Lund University
Department of Sociology
BIDS

Empowerment according to whom?

A critical assessment of Coca-Cola's Corporate Social Responsibility initiative Parivartan (5by20) in India

Author: Anna Berggren
Bachelor Thesis: UTKVO3, 15 hp
Spring semester 2015
Supervisor: Johan Sandberg

Abstract

"In many parts of the world, opening a bottle of Coca-Cola means opening the doors to economic empowerment for women." Thus, by founding their latest global campaign 5by20, an initiative aiming to empower five million women before 2020 in their position as small-scale entrepreneurs, Coca Cola engages itself in what is called Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). This notion of businesses engaging in social and ethical issues has recently turned to incorporate the (previous lack of) gender equality measures such as women's empowerment. In India a subprogram of 5by20, Parivartan, aims to empower female retailers through helping them overcome everyday challenges and barriers faced in business. Nevertheless, there is an absence of external research done on which kind of assistance Parivartan provides and which the alignments and misalignments are between this program and women's empowerment. Thus, deriving from fieldwork conducted in Punjab, India, this study is based on data collected from interviews with beneficiaries and key informants of the Parivartan. Using a thematic analysis, it finds that the program reproduces socially constructed gender roles within the business sphere, described as a "Feminization of Business". It also discusses how the program uses women's empowerment as an instrumentalization of gender equality rather than of intrinsic reasons, which correlates with the 'Smart Economics' approach put forth by international development institutions.

Keywords: India, Women's Empowerment, Gender Equality, Coca Cola, 5by20, Parivartan, CSR, Feminization of Responsibilities

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

"In many parts of the world, opening a bottle of Coca-Cola means opening the doors to economic empowerment for women" (Coca-Cola, 2013/2014:1). Thus, by founding their latest global campaign 5by20, an initiative aiming to empower five million women before 2020 in their position as small-scale entrepreneurs, Coca Cola engages itself in what is called Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). This notion of private actors engaging in the development debate has recently grown to be a popular entity to tackle social issues, and particularly with the (previous lack of) interest in gender equality and women's empowerment (Prügl & True, 2014:3). As participants in entrepreneurial training programs or micro credit borrowers, women within these programs are promised the outcome of being empowered and holding a better future, which they, according to a recurring argument, are more inclined than men to share with families and communities.

In India a subprogram of 5by20, named Parivartan (Positive Change), is targeting female entrepreneurs in the struggle to overcome the everyday barriers and challenges in business. By providing elements of skills training in financial services, assets, peer networks and mentoring (Coca-Cola, 2013/2014:2), Parivartan aims to economically empower the women attending. Few studies have, however, acknowledged which kind of empowerment Coca-Cola promotes in this particular program and what the learning outcomes among the women are. This lack of empirical research on CSR and its relation to development have been highlighted by academia (Blowfield and Frynas, 2005; Sharp, 2006; Visser, 2008), stating that the question of "What does CSR do" in developing countries is still to be answered (Sharp, 2006:220).

In order to further understand the use and implication of Parivartan, the following study brings together the two complex concepts of CSR and women's empowerment in an effort to explore alignments and misalignments when business intertwines with gender equality. Based on interviews with Parivartan beneficiaries in Punjab, India, this study intends to answer the following questions: i.) "Which kind of assistance does Coca Cola provide, and which kind of empowerment does Coca Cola promote, in their Indian CSR program Parivartan?" and ii.) "What is the nexus between Parivartan and women's empowerment?". Thus, it also examines how effective

1

businesses can address women's empowerment, to what purpose and to what end; and more importantly, referring back to the title – empowerment according to whom? Specifically it lies in the interest of this study to gain firsthand accounts of women within these kinds of CSR programs.

Before continuing there is a need for some clarification. Both definitions of CSR and women's empowerment are vague and their lack of consensus clouds their potential to be thoroughly examined. This study will nevertheless use definitions put forth by Blowfield and Frynas (2005) when referring to CSR, and Kabeer (1999) when discussing empowerment;

> …[But]… it may be more useful to think 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 behavior of others with whom they do business (e.g. within supply chains); and (c) that business needs to manage its relationship with wider society, whether for reasons of commercial viability or to add value to society. (Blowfield and Frynas, 2005:503)

> Women's empowerment is about the *process* by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such ability. (Kabeer, 1999:435. Italic added.)

With these definitions as reference points, this study constitutes an attempt to empirically contribute to current research on CSR and women's empowerment. Using Kabeer's empowerment model as theoretical support, this study will, through a qualitative data analysis, develop distinctive themes of Parivartan's assistance and empowerment promotion as well as inquiry into the cultural setting in order to investigate the relationship between Parivartan and women's empowerment.

1.1 Outline of the study

To contextualize the study a review of CSR and women's empowerment and their connection to development is needed. Both of them have been thoroughly studied respectively, but there is yet a shortfall of research investigating the nexus between them. Thus, the second part of this chapter will mainly highlight the CSR debate

while also providing a brief orientation of its relationship to gender equality. It will also present the research questions and specific aims for this study. The second chapter will go through the 5by20 initiative and Coca-Cola as a CSR company, reviewing its structure and objectives. The third and fourth chapters are devoted to theoretical and methodological frameworks, the main sources of analytical tools in this study. The final chapter accounts for the analysis of Parivartan followed by a concluding discussion.

1.2 Overview of existing literature

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the plethora of studies on the complex concepts of CSR and gender; rather, those selected are the ones deemed to be most relevant for this study. Lots of questions will remain unanswered and it is not my intention to provide an answer to them all; instead, they act as evidence of that complexity.

1.2.1. CSR and development

CSR has been embraced as an approach to international development, with prominent institutions such as the United Nations and the World Bank arguing for the notion that private actors could play a key role in achieving developmental goals (Newell and Frynas, 2007:669). As a response to large-scale corporate scandals caused by, for example, Enron, WorldCom and Coca Cola, businesses nowadays increasingly demonstrate how they through ethical and socially responsible behavior contribute to society by initiating various developmental programs, beyond what they are legally required to do. In some countries, such as India, CSR has grown to be so important that even the government through legislative measures made companies embrace CSR programs (PWC, 2013). However, recent academic literature has moved very rapidly towards a critical evaluation of the concept. Some argue that this emergent business trend has to be treated with prudence (Blowfield and Frynas; 2005, Newell and Frynas, 2007; Shamir, 2010; Sharp, 2006; Spivak, 1988, Visser, 2008), because, when put under scrutiny, CSR as a concept reveals itself to be highly ambiguous; the fact that it is used in various fields has contributed on it being inadequately understood and undefined. This free interpretation has also caused changing definitions by

institutions and individuals over time (see e.g. World Business Council for Sustainable Development (Holme and Watts, 1998; 2000), which clearly argues for its normative standpoint. Blowfield and Frynas (2005) put it like this; **"what we mean by CSR and its consequences for the role of business in development will differ significantly depending on whether the goals, instruments and agents of CSR conform with, for instance, social democratic, libertarian or neo-conservative development agendas"** (ibid.504). Simply, CSR can be whatever you want it to be.

This brings us to the very notion of CSR's contribution to development, and it being viewed as driven by self-interests or by developmental reasons. Much has been said since the famous CSR debate initiated by Milton Friedman (1970), with the argument that the only reason for businesses engaging in social issues is to increase its profits. In a famous quote, he states that:

> [in a free economy].. there is one and only one social responsibility of business – to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits so long as it stays within the rules of the game, which is to say, engages in open and free competition without deception or fraud. (Friedman, 1970:133).

Basically, business is business. Nevertheless, one of the most eminent scholars of CSR, David Vogel (2005), removes himself from such claims. In his book "Market for virtue" he explores whether CSR works, and argues that little empirical support could be found in the nexus between responsible firms and profitability (Vogel, 2005:45). Though, this does not necessarily mean that there is not a business case for virtue – CSR does make business sense for some companies in some contexts, there is just a need for more nuanced claims (ibid.). However, with authors such as Banerjee and Prasad (2008) still, to a large degree, following Friedman (1970) when arguing that the discourse of CSR are defined as narrowed business interests serving to curtail the interests of external stakeholders (Banerjee and Prasad, 2008:58), there are still those who claim that these competing camps of a firms self-interest and social legitimacy can be balanced and achieved (Carrol, 1979; Wilson and Wilson, 2006; Wood, 1991). This has recently been reemphasized, in the context of the so-called BOP (Bottom of the Pyramid) solution. CK Praland and Stuart Hart (2002; 2002; 2006) are the key proponents of this idea, which in reality means that investing in the

people at the bottom of the pyramid, providing them with access to markets and services, is a win-win solution for companies; reducing poverty *while* making profit.

The focus on purely economic or stakeholder theories have nevertheless received opponents. According to Blowfield and Frynas (2005), Newell and Frynas (2007), Sharp (2006), Visser (2008), too much focus has been put on those spectrums and less about what CSR are actually doing in developing-country contexts. Most research on CSR has been conducted in the industrialized world; hence, its role in developing settings is profoundly under-researched (Visser, 2008).   Academia has highlighted some implications and consequences of CSR being introduced as a developmental engineer. These are, among others, notions of CSR replacing the government's responsibilities (Newell and Frynas, 2007), the fact that it is non-binding and non-sanctioned (self-regulated), thus, not responsible to answer to anyone (Frynas, 2012) and not able to properly address equality and equity rights (Utting, 2007). Blowfield and Frynas (2005:507) have pointed out that empirical thought is mostly being given to micro levels of CSR implications, looking at particular companies or initiatives, and that bigger developmental issues, such as CSR's effects on foreign direct investment and trade, are left outside. It could nonetheless be argued that in this initial stage of CSR's relation to development in development regions, it is still of great importance to investigate the micro to be able to understand the macro.

There are many questions to be answered about CSR as a field of research. As Newell puts it: at present we cannot say anything more than that CSR could benefit *some firms*, in *some places*, in tackling *some issues, some of the time* (Newell, 2005:556).

1.2.2 Business and women's empowerment

At the turn of the century, Gender and Development (GAD) approaches adopted by mainstream development institutions such as the Untied Nations have emphasized the need for women's increased agency and empowerment. This has not only altered the perspectives of females as such, but also the marginalized women in the 'Global South' - previously seen as passive victims - they are now viewed as active individuals participating in all kinds of decision-making and choices (Wilson, 2011:317). Women are understood as 'untapped' resources who could successfully be

used as tools for breaking vicious development cycles, which has not only been recognized by international development institutions but also penetrated the business world. With the World Bank (2006) branding gender equality as 'Smart Economics'; *The Economist* formulating the concept of 'Womenomics' and the Nike Corporation founding the movement 'Girl Effect', one could argue that feminism appears to truly have infiltrated the business world (Prügl and True, 2014:2).

