

Gender and Social Enterprise.
Some hypotheses on the logics underlying women's
involvement in social enterprises

A work in progress

Post-doc: Magalie Saussey (CIRTES, UCL)
Supervisor: Florence Degavre (CIRTES, UCL)

UCL
Université
catholique
de Louvain



Research objectives

What?

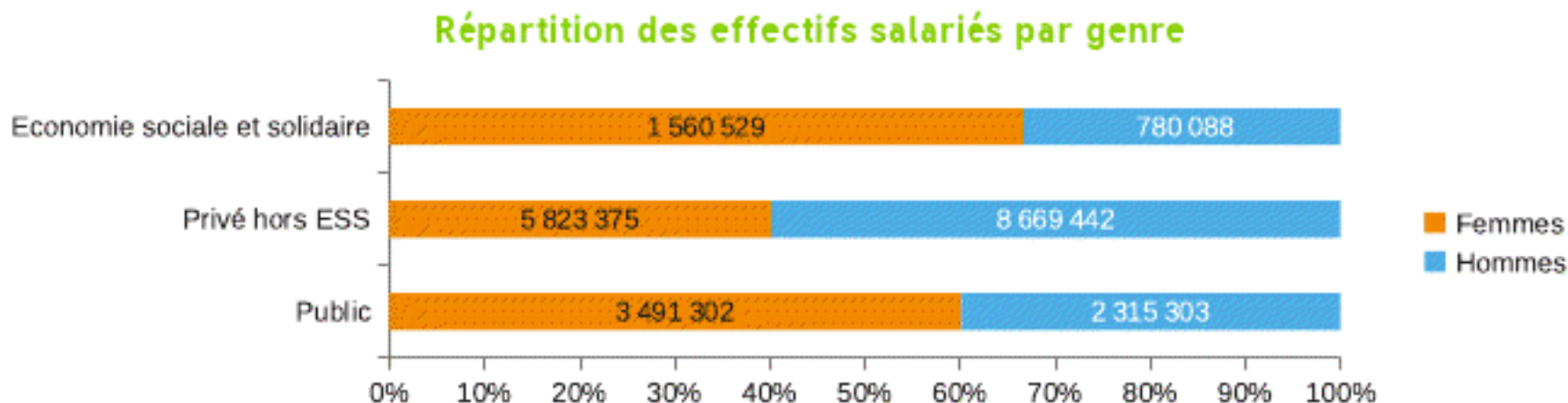
Develop a comprehensive and explicative approach to understand and account for women's presence (as volunteers and paid employees) in SE:

1. **Gather statistical evidence** on female and male presence in SE (as volunteers and paid employees)
2. **Make a critical review of the literature** dealing with the reasons why women participate in SE
3. Analyse which particular form, intensity and means the crucial presence of a **“reciprocal impulse”** takes in the emergence of women-, men- and mixed SE, and what are its effects

How?

Carry out **qualitative studies** cases based on comparative analysis (SE impulsed by women, by men and mixed in France)

The over-representation of women in SE: statistical evidence in France



Source : Insee CLAP 2010 - Traitement : Observatoire national de l'ESS / CNCRES - Champ : France entière

In the “ESS” (France), women represent 66% of employees, compared with the private sector where men represent 60% of employees;

- Associations, mutual societies and foundations: women = 70% of employees
- Cooperatives: women= 45% of employees (SCOP, only 27%) (Braley 2011)

Theoretical framework

- **ESS's socio-economy** to analyse
 - “Reciprocal impulse” (Eme, Laville 2005) and the gendered “conditions of reciprocity” (Delphy, Duverger 2012)
 - Women’s enhanced capacity of “voice” and participation in “ESS” (Odendahl and O’Neill 1994, Guérin et al., 2011)
- **Feminist economics of labour** (Guérin 2003, 2005; Nobre 2005; Matthaei 2009; Maus 2010) to analyse
 - Sexual division of labour (production/reproduction) (Mathieu 1991; Hirata 2002; Héritier 1996)
 - The emancipation of “forms of domination” (Fraser 2010)
- **Public spaces’s sociology** (SE as autonomous/instituted spaces, Habermas 1992; Eme 2003) to analyze
 - the diversity of socio-political and socio-economic issues in SE (Fraise’s typology, 2003)
 - Public proximity spaces

