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The Routledge Companion to the Makers of Global Business

Edited by Teresa da Silva Lopes, Christina Lubinski and Heidi J.S. Tworek

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GENDER, RACE, AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Mary A. Yeager

Business has always been associated with drama, some of it playing out in the melodramas of individual lives, much more of it associated with business institutions and the booms and busts of economies. No entry that explores the global connections between gender, race, and entrepreneurship can avoid the dramatic. Given business history's undeniable masculinism and a business world dominated by white male decision-makers and entrepreneurs, efforts to disrupt the taken-for-granted absence of others may be considered hopelessly naïve at best. At worst, such efforts can be perceived as a misguided strategy to disguise businesses' role in perpetuating some of the world's most intractable development problems. This chapter combines these three topics and examines their impact in creating economic shifts of wealth and power, which sometimes complicated and sometimes exacerbated inequality in the areas of entrepreneurship, gender, and race.

This entry mounts a global drama that unfolds in two "Acts," each scripted to highlight the connections between gender, race, and entrepreneurship as they play out in different historical contexts over time, and as they contribute to or hinder the making of global business (Laird 2008; Bayly 2018). The Acts will be preceded by a curtain raiser, laying out the three concepts as they have come to be embedded in their separate historiographies and understood by contemporary scholars inside and outside the discipline of business history. Act I, "Making the Invisible Visible," focuses on the second half of the twentieth century, when transformative social and political movements challenged glib assumptions about gender, sexuality, and race from centuries before. Act II, "Dangerous Crossings," ventures out into the world. It examines what happens when colonialism and imperialism are redefined as globalization. Let the drama begin.

Curtain raiser: three historically fluid concepts

Gender, race, and entrepreneurship are concepts constructed by societies to convey powerful realities about how people engage and interact with each other. As such, they are also powerful influences on the continuous process of creating and shaping global business. Each of these concepts has a long and contested historiography and history developed and used by scholars situated in separate academic silos. As developed within and across humanities and social science disciplines, gender and race occupy competing and overlapping positions as fluid and intertwined

"meta-categories" of "social difference," always subject to change and fundamental to the structuring of all societies (Peterson and Runyan 2018; West and Zimmerman 2009). Entrepreneurship, by contrast, foregrounds the mutual influences of individual agency and societal change (Schumpeter 1934).

"Gender" is neither synonymous with woman nor a personal trait. It is rather an activity ("doing gender") of ongoing assessments, which constitutes belonging to a sex as based on the socially accepted dichotomy of "women" and "men." It is a process of doing, becoming, learning, and un-learning associated with living in the world. As a consequence, gender is always situational, rather than essentialist, and integral to self-making and social identities (Yeager 1999; Hofstede 1998; West and Zimmerman 2009; Kelan and Jones 2010; Søraa 2017).

Societies have created the gender puzzle about sexual differences that feminist theorists, gender scholars, and street fighters for women's equality have spent centuries trying to resolve. To separate the biological from the social was a radical political move, undertaken in the 1970s to empower women by exposing how ideas about sexual differences had historically and systematically disadvantaged women more than men (Rubin 1975; Taylor 2002). Since at least the European Enlightenment, when the idea of equality as a masculine universal became inextricably linked to female inequality, women have used both sexual differences and similarities to argue for equality with men. The assumption of a masculine universal made attention to sex and gender mostly a woman's affair. Universalizing the masculine enabled some men to take for granted what women have been compelled to explain and justify (Scott 1996; Stuurman 2017).

Inequality based on race is likewise associated with the powerful universalizing of a norm, in this case, whiteness. The meaning of the noun "race" is unstable, but by the nineteenth century the noun "racism" had acquired specific and negative connotations. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (Soanes and Stevenson 1975) records the first appearance of the word "whiteness" in the sixteenth century, when it meant "radiance" or "brilliance." Like the term "gender," "race" was a word constructed and used by societies to transform a physiological characteristic into a negotiable instrument of power (Bethencourt 2013; Jerkins 2018). The power and significance of ideas about race and gender stem from the conclusions that societies draw about biological/physiological differences and the way those differences are used to discriminate, divide, and subordinate (Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill 1996). All societies use sex/gender and race to structure and order human interactions.

"Entrepreneurship," a word borrowed from the French that first appeared in fifteenth-century Europe, was rarely used until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when European observers of moral and political economy began to pay attention to the "Wealth of Nations" (Smith 1776; Murray 2017). The word threaded ideas about agency with actions and consequences. As it evolved across the centuries, it generated a stream of linguistic offshoots – enterprise, enterprisers, entrepreneur, entrepreneurial – that have been used with greatest effect by scholars of economics and management studies, and in anthropology and sociology more than in history, where the study of "practice" takes second place to processes of change. It sweeps in all varieties of economic actors whose identities are presumed to be associated with a vector of actions that have historically encompassed risk-takers of all sorts, from capitalists to orchestra conductor (Foss and Klein 2012: 226). The entrepreneur, in short, has been incorporated into broader "social communities" of business enterprise (Kogut and Zander 2003: 516).

Not all societies have paid attention to entrepreneurship. Nor have they understood or assessed its significance in the same way (Hoselitz 1952; Leff 1979; Jones and Luch 2015; Bayly 2018). Entrepreneurship has been both productive and unproductive in terms of its effects on economic growth and development (Baumol 1990). At no point, however, has entrepreneurship been more

popular or more integral to global and national policymaking efforts than in the decades before and immediately after the global financial crisis of 2008. Between the 1980s and 1990s, national efforts to deregulate domestic markets coincided with a revolution in global communications technologies that widened opportunities for some of the world's poorest populations. A large percentage of those people were women, many of whom assumed primary caretaking responsibilities for children and families, and 80 percent of whom still worked in agriculture. Governmental and nongovernmental institutions saw entrepreneurship as a new low-cost growth industry and poverty-reduction strategy. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) funded new data-gathering and educational efforts specially designed with women in mind. Microenterprises took off, using a new business model based on the capital-sharing and lending capabilities of women helping women (World Bank Enterprise Surveys (WBES) 2002–2011; World Bank Group 2015; World Development Report 2012; World Trade Organization 2016).

