

Reputation and Grand Challenges: CSR investment in Education in Emerging Markets

Erica Salvaj and Valeria Giacomini

Abstract

This paper examines how firms build reputation in emerging markets by investing in education. Building upon the literature of business history, institutional entrepreneurship, international business, and business ethics, this paper investigates firms' CSR and for-profit activities related to education, a "grand social challenge," in emerging markets. We analyze a database of 97 oral histories by business leaders, collected between 2007 and 2017, in three emerging macro-regions: Latin America, South & Southeast Asia and Middle East & Africa (MEA). The research answers three main questions: why in the context of increasing liberalization and neoliberal economic policies, did the corporate sector engage in CSR and philanthropic activities involving grand social challenges such as education? Second, what type of strategies did businesses in emerging markets adopt to implement these projects? Third, what were the differences and similarities across macro-regions? We argue that business leaders get involved in education with a pragmatic perspective to improve or maintain their reputation across society. We find that these projects help these companies to build favorable reputation and strengthen their position vis-à-vis major local stakeholders. Finally, despite the heterogeneity of these regions, we find very similar attitudes towards CSR in education and the issue of reputation.

Keywords: emerging markets; reputation; CSR; education; grand challenges

1. Introduction

The lack of universal quality education represents a major barrier to vigorous and balanced economic growth in emerging economies and often referred as a “grand social challenge.” In this paper, we explore how companies in emerging markets tackled this specific problem to improve their reputation with different stakeholders. We depart from the established idea that improved reputation works as a meta-resource that allows corporate actors to mobilize conventional resources needed to successfully operate their business. We specifically concentrate on the context of emerging economies, often plagued by institutional voids, to understand why during both deglobalization after WWII and the second global economy, the corporate sector engaged in CSR and philanthropic activities targeting education. Second, we investigate the type of strategies which businesses adopted to implement these projects and the related outcomes. Finally, as a major novelty in the literature on emerging markets, we aim at providing an assessment of reputation management related to CSR across macro-regions.

The analysis is based on a database of 97 oral histories, namely semi-structured interviews with business leaders of major companies operating in emerging markets. The database has been created under the auspices of the “Creating Emerging Markets” (CEM) oral history project by Harvard Business School (HBS), and documents the evolution of business in Africa, Asia, Middle East and Latin America.¹ Interviews have been collected primarily in the period 2007-2017 and include 80 male and 17 female business leaders of major corporations and economic institutions across 20 countries. (See appendix A and B for a detailed overviews of the sources and methodology).

The paper is organized as follows. The next section describes the current literature on reputation and the reasons behind business involvement into CSR and grand challenges. We go on to explain why education represents a grand social challenge in the context of emerging economies. Section four addresses the mechanisms that firms adopt to strengthen their reputation. The paper concludes by explaining our findings across the three macro-regions.

¹ Creating Emerging Markets Projects at HBS <https://www.hbs.edu/creating-emerging-markets/Pages/default.aspx>

2. Business Reputation in emerging markets

Corporate reputation is defined as “a collective assessment of a company’s attractiveness to a specific group of stakeholders relative to a reference group of companies with which the company competes for resources” (Fombrun, 2012: 100). The institutional perspective, conceives reputation as a set of collective beliefs about a firm, shaped at least in part by evaluations of high-status institutions. Gao et al (2017) depart from this idea to define reputation as a meta-resource, which enables actors to activate and moderate other resources.

Several studies in the field of business history look at the implications of companies’ reputation for their performance in terms of brand equity (Eeckhout, and Scholliers, 2012; Lopes, 2016), export competitiveness (Higgins and Mordhost, 2008), international expansion (Kipping, 1999; Jones, 2000: 154, 194) and impact on countries’ regulatory frameworks (McKenna and Olegario, 2012). According to this scholarship, firm reputation is never monolithic, rather it is multifaceted; accumulated (path-dependent); relational (network based); and mediated. Reputations are path dependent and relational because they are created, maintained and destroyed over time and within small networks. Because of reputational dynamics, social relations function as a third type of coordination mechanism alongside markets and hierarchies (Lamoreaux, Raff, and Temin, 2003).