Whilst businesses behaving like governments, emphasizing "soft issues" such as gender equality and environmental sustainability, and states by contrast as traditional corporations, using business-language and privatizations (ibid.) it seems that there has been a transformation of power relations. For some, this changing landscape with businesses' increased devotion to gender issues has come as a proof of feminist influence (Grosser and Moon, 2005; Shipman and Kay, 2009), while others merely see it as neoliberal capitalism with corporations using women as subjects for economic profits (Bexell, 2012; Spivak, 1988). Two widely referenced assessments on this notion are put forth by Prügl and True (2014) and Roberts and Soederberg (2012). By critically exploring business interests in women's empowerment, they conclude that programs as such are shaping gender relations in a normalized, depoliticized and ahistorical manner. In Prügl and True's feminist evaluation on four initiatives involving businesses promoting gender equality and women's empowerment (the Goldman Sachs 10,000 Women Global Initiative, the World Economic Forum's Women Leaders and Gender Parity Program, the European Union's Programme on Gender Balance in Decision-Making Positions, and the UN Global Compact-UNIFEM Women's Empowerment Principles for Business) they find that the business case for gender is a part of a neoliberal existence that embraces voluntary governance while encouraging the entrepreneurial individual. While some initiatives showed a surprising effectiveness in addressing their goals, others indicated reflexivity dearth and exclusionary and secretive tendencies (ibid.). For instance, in the Goldman Sachs 10,000 Women Initiative[1], they recognized that there were no self-reflections on the fact that the initiative has an intrinsic bias for selecting women

---

[1] The 10,000 Women Movement launched by the Goldman Sachs Foundation in 2008, aims to provide 10,000 women in 43 countries with management and business skills trainings, networking and mentorships. See www.goldmansachs.com for more information.

already running businesses in lieu of bringing women into business, or inspiring firms to hire more women (ibid:1145-46). Nor did the independent evaluation point out program-improvements or include a gendered analysis on the progressions and fallouts of the initiative. Roberts and Soederberg (2012) in a similar manner explored the material and discursive scene in the 2012 World Development Report (WDR) on Gender and Development. Investigating into its central focus on gender equality as "Smart Economics" – generating economic growth through using women as tools to ensure welfares of others - which concurs with core policy statements put forth by powerful financial institutions as Goldman Sachs, they argue that the WDR reinforces the neoliberal orthodoxy with spillover effects in how philanthropic corporations act. Thus, affecting how gender inequality in the Global South is addressed, often as transforming women into consumers and entrepreneurs (Roberts and Soederberg, 2012: 965).

In the literature review of the nexus between CSR and gender equality there seems to be inherently critical standpoints towards the framing and characteristics of gender and development. Yet the dearth of research on the phenomenon, especially field research, causes a lack of advancing and enriching the debate in a substantial way.

1. 3 Purpose of the study and general delimitations

As discussed in the literature review, present research conducted on CSR has inadequately acknowledged their impact in developing countries. There is also a clear absence of studies highlighting the nexus between CSR programs and women's empowerment, and its relation to development - hence the need for conducting in-depth studies on the business case of gender equality (Prügl and True, 2014; Roberts and Soederberg, 2012). The aim of this study is to highlight this relationship in an attempt to reveal alignments and misalignments when business engages with women's empowerment. Yet, the aim is two-fold. While Coca-Cola's assistance is to be analyzed and put in relation to the gender equality debate, the main contribution of the study lies in raising women's voices within such programs to attain their reflections and opinions.

1.3.1 Research questions

i.) Which kind of assistance does Coca-Cola provide, and which kind of empowerment does Coca- Cola promote, in their Indian Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiative Parivartan?
ii.) What is the nexus between Parivartan and women's empowerment?

Whereas the first research question is explicitly approached in sections 5.1 and parts of 5.2, that pertaining to the second question runs throughout the analysis and is then summarized in section 5.3.2.

With this outlined purpose in mind, it has to be made clear that the result of this study cannot be generalized and applied to all Coca-Cola's CSR initiatives, arguably not even to the different subprograms within 5by20. Neither does it claim that every CSR program on women's economic empowerment will show the same tendencies as this result. Rather, this case study aims to provide some narrowed insights in how CSR initiatives *could* act in developing countries, and what some implications are when CSR intertwines with gender.

2. The 5by20 initiative

This second chapter will present a more thorough introduction of the 5by20 initiative, since there is a scarcity of published in-depth information of the Parivartan program. The first part accounts for Coca-Cola's CSR approach and provides an overview of the company's affiliation with social responsibility and sustainability aims. Thereafter the purposes and structures of 5by20 will be outlined.

2.1 Coca-Cola and CSR – responsibility and sustainability

Being perceived as one of the top players within social responsibilities, Coca-Cola has during the last twenty years openly indicated what kind of relationship they aim to have with their consumers, producers and stakeholders. As the world's largest beverage system, Coca-Cola is present in more than 200 countries worldwide, which;

> [...] not only provides us with enormous business potential, but also gives us a rare opportunity to make a real and lasting difference to the communities that we operate in. CSR and sustainability is a central part of our business strategy and we have dedicated manpower and resources to work towards our sustainability goals". –Madhavan, Ananya. Senior Executive India, (Madhavan, 2012:94).

Coca-Cola frames their sustainability efforts first and foremost as the 'right thing to do', and that it is core to their business stability in how to establish long-term value (ibid.). They believe that business sustainability could only be achieved if people and communities affected are sustainable and bolstered en route (ibid). The company adopted the GRI (Global Reporting Initiative/Sustainability Reporting Guidelines) in 2003, but it was not until 2007/2008 that the first report on sustainability and corporate responsibility was published. In the repercussion of the great ground water scandals in India[2], the company developed new business policies mostly surrounding the environmental footprint and other social efforts in communities where they operate. According to Pirson and Malhotra (2008:9), one reason why it ended so badly for Coca-Cola after the water controversy was due to lack of responsiveness; by

---

[2] Coca-Cola contaminated local water in Kerala and produced beverages with high levels of pesticides some ten years ago, and more recently irrigation issues emerged in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh due to Coca-Cola's establishment of a bottling plant (Harish and Gopal, 2008).

denying all accusations while trying to uphold its integrity, rather than acting responsibly, the company failed to regain trust among the consumers. Yet Senior Executive Madhavan (2012:97) now states that the company "understands that consumers worldwide choose products not just based on their quality but also on the basis of the reputation of the companies producing them."

It appears that the polemic in India was a learning experience for Coca-Cola, motivating them to adopt more proactive CSR policies on global water management (Torres et. al, 2012), but also initiatives concerning other social issues. In 2007, the company launched its sustainability framework Live Positively, which permeates all levels at the Coca-Cola value chain[3], from production to packaging and distribution. In the last sustainability report released (Coca-Cola, 2013/2014) the focus was however changed to a broader framework centered around three Ws: *Women, Water* and *Well-being, "..* areas of fundamental importance to our business—areas where we believe we have the best opportunity to make a lasting positive difference" (Coca-Cola, 2013/2014:3). Whilst claiming that they do not have all the answers, all the access or all the know-hows, by collaborating with business, government and civil society in the provision of CSR programs they "unlock the power of the Golden Triangle" (ibid.). They do also support and measure their sustainability progress against the principles defined in the Untied Nations Global Compact and Millennium Development Goals (ibid.).

In addition to the three Ws, the Coca-Cola Company supports other social areas such as arts and culture, community and economic development programs in the United States, HIV/AIDS preventions in Africa and Latin America as well as emergency reliefs when natural disasters strike (Coca-Cola, 2015).

2.2 5by20 – purpose

> "Unleashing the entrepreneurial potential of women is one of the most powerful and enduring ways to help families and communities prosper. It is also an important way to help make our business more sustainable. Our investments in the success of women fuel our own success and the success of communities around the world." – Coca-Cola (2013/2014:20).

---

[3] Coca.Cola is a decentralized company whom outsourced much of its responsibilities to other units in society, e.g. they to not own or control most of their bottling partners.

The focus on women and their economic empowerment was first published in the Sustainability Review 2009/2010 under the section 'Community', as the new crucial component of Coca-Cola's Sustainability framework (Coca-Cola, 2009/2010:15). In an interview with Muhtar Kent, the new Chairman and CEO of Coca-Cola, he states that women's empowerment is "not a nice 'to do', it is a must do. It just makes good business sense" (Azemati, 2011:9). The Coca-Cola Company has set the ambitious goal of doubling their returns by 2020, and thus recognizing the fact that it cannot be achieved without the economic growth and vitality of women, and through them, the wealth of their families and communities (ibid.10). Coca-Cola claims that studies have shown that women do 66 per cent of the world's work but only earn 10 per cent of its income, of which 90 per cent goes directly back to their families and communities (Coca-Cola, 2013/2014:21). This focus on family and community enhancement is explicitly emphasized throughout all reports on 5by20. By arguing that women are core pillars of the community as they invest great amounts of money earned on the health and education of their children as well as in the local community, they are able to create a remarkable economic ripple; hence, arguing that women are critical to local as well as global business successes.

2.3 5by20 – structure

In 2010 CEO Muthar Kent issued the challenge of incorporating women into Coca-Cola's business structure by establishing their latest CSR initiative 5by20 – a program with the goal of empowering and unleashing the entrepreneurial potential of five million female entrepreneurs in Coca-Cola's value chain before 2020. Examples of businesses in their value chain include retailers and producers such as fruit farmers, recycling collectors and artisans. In 2013, 89 per cent of the 5by20 beneficiaries were retailers (Coca-Cola, 2013/2014:22).

On 5by20's website, they explain 'what empowerment looks like', by referring to the confidence that comes with building a successful business. By offering business skills training courses, financial services and peer or mentor networks, women get the opportunity to address the most common business barriers they face in the marketplace (Coca-Cola, 2015). Yet, there is no clear definition of empowerment outlined by Coca-Cola.

The initiative was launched in 2010 and continues to grow every year. Presently, the programs within the initiative are active in a total of 44 countries around the globe and the progress is "on-track"; Coca-Cola has enabled economic empowerment of more than 550,000 women (Coca-Cola, 2013/2014:22). Driven by scaling up successful programs, and the implementation of piloting scalable programs, the 5by20 initiative is able to draw upon local business capabilities, priorities and resources. Thus, a range of different programs within the initiative could be found.
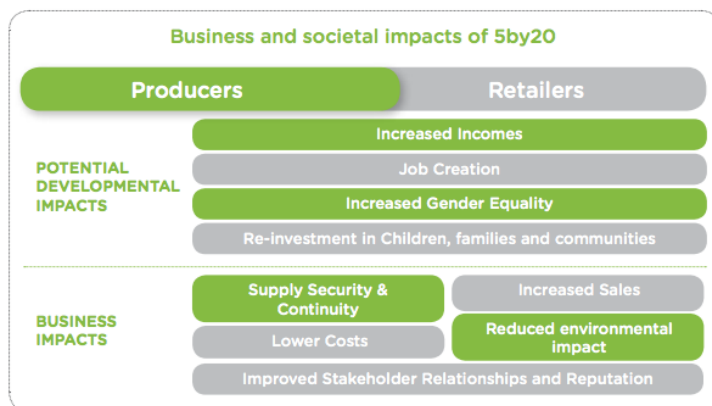
Source: Coca-Cola, India (2013:31)

In India, the business and societal impacts of 5by20 between the retailers and producers are summarized in the figure above. The message does however not seem to be clear-cut; e.g. with the aim of economically empowering female retailers, increased incomes and gender equality are above solely directed to the producers, which is a bit confusing.