Entrepreneurship became a hot topic in academia as well. The increasing numbers of women receiving college and professional degrees meant that women were better positioned to undertake entrepreneurship and to educate themselves and others about it. Research on female entrepreneurs challenged the masculine assumptions embedded in the historiographies and histories of entrepreneurship. The result was to divide the study of the subject into two camps that seldom spoke the same language. On the one hand were women scholars whose interest in entrepreneurship derived mostly from an interest in women in business and management; on the other were entrepreneurship scholars for whom gender identities were irrelevant, except insofar as a masculine universal was assumed to be synonymous with gender neutrality.

Entrepreneurship spans the categories of poverty, self-employment, middle-class status, and big boot capitalist winners (Dexter 1924; Arum and Müller 2004). Its proponents and practitioners now use a discourse of creativity, empowerment, and ownership to stimulate and encourage business creation as a socio-economic escalator to a more prosperous future. Instead of class struggles and debates about power and exploitation, entrepreneurship studies now feature local enterprisers willing to take a chance on themselves in a global order, (allegedly) of their own making. It remains to be seen whether this "creative" turn in entrepreneurship will make global business more or less aware of gender and race (Wadhwani and Lubinski 2017; Csikszentmihalyi 2007; Redien-Collot 2009).

Act I: making the invisible visible

Contemporary scholars of business women and female entrepreneurs have weaponized gender and feminist theories to deconstruct the masculinism and patriarchy of national and global business worlds (Ahl 2002, 2004; Ahl and Marlow 2012; Besse 1996; Boulding 1992; Chamlee-Wright 1997; Chow 2003; Elam 2014; Enloe 1990, 2004; Eschle 2004; Mackinnon 1989; Pearson 2000; Gamber 1997, 1998). Before women could be valued as entrepreneurs, they first had to be seen and made visible in business.

Women paid attention to gender precisely because the history and historiography of business had rendered them invisible, a fate they shared with racial and ethnic minorities. The assumption that a masculine universal was synonymous with gender neutrality worked only as long as societal norms and institutional hierarchies held. Late in the twentieth century, these hierarchies began to crack unevenly in many national economies, under pressure from a convergence of forces. The second globalization wave in the last third of the twentieth century intensified rivalries among more mature and emerging economies, testing the ability of a mostly white corporate elite to innovate more effective managerial strategies (Livesay 1989: 6, 2017: 17). Cultural perceptions of womanhood and manhood began to change; demographic shifts brought more

married women into the workplace; the number of women earning college and business degrees swelled, increasing the supply of managerial talent at the same time that demand for female talent intensified. Starting in the 1960s, a string of interconnected anti-war and liberation movements attacked established national and global institutions for their exclusionary practices and biased decision-making structures (Wajcman 1991; Freedman 2002; Snyder 2008).

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 intensified distinct national efforts to deregulate and widen access to global markets. The rise and rapid spread of new knowledge-based creative industries based in communications, computers, and entertainment paved the way for a massive industrial restructuring that transformed economies into an increasingly complex global network of interlocking businesses. Business and national economic systems both shaped and reflected the neo-liberal currents that were intimately intertwined with new forms of multiculturalism, internationalism, and feminism (Meagher and Nelson 2004). In 1986, Joan Scott (1986) introduced gender as an analytical tool to give it purchase in those mainstream disciplines most impervious to concerns about women's issues and activities. She singled out military, diplomatic, and political history, but later cautioned that the tool might prove problematic in business history, especially if the analysis rested upon the emancipatory impulses underlying the study of women's and labor history (Scott 1998; Roper 2005).

Research revealed gender to be an important factor shaping access to and control over resources but also as a cause of women's powerlessness, marginality, and dispossession. It exposed the social construction of identities and institutions, including patriarchy and masculinism. While gender's effects were shown to vary across cultures, assumptions undergirding masculine and feminine behaviors were revealed to be uncannily similar. Stubbornly durable gender norms associated with family, school, and workplace rendered the economic survival strategies of women invisible (Scott 1998; Craig 2017; Melman 1993; UN DESA 2009).

Scholars of women's history used gender to dramatize "difference" by thrusting women's experiences onto a global stage where men remained in the shadows. A focus on women made differences with men more visible. The changeability and perspectival nature of gender were unmistakable (Jones 2008; Scott 1996; Als 2017). Difference corralled indifference, reviving age-old questions about Enlightenment ideas of equality and the justifications for women's subordination (Stuurman 2017).

Gender was in the 1980s a malleable but problematic concept. Legal scholar Catharine MacKinnon (1989) rewove the radical strands of Marx and his daughter Eleanor to expose gender as hierarchical and fundamental to sexualized power relations (Holmes 2014). Male dominance, she insisted, operates through rape, sexual harassment, prostitution, and pornography, all of which expressed "the distinctive power of men over women in society." (MacKinnon 1989: 162, 170, 127; Mikkola 2008/2017; Yeager 1999: 1–5). Philosopher Judith Butler (1990) insisted that gender is not what one is but something one does, a sequence of acts, a doing rather than being. Doing gender is like a theatrical performance for a social audience. Both script and audience change across generations, evolving with socially established meanings.

Business historians took their cues from business – they kept issues of sexism and harassment in the closet and rolled with capitalism's gender punches. Their cautious behavior reflected not only their precarious legitimacy in popular and scholarly communities; it also reflected a reluctance to tackle hot button social issues that might compromise standards of "scientific neutrality." They did not notice that management scholar Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) had already begun to deconstruct the "masculine mystique" of managerialism (Kanter, 1977; Ibarra, 1993, 2004; Ibarra *et al.* 2010). Scholars whose specialties rested on nationally oriented manufacturing industries engaged the global with renewed vigor, while others explored the neglected service sector,

itself a growth-oriented Goliath (Walsh, 1996, 2000; Kwolek-Folland, 2007. Explorations of smaller, family-focused, specialty producers by Philip Scranton (1998), Mary Rose (2000), and Susan Ingalls Lewis (2009) generated new hypotheses about issues of gender and race at the intersections of small and big businesses at national and global levels.

