organizations, governments, private sector, think tanks, academia – and they're all essentially pointing in the same direction. When there are investments made in women and girls, those investments have enormous payoffs. (Progress update...2012)
> Melanne Verveer, U.S. Ambassador-at-Large, Global Women's Issues

Particular ideas or definitions of empowerment have come to legitimate treatment of those classified as needing empowerment. Over and above the criteria set out, which says that women are

selfless and altruistic hardworking mothers and grandmothers, who pour back almost all their incomes into their families, I will also examine the quoted statements above. For instance, we see above the then UN Women director conflates economic activity with the rights discourse. The U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues also claims investment made in women have enormous pay offs. The statements make large claims which gloss over any tensions which may exist in practise. We also see the glossing over of information in a fact sheet called Women's Economic Empowerment (2012-2013) where Coke claims:

> In many parts of the world, opening a bottle of Coca-Cola means opening the doors to economic empowerment for women...

In a separate statement, in reference to Preeti's case in India Coca-Cola (Progress update...2012) says:

> ***something as simple as a beverage cooler is making dreams a reality***. Income and quality of life for Preeti and her family have increased since getting the cooler, with Coca-Cola beverage sales providing approximately 15-20 percent of their earnings depending on season. (bold italics mine)

Smart economics ignores tensions and contradictions and oversimplifies complexity, and as a result, approaches poverty as a depoliticised singular challenge which renders it into a technically manageable problem (Ferguson 1994, Escobar 1995, Harris 2002, Sharma 2008 & Chant & Sweetman, 2012). This assessment by critics is arguably true because of all of the statements I saw and the ones I included here as examples, none in any way indicate tensions or contradictions; problems and solutions are offered in ways which imply that development is a simple and linear process. But, studying local contexts reveals complex issues that cannot be glossed over. In South Africa for example, most townships have experienced xenophobia violence (and specifically where 5by20 participants reside). Whereas xenophobia violence used to be perpetrated against unwanted immigrants, it is now mostly against immigrants who run shops and tuckshops. They are accused of taking over the informal market of supplying goods and services because they work even harder and are even more desperate than locals. This further complicates the idea that a simple loan and training can fix poverty. Furthermore, xenophobia attacks are also not just used to eject foreigners from the informal economy, empirical work done in areas which have experienced violence strongly show that violence is used to demand state attention to poverty and lack of services. So, coming up with projects which embellish complexity by ignoring the state for instance, is in a way offering piecemeal solutions to an on-going explosive situation.

However, based on the fact that there are other powerful actors like Nike, Walmart, Nestlé, Uniliver and others who are simultaneously heeding the UN call for private business to empower women,

and that all the programs they run are based on the smart economics rationale, the discourse employed in 5by20 women's empowerment initiative has now gained truth status and represents a 'regime of truth' (Foucault, 1980). Foucault posits that each society has a regime of truth, "its general politics of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true" (Foucault 1980; p.131). Research (an accepted form of scientific knowledge) from organisations such as the Harvard Kennedy School, the UN Women, the World Bank, UNICEF and The Coca-Cola Company- which informs the way women's empowerment is practised would constitute what Foucault sees as a possible tyranny of globalising discourses with their hierarchies and all their privileges.

In reference to Nike's Girl Effect campaign which is also mobilised around smart economic principles, Koffman & Gill (2013) say "The Girl Effect is not a singular entity, but an assemblage of transnational policy discourses, novel corporate investment priorities, bio-political interventions, branding and marketing campaigns, charitable events designed to produce a social movement for change" (pg.84). The economy of statements in 5by20 are carefully crafted to consistently represent a particular view and approach which is echoed by different partners. A good example of this is seen when Malehlohonolo from South Africa, giving an account of her successful entrepreneurial story suddenly states at the end of her speech that she is concerned about the increase of teenage girl pregnancies in South Africa. This statement manages to reveal the deliberate link in policy objectives of the 5by20 to the Girl Effect and similar projects, and also to show the link between older women and younger girls as a deliberate development objective.

Hickel (2014) also observed that in addition to Nike and the World Bank, Goldman Sachs, the IMF, USAID, DFID, as well as the White House are also building interventions along a smart economics approach, aided by the popularity of Half the Sky project by Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn which has attracted public attention to this way of doing development. This approach has now become common sense, and the way to do women's empowerment. Statements from these organisations together have "ordered ways of thinking and speaking about aspects of reality" (Cheek 2004, p. 1142) and they have organised and given "structure to the manner in which a particular topic [women's economic empowerment], object, process is to be talked about" (Cheek 2004, p. 1142). The 5by20 now contributes to "a dominant understanding of reality" (Cheek 2004, p. 1145).

Discourse presented in this manner creates webs of power, and global partnerships around smart economics can be seen as such.