India was one of the four markets where 5by20 was piloted (the others being Brazil, South Africa and the Philippines) and currently the progress is "on-track"; according to a 2013 report more than 26,000 women have been empowered (Coca-Cola, 2013:31). Four programs have been set up to enable women throughout the value chain; the eKOCool Solar Cooler program, the Pragati (progress) program, the Parivartan (positive change) program and project Unnati. The eKOCool program provides women retailers with an eKOCool cooler that is equipped with solar powers, but also charging ports for mobiles and solar lanterns to allow them to remain open after sunset, thus, economic and social sustainability is ensured (Coca-Cola, 2012:12). The Pragati and Parivartan programs offer the same kinds of knowledge services,

such as product knowledge, business training and business-start up support; but Parivartan is able to reach remote parts of India via mobile buses used as classrooms (Coca-Cola, 2013/2014:24). Project Unnati helps mango farmers to adopt Ultra High Density Farming techniques to double their crop yield and income.

Coca-Cola appointed DNV GL (Det Norske Veritas and Germanischer Lloyd)[4] in 2012 to independently evaluate 5by20 initiatives each year in a representative sample of countries (Coca-Cola, 2013/2014:22). The initiative has also partnered with top-players in the development field such as UN Women, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, International Finance Corporation (IFC) and TechnoServe.

---

[4] DNV GL is a global player within maritime, oil and gas, energy, food and health care aiding to develop sustainable businesses performances. See www.DNVGL.com

3. Theoretical grounding

Numerous theories and concepts could be applied to the concepts of gender equality and women's empowerment. The perceptions among these concepts do, however, vary between authors and applications. This section attempts to clarify how the concepts surrounding women's empowerment and their interrelationships with market integration are understood in this present study.

3.1 Women's empowerment

Many international development institutions incorporate women's empowerment as a key objective. The concept could be argued as being of both an intrinsic and instrumental value, and is pertinent within the individual and collective level in society. It does also relate to multiple meanings concerning power, capability, participation, autonomy, freedom and choice among others, thus, when defining empowerment, difficulties arise concerning which variables to incorporate. Over the years a plethora of definitions have been introduced, e.g. that empowerment is a multi-dimensional process of changing power relations involving three paradigms: feminist, poverty alleviation, and financial self-sustainable (Mayoux, 2000), or that it is a kind of freedom (capabilities and functions) to achieve valued ways of 'being and doing', freedom to different ways of living (Sen, 1999). Others have underlined that empowerment is the acquisition of capabilities for women to achieve autonomy (material and legal), equality (social and personal) and voice (decision-making that affect their lives) (Molyneux, 2009). It could be argued that for some feminists the value of the concepts lies directly in its 'fuzziness'. An NGO activist argues like this: "I like the term empowerment because no one has defined it clearly yet; so it gives us a breathing space to work it out in action terms before we have to pin ourselves down to what it means. I will continue using it until I am sure it does not describe what we are doing" (Batliwala, 1993:18).

It is beyond the scope of this paper to address all kinds of variations in defining empowerment. What is of importance is rather that empowerment could be a consequence of multiple interrelated factors that must be taken into analytical

account. One who leads the way towards setting such a critical and analytical standard when discussing empowerment is Naila Kabeer (1999). She reviews and evaluates several measures of women's empowerment and the values they embody, which this study seeks support from. She argues that; "women's empowerment is a process by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such ability" (ibid.435). This definition clearly takes the standpoint that it is a process by which only those previously disempowered could become empowered, and that choices made must be of a strategic nature. This strategic nature derives from a notion of first or second order choices. First hand strategic choices are those related to life choices, such as where to live, whether or whom to marry, whether or how many children to have and freedom of movement. These choices help to frame other, second hand choices, which enhance quality of life but are not of consequential matter. Following further, these choices are connected to three invisible, interrelated elements:

- ❖ *Resources (pre-conditions)*; which forms the (potential) conditions of choices,
- ❖ *Agency (process)*; the heart of the process of which choices are made, and
- ❖ *Achievements (outcomes)*; the outcomes of choices

They are interrelated because it is not feasible to determine the value of one indicator, whatever element of empowerment is intended to be measured, without reference to other empowerment elements. Thus there is a need to triangulate and cross-check them in order to establish that the evidence means what it is believed to mean (ibid.452). As a result, it is not sufficient to only measure either Resources or Achievements, which is commonly done. Kabeer makes the claim that neoclassical economists generally subscribe to a resource model of measurement, where resources are chiefly of an economic nature, such as earnings, assets, credit and access to education (ibid.11). Providing women with these elements are seen to convert fairly straightforwardly into greater bargaining power and decision-making within the household, hence, subscribing to a linear model of change.

   Empowerment cannot however simply be conceptualized with regard to choice. It must be combined with assessments of values embedded in agency, which also

mirrors society as a whole. Kabeer (1999) speaks of Autonomy and Status, with the former rooted in individualistic terms of self-determination and independence, and the latter the social standing within the community derived from meeting socially accepted norms set up by the hierarchal society.

It has to be stressed that the aim of using this model is not to prove the women empowered or disempowered, rather it will work as a toolbox of structuring the analysis and seek support in terms of what impacts Parivartan might bring.

3.3 Gendered divisions of responsibilities

As a response towards programs directed at economically empowering women, the notion of gender and responsibilities have arisen. One of the most influential authors on this aspect is Sarah Bradshaw, who after an investigation into the CCT (Conditional Cash Transfer) [5] programme Social Protection Network/Red de Protección Social (RPS) in Nicaragua constituted the term 'Feminization of Responsibilities' (2008). She put forth critiques of the very rationale behind programs as the RPS; targeting women due to their superior skills of securing children's welfares. She states:

> Recognizing women as a more efficient transmission mechanism of resources, the majority of CCT programmes have targeted women as 'beneficiaries' of resources aimed at improving the health and education of the children in their care. - Bradshaw, (2008:191).

She continues by arguing that the very issue at hand with the programs is that the recognition of unequal household powers is implicitly rather than explicitly based on how incomes are used within households, or, misused by men. It also derives from a socially constructed altruism of women making 'strategic choices' to enhance everyone else's welfare but their own. Thus, targeting resources at women implicitly means that men's behavior is problematic but not addressed, and that women's own deprivation through their altruism is explicitly reinforced as the social norm (Bradshaw, 2008). Women's empowerment is hence not an end in itself, rather a tool

---

[5] CCTs aims to reduce poverty by providing direct cash transfers conditional upon the receiver's actions. Usually, it goes to mothers of school-age children and is conditional in the sense of school attendance and health check-ups.

of ensuring enhanced welfare measures in the family and community. In line with this, Chant (2008:183) suggests that programs as such "exploit" the "social image of women as dedicated to serving others" and instead of development working for women, women are now working for development.

Molyneux (2009) connects women's empowerment to the gender division of labor, an effect that CCT programs barely recognized let alone analyzed. In relation to women's empowerment, she argues that the gendered division of labor "..work to women's disadvantage when gender-ascribed roles serve to undermine their (women's) autonomy and economic security, deepen their vulnerability, and/or strengthen their dependence on (weakening) marriage and family ties for their long-term security" (ibid:53). While she argues that although marginal increases in self-esteem and autonomy can be found in light of these programs, and reported satisfaction among the beneficiaries, these effects should be connected to their *social identity as mothers;* thus without tackling underlying causes of gender inequality (Bradshaw, 2008; Chant, 2008; Molyneux, 2009).

While the structure of CCT's programs are different from that of 5by20, the fundamental rationales of these programs could be argued similar to those of 5by20's, thus, valid as analytical tools.

In the context of India, a gendered division of unpaid care work penetrates state-led development. The processes and implications involved, and its interaction with social norms and values, has led Neetha (2010) and Neetha and Palriwala (2011) to constitute the terms of a 'gendered familialism' and the 'gendered qualifier', which derives from the assumption that familial relationships form a security and a woman's responsibilities is to ensure that security. The traditional affirmation that mothering forms the basis of a woman's status and being her prime responsibility has to be acknowledged and reassessed by Indian policymakers and inventions over all in order to break the vicious cycle of gendered unpaid work (ibid.).

3.3. Women's empowerment through market integration

Recently, many authors have argued that notions of women's empowerment programs have come to validate contemporary economic interests, ad interim making it difficult to address prevailing inequalities in the gender divisions of labor (Spivak, 1988;

Fraser, 2009). The integration of gender into influential economic institutions and corporations has been claimed to be a concurrence between feminist thought and neoliberal capitalism, suffering a great loss of critical thinking. This phenomenon, has led to the coining of terms such as 'Feminism Seduced' (Eisenstein, 2010), and 'Transnational Business Feminism' (TBF) (Roberts, 2014). The suggested correlation between women's empowerment and economic growth in these accounts is interpreted as an instrumentalization of gender equality, bypassing history and homogenizing women's interests. Hester Eisenstein (2010) directs critiques towards the "hijacking" of women's liberalization and feminism, which under the neoliberal leadership of institutions such as the World Bank and IMF, have been strongly promoted. She finds that the category 'gender' in development academia and rhetoric has resulted in the concepts of gender, female education and empowerment being used for genuine economic purposes. Additionally, the feminist idea of empowering women in the South through paid work, either as entrepreneurs or workers by multinational corporations, is a substitute for state-led models of development. This restructuring of the world economy tends to disguise the legitimization of feminism, since it in many ways deepens gender inequality and poverty for the majority of women (Eistenstein, 2005:511). Roberts (2014) stresses that the "business case" for gender equality promoted by multinational corporations further entrenches the power to create expert knowledge in 'development' and 'gender'. She argues that TBF promotes a naturalized and essentialized view of women that ignores historical and underlying notions of structural poverty, at the same time as it continuously endorses the neoliberal macroeconomic framework that has shaped and persisted gender, and other forms, of oppression. It is further associated with a Western model of liberal feminism that surrounds women's empowerment around labor market participation (ibid:101).

4. Methodological approach

Based on fieldwork conducted in the northwestern parts of India, Punjab, between January and March 2015, this case study derives from a qualitative framework in data collection, sampling and analysis. For quality and transparency reasons the software Nvivo has been used to further arrange and analyze data retrieved.

4.1 Research design– case study

The research design derives from an instrumental case study approach, which Stake either (1994) defines as an inquiry into a particular issue, or to refine a theory. It is argued here that the line between a theory-centered case, and a case-centered case, is blurry. This study is primarily concerned with explaining the case with support of theorization of principal findings.

George and Bennet (2005) argue for the use and value of employing a case study approach in social research. While case studies are able to analyze fundamental mechanisms in certain settings, there is also a possibility to distinguish unanticipated ways in which these mechanisms function and what the underlying triggers of those mechanisms are.   The method of adopting such an approach should be structured in the sense that the researcher writes general research questions that mirrors the research objectives, and focused in a manner that it deals with certain aspects of the (historical) cases undertaken (ibid:67). Thus, even single case studies could lay the foundation of additional cases later on.