Using the unique example of Japanese and American automobile cupholder design, Lipartito (1995, 2007) opened windows into managerial thinking just wide enough to reveal business history as a promising site of cultural analysis. For some, the cultural opening proved too wide. Attention to culture exposed both the left and right flanks of business systems previously bound by national ties of Cold War politics or beholden to economic leviathans. The cultural turn both unbalanced and enlivened the discipline. By the turn of the twenty-first century issues of racism, sexism, environmentalism, and after 2001, terrorism, took center stage (Galambos 2003; Amatori 2009; Kobrak and Schneider 2011; Rosen 2013, 2010, 2016; Rosen and Seller 1999; Jones 2017; Bergquist 2017).

Firms that enter international markets have strategized to transcend cultural boundaries, only to discover a new set of hazards. The introduction of gender and race not only challenged how knowledge about business came to be assembled, analyzed, and understood. It also demanded a re-valuation and re-consideration of authorial voices. Radical moments do not last forever, but effective gender and racial norm-busters often ride together on the collective power derived from a common history. Who professes to speak, and for whom? Who re-claims the history of excluded groups? And how is all this to be done? These questions matter deeply, particularly when the status quo is challenged. Alternative perspectives must be considered, but they do not resonate with the same weight at all times and places. Scholars take their cues from society too.

The scholars who first paid attention to what business historian Philip Scranton (1998: 185) has described as the "durable absence" of women from history were, with rare exceptions, mostly women scholars who were positioned in sub-streams of more mainstream fields. Before the late 1990s, many of these separate research streams developed along parallel lines, seldom intersecting, with each carrying the national markings of their own historical and historiographical traditions (Allen and Truman 1993; Yeager 2001).

A common thread connecting these traditions to processes of professionalization has been the exclusion of women (Smith, 2005). Inclusion did not get women to "equal," even in meritocratic-leaning academia. No sooner had national professional organizations appeared at the turn of the century than additional gatekeepers began to surveil the "appropriateness" of topics that challenged either the strong currents of public opinion or the gender order. In 1901, Vassar historian Lucy Maynard Salmon submitted a completed manuscript on "Imperialism" to prospective publishers. She linked domestic service to the history of colonization by showing how routine cleaning activities, like the cleaning of toilets and wiping of children's faces, paved the way for racial and class hierarchies. Publishers showed little interest. "Nobody cares a straw what a woman has to say on public questions," complained Salmon in a letter to a friend, "unless she writes to the newspapers on the horrors of war and signs the letter." "Imperialism" was never published. Salmon produced an alternative "History in a Back Yard," which used garden imagery to explore how "new trade routes are opened up in our lilies" and the "Dutch West India Company lives in our mulberry tree." Another rejection followed. Salmon's legacy was left for succeeding generations of women (Smith in Salmon 2001). They have kept the smaller backyards open (Kwolek-Folland 1998a; Lewis 2009; Buddle 2010).

Women had to become norm breakers to claim status as professionals and as individuals distinct from their relationships to men, children, and family. The legitimacy of women's professional claims have generally depended on the decisions of men, particularly in fields like

economics, economic and business history, engineering and other STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) fields (Eswaran 2014; Yeager 2015; Nelson 2006, 2016). Management scholar and sociologist Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) argued that "opportunity," "power," and "numbers" were more important than demographic factors in explaining women's career trajectories and experiences in (corporate) business (see also, Ibarra 1993, 2004; Ibarra *et al*. 2010). More recently, scholars have pointed to the negative impact of "gender norms" and "unconscious biases," a move which has fueled new debates about appropriate policy responses (Segal and Demos 2019; Sandberg 2013; Bohnet 2016; Bicchieri 2016).

In 1994, cultural and social historian Angel Kwolek-Folland framed her exploration of gender relations in America's financial and insurance industries around a managerial paradigm developed by an eminent business historian, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr. However, by dramatizing the transformation of the modern corporation from an efficient instrument of economic change to a problematic social institution, she upended Chandler's efficiency-based explanation of the modern corporation. Business historians paid attention. Four years later, she pioneered the first-ever synthesis of women and business in the United States, raising the curtain on a distinguished all-women multicultural and racially diverse cast of business characters, ranging from Spanish and Indian-Americans in female trade economies to media and movie moguls. Wendy Gamber (1997), who straddled the fields of business and social history, used Dun and Bradstreet's credit reports to document the creation of a distinctive "female economy" in the millinery and dressmaking trades, readying scholars for debates about the distinctiveness of female versus male economies.

By 1999, there was enough information about business women in developed areas of the world for this business history insider to assemble a three-volume edited collection of articles, *Women in Business* (Yeager 1999). The organizational structure of the volumes reflected a grounding in business rather than women's history. It divided women in business globally and by sectors, thereby urging business historians to give greater consideration to the interactions between women and men in the business world instead of positioning each alone on a single national stage. Included was an editor's essay with a teasing title, "Will There Ever Be a Feminist Business History?" More than two decades later, the question still hangs in the air, begging another question, "What about masculinities?" (Yeager 1999 [1]: 3–43; Guthey 2001; Bederman 1995; Connell 1995; Connell and Wood 2005; Kimmel 2002, 2005; Hinsch 2013).