The presence of the hegemonic smart economics discourse does not suggest that there are no other competing discourses. Cheek (2004) suggests that "if the potential constraining effect of a particular discursive frame's dominance [...] is recognised, then it is possible for space to be opened up for other discourses or ways of thinking" (Pg.1143). Feminist discourse for example, serves to disrupt or interrupt the smart economics dominant way of viewing reality. However, in practise, this disruption may not necessarily influence social practise to the extent that these powerful forces can do acting as a united force. So, Foucault's idea of power being everywhere may be limited as it does not dwell on the different sources of power and their relationship to material structures of production and accumulation. A strictly Foucauldian analysis would therefore foreclose attention to extractive and exploitative processes of capital accumulation, in favour of seeing power as diffused and constituted in all actors. Some critics also argue that international banks who were at the forefront of SAPS, and some who had a personal hand in the financial meltdown are also the major proponents of identifying women as failproof customers of debt. On the other hand, voting powers in the UN and other bodies do not privilege voices from the developing world (see chapter 4) but rather reflects voices of those with capital to finance the UN and its activities.

Implementation of projects also serves to carry out the normalising effect of discourse; smart economics is soon seen by different actors and the subjects themselves as the normal way of responding to poverty. The fact that Coca-Cola also received awards from prestigious bodies for its work through 5by20 means that awards serve to reify and reinforce smart economics as knowledge/power. At each level of the 5by20, except at the beneficiary level, are experts and scientists with knowledge ranging from social, economic, geography, and environmental sciences (for sustainability of the environment); and accounting and mathematical scientists at the banks who work out the loans and interest repayments. In addition, CSR experts at Coke combine their knowledge with the one from UN Women, World Bank, IMF etc. All these experts form a kind of apparatus, or technology of government whose careful regime of practices govern women's behaviour in the empowerment process. The experts are the knowers and the women are the known and the knowledge through which they are known, in practise becomes power over the women. Women reproduce the discourse if they participate in the initiative without any resistance. Judging from the material released on 5by20 by Coca-Cola at the time of this research we are led to believe that the 5by20 is a seamless exercise which has not experienced any resistance but only

gratitude from the women participants. However, there are works like Moore's (1998), Murray Li's (2007) and Rankin's (2001) that show how subaltern women subvert – if not resist – hegemonic discourses of development and some of these have been carried out in the same areas (such as India) that Coca-Cola is working in.

6.5 Conclusion

Women's empowerment as employed by Coke and UN Women in 5by20 i.e. corporate/neoliberal models of empowerment - is a discourse that is fast gaining truth status and it is starting to overshadow other forms of empowerment for women. The initiative appeals to women's maternal instincts for participation and 'Third World' women's agency is used for specific capital goals in what bell hooks (1990) terms capitalist patriarchy. The concept of womanhood - strong, resilient, long suffering mother figure/ matriarch - employed in the 5by20 campaign exaggerates women's capabilities and has its roots in colonial racist depictions of the masculinised black woman who possesses sub-human strength. This concept of womanhood is overburdening to women, because the women in question have no real effective power to trump structural causes of poverty. If anything, their praised industriousness is a sign of overwork and overload which feminists have termed feminisation of poverty and feminisation of responsibility. The amount of time and resources women pour into their families show that working and well-being are not necessarily linked and also working or 'entrepreneurship' as represented in 5by20 may not necessarily lead to women's empowerment as it does not challenge the structural determinants of their poverty/situation. On the contrary, they further sediment these conditions by designing programs around gendered work and micro-finance. Constructions of race however are not new to development or capital, rather they are repeatedly reworked and transformed to suit changing strategies of capital and to counter resistance to capital.

The development initiative is silent about the role of men and boys, and also about the specific role of the state. When men are mentioned the implication is that they are either irresponsible or absent for reasons that are not explained in statements like 'women are more likely to spend their incomes on their families'. In my background study of Brazil for instance, I found that men of colour are absent because of high rates of unemployment and incarceration, they are also victims of institutionalised police brutality and killings, some may also be irresponsible which inevitably leaves women as heads of families. The few instances where men are mentioned in the project, they are unemployed and performing feminised work alongside their wives. They belong to a class of the poor arguably created by global capital among other causes. These are some of the issues

considered by Hengveld (2015) when she argues that the conceptualisation of current girls' and women's initiatives keep the system intact (of gendered labour), expand market power (evidence of profit along the value chain) and diffuse blame for poverty. Gender inequality which is linked to poverty is only blamed on cultural practises such as patriarchy but exploitative practises by corporates and international monetary institutions such as tax evasion, SAPs, the financial meltdown, and corruption by MNCs and governments are either not mentioned or only paid lip service in the absence of meaningful engagement.

Women's economic empowerment as presented in the 21st century is supposed to usher in the new imagined womanhood, that of a powerful (economically and otherwise) individual who is not constrained by race or patriarchy, and ideally this individual should enter the market economy as a free agent on equal terms as her male counterparts. In contrast, however she seemingly ploughs her energy and earnings into her family and community at the expense of her own well-being. Qgola (2016:6) suggests that "the new woman is evidence of empowerment but not necessarily feminism". She adds that although empowerment emerged as a radical feminist call for transformation, the practise as it stands now is a watered-down version which lacks transformation and instead sits comfortably with violence against women.