Case studies are also appropriate for field research since they allow the conducting of rich data analyses of contextual elements, which indeed is very challenging to achieve in solely statistical studies. However, critical perspectives have highlighted the trade-offs, limitations and potential hazards of adopting this approach. Some of these are case selection biases (Collier and Mahoney, 1996) and lack of representativeness (McKeown, 1999), which culminates in generalization issues. This brings up concerns of research validity and reliability, or trustworthiness and authenticity as Lincoln and Guba label it, in qualitative research (see Lincoln and Guba, 1984; Guba and Lincoln, 1985 for closer criteria); which is a common critique among all studies of a qualitative nature. This critique claims that while being

subjective and impressionistic, with small sample sizes, difficulties with assuring validity and reliability appears because reproducing social contexts all relies on the researcher's perception of what is to be significant (Bryman, 2008:391).

Nevertheless, by employing George and Bennet's (2005) method of structure and focus, and aiming at being transparent throughout the whole research process, these boundaries are trying to be overcome. Punch (2005) claims that case studies could deal with the issue of generalization by recognizing and emphasizing the nature of the case study as such, either descriptive or conceptualizing, which are guided by the study's purpose and research question (ibid:146).

4.2. Sampling

The interviewees in this study represent twelve individual interviews with women that Coca-Cola has targeted in their Parivartan program and two key informant interviews with high-ranked representatives working with 5by20 and Parivartan in India, alongside a continuous review on the content of 5by20's webpage. The sample derives from the state of Punjab, with women who either just recently attended the course in 2015, or have been going to several courses, since 2013. The female informants are of ages spanning between 31 and 60 years[6], living in middleclass residential areas with ten out of twelve working inside family businesses[7]. The other two are self-employed[8].

While there is indeed a difficulty in categorizing sampling because of many unforeseen variables in the field, the overall sampling method in this study initially derived from a purposeful sampling where the logic and power lies in "selecting information-rich cases for studying in-depth" (Patton, 1990:169). As fieldwork often involves on-the-spot decisions of whom to interview, an opportunistic sampling strategy was to be employed; which has the advantage to adapt to new opportunities that might arise during the actual data collection (ibid.179). However, the finalized sampling method was affected by numerous external factors. When coming in contact with Coca-Cola, the interest in the Parivartan program was expressed as well as the

---

[6] Ages not completely accurate, the eldest woman interviewed was not sure about her age.

[7] Family businesses in the husband's name. Nine of the shops were established 15-25 years back, and one dated to February 24th 2015.

[8] One shop opened three years ago, and the other in August 2014.

eKOCooler program. However, accessibility to the latter program was not granted with a reference that the impact (solar power fridges, with solar lanterns and mobile chargers) would not be visible due to extremely cold weather. Instead, a placement in Punjab was made with a local Coca-Cola salesman guided the way to the beneficiaries. In a forwarded email between Coca-Cola Company and the local sales team, the "best women retailers" in Punjab were to be interviewed. However, expressing a discontent with this set up the local sales man agreed including a diverse sample as possible in terms of ages, backgrounds and times attended Parivartan. This semi-control of the sample brings the two sampling methodologies of purposeful and convenience sampling together, in terms of accessibility to empirical data (Bryman, 2008:458). Obviously this skewed sample bias could have an affect on the final result. Nonetheless, it could be used as analytical reference in relation to the findings.

4.3. Semi-structured interviews

All interviews were following a semi-structured interview approach. The choice of such technique was based on the strength of flexibility, while at the same time covering a set of chosen themes established in an interview guide. The method chosen also opens up possibilities of unexpected fields of investigation proposed by the informants, when letting their voices guide the direction towards fields of relevance (Bryman, 2012: 469-470). This could be done through, for example, developing interesting subjects observed in the interviews, or by deviating from the guide to discuss other themes that arise. While the flexibility in a semi-structured approach might result in substantially different responses from different perspectives (Mikkelsen, 2005:171), it could in this case be argued that an unstructured or structured interview technique would either hamper the possibility to tease out important subjects connected to my research question, or leave little room for the informants' own perspectives and thoughts.

   The themes covered in the interviews revolved around perspectives of Parivartan, learning outcomes, power relations within family, self-reflections and cultural settings, which all were connected to a process of change and empowerment (Kabeer, 1999) in terms of how the questions were asked. I tried to establish an understanding of how the women perceived the program, and how/if the program has resulted in

changes in their personal spheres. The interview guide aided in keeping focus within these areas, at the same time the semi-structured interview technique made it possible for the interviews to take their own directions within these themes.

Nevertheless, cautiousness while interviewing must be given to several domains. Mikkelsen (2005) brings up practical notions such as the importance of interviewer qualifications during the interviews, and how to avoid inappropriate questions. It is also of great importance that one's own pre-understandings do not affect the direction of the interview, which are both a risk and a weakness when using interviews as the main tool in the methodological framework (Bryman 2012:474). This could, in turn, culminate in leading questions and biases affecting the result of the interviews and the overall analysis as such. Thus, it is essential to position yourself in relation to the research conducted, and acknowledge *how* and *why* your position matters to the values and biases you might possess (England, 1994; Sultana, 2007).

4.4. Data processing/analysis

The method of analysis in this study derives from a thematic data approach, which moves beyond counting words or phrases and instead focuses on categorizing and instead defining both explicit and implicit ideas within the data, resulting in themes (Guest et al. 2012:10). Saldaña (2013) acknowledges that the definition and function of a "theme" varies in academia, but overall concludes it to be an "*extended phrase* or *sentence* that identifies what a unit of data is *about* and/or what it *means*" (Saldaña, 2013:175). This foundation leads to the emergence of higher-level theoretical concepts when related themes are bundled together. Despite existing critics querying if thematic coding and analysis is a "method" per se (Bryman, 2008:554-556), it can be argued that its flexibility has the possibility to offer rich but nonetheless complex interpretations of the findings, and should be looked upon as an "approach".

Firstly, basic categorization is applied on the interviews, where notions of similarities, variances and kinds of relationships between them are established (Gibson and Brown, 2009:128-9; In Saldana, 2013:178). Then, as the analysis continues, some themes that have emerged might be dropped while others are subsumed under broader categories or further developed into major theme headings. Additionally, for analytical transparency reasons the Computer Assisted Qualitative

Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS), such as the software Nvivo, was used to assist in classifying and arranging the data collected.

4.5. Ethical considerations

In order to protect the informants, they have been given fictitious names, and in interviews with informants from Coca-Cola the label *high-ranked representative* is used. Neither is the city of conduct revealed, instead, going by the name of 'Bakodar'. All interviews were sound recorded and transcribed with the help of an interpreter, except one at Coca-Cola whom only allowed the procedure of note taking.

An informed consent was provided, where the informants got to learn about their rights; including confidentiality, anonymity, and options of participant withdrawals or declining to answer, which in turn made it possible for them to make an informed decision whether or not to participate (Bryman, 2008: 123). It also outlined the purposes and goals of this study and how/where it will be published.

The notion of power is a central aspect to consider when conducting interviews. Banks and Scheyvens (2003:149) argue that power imbalances between researchers and informants can be found at two levels; real differences (such as money and education) and perceived (inferior and superior). Even though these differences are hard to overcome, by reflecting about these imbalances and identifying power dimensions it is possible to curtail discomfort experienced by the informants, but also by the researchers which Cotterill (1992) claims is often overlooked. This was done through consciously deciding upon clothes to wear, place of interviews and how to speak/body language (Banks and Scheyvens, 2003).

5. Results and Analysis

To further elaborate on the findings of Parivartan a contextualization and theorization of the findings will be provided in this chapter of results and analysis. Insights into the assistance provided in Parivartan will be connected to the interviewees' perceptions of the program as well as exploring the nexus between the program and women's empowerment. It will be divided into three main sections, chiefly invoking a theoretical guidance by Kabeer's (1999) empowerment model Resources-Agency-Achievements. It will start off with a descriptive section outlining the learning aspects highlighted by the women and generally trying to give an account for the program as such. This section (Resources) will work as the basic foundation for further analysis. Thereafter with a reference to Agency, a depiction of the context is provided. This is the foundation where the heart of the empowerment process is taking place. Lastly an analytical part of Achievements made is presented where an inquiry of the women's perceived achievements alongside Parivartan's achievements are investigated.

5.1. Resources (pre-conditions)

5.1.1 Parivartan

The Parivartan program, or course to be somewhat more exact, is a two-hour function where women, or men, gather to learn about business. Being accentuated as a women-oriented initiative, men are also targeted and invited to participate, although at separate occasions. Several husbands of the interviewees' have attended Parivartan at least once. The women are also allowed to bring two additional females with them to the function.

Held in a hotel conference room in the city of Bakodar, Parivartan grounds its teaching in movies, lectures and problem-solving cases. When asking about learning outcomes of the program, women brought up areas of knowledge that can be labeled "soft business skills" (or Modern trade, as Coca-Cola uses). These account for how to display and arrange items in the shop to make them look more attractive, customer relations, the importance of a neat and tidy counter, how to arrange labels, how items should be hung, the value of good lighting, expiry dates, stock management and why

it is important to keep loose change in the cashier register. The women chiefly emphasized customer relations and the display of items during the interviews;

> [...] when customers are having their birthdays, you can take a record of that and give them presents. You can also give sweets to kids whom come with the parents. And I have learnt how to manage the displays and how to make things attractive. A very good program, a very very good program. - Anubha, 35 years.

There was a satisfaction with the program among the women, something that became apparent early on in all interviews. Meeting with other women in the same situation and getting appreciation with sweets when giving correct answers on questions posed by the lecturer was strongly appreciated. Yet, while claiming that they learnt a lot during the course many also underlined the fact that they had been in the business for 15-20 years and that the program would be more beneficial for women new to this occupation. Some even brought up notions of the content, stating that the structure had always been the same; "same movies, same examples, same everything" (Astha, 31 years). However, with a great hesitation this particular issue came up on the agenda and sometimes female relatives nearby, rather than the interviewees themselves, were the ones who highlighted it;

> Apoorva: No, I liked whatever they teach. Never felt that it was lacking in any way. Like that it had to be a change or anything.
> Daughter; They show the same video again and again!
> Apoorva: (Smiling gingerly and nodding her head). - Apoorva, 36 years.

5.1.2 Parivartan – marketing tool?

A recurrent theme that was revealed under the interviews was signs of how Coca-Cola uses Parivartan to increase the sales of their products. Although the women were not of the view when asking them about it directly, several signs of underlying marketing strategies were disclosed. For example, they were suggested to recommend Coke products above other brands, taught the importance of label- and brand-wise displays of Coke products, told to always place the Coke fridge in front of the store and always store a range of Coke varieties inside the fridges to increase sales. On top of that, Coca-Cola does not allow keeping other items inside the Coke fridges, such as milk or other perishables, because according to them that would result in increased *electricity*

costs. Even though many of the women did not comment on this matter further, one of them expressed her discontent with this fact;

> They tell us that we should not keep other things in the fridge but Coke – they should not be saying that. Everybody has their own level of income [...] I wanted to say this to everybody there (at Parivartan), but I could not. If we would bring in another fridge, we will have lesser space. We do not have much space; you have to look at everything. It's not easy for middle class people. – Pallavi, 36 years.