In the United Kingdom and Europe, women scholars built upon different data bases and historiographical traditions. Early Medievalists Helen Maud Cam (1910) and Eileen Power (1975) dissected parliamentary institutions and medieval manors, respectively, without sacrificing either drama or women. Initially more attention was paid to class than to race and gender. Recent imperial histories are an exception. Nicola Phillips (2006) tracked women in business during the period 1700–1850, many of whom might well have carried on easy conversations with Gamber's American women in retail and millinery trades. Women invaded the manly turf of the Industrial Revolution. Jane Humphries (2011) spearheaded recent debates about women's wages, capabilities, and industriousness. Katrina Honeyman (2000), Hannah Barker (2017a, 2017b), and Kate Mullholland (2003) gave women agency as business owners, leaders, and strategists of family enterprises, toppling some popular stereotypes of family women as marginal helpmeets and casting doubt on separate sphere ideologies. With far longer history of banking and finance to examine than the United States, European scholars pursued the trail of women investors, stock and wealth holders, wealth creators, and entrepreneurial risk takers (Laurence *et al*. 2012; Aston 2016; Aston and di Martino 2014; Sanandaji 2018; Bishop 2015; Carlos and Neal 2004; Newton and Cottrell 2006; Rutterford and Maltby 2006, 2007; Green and Owens 2003). Most recently, Béatrice Craig (2016) has offered a compelling synthesis of women and

business in Europe and North America since 1500 that bookends the earlier US-based synthesis by Kwolek-Folland (1994, 1998b). Craig (2017) has extended the imperial reach of female entrepreneurs by following the commodities they produce and sell in international markets.

Women were, and gender came to be, a fundamental category for analyzing the vast array of people-directed activities and institutions responsible for linking the local to the global, connecting big and small manufacturing, agricultural, transportation, and other services. The majority of businesses created by women still cluster in the traditional sectors of agriculture and services, but the latter sector has become a major growth engine in the twenty-first century (Schipani *et al.* 2006). If there is more constancy than change in the history of business women and entrepreneurship, the gender lens needs to be widened to encompass diverse narratives about how genders interact in cultures and economies to foster and constrain change.

Incorporating women into history as business owners raised questions about the terms of incorporation and their status as entrepreneurs. Are all enterprising women entrepreneurs by virtue of their efforts to create a business? Not everyone becomes an entrepreneur, so what differentiates female entrepreneurs from other women and from male entrepreneurs and other men? Ideas about gender frame assumptions about entrepreneurial activities, behaviors, and ambitions. Cultures may be slow to change, but entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial businesses have also precipitated change in economies and in gender norms.

Women management scholars first paid attention to female entrepreneurs in the mid-1970s and 1980s. Instead of assuming that there were no differences between male and female entrepreneurs, they carved out a subfield within a subfield by searching and accounting for "differences." They first corralled the men, and then proceeded to assemble data and information about the women who created businesses, their motives, the types and sizes of their enterprises, and the results of their efforts. This means-ends approach was practical and instrumental, designed to help women become entrepreneurs, to remove the obstacles to entrepreneurship, and to harness creativity and make difference pay (Ahl 2004, 2006; Ahl and Marlow 2012; Hisrich and Brush 1984; Brush *et al.* 2006; Brush and Cooper 2012).

The financial crisis of 2008 gave scholars of female entrepreneurship reason to exhale, and gender scholars and business historians new territories to explore. The crisis exposed new racial and global fault lines in mostly white, male-dominated banking institutions and tilted research on women and female entrepreneurs toward financialization processes and practices. Research documented the experiences of women in finance as bank CEOs, managers, traders, and analysts. A pioneering study of about thirty Wall Street women by anthropologist Melissa Fisher (2012) revealed the power of mostly white, female-centered networks in helping to overcome discrimination. She illuminated the emergence of a feminist consciousness among some women and the continued adherence to more conservative beliefs about women's essential differences and the merits of markets, among others. A strand of "market feminism" which had been criticized in the 1980s, had by 2010, regained its appeal for some women in finance and marketing (Maclaran 2012). In the hands of feminist business and social historian Susan Yohn (2006), the so-called "Witch of Wall Street" Hetty Green became a "crippled capitalist," handicapped by gender, children, and sexist media coverage. Not so crippled were scores of other women in finance who were revealed to be savvy investors, counterfeiters, speculators, fund managers, arbitragers, and CEOs (Walker 2017). Notable autobiographies of women in finance have also revealed that variation in behaviors and outcomes may well be more significant than either differences or similarities (Siebert 2002; Krawcheck 2017).

Crises of finance have often evolved alongside crises generated by wars. In 2001 a global war on terror erupted. Anthropologist Carla Freeman (2001) asked a troubling question: "Is Local: Global as Feminine: Masculine?" Freeman's gender frame invites reconsideration of ongoing

debates about convergence or divergence and "the West and the Rest." Not only have micro-analyses of business firms gone missing (Jones, this volume); women and minorities have also disappeared. Manly states and militaries have regained the global stage (Hooper 2001; Mann 2013).

The literature on race is unusual in several respects, reflecting the deep complexities and contradictions of its subject. The gender and racial mix of its scholars is more varied; women and men interact on the same economic stage as both collaborators and competitors; entrepreneurship unfolds even under slavery and spans all sectors of economies (Perkins 1989). Where there is discrimination there is also uplift and empowerment. If studies demonstrate the significance of individual achievements, they also raise questions about personal costs within the black community and about the meaning of black enterprise in societies where whites do and do not dominate. Moreover, governments are ever-present institutions, alternately expanding and shrinking opportunities for enterprise (Walker 2004, 2017, 1998; Ingham 2002; Garrett-Scott 2011; Shaw 2015; Gill 2004; Smith 2005; Mutongi 2007; Spring 2002; Edoho 1997; Weems 1998, 2000, 2009; Butler 1991).

Context is everything and contradictions abound. In 2006, a mixed authorial team at Harvard Business School tracked the "*Paths to Power*" of American business leaders (Mayo *et al*. 2006: 1). They began with the "fearless" if self-evident disclosure "that yes, the vast majority of individuals in top leadership of U.S. businesses over the course of the past century were white men." Years earlier, in the Jim Crow era, W. E. B. DuBois stated this truth far more boldly, declaring that property is "white ownership of the earth." And yet Juliet Walker (2004: 259, 2017) has recently noted that "there were more black managers on plantations during the age of American slavery than there has been in the era of the New Economy." Change in business, like that in history, is never easy or automatic, but a matter of human effort and creativity.