It suffices to say that the 5by20 is a "regulatory regime that works to explicitly racialise, depoliticise, ahistoricise, and naturalise global structural inequities and legitimise neoliberal interventions in the name of [women's] empowerment. It also makes invisible the sometimes violent and coercive nature of micro-lending and borrowing" (Switzer, 2013:347). In light of the fact that this discourse is fast gaining truth status as millions of poor women the world over are co-opted into similar initiatives, the gains of the feminist movement are now uncertain at most and reversed at worst. Therefore, similar projects and initiatives which seek to empower individual women while leaving structural inequality intact only serve to keep women busy while upholding the status quo. For as long as it benefits capitalism to have certain bodies, such as those of poor women, men, children, immigrants and other vulnerable populations performing feminised labour it is difficult to see an end in sight to gender and other inequalities that intersect to exacerbate poverty. As CSR with a neoliberal approach takes centre stage in development theory the World Economic Forum assertion through the BBC (2015) that it will take another 118 years before women can earn the same amount as men may only hold true for women in the upper classes of society.

REFERENCES:

Adams, B & Martens, J. (2015) Fit for whose purpose? Private funding and corporate influence in the United Nations. New York: Global Policy Forum. Retrieved 20, November, 2016, from https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/2101Fit_for_whose_purpose_online.pdf

Ashley, P & Boyd, W.E. 2006, 'Quantitative and qualitative approaches to research in environmental management *Australasian Journal of Environmental Management*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 70-78

Babbie, E. (2010) The practise of social research. Belmont CA: Wordsworth.

Baderoon, G. (2014) Remembering slavery in South Africa. Retrieved 20 December, 2016. from: http://africasacountry.com/2014/12/remembering-slavery-in-south-africa/

Baker, T. L. (1994) Doing social research. New York: McGraw-Hill

Bateman, M. (2014). The rise and fall of Muhummad Yunus and the micro-credit model. *International Development Studies*. 001. Pp. 1-36

BBC News. (2015). The gender pay gap 'may take 118 years to close' – World Economic Forum. Retrieved September, 10, 2015, from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34842471

Bendell, J. (2005). In whose name? The accountability of corporate social responsibility. *Development in Practice*, 15:3-4, 362-374, DOI: 10.1080/09614520500075813

Bennet, J. (2009). A gender analysis of national poverty reduction strategies, *Agenda*, 23:81, 48-63. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2009.9676253

Bignell, J. (2002). Media Semiotics: An Introduction, Second Edition. London: Manchester University Press

Bisnath, S. (2007). Poverty in a globalizing world at different stages of women's life cycle: "Globalization, Poverty and Women's Empowerment". Cornell University. New Delhi, India.

Blowfield, M and Frynas, J G. (2007). Setting new agendas: critical perspectives on Corporate Social Responsibility in the developing world. *International Affairs* 81, pp. 499-513.

Blowfield, M. (2005). Corporate Social Responsibility: reinventing the meaning of development? *International Affairs* 81, pp. 515-524.

Boserup, E. (1970) Woman's Role in Economic Development, London: George Allen and Unwin

Bowen H.R. 1953. *Social responsibilities of the businessman*. Harper and Row: New York.

Bowen, G 2009, 'Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method', *Qualitiatve Research Journ*al, vol. 9, no. 10, pp. 22-40.

Brickell, K. and Chant, S. (2010) 'The unbearable heaviness of being': reflections on female altruism in Cambodia, Philippines, The Gambia and Costa Rica', *Progress in Development Studies* 10(2): 145_/59

Brigg, M. (2002). Post-Development, Foucault and the Colonisation Metaphor. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Jun., 2002), pp. 421-436

Broomhill, R. (2007). Corporate social responsibility: Key issues and debates.

Bryman, A. & Burgess, R G. (ed) (2002). Analysing qualitative data. London: Routledge.
Calkin, S. (2015). Feminism, interrupted? Gender and development in the era of 'Smart Economics'. *Progress in Development Studies* 15, pp. 295–307

Carroll, A.B. (1979). A three-dimensional conceptual model of corporate performance. *The Academy of Management Review*, 4(4), 497-505.

Chant, S. (2008) 'The "feminisation of poverty" and the "feminisation" of anti-poverty programmes: room for revision?', *Journal of Development Studies* 44(2): 153 -86

Chant, S. (2012) 'The disappearing of "smart economics"? The World Development Report 2012 on gender equality: some concerns about the preparatory process and the prospects for paradigm change', *Global Social Policy* 12(2): 198 -218

Chant, S. and C. Sweetman (2012) 'Fixing Women or Fixing the World? "Smart Economics", Efficiency Approaches and Gender Equality in Development', *Gender and Developmen*t 20(3): 517–29.

Cheek, J. (2004). At the margins? Discourse analysis and qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research*, Vol. 14 No. 8, 1140-1150 DOI: 10.1177/1049732304266820

Christian Aid (2004). Behind the Mask: The Real Face of Corporate Social Responsibility. London: Christian Aid.