Theoretical framework

- **Feminist epistemology** of standpoint and experience situated (Rose 1983; Smith 1974; Hill Collins 1986; Haraway 1988) to analyse
 - Publicizing and politicizing the process of experiences
- **Collective action's sociology** to analyse
 - Formation process and “modes d’existences” of groups in their historical dimension (without essentializing them) (Cefaï 2007)
 - Gendered organizations and associated standards and values (Acker 1990)

State of the art- 1

-> Theses found in the literature for women's over-representation

Thesis 1: "Women have a stronger anchor in the family" (either in a critical and feminist perspective or not)

- a. Women have "stronger pro-social preferences" determined by family (maternity), with effects on work (working time, employment contract,...) (Themudo 2009; Hakim 2000; Onyx, Maclean 1996)
- b. Women are interested in creating favorable social environment for their children (Putnam, 2000)
- c. Women are more concerned about common goods, collective goods and equity (Themudo, 2009)
- d. Women's altruism (as dignity (Guérin 2003), or subjugation (Pulcini 2005), or duty (Tronto 2009), or natural characteristic (Irigaray 1995), or subordination (Delphy 2012)...))
- e. Women's "caring experience" (private) and their attempt to have it (publicly) recognized (Pilcher 1999, Soarès 2002)

State of the art- 2

-> Theses found in the literature for women's over-representation

Thesis 2: "NPS's labor market is less discriminating for women?"

- a. Smaller wage loss for women entering SE (than in public or for-profit) while bigger wage loss for men (Preston 1990, Faulk and al. 2012)
- b. Maintaining a satisfied workforce and a motivating work environment (Leete 2000) through wage equity between men and women
- c. A less significant gender gap on the basis of the highest educational level than in other areas (Gibelman 2000)
- d. Better employment opportunities for women (they are more often employees than volunteers in SE, particularly in France, and they are in less insecure positions than men and they can pretend for better and more management positions) (Tabariés, Tchernonog, 2005; Flahaut, Guardiola 2009; Braley, 2011)
- e. Greater skill development opportunities for women and less repetitive work (Gibelman 2000), but women are often limited to so called "female sectors"
- f. ESS is a refuge for women because the rest of the market is hostile for them (cf "ethnic/gender entrepreneurship")

State of the art- 3

Thesis 3: SE offer important opportunities for women to achieve equality in their daily lives (Guérin 2003)

- SE assume three main functions (Guérin 2003:15):
 - one of a justice of proximity (through informing people about their rights and helping exercising them),
 - one of a collective space of deliberation (giving legitimacy to claims and opening up the participation in institutional change and social dialogue)
 - one of a redefinition of the articulation of family, public authorities, market and civil society through the development of concrete services.

A critique of the existing literature and its gaps

Although they can still be current, thesis 1 and 2 are quite classical ones and they tend to reproduce clichés about women's attitudes and gender relations (i.e. women as members of a family and women as employees in need of security and protection). Thesis 3 is challenging 1 and 2 but could be considered as (too?) optimistic on the emancipating capacity of SE.

Besides, we can identify 2 gaps in this feminist/gender literature:

- **Few studies on women's NPO and SE** but more studies interested about women's social movements (Kergoat and al. 1992; Heinen and Trat 1997; Cossy and al. 2005; Fillieule and al. 2007), or women in capitalist enterprises (Guibert 1966) or public enterprises (Fortino 2002), or in particular professions (Marry 2004)...
- **Few studies on sexual division of labour and gender standards analysing power relationships between sexes in SE** (Gibelman 2000; Guérin et al. 2011; Côté 2011) but more studies interested (on a micro-level) about the glass ceiling (Sampson 2008) or salary discrimination (Faulk and al. 2012)

Accordingly, our research question will tackle the gendered dynamics of the “reciprocal impulse” and “public proximity spaces”