As a consequence, companies can shape and leverage multiple reputations in relation to specific audiences or groups of references, i.e. the government, competitors, customers, the public etc., with the aim of reducing their costs of doing business. Improved reputation provides companies with both “defensive” and “offensive” ways to operate in their business environments (Gao et al., 2017), namely companies can use their reputation to buffer threats as well as access opportunities. For instance, historically successful business families used their “family name” to signal accountability, helping them to succeed in banking (Perkins, 1975). Gao et al. (2017) used our same database to show that in emerging markets a trustworthy reputation enabled firms to decrease uncertainty, build competitive advantage, and increase their leverage via-à-vis other stakeholders. This may also breed further opacity and hamper the establishment of more

formalized systems for the enforcement of contracts and transaction among members (Grief, 2006; Lamoreaux et al., 2003).

While reputation needs to be constantly sustained and monitored, actors are never in full control of it. External actors and institutions such as NGOs, media organizations, certification boards, use their own reputation to communicate, evaluate, and judge the action or performance of companies, in turn shaping firms image and influencing their actions, such as deterring them from malfeasance and wrongdoing (McKenna and Olegario, 2013). Companies can increase their control over their own image partnering up with endorsers, i.e. third parties with good reputation. According to Lopes (2016: 472), endorsement occurred in several ways, using internal means, such as marketing campaigns and testimonials, or externally, by direct or indirect association with third parties with a positive and strong reputation. Alternatively, companies can influence and participate to the construction of their reputation by not misbehaving or adopting a proactive attitude towards selected stakeholders. For instance, they can ensure increased transparency by providing previously classified information to the public (Lipartito, 2013).

In the context of decolonization and deglobalization following World War II, the majority of the emerging economies in Asia, Africa and Latin America experienced decades of strict government regulation, including nationalizations of former colonial or foreign interest, and in some cases the quasi or total abolition of the capitalist system and the closure of the national economy. China, USSR, and Vietnam abolished capitalism altogether, while other countries such as India, Nigeria and Turkey followed a strategy of import substitution and export control. The association of capitalist enterprise with the colonial experience combined with the newly established governments' need to legitimize their action and build consensus among the public. This contributed to shed a negative light on free enterprise and create a narrative of greedy, opportunistic, and out-of-reach corporate sector in some of these economies, in our data especially India (due to the license raj), West Africa, and in Latin America, Chile and Peru. This narrative often justified expropriations and nationalization processes, as noted by the interviewees Benavides and Wiese. In countries dominated by state-owned enterprises (SOEs), given the increasing inefficiency and corruption of large public sectors, governments were

reluctant to encourage the activity of much nimbler private actors (Nguyen and Freeman, 2009). As a result, business élites became increasingly demonized.

Murat Vargi, founder and chair of Turkish MV Holding, while talking about the start of his business in the period prior to liberalization, observed: *“[A problem was] the political environment. Like in many other countries, the state is always hostile to businesses. They don’t want to open up. So that was the hardship.”* Further, the structural features of developing economies, characterized for the most part by a polarization of wealth and industrial capacity under the control of large business groups (often family business) vis-à-vis widespread conditions of dire poverty (Austin, Davila, and Jones, 2017), reinforced this trend after the liberalization waves at the end of twentieth century. Kwasi Abeasi, CEO of Africa Investconsult and former leader at the Private Enterprise Foundation and the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre stated that: *“What usually happens in Africa is that governments are always suspicious of the private sector. (...) They are a bunch of rich people who cannot be controlled, so you must cut them to size.”*

In some cases, business élites in countries undergoing dramatic political and economic developed bad reputations by consolidating their economic influence through relationships with illegitimate regimes, or perceived as such (Bucheli and Salvaj, 2013; 2018). In other contexts, such as India and Southeast Asia, most of wealth concentrated in the hands of ethnic minorities (Chinese and Indians in Southeast Asia; Maharti and Parsi in India), so that business interests were attacked based on ethnic hatred and racial discrimination (Benton and Gomez, 2014).