Christian Aid. (2005). Flagship or failure, the UK's implementation of the OECD guidelines and approach to corporate accountability. Retrieved on 25, March, 2016, from: http://www.christianaid.org.uk/images/F1167PDF.pdf

Christian Aid. (2010). Poverty, we are all in this together: A Christian Aid Report. Northern Ireland: Christian Aid.
Coca-Cola 5by20 by the numbers, infographics
http://www.coca-colacompany.com/stories/5by20-news-center

Coca-Cola 5by20 fact sheet (2014)
http://www.coca-colacompany.com/stories/5by20-news-center

Coca-Cola 5by20 Progress update. (2012).
http://www.coca-colacompany.com/stories/5by20-news-center

Coca-Cola 5by20 Women's economic empowerment 2012/2013
http://www.coca-colacompany.com/stories/5by20-news-center

Coca-Cola. (2010/2011). Coca-Cola 2010/2011 Sustainability report. Retrieved 02, September 2016, from: http://assets.coca-colacompany.com/44/d4/e4eb8b6f4682804bdf6ba2ca89b8/2010-2011-gri-report.pdf

Coca-Cola. (2014/2015). Coca-Cola 2014/2015 Sustainability report. Retrieved 02 September, 2016, from:

http://assets.cocacolacompany.com/f8/8a/a30682fa49ef9bef3d99d27bdf33/sustainability.15_072315.pdf

Corbin, J. and Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons, and Evaluative Criteria. Qualitative Sociology, 13(1), pp. 3-21.

Cornwall A, Harrison, E & Whitehead, A. (2007).Gender Myths and Feminist Fables: The Struggle for Interpretive Power in Gender and Development. Development and Change 38(1): 1–20

Cornwall A, Harrison, E & Whitehead, A. (2007).Gender Myths and Feminist Fables: The Struggle for Interpretive Power in Gender and Development. *Development and Change* 38(1): 1–20

Crenshaw, K. (1989) 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics', *The University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140: 139–67.

Creswell, J. W. 2nd. (2003) Research design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches. University of Nebraska, Lincoln

Dangarembga, T. (1988). *Nervous conditions*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe Publishing House.

Darlington, Y. and Scott, D. (2002) Qualitative Resarch in Practice: Stories from the Field, Buckingham, Open University Press.

De Wet, T., Patel, L., Korth, M. and Forrester, C. (2008) *Johannesburg Poverty and Livelihoods Study*. Johannesburg: Centre for Social Development Africa, University of Johannesburg.

Dey, I. (2005). Qualitative data analysis: A user-friendly guide for social scientists. London. Taylor & Francis e-library.

Discourse analysis (2008). Retrieved 08, June, 2015, from: http://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~palmquis/courses/discourse.htm

Duflo, E. (2011) "Women's Empowerment and Economic Development." *Journal of Economic Literature* Vol. 50, No. 4, pp. 1051-1079.

Elson, D. (1991) Male Bias in the Development Process, Manchester: University of Manchester

Escobar, A. (1995) Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Fairclough, N. 1995. Critical discourse analysis. London: Longman.

Ferguson, J. (2009) The uses of neoliberalism. *Antipode* Vol. 41 No. S1 2009 ISSN 0066-4812, pp 166–184 doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.2009.00721.x

Ferguson, J. (1994) The Anti-Politics Machine. Development, Depoliticisation and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho. *The Ecologist*. Vol, 24. No. 5 176 -181

Foucault M. 1980. The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Vol. 1. Penguin: Harlow.

Foucault, M. (1972). The archeology of knowledge and the discourse on language. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1981a). *The order of discourse*. In R. Young (Ed) *(1981), Untying the text: a post-structural anthology* (pp. 48-78). Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Fraser, N. (2009). Feminism, capitalism and the cunning of history. *New Left Review* 56. pp 97 -117.

Friedman, Milton (1970). 'The social responsibility of business is to increase its profits'. The New York Times Magazine. September 13.

Frynas, J G. (2005). The false developmental promise of Corporate Social Responsibility: evidence from multinational oil companies. International Affairs 81, pp. 581-598

Gaventa, John (2003) *Power after Lukes: a review of the literature*, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Gill, R and Scharff, C (eds) (2011). *New femininities: Postfeminism, neoliberalism and subjectivity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gonick, M. (2006). Between "Girl Power" and "Reviving Ophelia": Constituting the Neoliberal Girl subject. *NWSA Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 1-23.

Gqola, P D. (2007) How the 'cult of femininity' and violent masculinities support endemic gender based violence in contemporary South Africa, *African Identities*, 5:1, 111-124,

Gqola, P D. (2010). What is slavery to me? Postcolonial slave memory in post-apartheid South Africa. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Gqola, P D. (2015). Rape: A South African nightmare. Auckland Park, South Africa: MF Books Joburg.

Gqola, P D. (2016). A peculiar place for a feminist? The New South African woman, True Love magazine and Lebo(gang) Mashile, *Safundi*, 17:2, 119-136, DOI: 10.1080/17533171.2016.1178470

Grinyer, A. (2009). The ethics of secondary analysis and further use of qualitative data. *Social Research Update* Issue 56. pp.1-4

Hall, S. 1992. *The West and the Rest in Hall*, S. & Giebens, B. (Eds.). Formations of Modernity. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Harcourt, B E. (2007). An answer to the question: what is structuralism? University of Chicago Public Law & Legal Theory Working Paper, No. 156

Harding, S. (1987) The method question. *Hypatia*, Vol. 2, No. 3, *Feminism & Science*, 1 (Autumn, 1987), pp. 19-35

Hassim, S. (2000) Rethinking gender politics in a liberal age: Institutions, constituences and equality in comparative perspective. Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Heaton, J. (1998). Secondary analysis of qualitative data. *Social Research Update*. Issue 22.