In relation to the debate started by Friedman (1970), indicating that the only reason for business to engage in social issues is profit making, Parivartan shows similar tendencies and one could, within reason, argue that the program chiefly act in its own self-interest. Nevertheless, revisiting the arguments put forth by Carrol (1979), Wilson and Wilson (2006) and Wood (1991), businesses could succeed and balance their self-interests with social engagement – resulting in a win-win situation. Though this of course depends on how *well* a firm succeeds in their social engagement, and what type of changes can be visible in the beneficiaries' lives.

5.2. Agency (process)

5.2.1. Economic control

> He (husband) takes all major decisions, because the entire financial record is with him. I have never kept anything separately for me. I have not even taken 10 rupees from him. Whatever is there is cleared between us. I know what he has, he knows what I have [...] There is nothing like he is hiding something from me, keeping something separately. Or that I have been sitting in the shop for 10 hours and will use that amount for myself. - Aditi, 34 years.

A common attribute shared by all women was how their economic lives were organized. The earnings from the shop did not end up in their hands; rather, the husbands were responsible for the whole financial record. This was even visible in the self-employed cases. Albeit some highlighted the fact that they could just ask their husbands to buy anything they desired, expressing a gratefulness in how their economic lives were structured, it problematizes the actual empowering effects both of Coca-Cola's intended goals and the women as such. While access to physical resources might not be Coca-Cola's main intention with Parivartan since all efforts go to 'soft business skills' trainings (even though they in India claim to focus on female

access to finances and assets in business (Coca-Cola, 2013/2014:24)), the possibility of women to "help" their families and communities to prosper diminishes if control over the earnings is not in their hands. This thwarts the very rationale behind the program (see section: 5by20-purpose), described as "Smart Economics" (Roberts and Soederberg, 2012). Targeting women to increase their access to resources does not necessarily translate into having a greater control over earnings. In terms of existing theory (Kabeer, 1999), it is essential to continuously crosscheck Resources with Agency and Achievements in order to trace intra household allocations and bargaining powers. Kabeer claims that neoliberal economists and institutions often deny this triangulation by instead adopting an economic resource model of empowerment where access to business skills trainings and assets results in women having full control over finances (1999:11). This linear process of change, as Bradshaw (2008) stresses, is one of the greatest problems with women targeted initiatives, as these actions have not fully acknowledged unequal power relations within households and instead is derived from the notion of households being totally equitable.

With Coca-Cola stating that progress is 'on-track', having *economically* empowered more than 550,000 women since the start-up, questions of how measurements have been conducted arise. As the independent evaluation made by DNV GL is not officially published, nor details of which variables are included, it is not possible to understand how Coca-Cola defines 'on-track', let alone their understanding of an 'economically empowered woman'.

5.2.2. Decision-making spheres

A recurring theme surrounding changes in the family sphere after attending Parivartan were notions of decision-making. All informants noticed some kind of change within this spectrum, yet, bounded to areas regarding the shop. The majority highlighted the increased influences and new skills brought into their business; Aditi, aged 34 and working in a family business, describes it like this:

> Yeah, my decisions are heard and taken into consideration. Because earlier, when we ran out of stock, I used to ignore it, it was my husband's headache. But now I keep a notebook, where I write down whatever is run out, and what customers demand for. - Aditi.

This type of agency was often mentioned, whereby the women explained how their newly learnt skills came of use in the shop and were accepted by their husbands. Often, it touched upon arrangements of items or the fact that the husbands consulted them before purchasing at the market.

Some did, however, stress that the decision-making sphere was the same after Parivartan as it was before. The fact that they had been in business for over 15 years, and married much longer, the business trainings did not enhance any greater bargaining abilities since the power structures were already set. This reality was described by Pallavi, 36 years of age, more educated than her husband and without children (not by choice). She explained that her husband did not acknowledge her new resources, resulting in a devaluing self-respect;

> For example, when he goes to buy items like toys, or Lays, our choices do not match. So I tell him that I should go with him, because I know what would sell, but he "forcefully" tries to sell what he wants to […] If I say something, it's not like he doesn't want to listen to me, he just has more knowledge than me so I don't interrupt. - Pallavi.

Bringing the head of the household to the front of decision-making was not only visible when discussing features around the shop, but also, in the household. The head of the household was always stated to be the husband, a male relative if not married, or mother-in-law if still around. The decisions taken by them surrounded all major household decisions such as purchasing, when to do something and where to go. Two women, 36 and 54 years of age, describe their household situation like this;

> Earlier it was her (mother-in-law) who took all the decisions, or, both him and her. Not me. I never take any decisions. I just give my advice, but whether he will listen to it or not is on him. - Pallavi.

> […] (Kinds of decisions husband does) Everything, like giving something to someone, going to meet someone, something to be bought for the house, every type of decision. What ever is there." - Pooja.

Areas in the household where the women did have a say were areas surrounding children's upbringing; everything from choosing education till whom to marry (jointly with their husbands). Children were revealed to be a heated subject and the

women enthusiastically shared features about them. Yet the number of children was an even more ardent topic and some women stated that they wanted fewer but that there was a pressure from relatives to have sons (e.g. in the case of Vidya, 40 years of age who has three daughters and one younger son). There was also an urge of 'marrying off' (Indian expression when talking about daughters) daughters fairly quickly if receiving a decent proposal, although many of the women wanted their daughters to continue studying. The nexus between being a women and mother was strong and in the two cases where there were no children present an outspoken despair was stressed. Neha, 31 years of age, described how she got hospitalized following physical abuses by her sister-in-law due to her husband being sterile.

> I got divorced because of family problems […] They wanted to extend the family lineage by him (husband) marring another woman. - Neha.

The areas of decision-making spheres mentioned above expose different kinds of agency and choices related to power. While a 'positive' agency depiction is visible in terms of power influences regarding the shop, a 'negative' agency dominates in the intra household bargaining (Kabeer, 1999). This dichotomy Kabeer refers to as 'Power to' and 'Power over', claiming that the former constitutes people's capacities to form and pursue their own goals and life-choices (even when facing opposition) and the latter the capacity of actors to supersede the agency of others (ibid. 438). There are however different levels of agency and choices within those, such as strategic and secondary life choices, which could well be applied to this case. The 'positive' agency depiction of increased business influences could be argued as not being of a strategic life-changing nature, such as deciding the number of children, rather, a secondary life choice that may enhance quality of life.

Nonetheless, power could also take place without any explicit agency. The norms and rules of social behavior usually reproduce certain sequels without any clear agency involved, such as the parental authority of selecting their children's partners, which could be related to the findings above but also to the section about familial structure of economic life in India. Without the women questioning such an explicit power about how marriage and economic life are organized in India, the women could

testify to the exercise of power as "non-decision-making" within these areas (ibid.438).

5.2.3 Women's gendered burdens and tasks

> Because all responsibilities rest on a lady: the house, the shop plus the kids – Aditi.

Throughout the interviews a strong notion of women's workload, and kinds of workload, was emphasized. Running the household, taking care of children and elderly while also managing the shop on an every day basis were factors they all had in common and highly accentuated. Apoorva, 36 years describes her everyday life as this:

> There is so much hurry. We open our shop at 6 and have open to 11 pm. And our house is just above it. That's why it is too much running around. Work upstairs as well as downstairs [...] When I have work (household), then my motherinlaw sits in the shop. And when it's time to prepare food for the night my husband sits because he doesn't have to go to the market at that time. - Apoorva.

The informants' houses were either attached to or situated close to their shops, thus making it easier for them to organize their living and combine both "house and work". This is according to Neetha (2010:363) one of the most important features in females' employment. In countries such as India, women's workplaces continue to be located in areas akin to their care responsibilities, to facilitate both work and 'employment'. Hence, affirming the underlying assumption of care work being a natural female attribute, and devaluation of such work being made as a result. Neetha stresses that this combination does not only increase the women's work burden per se, but also segregates the female gender into low-waged, care-based occupations (ibid.364). This could be linked to Palriwala and Neetha's (2011) coining of the term 'gendered familialism', which the Indian state rests upon. Drawing on the idea that internal inequalities and power dynamics within the family functions as a tool for familial security nets, women continue to be exploited even though engaging in the labor market. Thus the "solution" of liberating women through their participation in the labor market, with economic liberty as the chief argument of women to escape their confinement to domestic care (Neetha: 2010:362), have, in this context only resulted in a greater burden of unpaid work.

A second element within the term familialism, the 'gendered qualifier', constitutes that women's place is at home. Instead of being viewed as economically independent workers they are assigned the roles of being mothers and carers of dependent family members. A high representative working with Parivartan shares this view. When explaining the rationale of the program, he gave the following example;

> [...] When a shop has been opened like 15 hours, the man cannot be there all of the time of course. He has other duties to take care of. When he has to leave of some reasons, he leaves the shop to the wife, or daughter. She also manages the shop 4-5 hours a day, besides the household. She equally needs to know how to run it. We also now that women are much better at customer services. They have been brought up in a way so that they know what is important, how to communicate, and how not to offend other people. That's the strength that women have. - High ranked rep. Parivartan

> Because they (women) are the ones who, tomorrow when they become mothers, and get kids, inculcate basic values and cultural notions. So if we impact them right now, we know what kind of future they are bringing for us. - Ibid.

This reflects that women within Parivartan are first and foremost viewed as unpaid household workers and mothers, who should assist in their husband's lives and bring about community prosperities by their altruism. At the same time as this reinforces the 'familialistic' structure of living, where women are essentially prescribed household duties, it does also reflect a 'feminization of responsibilities'. Revisiting the argument posed by Molyneux (2009), the justification of targeting women within Parivartan could be linked to their *social identity as mothers*. Using the socially constructed altruism of women, to make strategic choices benefitting everyone else's welfare (Bradshaw, 2008), the program primarily uses women as empowerment instruments for other means than their own empowerment; something that correlates with the current promotion of women's empowerment within the 'Smart Economics' marketing strategies (Roberts & Soederberg, 2012).

Women's gendered tasks were also exposed in another important theme. Beside from the already gendered duties within the household structure, a gendered division of tasks within the shop was visible. In juxtaposition to the already learned soft business skills, the women prescribed to the same soft business appearances within

the shop. As they moved between the house and shop throughout the day, they were handling areas such as customers, item displays and stock management. On the contrary, their husbands, or male relatives, were the ones who managed the financial administration of the shop including areas of purchases at the market and handling the gross revenues. When asking the women if attending the Parivartan has resulted in increased sales, many of them answered positively. Yet, they could not define what kind of item sales that had increased, or anything about the financial record. Rather, they based their assumptions on the increased amount of customers. This could yet again be put in relation to Coca-Cola's aim of *economically empowering* women with the provision of *business skills and financial assets* (Coca-Cola, 2015). Instead of challenging the social structure of being and doing in India, such as women's restricted mobility and lack of financial management; i.e. how to run a business according to '*hard business skills*', the program reproduces gendered ways of structuring business life.

5.2.4 Values embedded in the Punjabi society

> If we want to protect our family, we should be financially strong. If not, there shouldn't be any problem with women working. It is wrong to think that women cannot go out, if you have nothing to eat. If we can help in our husband's line, why shouldn't we? - Aditi.