As Shinta Widjaja Kamdani, CEO of diversified Indonesian Sintesa Group noticed: *“I always call myself a triple minority. First, I’m a woman. Second, I’m a non-Muslim. And third, I’m of Chinese descent. So this triple minority [status] is very much a part of my journey, of my career, and of my life here.”* [...] *“The Chinese here in Indonesia are considered more the businesspeople, right? So [Indonesians] always look at the Chinese as being the ones who make money. And I think that perception always tied on with the fact that you are Chinese—you are the one who makes money, you make as much profit as you can here in Indonesia. So trying to change that perception—it takes a lot*

of effort for me to show that actually I'm not just here to make money. Right? That I am here to also contribute to our country."

Table 1 offers an overview on the issue of reputation and whether interviewees comment on the reputation of the private sector or the business élites.

Table 1 - Business Reputation in Emerging Markets

Reputation in Emerging Markets				
	South & Southeast Asia	MEA	Latin America	Total
Number of Interviewees	30	22	45	97
Talk About Reputation	25	18	41	84
Bad reputation of firms/business sector/ élite	13	5	17	35
Source: Authors' compilation from HBS CEM Database				

When the developing world started transitioning towards market economies between the 1980s and 1990s, the public sector exposed its weaknesses and structural deficiencies, also defined as institutional voids. These include missing or poor intermediaries impairing the smooth functioning of capitalist systems, such as inefficient labor or financial markets, barriers to international trade, corrupt governments or judicial systems, opaque contractual arrangements etc. (Khanna & Palepu, 1997, 2000; 2010; Khanna, Palepu, and Sinha, 2005). In this context, the corporate sector saw the opportunity of increasing its scope of action through a recovered centrality and visibility and set out to rebuild its reputation both at the local and international level. Given that reputation require constant monitoring, companies already enjoying a good one (like in UAE, South Africa or Philippines) recognized the need to sustain and strengthen it to secure their position.

Gao et al. (2017) recognize three main trends for firms to build favorable reputation: (i) serendipity (causal circumstances helping the company to rise to the spotlight); (ii) partnership (similar to the endorsement mechanisms described above); and (iii) providing solutions that fill institutional voids. The latter approach is particularly relevant in the context of emerging

economies. Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives addressing social and environmental causes, also known as “grand social challenges” (Ferraro, Etzion and Gehman, 2015) help firms enhance their image as reliable and honest and lead consumers to assign higher quality to their products (McWilliams and Siegel, 2001; Smith and Higgins 2000; Hur, Kim and Woo, 2014). Indeed, CSR includes all those initiatives contributing to improve corporate reputation for marketing purposes. Business Strategy research documented that CSR activities have multiple managerial relevance for the corporate sector, and when communicated and executed effectively can lead to improved competitive advantage (Porter and Kramer, 2006). Alongside with indirect benefits in terms of operations and marketing, or “offensive mechanisms”, social responsibility programs also provide firms with increasing leverage vis-à-vis other important stakeholders, such as the government or other business interests, also known as “defensive mechanisms”. For example, being involved in projects with high societal impact allows the corporate sector to protect their assets or to enhance their bargaining power with the government; i.e. by countering the risk of nationalization (Abdelrehim, Maltby, and Toms, 2011). Especially in emerging markets, large exposure in social challenges (such as education or health) might require the corporate sector to take on unexpected roles and responsibilities, yielding stronger bargaining power and influence in their business environment (Reinert, Nam, Pan, and Werker, 2018).

3. Education as a grand social challenge in emerging markets

Emerging markets are territories that went through economic and political transition in the last fifty years, following the process of decolonization and the emergence of the second global economy in the 1970s (Jones, 2005; Austin et al., 2017). They comprise industrializing countries in Middle-East, Sub-Saharan Africa, South & Southeast Asia, and Central & South America.² This part of the world (including India and China) accounts for around 6 billion people,

² “Defining Emerging Markets,” *the Economist*, <https://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21729866-self-fulfilling-prophecy-defining-emerging-markets>

or 85% global population.³ These territories also account for over 80% of people living with less than 1.90 a day in PPP.⁴

Research in economic history and development economics demonstrated that limited access to (at least primary) education represents a major barrier to long-term development. By contrast, improved literacy and numeracy are deemed to enact virtuous cycles via increased economic outcome (investment and income level) on social metrics such as nutrition, health and further education (Pe Symaco, 2014), and demographic indicators, such as death and fertility rates (Bittencourt, 2018). Overall, while education is never the sole determinant of growth, scholarship agrees that a certain level of human capital development through education is essential to promote economic advancement and modernization (Easterlin, 1981; Tortella, 1993; Aldcroft, 1998; McGrath, 2010). Business leaders support widespread education because it yields better employees and consumers and in turn a better business environment.