Hengeveld, M. (2015). Nike's girl effect: The myth of the economically empowered adolescent girl. Retrieved20, July, 2015 from:
http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/7/nikes-girl-effect.html

Hickel, J. (2014). The 'girl effect': Liberalism, empowerment and the contradictions of development. *Third World Quarterly*. Vol. 35, No. 8, 1355–1373, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2014.946250

Hoffman, A. (2006) Coca-Cola learns a tough lesson about corporate sustainability. Retrieved 27, March, 2016, from: http://grist.org/article/hoffman1/

hooks, b. (1990) Ain't I a woman: Black women and feminism. London. Pluto Press.

hooks, b. (2000). Feminism is for everybody. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

International Finance Corporation. 2013. *Investing in women's employment.* Retrieved 14, May, 2015, from: *http://www.skillsforemployment.org/wcmstest4/groups/skills/documents/skpcontent/ddrf/mtix/~edisp/wcmstest4_121248.pdf*

International Monetary Fund. 2013. *Women, Work and the Economy. Retrieved 14 May, 2015, from: https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/sdn/2013/sdn1310.pdf*

Jenkins B, Valikai, K and Baptista, B (2013). "The Coca-Cola Company's 5by20 Initiative: Empowering Women Entrepreneurs across the Value Chain." Cambridge, MA: The CSR Initiative at the Harvard Kennedy School and Business Fights Poverty.

Jenkins, R. (2005). 'Globalization, Corporate Social Responsibility and poverty'. *International Affairs*. 81(3): 525-540.

Jordin, A. (2012). South African Entrepreneur Receives Standing Ovation at TEDxWomen. Retrieved 02 April, 2016 from: http://www.coca-colacompany.com/coca-cola-unbottled/south-african-entrepreneur-receives-standing-ovation-at-tedxwomen

Johnson, N. (2014) 5by20 named best global initiative for economic women's empowerment. Retrived 20, May, 2016, from: http://www.coca-colacompany.com/coca-cola-unbottled/5by20-named-best-global-initiative-for-womens-economic-empowerment

Kabeer N. 1999. 'Resources, agency, achievements: reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment'. *Development and Change* 30: 435–464.

Kabeer, N. (2003) Gender Mainstreaming in Poverty Eradication and the Millennium Development Goals: A Handbook for Policy-makers and Other Stakeholders, London: Commonwealth Secretariat

Koffman, O & Gill R. (2013). 'the revolution will be led by a 12-year-old girl': Girl power and global biopolitics. *Feminist review* 105 pp. doi:10.1057/fr.2013.16

Kotzé, D. & Cornwell, L. (2011). Gender and development. Pretoria: University of South Africa

Kristof, N. D., & Wudunn, S. (2009). Half the Sky. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.

Lupton, D. (1992). Discourse Analysis: A New Methodology for Understanding the Ideologies of Health and Illness *Australian Journal of Public Health,* 16 (2), pp. 145-150.

Martindale, D. 1988. The Nature al1d Types of Sociological Theory. Second edition. Waveland Press, Prospect Heights, Illinois.

Mayoux, L. (2002) Women's Empowerment or Feminisation of Debt: Towards a New Agenda in African Microfinance: Report Based on a One World Action Conference. London: OneWorld Action.

Mishra, R. K. (2013) Postcolonial feminism: Looking into within-beyond-to difference. *International Journal of English and Literature*. Vol. 4(4), pp. 129-134, June, 2013 DOI: 10.5897/IJEL12.165 ISSN 1996-0816

Mkandawire, T 2010, 'How the New Poverty Agenda Neglected Social and Employment Policies in Africa', *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 3755.

Mohanty, C.T. (2003) '"Under Western Eyes" Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles', *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28(2): 499–535.

Moodie, M. (2013). Microfinance and the Gender of Risk: The Case of Kiva.org. *The University of Chicago Press*. Vol. 38, No. 2 (Winter 2013), pp. 279-302

Moore, D S. (1998). Subaltern Struggles and the Politics of Place: Remapping Resistance in Zimbabwe's Eastern Highlands. Cultural Anthropology I3(3):344-381

Mosedale, S. (2005). Assessing women's empowerment: Towards a conceptual framework. *Journal of International Development.* Issue 17, 243-257.

Moser, C. (1989) 'Gender planning in the Third World: meeting practical and strategic gender needs', *World Development* 17(11): 1799_ 825

Murray Li, T. (2007). The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics. Duke University Press.

Narayan, D. (ed). (2005) Measuring empowerment: Cross disciplinary perspectives. Washington DC: The World Bank.