Given these complexities, historians of race take nothing for granted. As both free and enslaved peoples, blacks and other racial minorities have long work histories and violent experiences with commercial, industrial, and post-colonial capitalisms, in both mature and underdeveloped regions in the world. As such, they have carved out businesses and claimed status as entrepreneurs in ways that dramatize both the dark and bright sides of capitalism, the ethical and unethical, the moral and uplifting, for good and ill.

But DuBois and Walker (2017) among others, dealt with the triangulated histories of entrepreneurship, race, and gender primarily if not exclusively within the borders of the United States. These histories broaden exponentially as one moves beyond national borders and beyond the horizon to consider the centuries-long transition from imperialism and colonialism to the contemporary globalized world.

Act II: dangerous crossings: what about imperialism and colonialism?

The sordid business of imperialism and colonialism is a drama unlikely to attract a time-starved business-friendly audience. Its scripts have proved problematic and changeable (Mann 2013: 2–8; Nagar *et al*. 2002; Eschle 2004). Yet, few topics are better able to expose what makes global business such a challenging and contested area of research. Historian Joyce Appleby (2010) has described the uneven historical development of capitalism as "relentless revolution," repeated in many different regions around the globe, and shaped by "coercion, culture, and contingency." Its wealth-generating capacities enable people to see a future different from the past. When and where capitalism expands is always important. But, she argues, there is nothing "inexorable, inevitable, or destined" about this history. Imperialism and colonialism are by-products of

decisions made by "rulers as capitalists," whom Appleby (2010: 229) identifies as "kings and statesmen who become entrepreneurs in order to command subjects' labor and resources to make things for the market."

Appleby's understanding of capitalism gives globalization content but drains it of the distinct, multiple, overlapping sources of social power that Marx and contemporary fellow-travelers have associated with capitalist nation-states and empires. Neo-Marxist sociologist Michael Mann (2013: 3–5, Vol. IV) reminds us that globalization does not "do anything." Globalization involves political, economic, ideological, and military power and "results as human groups have sought to expand their collective and distributive powers to achieve their goals." Philosopher, historian, and social theorist Michel Foucault (1982) focuses on power as a "force," dispersed throughout society, that is exercised, although unequally, by people of all statuses (Foucault 1978/1991).

The entwined histories of imperialism and colonialism place power at the center of debates about globalization (Formes 1995). They reveal multiple levels and axes of power operating within macro- and micro-institutional structures, in the interstices of cultural economies, the spaces between private and public, intimate and institutional, business and government, local and global. They reveal gender power and racial dynamics to be constitutive of globalization, not only an effect but a shaping force (Bahramitash 2005).

As the curtain rises on Act II, global tensions have mounted. A diverse cast of international characters, each speaking different languages, struggles to converse. Andrew Thompson (1997: 147) has complained that "the terms 'empire' and 'imperialism' were like empty boxes that were continuously being filled up and emptied of their meanings." The same could be said about the term globalization. The larger point, of course, is that language has always been part of a political process allowing its users and interpreters some leeway in shaping discourse for different ends.

Globalization has a shorter and less distinguished historiography than imperialism. In 1960, Theodore Levitt (1960), a Harvard Business School Professor of Marketing, wrote a polemical article, "Marketing Myopia," which criticized business executives for too narrowly defining what their companies did at a time when changes in technology and social behaviors were allowing multinationals to sell the same products worldwide. Twenty-three years later, Levitt (1983) coined the word "globalization" in a now classic article, "The Globalization of Markets." Although David Harvey (2000) has confessed to feeling conned that "globalization" was simply a "promotional gimmick to make the best of a necessary adjustment in the system of international finance," he carefully delineated globalization as "a process of production of uneven temporal and geographical development." His formulation better prepares us for the possibility of global backlash, or what Thomas Friedman has described as "a brakeless train wreaking havoc" (Harvey 2000: 61, quoting Friedman 1996).

Given that men have done most of the talking about globalization, and most of the talking is about disembodied forces, flows, and processes, exceptions are notable. Embedded within Patrick Wolfe's (1997: 416) synthesis of imperialism from Marx to postcolonialism is a rare acknowledgement:

> As in so many areas, feminist scholars of imperialism have been obliged to labor the most elementary of points before being able to move on to more demanding questions. Thus they have had to remind us (or at least, too many of us) that women were there too and that women have colonized and been colonized in different ways to men. Much of this work has been recuperative, re-reading imperial archive to disclose its female dimension.

Contemporary scholars from different globalized fields compete for the attention of an internet-savvy audience more culturally sensitive to social, religious, and economic differences between and within nations. The costs and benefits of globalization continue to be spread unevenly, with notable differences between men, women, and ethnicities stubbornly persisting, despite slight improvements for women. In most countries, the rich have done better than the poor, men have done better than women, and racial majorities have fared better than minorities (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2001–2016). Who is to frame the part of the debate that is likely to matter most to business scholars? What are the questions that are likely to shape debates? Who is to speak for whom, about what? (Chaudhuri *et al.* 2010).