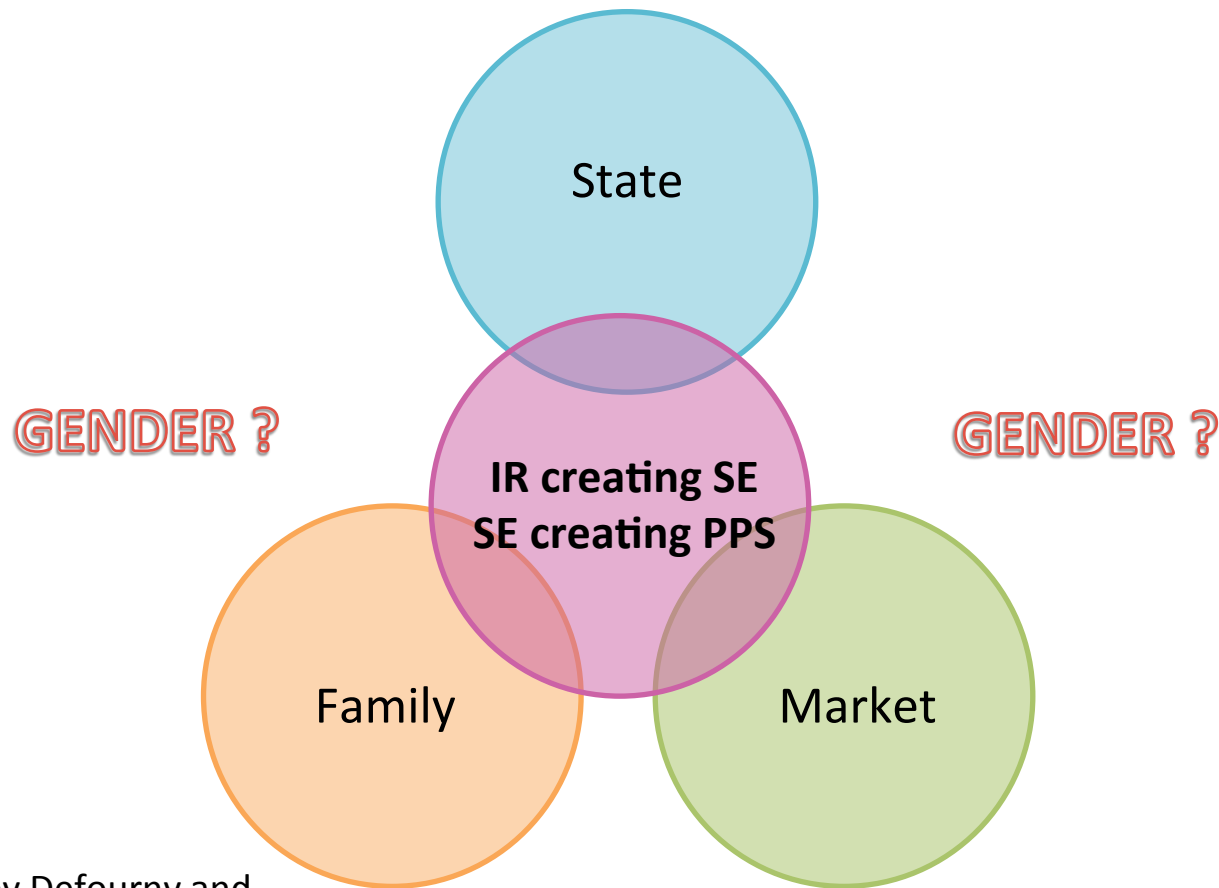


Figure inspired by Defourny and Nyssens 2012, based on Pestoff 1998 and 2005)

Research questions

1) Origin and form of the “reciprocal impulse”: Is reciprocal impulse motivated by female empowerment and socio-economical emancipation?

-> **We will conduct a socio-economical analysis of SE impulsed by women, by men and mixed**

2) How does the political and economic dimensions of SE allow women to build or access PPS and develop the conditions of their emancipation and economic independence at their own level (micro) and as a collective group, for a socio-political change (macro)?

-> **Effects of the meso-level (SE) on micro-level and macro-level**

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 on the gender of “reciprocal impulse”

- The “reciprocal impulse” is different when it is operated by men, women or by mixed groups on its **origins and form**
- The “reciprocal impulse” process is often unrecognized as legitimate and credible, specially for SE impulsed by women

Hypothesis 2 on gender in “public proximity spaces”