Narayan, D. (2007). Measuring empowerment: A cross disciplinary perspective. Washington DC: World Bank

Neuman, W L. (2000). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Needham Heights: A Pearson Education Company.

Neuman, W L. (2006). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. University of Michigan.

Neuman, W. L. (2014) Social research methods. 7th Edition. Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Neuman, W.L. (2003). Social Research Methods: Qualitative Approaches. Fifth edition. Allyn and Bacon. Boston. Massachusetts

O'Neil T, Domingo, P and Valters, C (2014) Progress on women's empowerment From technical fixes to political action.

Olson, S. (2014) Coca-Cola Spreads Lies About Aspartame And Dangers Of Artificial Sweetener. Retrieved 02, September, 2016 from: http://www.medicaldaily.com/coca-cola-spreads-lies-about-aspartame-and-dangers-artificial-sweetener-311300

Online Extra: Social Responsibility: 'Fundamentally Subversive'? (15, August, 2005) Retrieved 27 March, 2016, from:
https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2005-08-14/online-extra-social-responsibility-fundamentally-subversive

Pathways of Women's Empowerment (PoWE) (2012) 'Empowerment: A Journey Not a Destination', http:\\www.pathwaysofempowerment.org/Empowerment_Report.html

Pearson, J R. (2010). Exercises of power: applying Foucault's conceptions of power to the Mazahua and Inuit enculturation events. *Explorations in Anthropology*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 48–57.

Ponte N B, Marina, D and Rodríguez Enríquez, C. (2015) Shifting Responsibilities without Changing the Balance of Power: What Chance of Equality with the Addis Ababa Action Agenda? UNRISD Retrieved on 25, March 2016 from: http://www.unrisd.org/road-to-addis-bidegain-et-al

Ponte, N B. (2015) Towards the Third International Conference on Financing for Development: Old Tensions and New Challenges Emerge in Negotiating. Retrieved on 25, March, 2016 from: http://www.dawnnet.org/feminist-resources/content/towards-third-international-conference-financing-development-old-tensions-and-new-challengesSession.

Porter, M. (2003) CSR – A Religion with too Many Priests, European Business Forum, 15th Issue, Autumn.

Prieto-Carrón A, Lund-Thomsen P, Chan A, Muro , A & Bhushan, C. (2006). Critical perspectives on CSR and development: what we know, what we don't know, and what we need to know. *International Affairs* 82: 5 (2006) 977–987

Rabinow, P. (ed) (1984). The Foucault reader. New York: Pantheon Books.

Rankin, K.N. (2001). 'Governing development: neoliberalism, microcredit, and rational economic woman' Economy and Society, Vol. 30, No. 1: 18–37.

Razavi, S. and Miller, C. (1995). *From WID to GAD: Conceptual shifts in the women and development discourse* (UNRISD's Contribution to the Fourth World Conference on Women). United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Richter, J. (2001). Holding Corporations Accountable: Corporate Conduct, International Codes, and Citizen Action, London: Zed Books.

Roberts, A & Soederberg, S. (2012). Gender Equality as Smart Economics? A critique of the 2012 World Development Report , *Third World Quarterly*, 33:5, 949-968, DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2012.677310

Roberts, A. (2015). Gender, Financial Deepening and the Production of Embodied Finance: Towards a Critical Feminist Analysis. *Global Society* 29:1. pp. 107-127.

Sarantakos, S. 1998. Social Rescarch. Second edition. Macmillan Education, South Yarnl, Victoria.

Sassen, S. (1996). Towards a feminist analysis of the global economy. *Indian Journal for Global Studies*. Vol. 4: Iss. 1,Article 2.

Seguino, S. (1997) "Gender Wage Inequality and Export-Led Growth in South Korea." *The Journal of Development Studies* Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 102-132.

Sharma, A. (2006). Crossbreeding Institutions, Breeding Struggle: Women's Empowerment, Neoliberal Governmentality, and State (Re) Formation in India. *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 21, No. 1 pp. 60-95.

Sharma, A. (2008). The logics of empowerment: Development, gender and governance in neoliberal India. London: University of Minesota Press.

Sharp, J. (2006) Corporate social responsibility and development: An anthropological perspective, *Development Southern Africa*, 23:2, 213-222, DOI: 10.1080/03768350600707892

Smith, R E. (2011). Defining corporate social responsibility: a systems approach for socially responsible capitalism. MA. University of Pennsylvania.

Springer, (2015). Theories of economic development. *Infrastructure Investments in Developing Economies*. DOI 10.1007/978-981-287-248-7_2

Switzer, H. (2013). (Post)Feminist development fables: The Girl Effect and the production of sexual subjects. *Feminist Theory*, 14(3), 345–360.

The Coca-Cola Foundation overview (n.d)
http://www.coca-colacompany.com/our-company/the-coca-cola-foundation

Tyagi, R. (2014). Understanding Postcolonial Feminism in relation with Postcolonial and Feminist Theories. *International Journal of Language and Linguistics*. (Print), 2374-8869 (Online) Vol. 1, No. 2; December 2014.

UNICEF. (2007). The state of the world's children. Women and Children: The double-dividend of gender equality. New York: UNICEF.