At the intersection of gender and race, insightful contributions come from a group of male activist intellectuals, anti-colonial freedom fighters, and feminist scholars determined to explore the psychology and troubled legacies of colonialism (Mannoni 1950; Fanon 1952, 1961; Rodney 1972; Memmi 1965). Among the foremost Pan-Africanists to put "black power" and "third world" non-aligned Marxism at the center of anti-colonial movements was Walter Anthony Rodney, an activist historian and leader, born and assassinated in his native Guyana in 1980 (Benjamin and Kelley 2018). Rodney blasted imperialism as a "monstrous institution," blaming Europe for the underdevelopment of Africa. To underscore the white racist side of colonialism, he used a vivid metaphor: far from having two hands – one of oppression and the other of beneficence – Rodney called it "a one-armed bandit" (Agyeman 1973: 72–74; Dupuy 1996: 114). African-American scholar Robin Kelly has noted that Rodney's alignment of Western thought with the interests of bourgeois capitalism was not unlike the *Orientalism* analytic used by Edward Said (1978) to expose the occidental and imperial nexus of modern thinking. Rodney developed an explicitly global viewpoint from an African position, but both Rodney and Said emphasized the need for schools and education to challenge these dichotomies and the discourses behind them (Benjamin and Kelley, 2018: xxii).

By the 1990s, feminist activists and women scholars made their voices heard. They began to apply gender to reveal the limits of Said's model as well as older styles of imperial history that paid little attention to women or the experiences of the marginalized. They complicated what had been primarily patriarchal narratives revolving around political and economic developments. They reconceptualized imperialism as a highly gendered process, a powerful form of colonial discourse in and of itself (Midgley 1998; Desai 2008; Peterson and Runyan 2018).

Over time white patriarchal imperialism came under attack. Empires that were once defined by clear territorial borders were gendered masculine and feminine and rendered "intimate" (Rizzo and Gerontakis 2017). Exploring the intersections of gender, race, and class across various sites of imperial encounters, feminist and post-colonial scholars expanded the imperial "imaginary." Although business institutions and people played a minor role in their narratives, their attention to literary sources, to advertising, branding, and other visual and media technologies, has generated important insights about the sources of inspiration and impact of representations of gendered images and racialized bodies.

A single, illuminating example of this is Ann McClintock's *Imperial Leather* (1995), which maps the southern African and gendered connections between race, sexuality, and money in a way that vividly expresses "the governing themes of Western imperialism: the transmission of white, male power through control of colonized women; the emergence of a new global order of cultural knowledge; and the imperial command of commodity capital" (1995: 1). Since its publication, the number of enthusiastic reviews that appeared in a wide range of humanities-oriented journals and the flow of subsequent citations have assured the book's status as a classic (Karamcheti 1995: 16–17; Puri 1998: 532–535; Pickering 1997: 991–993; Nelson 1997: 383–386; Jolly 1997: 444–448; Lewis 1997: 148–149; Sinha 1998: 183–184; Ha 1997: 187–190; O'Donnell 1997: 310–312).

Business scholars disregarded McClintock's brand of "situated psychoanalysis" and other socio-psychological tools that post-colonial scholars have used to theorize gender in relation to other axes of power. They neglected the large issues of "desire," "sexuality," and "male power." They criticized discourse analysis as a limited and somewhat dangerous tool, especially if disconnected from an examination of how business actually works and decisions come to be made. They remained suspicious of profit-making and power dynamics that could not be measured or quantified (Blaszczyk 2009; McCloskey 2009; Davis and Huttenback 1983: 2; Powell 1991).

Scholars of economic development and management engaged more directly with data and policy-oriented analyses. By the 1990s, empirical data about the economic lives of women in various parts of the world had begun to be assembled. Danish economist Ester Boserup (1980), who worked for the United Nations and several other international organizations, made seminal contributions to the study of agrarian change and women in development. She theorized that population change drove the intensity of agricultural production. Although her empirically grounded work pointed to the disproportionate economic burdens carried by women, she retained an economist's optimism about opportunities. "The power of ingenuity," she once said, "would always outmatch that of demand." Amartra Sen's (2002) "capabilities" approach urged development economists and policy professionals to consider what women really needed in order to achieve the kind of life they valued, defined in terms of a set of valuable "beings and doings" (Sen 2002, 2005; Nussbaum 2003). Sen's work generated recurrent debates about which capabilities to prioritize in order to expand women's opportunities (Agarwal *et al.* 2006; Nussbaum 2003).

Entrepreneurship became a global policy priority when studies revealed that female entrepreneurs were far more likely than men to invest the income generated from business activities in the education of children and family well-being. Scholars began to focus on business creation to better understand why some economies and some women and men are more enterprising than others. In 1999, researchers in the United Kingdom and United States launched the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) to better understand the relationship between entrepreneurial activity and economic growth, and to identify which policies boost entrepreneurship (Acs 2006; Acs *et al.* 2008a; Baker *et al.* 2005; Minniti and Arenius 2003; Minniti and Naude 2010).

Scholars of gender and female entrepreneurship, however, have remained wary. They have criticized some of the growth-oriented and gender assumptions on which these quantifiable datasets rest. They argue that a singular focus on economic growth minimizes the importance that some entrepreneurs have attached to other objectives, such as family survival, work–life balance, ecological, and health-related issues. Others have suggested that differentiating entrepreneurs on the basis of preconceived characteristics perpetuates gender stereotypes. As an example, they cite the distinctions between "necessity" and "opportunity" entrepreneurs, showing that more women than men place themselves in the "necessity" category. Data on informal businesses sweep in more women than men (Henry *et al.* 2016; Pines *et al.* 2010; Hamilton 2013). On the other hand, data on women, business, and the law from the IMF and World Bank shows why "getting to equal" has been so difficult. Women throughout the world experience greater difficulty in accessing institutions, using property, getting a job, building credit, going to court, and securing protection from violence (GEM 2015–2017; Acs *et al.* 2008a; Álvarez *et al.* 2014; Acs *et al.* 2008b;Johnson *et al.* 2006; Acs 2006; Amorós 2011; Amorós *et al.* 2013).