> Today, ladies have advanced a lot. We are managing our family business, we are not going anywhere else - Roshni.

When raising the notion of a working woman in the Punjabi society a more or less uniform response was given by the informants, which could be summarized by those above. Many stressed that the pressure created by the global economy was making it hard for families to meet their expenditures with only one family member working. Combining household work and outside work is nowadays seen as natural, times have changed and women should go out (meaning: of the house) to become self-dependent. Although conflicting perspectives were given by some women that there were still parts of society that did not conform to these beliefs, they were determined to engage in business. Yet as noticed from interviews with Aditi and Roshni above, underlying conceptions of that they were doing right *because* of engaging in family business could be distinguished. Kabeer (1999:460) stresses this household ideology of 'togetherness' (family businesses) as an important indicator when approaching a

certain empowerment context. She states that when providing women with resources they " […] do not *actively* seek the opportunity to set up separate units from their men because such autonomous units are neither socially accepted nor individually desired" (ibid). Thus, access to resources might open up opportunities for women but they are seldom obtained in a uniform way, e.g. setting up their own businesses, which must be taken into consideration from both programs initiators and evaluators of a given project.

The fact that all women except one (self-employed) were more educated than their husbands is a noteworthy point to make. Although highly educated, they continuously referred to the husbands throughout the interviews; to their loving nature, knowledge and emphasized that they were helping out in *his* line of work. In relation to this phenomenon, Kabeer (ibid.) stresses the importance of bringing autonomy and status into the context. While education and waged work might seem to foster women's agency and decision-making in numerous ways, they are differently attained and represent different *resources.* Female education in the 'Global South' is often the result of a parental choice, while participation in the labor market has been regarded as a more direct sign of women's agency (Kabeer, 1999). Yet access to either of them will have diverse implications in different settings, as is visible in this case. Education does not have to imply greater decision-making participation, nor does engagement in the labor market have to be a clear sign of agency. Rather, what is important is whose decision is lying behind engagement in the labor market. When asking the informants about it, contrasting views revealed themselves. While some indicated that they were satisfied with the current situation and that they wanted to work in the shop, others stated that they initially wanted to engage with something else but questioned the possibility to do so. Thus the logic behind engaging in this occupation could be of another sort than Coca-Cola's rational-choice framing of 'unleashing women's *entrepreneurial* potentials' (Coca-Cola, 2015. Italic added) and the status that comes with education and employment, in this context could, be argued as not enhancing individual autonomy on a large scale.

In India, the relationship between the cultural context, individual independence and its connection to decision-making is also decided by status such as size of dowry and number of sons among women (Kabeer, 1999:456). In cases where these are high,

women are expected to experience greater participation in intra-household decision-making and be less exposed to violence, and vice versa. This mirrors the statuses of Pallavi and Neha; two women without children (not by choice), where a hampered autonomy was a result of their social status.

5.3 Achievements (outcomes)

5.3.1 Enhanced self-attributes

> Earlier we did not have any power, we didn't have an identity, nothing, but now we feel that we also can do something, our decisions do matter […] we have something in us. We have dignity. - Apoorva.

In the aftermath of Parivartan it is important to highlight the interviewees' perceptions of the achievements made. The majority of changes visible covered basic attitudinal self-attributes, such as self-esteem and confidence. Some women brought up changes related to their inner selves and the conviction of them doing something right, although conflicting views are present of working women. Others were not able to provide an answer when asked questions relating to their own standpoints but rather referred to the changes made in the shop. Anubha (self-employed) phrased it as follows;

> Before attending the program, if a customer left the shop without buying anything I used to get tensed […] But after watching Parivartan, I realised that this happens in business. They just make us prepared on how to handle a deal, from which I gained confidence. Whatever I am doing, I am doing right being a shopkeeper. - Anubha.

Meeting and talking to other women in business inspired the women to continue working within this profession and gave them a new vigor to do something. This achievement could be labeled as 'Power within', which is a sense of agency that embodies meaning, motivation and purpose that individuals bring to their activities (Kabeer, 1999: 438). It could also be related to *some* kind of 'collective power' among the women attending, even though Parivartan is not frequently held.

A significant disparity in the level of autonomy between family-employed and self-employed women was, however, delineated. While the family-employed throughout their interviews repeatedly referred to their husbands or male relatives

when discussing features around themselves, the shop and everyday life, the self-employed demonstrated far more independent personality traits. They were bringing up notions of self-reflection when discussing their role as working women in relation to the wider society, and stressed that they absolutely did not care about outsider's perspectives. Featuring strong charismatic appearances and confidence in their way of talking, they expressed that they were the main decision-takers within their shops and went through future plans surrounding their businesses such as expansion possibilities. Furthermore, they were completely concerned with the shop and did not engage much in household duties; Anubha has three maids and a sister-in-law who is running the kitchen while Meera, on the other hand, is divorced and living alone with her son who is 23 years of age, and thus has lesser household burdens. Both of them underlined that they were completely financial secured.

5.3.2 Empowerment according to whom?

In light of the findings presented, contrasting evidence of women's empowerment appear throughout Resources, Agency and Achievements. There seems to be an inconsistency between resources to be gained, and achievements made. Since there is neither access to financial assets among the women nor much participation in decision-making spheres, the possibilities to enable 'women's economic empowerment' are hampered. At a first glance, Agency indicates to be the deviate sphere. Yet on a second thought, before turning into that dimension a review of resources provided in Parivartan is necessary in order to investigate the relationship between Resources and Achievements.

Parivartan's provision of soft business skills (and marketing promotion) was highly appreciated among the participants and the majority of them were of the perception that profits had increased as a result of attending the program. Yet the rationale behind these soft business skills was not to train the women into managing their own businesses, i.e. hard business skills currently performed by their husbands/male relative. Rather, Coca-Cola conformed to elements of modern trade to bring about economic empowerment, which, in turn, makes it able for women to combine household work with business engagement. Emanating from the concept of 'Feminization of Responsibilities', this dichotomy between the gendered divisions of

business management is here identified as a 'Feminization of Business'. Grounding the teaching in feminine skills of customer relations, item arrangements and tidiness by arguing "that is the strength women have" (interview with High rank. rep., 2015), not only *reproduces* gender identities but also *reduces* gender to a micro-economic dimension other than attacking structural inequalities at the macro level. Hence, this indicates that gender identities are not challenged within Parivartan and women attending do not function as agents of transformation, rather as achievements of greater efficiency as agents within prescribed gender roles (Kabeer, 1999). Furthermore, the targeting scheme within Parivartan produces exclusionary biases, as Prügl and True's (2014) stress in their case of Goldman Sachs 10,000 Women Global Initiative. Instead of bringing more women into business, they target women in their value chain who already work inside that profession. As family businesses are the most common way of organizing business structures in India, the majority of women going to the program were working in such. However, with Coca-Cola not acknowledging what kind of implications this brings forth by being self-reflective about it, it debilitates the potential of efficient gender equality measures. What is also noteworthy is the fact that men too are invited, but on different occasions, to enhance their business skills. As several husbands of the interviewees had attended the program, this could evolve into women not having as great business influences and power in how things should be run since their husbands have also attained such knowledge.

Without providing a clear definition of empowerment, Parivartan's program rationale seems to be threefold. Whilst women are able gain confidence when building successful businesses and thereby become 'economically empowered', most of the company's online publications and interviews with representatives outline the importance of women in laying the foundation of a future welfare. Deriving from notions of women's altruism, a social behavior that is neither problematized nor addressed by Coca-Cola, the program is making short-term human capital investments with objectives of long-term economic growth rewards. Yet, economic growth is not only an explicit objective for communities that Coca-Cola is operating in, but also as a sustainable goal for Coca-Cola's own profit making. Revisiting the arguments by Bradshaw (2008), Chant (2008) and Molyeux (2009), the feminization of

responsibilities within Parivartan's objective and practice socially constructs and reproduces the notion of women being viewed first and foremost as mothers. The program's gender bias and objectives reinforces their gender roles, which ties them closer to their homes and consolidates the family unit (Molyneux, 2009). Moreover, the achievements made of increased self-attributes have to be connected to from where they originated – a reproduction of gender identities - thus not being of a transformative nature (ibid.).

Considering this review of resources and aims within Parivartan, the role of Agency does no longer seem to be the most relevant deviation. Although Agency seems to be the sphere where many of the structural inequalities are taking place, Parivartan does not acknowledge these essentials and instead ascribes to a linear, instrumental, resource model of empowerment. Hence when triangulating the three elements of Resources, Agency and Achievements, it is not surprising that the objectives in Resources do not fully match the outcomes in Achievements – when discussing features around the intrinsic value of women's economic empowerment. Yet when touching upon confidence building or women's engagement in children's welfares, the correlation with the program's objective seems stronger. Nonetheless, a correlation that has been argued is not being a transformative Achievement in combating gender inequality.

In relation to the statement about Parivartan chiefly acting as a marketing tool in its own self-interest, the second claim about the possibility of a company balancing their self-interests with social engagements - resulting in a win-win situation - (Carrol, 1979; Wilson and Wilson, 2006; Wood, 1991) has to be reassessed. With Coca-Cola partly using Parivartan as an ulterior body to promote product sales and openly indicating that investigating in women fuels their own success (Coca-Cola, 2013/2014:20), finalized through a 'Feminization of Business', the questioning of what a virtuous win-win balance consists of arises. Arguments put forth by Eisenstein (2010), Prügl and True (2014) and Roberts (2014) could shed a light on this phenomenon. As has been affirmed, Parivartan is not able to challenge contextualized gender inequalities - which is one of the strongest criticisms towards influential economic corporations taking a standpoint in the gender equality debate. Treating gender as an *instrument* in achieving other objectives than women's

empowerment per se, Parivartan could be argued constructing ahistorical and apolitical representations of women in the pursuit of a neoliberal existence by producing entrepreneurial individuals (Prügl and True, 2014). Thus, with reference to the triangulation of Resources-Agency-Achievements, the balance between Parivartan's self-interests and social engagement indicates it to be rather vicious than virtuous.

6. Limitations

It is essential to acknowledge potential limitations of a study to allow research findings to be placed in their right context. In this study, it is possible to discern four main limitations; FORB (frame-of-reference-bias), time and space, sample method and analysis.

First, in concert with the reaffirmed critiques towards the lack of validity and reliability in qualitative research, the notion of FORB (frame-of-reference-bias) is a contested limitation. Martin Ravaillon (2012) in his paper "Poor or just feeling poor?" brings up the challenge of calibrating poverty and welfare into objective data, and argues that responses by informants are affected by a frame of reference. The viewpoints among informants are often influenced by a set of other independent criteria such as contextual or historical, and Ravaillon exemplifies this by how people in a certain context might have limited knowledge about other groups in society, thus, skewed reference frames when positioning themselves inside those contexts.

Secondly, in terms of accessibility the limited time and space could affect the final conclusion. Time restricted, this study is solely focusing on perceptions from a city in Punjab, which inevitably creates an urban bias. It thus hampers the understanding of rural locations in which the program is claimed to be concentrated (Cola-Cola, 2013/2014).