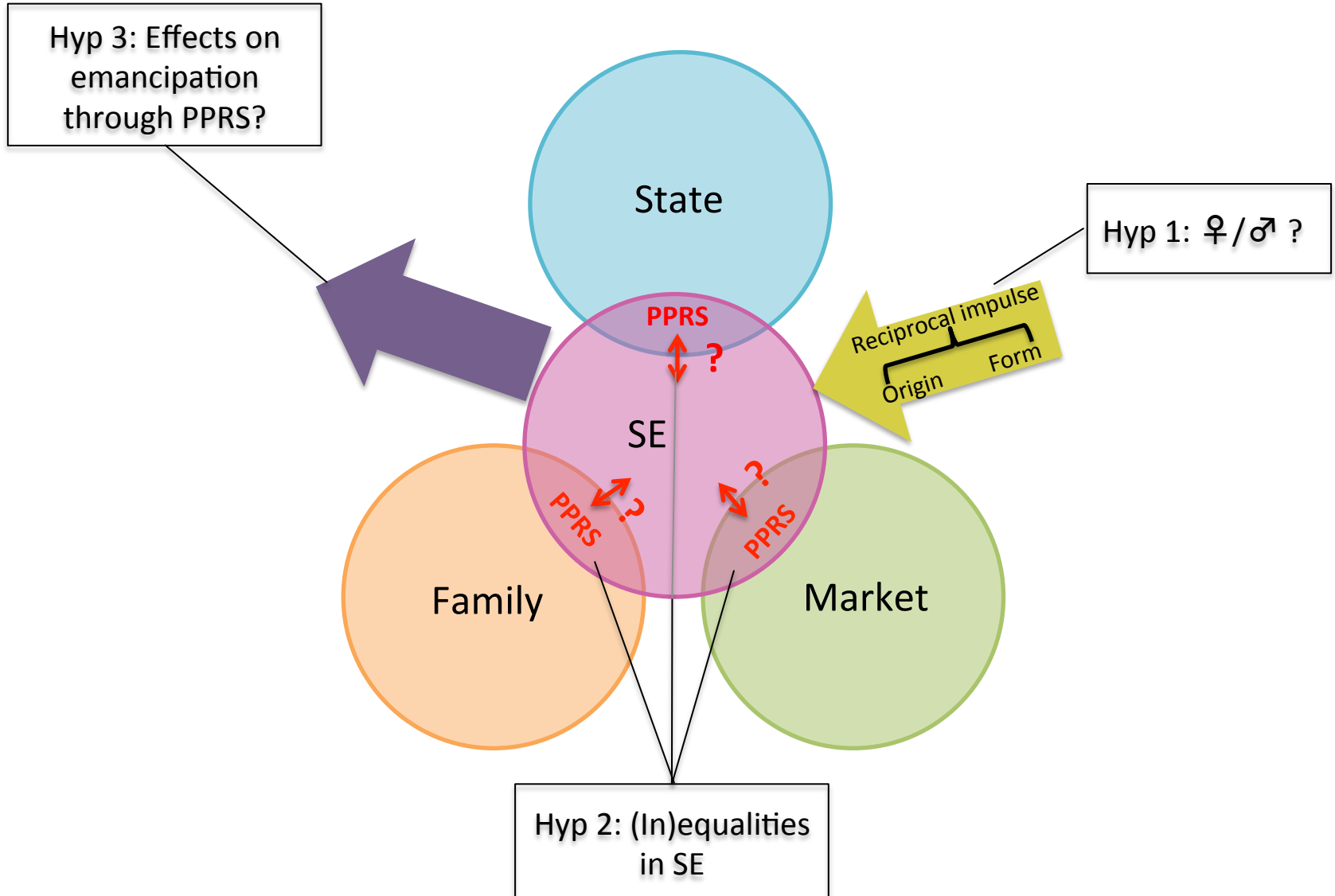
- “Reciprocal impulse” creates SE based on an inter-subjective experience (hyp. found in the literature)
- But SE create **or not** « public proximity spaces »’s embedded in State, Market and Family >>> this might not be true for all SE but specific to women’s SE
- Reciprocity plays a crucial role in these spaces (“public proximity **and reciprocity spaces**”) ...
- ... but not necessarily towards equality between women and men: PPRS can either re-produce or resist the unequal gender dynamics of SE

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 3 on gender through PPRS

- PPRS produce conditions of social and economical empowerment and emancipation : women's involvement in SE allow them to redefine material and symbolic borders between social hierarchical groups, for more social justice (with jobs and incomes)
- SE's ethic/finality opposes to hierarchical social and international division of labour by "promoting participatory governance, social emancipation, autonomy, human equality" (Defourny and Nyssens 2006, 2011; Nyssens and Laville 2001). PPRS are a framework of action, with a socio-political dimension, keeping at the social change perspective: ability to act, ability to decide and enhanced capacity of "voice"

Hypotheses



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