Fadi Ghandour, founder of Aramex, major shipping firm in the Middle East explained: *“we need to actually be active on the ground to make sure that—for selfish reasons— there is stability on the ground to build a business. I’m not going to just say, ‘I’m going to benefit from somebody else’s influence on society so that I can build my business, and if it doesn’t work, I’ll pack my bags and leave.’ No. This is our hometown. The youth that are graduating from our colleges are people who we want to employ. Their well-being is connected to our well-being. Society’s well-being is connected to our Society’s well-being is connected to our well-being. That’s why you see Aramex extremely active over the years.”* Similarly, Murat Vargi commented: *“The fact is, if you increase your education budget as a state and invest in education, the reflection in the GNP per capita and the growth of the government is more than any other investment which you could do in the country.”* Dato' Sri Prof. Dr. Tahir, head of the Indonesian conglomerate Mayapada Group, highlights the benefits of a wealthier society: *“If the lower level of the pyramid doesn’t upgrade their standard of living, we cannot do business. (...) We have a social problem. We have a buying-*

³ IMF Data, <http://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2015/09/28/04/53/sp020416>

⁴ World Bank Data 2013: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.DDAY?end=2013&locations=ZJ-8S-Z4-Z7-ZQ-ZG&start=2013&view=bar>

power problem. We have a problem of not being able to distribute. So if the lowest level, which is a majority, can upgrade their purchasing power, then we can do business.”

However, in several emerging economies, governments did not allocate sufficient resources to ensure widespread education. In Europe, selected societies reached rates of literacy above 80% already in pre-industrial times (Florence more the 80% men could read in 14th century; Sweden had 89% literacy in the 1690s) and most of Western population achieved basic literacy levels already at the end of nineteenth century (Engerman, Maristal and Sokoloff, 1999; Reinert, 2016). By comparison, most of Africa, large chunks of Asia and selected parts of Latin America maintained very low literacy rates (India and the Middle East below 10%) through the middle of twentieth century (Aldrcroft, 1998; Reinert, 2016). After World War II, in the context of decolonization and Cold War, Western agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank promoted and sponsored fastest progress (Verger, Edwards and Altinyelken, 2014; Bonal, 2011). However, results were very mixed and with the exception of the so-called “tigers” (Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong) or NIE in East Asia, efforts to improve education did not achieve the intended outcomes in terms of growth and development, especially in Africa and Latin America during the 1980s and much of the 1990s (Sundaram, Schwank and, von Arnim, 2011).

Paulo Cunha, Chair of a major Brazilian energy business group, Grupo Ultra, noted: *“I’m not running away from the education issue, which truly is Brazil’s Achilles’ heel. I believe that our education system is the result of a great mistake made by the Brazilian élite: leaving the masses behind in education. In terms of macro or public policies, very little.”* [In conversations with President Geisel] *“I said, Mr. President, why is our education system in this state? Why did you allow this? He mumbled and I received no answer. The same with all the others! [...] they really did not give the issue much importance. Well, they had no clue about the education issue, nor the strength a governor needed to have, in my opinion. So, education on the whole was left behind.”*

A first problem was scale, as most of programs were very expensive in absolute terms but remained limited in per capita expenditure relative to the OECD standards. Second, in the 1960s and 1970s, these programs were launched following the modernization doctrine, namely by replicating Western models, instead of adapting curricula and program design to the local context

(Rosser, 2015; Balarin and Benavides, 2009). Schools reported poor delivery, low attendance and high drop-outs, as educational policies often did not go hand-in hand with infrastructure development and household poverty reduction. Therefore, children quit simply because the family could not afford to have them studying instead of working, or because they could not physically reach the schools. A further problem concerned the allocation strategy, i.e. how the educational budget was distributed. Historical evidence suggests that across the developing world investment in education reinforced existing inequalities rather than turning into a social equalizer (Rambla, 2006).