Thirdly, the sample methods do also pose limitations to this study. As Coca-Cola was to control the sample, guided to by a local Coca-Cola Salesman, the underlying grounds on Coca-Cola's behalf in whom to interview is of great significance. The influence the local salesman had on the interviews is also worth mentioning, since the informants' responses might be biased in the sense that they did not see this study as an independent assessment separated from Coca-Cola (even though this was made clear in both verbal and written form).

Lastly, the empowering aftermath after attending Parivartan could be argued as not entirely visible, due to the fact that some of the women just attended the course shortly before conducting the interviews. Though, with reference to Kabeer's definition of empowerment being a *process*, the possible empowerment *implications* of attending the program have been taken into account.

7. Discussion

This study has dealt with perspectives on CSR and its engagement with women's empowerment. With data collected from female beneficiaries targeted in Coca-Cola's Indian CSR program Parivartan, an analytical contextualization and theorization were made in order to further understand the use and implication of the program. The rationale behind Parivartan suggests that it is threefold; to build confidence, enable women's economic empowerment and produce economic ripples by using women's altruisms (both for Coca-Cola's personal gains and communities which they operate in). The analysis confirmed two of the rationales but found a dearth of economic empowerment, by which it further problematizes in order to understand the reason behind it. It finds that the assistance provided in Parivartan does not challenge deep-rooted inequalities but rather reproduces socially constructed gender roles. Grounding its teaching in soft business skills which here is argued producing a 'Feminization of Business'; women attending uphold the gendered divisions of responsibilities both at household level and in the place of work. The social identity of women primarily being viewed as mothers is permeating the program design and rationale, but as well the empowering achievements among the women. Without acknowledging the intra-household power dimensions and social norms and values embedded in the Punjabi society, Parivartan's vision to enable women's economic empowerment suggests being inadequate. Thus, the other two objectives 'achieved' are not of a *transformative significance*, instead connected to the reproduction of gender identities.

Taking these findings into account, the nexus between Parivartan and women's empowerment seems relatively explicit. The program demonstrates similar neoliberal tendencies in shaping gender to those arguments put forth by (Bexell, 2012; Eisenstein, 2010; Prügl and True, 2014; Roberts, 2014; Spivak, 1988) and gender roles are rather reproduced than challenged. Nonetheless, deriving from empowerment being a *process* (Kabeer, 1999) it is necessary to acknowledge the positive outcomes of enhanced self-attributes. Although not currently being of a transformative nature, these newly gained qualities could, over time, emerge into greater bargaining and negotiation skills which in turn might result in greater access

to financial resources. It is also essential to highlight women's subtle negotiation powers in relation to the findings, and that decision-making spheres are not a black or white issue but rather a gray zone. Moreover, as acknowledged, the self-employed women expressed a much greater autonomy than the family-employed. Yet the question remain if that is a result from Resources gained, or qualities that were existent before.   While the empowerment model used is applicable on this case, it might not fully explain what the impacts are of Parivartan. Yet it does shed light on the alignments and misalignments between Parivartan and women's empowerment, as well as which position Coca-Cola is taking in that debate; conforming to a linear, instrumental, resource based empowerment model.

It is important to further position the findings, pertaining their possible implications, to the larger debate of CSR and gender. As was noted throughout the analysis Parivartan indicates to play by the rules of 'Smart Economics', which is not unanticipated since partnering with top players in the arena such as the UN Women and IFC. Yet, as CSR is not legally sanctioned or binding but instead self-regulated, programs as Parivartan could be argued running into danger when not being externally investigated. It is surprisingly little research that has been conducted on CSR and gender, let alone field research applying the triangulation approach utilized in this study. Without conducting independent evaluations incorporating the voices of women targeted in these programs they are more likely to be disregarded from interventions aimed at their empowerment. Yet, it is also essential to problematize the promised outlook of an 'economic empowered woman' within these actions: what constitutes such a woman? Which degree of economic empowerment is sufficient for an intervention to be classified as successful? What *transformative significance* in challenging gender inequalities do programs have aiming at promoting economic empowerment in relation to those solely using the concept of women's empowerment? Without CSR programs providing a clear-cut definition of concepts used, as in the case of 5by20, it hampers the possibility to efficiently evaluate the impact of a given program.

If the Parivartan program had been promoted for what it really is, i.e. a program for soft business skills aiming for women (and men) to gain confidence and increase profits, this field study would most likely not have been pursued. Yet, with Coca-Cola

using the 'hijacked' concept of women's empowerment and a plethora of other impact effects and capabilities, the need of investigation is obvious. Key findings above collectively impugn such capabilities, particularly when discussing the intrinsic value of women's empowerment. Thus, future investigations into the nexus between CSR and women's empowerment are warranted in order to further assess the significance of findings presented in this study. First and foremost, the findings point to the necessity of developing gender sensitive paradigms of analysis that allow to investigate into both short and long term outcomes of female targeted CSR programs; yet, alongside project rationales and a contextualization of 'beings and doings' inside that setting. Women's roles must be understood within the wider socio-economic context and reflective measures of outcomes when either using gender for instrumental or intrinsic reasons must be incorporated. Secondly, setting a critical agenda when researching is key. For instance, if long-term evaluations of 'Smart Economics' programs point to positive achievements of increased spending in the local community or in children's education, it is essential to probe whose agency that was lying behind taking those measures. Also, if it was a result of female autonomy or due to factors concerning their social status within society. Thirdly, there is a need to investigate the link between long term developmental impacts of CSR and gender in relation to state-led development.

The relationship between CSR and women's empowerment continues to fuzzy and not well established, neither in research nor in practice. Future research concerning this nexus and its link to development is crucial in order to establish for whom these empowerment measures serves.

8. Appendices

8.1 Descriptive statistics interviewees

Name, age, caste	Shop	Family and education	Parivartan attendance
Aditi, 34 yrs, Kapoor	Family-employed. Shop opened some 15-20 years back.	Husband 38 yrs (10th grade), daughter (14 yrs) and son (6 years). Education: Graduate in Humanities.	April 2014 and one more time (date unknown).
Anubha, 35 yrs, Arora	Self-employed. Shop opened in 2014.	Husband 39 yrs (Higher Secondary), two sons (8 and 10 yrs). Education: Graduate in Fine Arts and Elective English.	Dec. 2014 Feb. 2015.
Apoorva, 36 yrs, Khatri	Family-employed. Shop opened some 20 yrs back.	Husband 42 yrs (10th grade), son 19 yrs, daughter 17 yrs. Education: Graduate in Arts.	Two, three times since 2013.
Kanak, 50 yrs, Arora	Family-employed. Shop opened some 15-20 yrs back.	Husband 50+ (Higher Secondary), three sons (30+). Graduate in Arts.	Attended in 2014 and 2015.
Manisha, 60 yrs, Arora	Family-employed. Shop opened 22 yrs ago.	Husband (age unknown) (education level unknown), four daughters (ages unknown). Illiterate.	Attended several times the past years.
Meera, 50 yrs, Ravidassia	Self-employed. Shop opened three yrs ago.	Divorced. One son, 23 yrs, Education: 8th grade.	One time in 2014.

Name, age, caste	Shop	Family and education	Parivartan attendance
Neha, 31 yrs, Kapoor	Family-employed. Shop opened some 40 yrs back.	Divorced 2014, due to her husband being infertile. She got the blame for not being able to extend the family linage, and thus faced physical abuse and hospitalization by her sister-in-law. Education: Graduate in Arts.	Attended one time in 2014 and one in 2015.
Pallawi, 36 yrs, Arora	Family-employed. Shop opened some 20 yrs ago.	Husband 36/37 yrs (10th grade), no children (not by choice). Education: Graduate in Arts.	Two times in 2014.
Pooja, 54 yrs, Arora	Family-employed. Shop opened early 2015.	Husband 54 yrs (10th grade), three children (daughter, 30 yrs; daughter 28 yrs and one 25 yrs). Education: Graduate in Humanities.	Feb. 2015.
Roshni, 43 yrs, Kapoor	Family-employed. Shop opened some 20-25 yrs back.	Husband 47 yrs (Higher Secondary), daughter 20 yrs and son 18 yrs. Education: Graduate in Arts.	Three, four times since 2013.
Sunakshi, 53 yrs, Arora	Family-employed. Shop opened some 25-26 yrs back.	Husband 58 yrs (10th grade), son 30 yrs, daughter 27 yrs. Education: Higher Secondary.	Three times since 2014.
Vidya, 40 yrs, Khatri	Family-employed. Shop opened some 15 yrs back.	Husband 42 yrs (8th grade), four children (three daughters, 23, 18, 13 yrs and one son, 7 yrs). Education: 10th grade.	Three, four times since 2013.

8.2 Interview guides

Interview guide: Coca-Cola

Theme	Main questions	Sub questions	Complementary
5by20	Could you tell me about the 5by20 program?	What is your goals?	Why?
	How often does 5by20 contact the women participating?		
Parivartan	Could you tell me about the Parivartan program?	How does it operate?	Where in India does it operate?
	What do you teach?	Is it a one time occasion or several?	
	How do you choose the women attending?	Do you have certain preconditions?	Why?
	Is there any conditions that the women either have to sell or increase their sales of Coca Cola products?	Why?	
	The program claims that it empowers women attending. How?	Why?	
	Have the Parivartan been evaluated before?	What did you find?	Has there been any research conducted on Parivartan?

Interview guide: beneficiaries at Parivartan

Theme	Main questions	Sub questions	Complementary
Parivartan	Could you tell me what you have learnt on Parivartan?	Have it been to any use? Why?	
	Have you increased your revenues after attending the program?	How? Why?	
	Why are you a part of this program?	Where there any preconditions to attend?	Do you have to increase the sales of Coca-Cola products?
	Are you happy you got this chance?	Why/why not?	
	Why and when did you/your husband open the shop?	Did you *want* to work in the store or did you have other *work opportunities/dreams*?	Do you have open more or less hours after attending Parivartan than before?
	Do you feel that you have a greater influence regarding the store decisions made in/about the store after attending Parivartan, or is it the same?	How/why?	
	If you could improve the assistance Parivartan is providing, what would that be?	Why?	
Family and everyday life	Can you tell me about how your family situation look like?	If kids, are they educated? Who decided what they should study? Are they married? When? Who decided whom to marry?	In a dream world, how many children would you like to have? What sexes?
	Do you feel that you have/had a saying regarding your children's up bringing?	How? Why?	

Theme	Main questions	Sub questions	Complementary
	How do you live? With your parents-in-law? How is that? Who is making the decisions?	What do you think about your living situation?	What kinds of decisions do you make?
	Could you tell me about an ordinary day - from when you wake up until you go to sleep?	Do you do household work too? Which kinds of household work?	Is anybody helping you?
	The money you earn from your shop, who is handling them? *Do you split 50/50, do you handle them all, does your husband handle them all or do you handle them together?*	Who decides what to buy?	What would you say that your husband spend money on, and what would you spend money on?
	Have the atmosphere between you and your husband has changed since joining Parivartan?	How? Why?	
Self	Did you decide upon whom to marry?	Did you want to marry?	Why/why not?
	Can you go wherever you want, whenever you want, by yourself?	*Or do you have to have company by your husband? Which places can you go to alone? Which ones do you have to have company at?*	
	What do you feel have changed since going to the Parivartan, when it comes to how you perceive yourself?	*Do you feel that you have a saying about things that touches upon your life? Did you have that before as well or did it happen after gaining your new business skills?*	

Theme	Main questions	Sub questions	Complementary
Culture	How do you say that a woman in your community is looked upon? Why?	*What values shall a woman have? What shall she prioritize? Why? What values do you have? What do you prioritize in life?*	
	Do you believe that a woman shall work or stay at home?	How is a woman who is working looked upon here?	

