

THE SCIENTIFIC REPRODUCTION OF GENDER INEQUALITY

A Discourse Analysis of Research Articles on Women's Entrepreneurship

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This paper addresses a crucial question, namely how the practices involved in what is labeled *research* contribute to the reproduction of gender inequality. Through a discourse analysis of research articles on women's entrepreneurship, I show that, contrary to intentions, this research second-sexes women. I also show *how* this is achieved. Discussing the particular practices that bring this about, I discuss how this seemingly inevitable result may be avoided. The implications go beyond gender issues, however. They entail a challenge of the very basis of management research practices.

Theoretical and methodological departures

I depart from a social constructionist (or post-structuralist) understanding of gender. This means that there is nothing essentially masculine or feminine. These concepts are seen as socially constructed and vary in time and place. This differs from the liberal feminist view that much "women-in-management" research is based on. According to this view, what defines a human is her ability to think rationally and men and women are seen as equally well equipped with this ability. So, they are equally human. Any shortcomings with women must depend on discrimination or structural barriers. These removed, men and women would achieve equally. Liberal feminism thus assumes that men and women are "the same", but the man is the implicit norm (Calás & Smircich, 1996).

It also differs from social feminism, according to which men and women are seen as different¹. Not by birth, necessarily, but through early childhood experiences and continued socializing (Chodorow, 1988; Gilligan, 1982). Women are said to be more relational, caring and ethical than men. According to the post-structuralist view, men and women are neither similar nor different, but gender differences (and similarities) are produced in social interaction. So are gender relations. This production process, as well as the finished product, is the object of this study.

I use a discourse analytical approach, building on Foucault (1972). Foucault defined discourses as "practices which form the object of which they speak" (Foucault 1969/1972:49). Discourses have power implications in that they form what is held as knowledge, and as truth. For example, people drawing upon the discourse of "woman as a mother" might say that "there is nothing more important for children than a safe home with a caring mother". Those drawing upon the discourse of woman as a co-breadwinner might say "women should be able to support themselves financially on equal terms with men". These two discourses have different sorts of implications for the organization of social life, and for men and women. Discourses are therefore important study objects for the social sciences.

The purpose of this particular study is to analyze the discursive production of the female entrepreneur/female entrepreneurship in research texts. In line with the theory presented, research texts are not innocent, objective reflections of social reality. They are co-producers of social reality.

¹ Admittedly simplified, radical feminism, psychoanalytical feminism and early versions of standpoint theory might also be sorted in the "men-and-women-are-different" category.

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Table of Contents Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship

1. Understanding the eBook Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms

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- Features to Look for in an Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
- User-Friendly Interface
- 4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship User Reviews and Ratings
 - Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship and Bestseller Lists
- 5. Accessing Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship Free and Paid eBooks
 - Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship Public Domain eBooks
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- 6. Navigating Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship Compatibility with Devices
 - Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship

Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship

- Interactive Elements Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
- 8. Staying Engaged with Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
 - Setting Reading Goals Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Scientific Reproduction Of Gender Inequality A Discourse Analysis Of Research Texts On Womens Entrepreneurship
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks

14. Embracing eBook Trends

- Integration of Multimedia Elements
- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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