UNDP. (1996). The human development report. New York: Oxford University Press.

UN Women. (2011). Women's empowerment principles. Retrieved 20, September, 2016, from: http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2011/10/women-s-empowerment-principles-equality-means-business

UN Women. 2011. The Coca-Cola Company and UN Women Form Global Partnership to Accelerate Women's Economic Empowerment. Retrieved 16 May 2015, from: http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2011/9/the-coca-cola-company-and-un-women-form-global-partnership-to-accelerate-women-s-economic-empowerment

UN Women. (2016). Transforming Equality UN Women in Eastern and Southern Africa. Retrieved 28, December, 2016
http://www.daogewe.org/index.php/publications/reports/71-transforming-equality/file

Visvanathan, N (1997) The women, gender and development reader. London: Zed Books.

Wattles, J. (2015). Diet Pepsi replaces aspartame with...CNN Money, New York. Retrieved 10, September, 2016, from: http://money.cnn.com/2015/08/10/news/companies/diet-pepsi-no-aspartame/

Weedon, C. 1997. *Feminist practise & poststructuralist theory*. Blackwell Publishing. Victoria. Australia.

Williams, J. (2005). Understanding poststructuralism. Chesham: Acumen Publishing Limited.

Wilson, K. (2015). Towards a Radical Re-appropriation: Gender, Development and Neoliberal Feminism. *Development and Change* 46(4): 803–832. DOI: 10.1111/dech.12176

Wilson, K. (2011) 'Race', Gender and Neoliberalism: changing visual representations in development, *Third World Quarterly*, 32:2, 315-331,

Wilson, K. (2012) 'Race', Racism and Development: Interrogating History, Discourse and Practice. London: Zed Books.

World Bank (1995) Enhancing Women's Participation in Economic Development, Washington, DC: World Bank

World Bank (2011) The World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank. (2007) World Development Indicators. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank. (2011) Implications of World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development for the World Bank Group. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Videos:

5by20 by the numbers. (2013). Retrieved 12 March, 2016, from: http://www.coca-colacompany.com/stories/infographic-5by20-by-the-numbers

5by20 in the Eurasia and Africa Group. (2014). Retrieved 12, March, 2016, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oG1T3vE3QZw

5by20: Meet the Artisans. (2015). Retrieved 12, March, 2016, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V_FUNnE8OR0

A Hand Up: UN Women and Coca-Cola South Africa Partner to Economically Empower Women.(2014). Retrieved 12, March, 2016, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7QFz9RneWO0

Coca-Cola 5by20 Launch Announcement. (2010). The Coca-Cola Company Pledges to Empower 5 Million Women Entrepreneurs By 2020. Retrieved 12, March, 2016, from http://www.coca-colacompany.com/stories/5by20-news-center

The Coca-Cola Company: 5by20 - Malehlohonolo Moleko. (2013). Retrieved 12, March, 2016, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dg2cCTJqKeU

The Coca-Cola Company: 5by20 - Margaret Kungu (Mama Njeri). (2013). Retrieved 12, March, 2016, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PoxnBdSOog4

The Coca-Cola Company: 5by20 – Preeti Gupta. Retrieved 12, March, 2016, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eTP7M_h2Mt4

The Coca-Cola Company: 5by20 - Teresita Antonio. (2013). Retrieved 12, March, 2016, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tQcBkyUtV3M

The Coca-Cola Company: Meet Phiona, a 5by20 Distributor. Retrieved 12, March, 2016, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OIFADyQQe-U

The Coca-Cola Company: 5by20 - Zilda Barreto. (2013). Retrieved 12, March, 2016, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iJPVgW-571w

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: GLOBAL TREND MAP for Women's Economic Empowerment

ORGANISATION	INITIATIVE/ IMPACT	OBJECTIVE	RATIONALE	UN PARTNERSHIP
THE COCA-COLA COMPANY	**5BY20 Women's economic empowerment initiative** To empower 5 million women between 2010-2020	To remove barriers stopping women from accessing the market place by offering financial resources, training, mentoring and linkages to networking.	Women do 66% of the world's work, earn 10% of the income and plough back 90% of their incomes into their families and communities; it is therefore common sense or smart economics to invest in women. Investing in women causes a ripple effect, families, communities and economies benefit.	Development agents, local and international banks, NGOs, civil society and states. E.g UN Women Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation
NIKE FOUNDATION	**GIRL EFFECT Launched 2008, effected 2015 –** 30 million participants expected by 2020	...to help create a world in which girls are not held back from reaching their full potential: either by themselves, their families or their communities. A world in which girls can stay in school, get access to health services, get married and have children when they choose, realise their economic potential and their dreams.	Girls are key to ending global poverty. If girls are given a chance... to stay in school, get access to health services, to delay marriage and childbirth...it's not only them who benefit – so do their children, families, communities, and countries.	Championed by the NIKE Foundation in collaboration with the NoVo Foundation, United Nations Foundation, DFID, and multiple partners
UNILEVER	**Uniliver Sustainable Living Plan – Opportunities for Women** Impact: 5 million women by 2020	... to empower 5 million women across our value chain by 2020, including our employees, smallholder farmers, suppliers, distributors and consumers.	Globally it is acknowledged that economically empowering women creates a ripple effect on families, communities and economies[1]. Women do 60% of the world's work and earn only 10% of the world's income, yet they reinvest 90% of income into their families[2].	Proud member of the UN Global Compact and a signatory to the Women's Empowerment Principles,