The turn toward global entrepreneurship and female entrepreneurs signaled changes in the identities and dynamics of imperial powers. Scholarship on imperialism shifted away from European industrializers scrambling for territories in Africa to the post-World War II invasion of European consumer markets by American multinationals. In *The Sex of Things*, social and intellectual historians De Grazia and Furlough (1996) placed gender at the heart of the analysis of

consumption. The edited volume showed how consumption has been associated with femininity across cultures, and how this association impacts masculinity and relationships of power. De Grazia's (2005) subsequent study examined the "irresistible rise and inexorable decline" of America's market empire. She connected the changing forms of Americanization and imperialism to the transmission, diffusion, and reception of particular marketing technologies and the rhetoric of consumption. By demonstrating how European elites both cooperated with and contested American influence, De Grazia joined other scholars who have forewarned of cultural imperialism's waning power (de Grazia 2005; Blaszczyk and Spiekermann 2017; Van Elteren 2003, 2006; Stephan 2006; Danielsen 2008; Woodard 2012; Berger 1997). By ignoring the role played by racial inequalities in projecting and contesting the American dream, she left the black box of imperialism half-open.

The imperial strands that connect global businesses to diverse cultures involve gendered and racialized assumptions about the sources, exercise, and impact of power (Chow 2003). These are craftily revealed by scholars of global business who have focused attention on "agents of change at work in business" (Blaszczyk 2009, 2015; Ibeh and Carter 2008). These scholars weave an intricate net wide enough to capture the many gender and racial identities of an array of business people and decision-makers, from global leaders responsible for strategy to critical intermediaries and workers embedded in global networks of exchange.

Of the numerous studies of imperial interconnections this entry singles out a few of the more notable scholarly contributions in three areas: multinationals; cultural, creative, and service industries; and commodities. Each of these areas has been selected because of distinct but uneven contributions to ideas about gender, race, and entrepreneurship and the regional contexts that differentiate the scholarship. For all its potholes, this road map points to possibilities for future research incorporating and connecting gender, race, and entrepreneurship in historically specific business contexts in different parts of the world.

By the turn of the twenty-first century, some multinational management scholars had begun to warn of "the dangers of an imperial mind-set," which assumed "big emerging markets were new markets for their old products, or a chance to squeeze profits out of sunset technologies" (Prahalad and Lieberthal 2003). There were sightings of "business imperialism" in Africa whose more fragile nation-states, smaller markets, and rich resources meant fewer foreign multinationals, more opportunities for larger and smaller indigenous enterprises, and better outcomes. "Business imperialism in South Africa," Stuart Jones (1996: 20) concluded, "was made up of these three ingredients, capital, skill, and entrepreneurial flair." Even the monopolistic diamond villain De Beers was revealed to have paid out 70 percent of its profits to the South African government (Jones 1996: 18). However, few male management scholars paid attention to gender or race in this narrative, not even Jones himself.

Business historian Paula de la Cruz-Fernández (2015, in this volume) has paid some attention. Her exploration of women's experiences with new sewing machines in Spain and Mexico offered a different and more socially grounded view of the marketing strategies of Singer Sewing Machine. Her interpretation of their histories gave women power and agency. Instead of passive players or disempowered workers, women emerge as builders of multinationals who define the idea of "modern" machine sewing on their own terms. On the other hand, de la Cruz-Fernández left room for debate with those whose understanding of gender analysis involves a study of power relationships, such as those between these women and their husbands or family members and the largely male stratum of marketing executives.

The new realities of a global economy have been fueled by new technologies of communication and information. The widespread popular appeal of these cultural, creative, and service industries created new opportunities for business scholars to explore transnational cultural

exchanges (Friedman and Jones 2011). In some ways, this shift in focus reflected and enabled an end-run around debates about power that had been associated with empires and different forms of imperialism. As long as entrepreneurship was linked more to creativity than to brute force, there was more to celebrate than to fear. An additional bonus was that the turn to creative industries pulled in people of all genders and racial minorities, as part of an intricate web of small and big, insider and outsider global makers (McRobbie 2002; Foss and Klein 2012; Thomas *et al.* 2010; Scranton and Fridenson 2013: 61–66).

The business of beauty is quicksilver and ill-defined. As such, the identities of its makers and users are all the more revealing of unstated assumptions about gender, race, and entrepreneurship. On the one hand, "'[m]aking up' is an integral component of the rituals of everyday life. Similar to fashion, cosmetics consumption is tightly tied with identity construction and expression of the self" (Jeacle 2006: 87). Globally, the beauty business is sprawling, fragmented, and changeable. It encompasses a mix of different sectors, a variety of skill sets, complex distribution networks, and is constantly on the defensive against charges of immorality and legality. Business scholars have offered accounts that connect shifting cultural ideals of beauty with advertising, aspirational brands, and fickle consumers whose choice-changes and brand-jumping keep destabilizing industry development patterns. They identify the sex and gender of the industry's global pioneers to underscore how a wide variety of actors influenced how beauty came to be imagined so differently by so many (Jones 2010; Peiss 1998, 2000; Gill 2004; Mazzeo 2008; McAndrew 2010; Scranton 2001/2014).

Like the beauty industry, the fashion industry presents many of the same historical challenges and opportunities for scholars of business, gender, race, and entrepreneurship (Abrahamson 1996; Boris 2017; Brasó-Broggi 2015; Gökariksel and Secor 2009; Hemphill and Suk 2009; Kawamura 2004). In both industries, every piece of the creative puzzle is likely to generate more questions than answers about the power of one nation to impose its cultural tastes on another. Business scholar Regina Blaszczyk's (2009: 6) popular history of America's consumer society explored "the evolution of the relationship between what Americans purchased and how they expressed their collective and individual identities." A subsequent edited collection, *Producing Fashion* (2015) drew global and gendered connections between commerce, culture, and consumers in a variety of national contexts. The charge of "color imperialism" that flew across the Atlantic in the 1930s is an example of the unusual power dynamics buried in these sources. *The Fashion Forecasters*, co-edited by Blaszczyk and Wubs (2018), reveals a hidden history of color and trend prediction. Contributors follow fashion forecasters around the globe as they struggle to choose the right color for the right season for different genders and races.