Bibliography

Azemati, H. (2011) 'Corporate Responsibility in the "Women's Century"- an interview with Muhtar Kent', *Yale Journal of International Affairs*, 6(9): 9-12.

Batliwala, S. (1993) '*Women's Empowerment in South Asia: Concepts and Practices*, Asian South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education, 126 pp.

Banerjee, S. and Prasad, A. (2008) 'Introduction to the Special Issue on 'Critical Reflections on Management and Organizations: A Postcolonial Perspective', *Critical Perspectives on International Business,* 4(2/3): 90-98.

Banks, G., and Scheyvens, R. (2003) 'Ethical Issues', in Scheyvens, R. (ed.)
Development fieldwork: a practical guide, London: Sage Publications, pp: 140-167.

Bexell, M. (2012) 'Global Governance, Gains and Gender. UN–Business
Partnerships for Women's Empowerment", *International Feminist Journal of Politics,*
14(3): 389-407.

Blowfield, M. and Frynas, J. G (2005) 'Setting new agendas: critical perspectives on Corporate Social Responsibility in the developing world', *International Affairs*, 81(3): 499-513.

Bradshaw, S. (2008) 'From Structural Adjustment to Social Adjustment: A Gendered Analysis of Conditional Cash Transfer Programmes in Mexico and Nicaragua', *Global Social Policy*, 8(1): 188-207.

Bryman, A. (2008) *Social research methods*, (3rd ed.), New York: Oxford University Press, 800 pp.

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*, (4th ed.), New York: Oxford University Press, 808 pp.

Carrol, A. B. (1979) 'A Three-dimensional Conceptual Model of Corporate Social Performance', *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): 165-197.

Coca-Cola (2009/2010) '*Sustainability Review'*, Coca-Cola Company, (online)
Available at: http://assets.coca-colacompany.com/b7/90/e060c3824d99a15d2d53416e7420/2009-2010_The_Coca-Cola_Company_Sustainability_Review.pdf
[Accessed 3 May 2015]

Coca-Cola (2012) '5by20: *Progress Update'*, (online) The Coca-Cola Company.
Available at: http://assets.coca-colacompany.com/64/20/28362d0a4ab8b51f853edcc6a765/5by20ProgressUpdate.pdf
[Accessed at: 13 May 2015]

Coca-Cola, (2013) '*Sustainability Report India'*, Coca-Cola Company, (online), Available at:
http://www.coca-colaindia.com/wp-content/themes/73002/includes/pdf/sustainabilityReports/Sustainability_Report_dec_14.pdf
[Accessed at 6 May 2015]

Coca-Cola, (2013/2014) '*Sustainability Report'*, Coca-Cola Company, (Online), Available at:
http://www.coca-cola.co.uk/content/dam/journey/gb/en/hidden/corporate-responsibility/sustainability-pdfs/2013-2014-coca-cola-sustainability-report-pdf.pdf
[Accessed at: 15 May 2015]

Coca-Cola, (2015) *'5by20: What we're doing'* (online), Coca-Cola Company,
Available at: http://www.coca-colacompany.com/stories/5by20/5by20-what-were-doing
[Accessed:13 May 2015]

Collier, D., and Mahoney, J. (1996) 'Insights and Pitfalls: Selection Bias in Qualitative Research',
World Politics, 49(1): 56-91.

Cotterill, P. (1992) 'Interviewing Women: Issues of Friendship, Vulnerability
and Power', *Women's Studies International Forum,* 15(5/6): 593-606.

DNV GL, (2015) 'Det Norske Veritas and Germanischer Lloyd', (online)
Available at: https://www.dnvgl.com/
[Accessed at: 14 May 2015]

Eisenstein, H. (2005) 'A Dangerous Liaison? Feminism and Corporate Globalization', *Science &
Society*, 69(3): 487-518.

Eisenstein, H. (2010), 'Feminism Seduced', *Australian Feminist Studies,* 25(66): 413-431.

England, K. (1994) 'Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality and Feminist
Research', *The Professional Geographer,* 46(1): 80-89.

Friedman, M. (1970) 'The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase its Profits', *The New York
Times Magazine*, The New York Times Company.

Frynas, J. G. (2012) 'Corporate Social Responsibility or Government Regulation? Evidence on Oil
Spill Prevention', *Ecology and Society*, 17(4): 1-13.

George, A., and Bennet, A. (2005) *Case Studies And Theory Development In The Social Sciences,*
Cambridge: MIT Press, 331 pp.

Grosser, K., and Moon, J. (2005) "The Role of Corporate Social Responsibility in Gender
Mainstreaming", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(4): 532-554.

Guest, G., MacQueen, K., and Namey, E. (2012) *Applied thematic analysis,* California: Sage
Publications, p: 320.

Harish, R. and Gopal, B. (2008) 'Coca-Cola in India: A Responsible Corporate Citizen?', *ICFAI
Journal of Corporate Governance,* 7(4): p42-56.

Holme, R. and Watts, P. (1998) 'Corporate Social Responsibility: Meeting changing expectations',
World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD), Geneva, 30 pp.

Holme, R. and Watts, P. (2000) 'Corporate social responsibility: making good business sense',
WBCSD, Geneva, 32 pp.

Kabeer, N. (1999) 'Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the
Measurement of Women's Empowerment', *Development and Change*, 30(3): 435–464.

Lincoln, Y. .S (1984) 'Competing paradigms in qualitative research', in Denzin N. K., & Lincoln Y. S.
(eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
and Guba, Egon G. (1985) 'The context of emerging paradigm research', in Lincoln, Y. S. (ed.),
Organization theory and inquiry: the paradigm revolution, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Madhavan, A. (2012). 'CSR at Coca-Cola', *Vikalpa: The Journal for Decision Makers'*, 37(2): 94-98.

Mayoux, L. (2000) 'Micro-finance and the empowerment of women: a review of the key issues**,** *Social Finance Working Paper,* 23, International Labor Organization, pp: 1-29.

McKeown, T. (1999) 'Case studies and the statistical World View', *International Organization,* 53(1): 161-190.

Mikkelsen, B. (2005) *Methods for development work and research: A new guide for practitioners,* New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Molyneux, M. (2009) **'**Conditional Cash Transfers: A Pathway To Women's Empowerment?**'** Pathways of Women's Empowerment', Working Paper 5, *Institute of Development Studies*, Brighton, 92 pp.

Neetha, N. (2010) 'The Social Organization of Care Work in India: Challenges and alternative strategies', *Society for International Development*, 53(3): 362-367.

Newell, P. (2005) 'Citizenship, accountability and community: the limits of the CSR agenda', *International Affairs,* 81(3): 541-557.

Newell, P., and Frynas, J. G. (2007) 'Beyond CSR? Business, Poverty and Social Justice: An Introduction', *Third World Quarterly*, 28(4): 669-681.

Palriwala, R. and Neetha, N. (2011) 'Stratified familialism: the care regime in India through the lens of childcare', *Development and Change,* 42(4): 1049-78.

Patton, M. (1990) *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*, California: Sage Publications, pp: 169-186.

Pirson, M., and Malhotra, D. K. (2008) 'Unconventional Insights for Managing Stakeholder Trust', Working Paper, *Harvard Business School*, 24 pp.

Prahalad, C. K., and Hart, S. (2002) 'The fortune at the bottom of the pyramid', *Strategy Business,* 26, pp: 2-14; Prahalad, C.K., & Hammond, A. (2002) 'Serving the world's poor, profitably', *Harvard Business Review*, 80(9), pp: 48-57; and Prahalad, C.K., (2006) *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid— Eradicating Poverty Through Profits*, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Wharton School Publishing: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Prügl, E., and True, J. (2014). 'Equality means business? Governing gender through transnational public-private partnerships'*, Review of International Political Economy,* pp: 1-33.

Punch, K. F (2005) *Introduction to Social Research–Quantitative & Qualitative Approaches.* London: Sage Publications, 320 pp.

PWC (PricewaterhouseCoopers Private Limited) (2013) '*Handbook on corporate social responsibility in India*', (online), PWC: India. Available at: http://www.pwc.in/assets/pdfs/publications/2013/handbook-on-corporate-social-responsibility-in-india.pdf [Accessed at 15 April 2015]

Ravallion, M. (2012) 'Poor or just feeling poor? On Using Subjective Data in Measuring Poverty', Policy research working paper*, Development Research Group,* World Bank: Washington.

Roberts, A. (2014) 'Financial crisis, Financial firms... and financial feminism? The Rise of 'Transnational Business Feminism'*, Socialist Studies,* 8(2): 85-108.

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

Saldaña, J. (2013) *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers,* Arizona State University: Sage Publications, 328 pp.

Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 366 pp.

Shamir, R. (2010) 'Capitalism, Governance, and Authority: The Case of Corporate Social Responsibility', *Annual Review of Law and Science,* 6: 531-553.

Sharp, J. (2006) 'Corporate Social Responsibility and Development: An Anthropological Perspective', *Development Southern Africa,* 23(2): 213-222.

Shipman, C. and Kay, K. (2009) *Womenomics: Write Your Own Rules for Success*, New York: Harper Business.

Spivak, G. C. (1988a) 'Can the subaltern speak?', in Nelson C. & Grossberg L. (eds), *Marxism and Interpretation of Culture*, Chicago: University of lllinois Press, pp: 271-313.

Stake, R. E. (1994) 'Case Studies', in Denzin, N. K., and Lincoln, Y. S., (Eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research,* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, pp: 236-247.

Sultana, F. (2007) 'Reflexivity, Positionality and Participatory Ethics: Negotiating Fieldwork Dilemmas in International Research', *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies,* 6(3): 374-385.

Torres, C., Garcia-French M., Hordijk, R., Nguyen K., and Olup L. (2012). 'Four Case Studies on Corporate Social Responsibility: Do Conflicts Affect a Company's Corporate Social Responsibility Policy?', *The Utrecht Law Review,* 8(3): 51-73.

Utting, P. (2007) 'CSR and Equality'*, Third World Quarterly,* 28(4): 697-712.

Visser, W. (2008) 'Corporate Social Responsibility in Developing Countries', in *The Oxford Handbook of Corporate Social Responsibility*, (eds.) Crane, A., McWilliams, A., Matten D., Moon, J., & Siegel D., New York: Oxford University Press, pp: 452–472.

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

Wilson, C., and Wilson, P. (2006) *Make Poverty Business: Increase Profits and Reduce Risks by Engaging with the Poor,* Sheffield: Greenleaf Publishing, 190 pp.

Wood, D. J. (1991) 'Corporate Social Performance Revisited', *Academy of Management Review,* 16(4): 691-718.