WALMART & WALMART FOUNDATION	**Walmart's Global Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative 2011 – 2016** Impact: Almost a million by 2016	To train close to 1 million women around the world on farms, in factories and in retail, particularly in emerging markets by 2016.	Studies show that women in emerging markets invest 90 percent of their income back into families and communities, breaking the cycle of poverty. Yet around the world women earn 10 to 30 percent less than men do.	'The Sustainable Development Goals recently released by the United Nations also informed our discussions'
HALF THE SKY MOVEMENT – Sherly Wudunn & Nicholus Kristof	**Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide** Authored book of the same name in 2009, movement followed thereafter. Impact: considered a landmark movement with millions and counting.	To put an end to oppression of women and girls worldwide, the defining issue of our time.	Women comprise 70 percent of the world's poorest people and own only 1 percent of the titled land, according to a UN report. Studies have indicated that when women hold assets and gain income, the money is more likely to be spent on nutrition, medicine and housing, and consequently their children are healthier. For every dollar a woman earns, she invests 80 cents in her family. Men, on the other hand, invest around 30 cents and are more likely to squander money on alcohol and other vices.	UN Foundation, Nike Foundation, USAID, Bill & Melinda Gates and Novo Foundation named among the funders. Partners & advocates include NGOs, Companies and Celebrities

Appendix 2: Assemblage line of 5by20

The experts. The Knowers.	1.	**UN & Subsidiaries** Specific: **UN Women, World Bank, IMF, UNICEF etc.** Leading world body in setting development agenda after WWII. Together with subsidiaries emphasise expert knowledge and set neoliberal agenda. Represents liberal feminism – has invited corporates to empower women- corporates present empowerment as an apolitical intervention – packaged into neat goals, objectives and outcomes.	Churn out the research on gender equality starting from the MDGs 3rd Goal 1990 Sustainability Development Goals 2015 Women's Empowerment Principles Business Call to Action (smart economics) UN & Subsidiaries agree on the urgent need for experts & corporates to intervene and empower women Churn out policies and procedures
	2.	**Endorsing Partners** Churn out own research and also persuaded by UN research, act in agreement with UN – consists of international banks, NGOs, financial institutions, sometimes consists of rich families and or individuals	USAID, UK DFID, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Merci Corps, Half the Sky, US Government, Techno Serve, World Economic Forum Agree on need to intervene and empower women
	3.	**Private Corporations** Specific – **Coca-Cola: Initiative 5by20** Executives, employees Act as experts in partnership with UN Women and share expertise in conceptualising programs – Their own behaviour directed by the UN research for development. Imbeds empowerment projects into value chain	Experts on corporate social responsibility initiatives now called corporate sustainability programmes. Combine their expert knowledge with that coming out of UN Women, World Bank, IMF, Harvard Kennedy School etc. to conceptualise 5by20 women's empowerment initiative Buy the idea that women need to be empowered, when shown research figures of women population and amount of work they do, corporates see opportunity to empower women while remaining sustainable through profits generated
	4.	**Local NGOs** Example: South Africa: Hand in Hand Training directs women's efforts and follow up manages and regulates women's behaviour	Carry out the training of women beneficiaries, help women to apply for loans after training, and oversee disbursement of loans. Help banks to collect loan repayments. Agree women need empowering, act as experts on the ground
	5.	**Local Government Departments** Philippines: TEDSA training directs women's efforts	Help with training of women and in some cases offer the same service as NGOs. Agree that women need to be empowered, facilitate by putting supporting policies in place
	6.	**International Banks** Disburse loans – direct women's efforts Also produce research.	Banks process loans and also collection of loans They are removed from Coca-Cola so they can act independently to enforce payment without tarnishing Coke image (Moodie, 2013) demonstrates this in her analysis of Kiva. Banks see micro-loans as an empowerment tool, apply interest to loans
	7.	**Mentors** – may be part of NGOs or hired from elsewhere. Direct and manage women's efforts. In some cases mentors are CEOs and executives from corporates, feed the myth that if poor women work hard they can make it too.	Compulsory for reinforcing lessons learnt in training. Room for women to share experiences. Attended by peer, offers supporting environment on one hand, and can act as both encouragement and shaming and or policing those who don't adhere to rules and regulations or who lag behind
The subjects. The Known.	8.	**Women Participants** Women's training needs are assessed and identified and through training and loans disbursements and collections their behaviours are directed, management and regulated. Women do not constitute the conceptualisation of the programme.	Strong, resilient, hardworking, hopeful, mothers, wives, grandmothers, caregivers, caretakers, workers, entrepreneurs & citizens found along Coke value chain Participant from the Philippines 'women can do anything that men can do because we are powerful' Participant from South Africa 'we do not have to rely on men, we can do things ourselves'