In the turn to commodities, scholars of racial, gender, and war capitalism discovered common ground with business and economic historians (Beckert, 2015 [2009]). A commodity-centered approach has the potential to integrate local and global, top-down and bottom-up perspectives to incorporate producers, distributors, and consumers as well as workers. Commodities provide an apt subject for histories of global capitalism that do not assume inevitability, greater equality, or homogeneity. As Erika Rappaport (2018) has so powerfully demonstrated in the case of tea, Appleby's three Cs ("culture, coercion, and contingency") are allowed full play. In addition to tea, the global businesses associated with feathers, cocoa, champagne, chocolate, rice, and shawls have been shown to construct the gender and race identities of producers and consumers (Stein 2008; Barrientos 2014; Craig 2016; Callaway 1987; Bray 1986; Robertson 2009; Mazzeo 2008; Ratten 2017).

Marx's understanding of commodity fetishism retains value. Globalization has not vanquished his ghost. Although capitalism has been gendered and racialized in ways that Marx did not anticipate, the legacies of imperialism and colonialism endure. Historians of capitalism and

slavery have retraced the lives of those human beings forced to live their lives as commodities. They have described their interactions with business people in localities and regions where finance and racial capitalism rose together. Two recent examples stand out. Caitlin Rosenthal (2018) uses the account books of southern slaveholders in the United States to demonstrate the connections between profit and innovation, and violence and inequality. By linking a series of interconnected business histories and data practices to planters' control over their enslaved labor force, she establishes synergies between slavery and quantitative management. "[I]t is perilously easy," she concludes, "to render human figures as figures on paper and to imagine men, women and children as no more than hands" (Rosenthal 2018: xiv).

Peter Hudson (2017: 146) recovers a history of imperial bankers in the Caribbean, an area marginalized in business and economic history. Tracing the roots and precedents for racial capitalism to US continental expansion in the nineteenth century, he shows how particular banks "participated in the creation, replication, and reordering of Caribbean economies on racial lines while helping to reproduce the racist imaginaries and cultures in which finance capital was embedded and through which bankers functioned." Drawing from multinational sources, including the private papers of prominent bankers, Wall Street pamphlets, newspapers, and government reports, he demonstrates how bankers used social capital and government influence to counter regulatory constraints and gain advantages to compete on the international banking scene.

Curtain

Considerations of gender, race, and entrepreneurship complicate the displacement of notions of "imperialism" and "colonialism" even as they advance the global project. If these three intertwined themes were not on the radar of business historians in the mid-1990s, they have since become impossible to ignore. Communication and information technologies have galvanized global social movements. Environmentalism, racism, sexism, and empowerment issues have combined with global population shifts to push business firms closer to the center of global debates, where the dark shadows of imperial pasts hang over future generations. Yet if business scholars are to take the issues of race and gender seriously, they need to find ways to tackle common issues of enduring inequalities and accountability. Whether inequalities are due to colonialism, sexism, racism, or the legal and institutional structures of economies and cultures, business has become part of the global problem, and hopefully the solution as well. It is at this intersection of gender, race, and entrepreneurship that global business histories will have the greatest impact and that race and gender historians will be able to make a much needed contribution to our understanding of (all) makers of global business. There is no doubt that gender and racial dynamics are constitutive of globalization; they have been shaping and continue to shape global business and global order.

A major challenge for business history going forward is to re-assemble information, think creatively, and seek out the missing pieces in the drama of gender, race, and entrepreneurship. Two voices from the past articulated this challenge: in a provocative edited volume entitled *Imagining Britain's Economic Future*, the editors stress how Joseph Schumpeter and Benedict Anderson placed "the concept of imagination at the heart of the entrepreneurial process" (Thackeray *et al.* 2018). This concept marked an important interpretive shift from an emphasis on Schumpeter's heroic man of action to an interest in the softer, thinking side of his ungendered twin, endowed with "the capacity of seeing things in a way which proves afterwards to be true, even though it cannot be established [as such] at the time" (Thackeray *et al.* 2018: 2). The edited volume pivots on a provocative question: how are we to understand the economic

imagination of people engaged in markets "making calculations about and placing faith in the future … key qualities of investors and entrepreneurs?" (Thackeray *et al.* 2018). This large question begs others which pull at the gender and racial threads underlying each act of this entry's drama: how have women and racial minorities been imagined? By whom? And for what purposes?

Gender has been and continues to be a question central to historian Joan Scott's research. It is not a given. In her 2018 memorial lecture, presented when she was awarded the prestigious Edgar de Picciotto International Prize of the Graduate Institute of Geneva, Scott (2018: 5) explained: "this means asking of any society or culture *how* the difference of sex is being defined and regulated, as well as what ends it is seeking to secure." For Scott (2018: 3), the historical persistence of gender inequality is a result of the interdependency between gender and politics. "Gender, defined as the historically and culturally variable attempt to insist on the duality of sex difference – *becomes the basis for imagining social, political, and economic orders* [my emphasis]."

This entry's expansive, boundary-defying drama began with an imaginative leap. It has ended with more questions than answers. Global connections between gender, race, and entrepreneurship have been developed in ways that have confirmed and contested Joan Scott's understanding of the interdependencies between gender and politics. Gender and race did not always involve politics, although politics mattered most of the time in ways that disadvantaged women more than men. In accounting for gender inequality, Scott dismissed the usual suspects – capitalism, patriarchy, male self-interest, misogyny, and religion – although she considered them "useful categories to work with." Entrepreneurship eluded her categorical net.

This entry has revealed entrepreneurship to be a wild card, illuminating how creative processes and practices can disrupt economic orders, regardless of politics, gender, or race. Still, gender and racial inequalities persist, even in the domain of entrepreneurship. It did not come as a surprise to this historian at least, to learn that societies have always valued white male entrepreneurs and their creations far more highly than those developed by white women and minorities. Entrepreneurship may or may not fuel global business and economic growth; but it always reinforces inequalities. Entrepreneurship is, after all, about valuing difference differently (Mazzucato 2013, 2018).

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