Kwasi Abeasi compared Africa with NIEs: *“Singapore has no natural resources. All they did was to educate their people, (...) In Malaysia, the same thing. There’s no way you have a Minister of Finance in Singapore or Malaysia who doesn’t know economics, and then you come here to a developing country and you go and take somebody, who, say, is a politician. He barely finished secondary school and you make him Minister of Finance, and you think that with technocrats under him he can make it. No way. So the name of the game is education to the highest level for everyone who can. Look at the literacy rate.”*

Unlike in the “tiger” economies of East Asia, where postwar educational policies aimed to reach social cohesion through the implementation of universal primary schooling, in Africa and Latin America higher education (secondary schools and universities) obtained public funding before basic primary schooling was ensured for all. This meant that families with means, or local élites reached higher level of education by forgoing primary education for the larger segments of the population. Engerman and colleagues (1999) argued that since the nineteenth century in most Latin American countries (Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and to lesser extent Brazil), political and income inequality reinforced existing power dynamics and retarded human capital development, as only literates could obtain citizenship. Being the primary tax payers, the élites refused to subsidize education for the poorer (often non-white) groups. By contrast, despite a 75-year lag compared to the West, the first Latin American countries extending citizenship to the whole population, such as Argentina, Costa Rica, Uruguay, were also the ones providing broader schooling in the nineteenth century and achieving better economic performance. However, after the 1950s, major investment in primary schooling did not occur in Latin America and public

budgets for education remained narrow across the region. For example, in 2008 the Brazilian investment for the first four years of basic education was five times lower than public investment in higher education (Akkari, 2013).

In India, although the government invested significantly in primary education at the bottom of the pyramid since the 1950s, this did not alleviate poverty as the caste system neutralized the ability of education to deliver superior jobs. This in turn led to reduced allocation of funds for educational purposes by these segments of the population. Better outcomes in terms of literacy followed trade liberalization in 1994 (Chatterij, 2008). Despite the very poor quality of data, the findings in the very heterogeneous context of Sub-Saharan Africa point to similar directions. While African school enrollments are in line with the rest of the developing world, the breakdown by level of education showed lower enrolment at the primary level and higher at the more expensive secondary and tertiary levels, benefiting primarily the upper income classes. Further, although difficult to measure effectively, quality of education remained very scarce across the whole region (Schultz, 1999). (See Education data at the country level in table 2).

Table 2 – Education statistics at country level

Country	Literacy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)		School enrollment, secondary (%)		School enrollment, tertiary (%)		Expenditure on primary education (% of government expenditure on		Expenditure on secondary education (% of government		Expenditure on tertiary education (% of government expenditure on		Government expenditure on education, total (% of government	
	2014	2005	2014	2005	2014	2005	2014	2005	2014	2005	2014	2005	2014	2005
Argentina			88.25	78.98	82.92	63.79	30.06	34.20	41.48	41.69	20.40	16.24	14.72	15.81
Brazil	91.73		82.83		49.28	25.99		34.02		38.79		19.00		11.26
Chile		92.85	88.30		86.63	49.99	24.80	37.41	27.98	39.00	24.70	13.97	19.89	16.16
Colombia	94.19		78.59	64.07	53.28	29.19	35.60	47.44	37.50	36.13	20.76	13.81	15.84	15.54
Ghana			51.06	37.60	15.89	5.87	21.70	39.45	36.98	32.52	18.27	22.07	21.02	23.43
India					25.54	10.73		35.59		42.89		19.55		11.53
Indonesia	95.12		75.02	53.38	31.10	17.26	43.68		26.80		15.05		17.67	15.15
Kenya	78.73	91.63				2.97	36.09		43.12		13.70		17.08	27.47
Mexico	94.56			64.19	29.94	23.12	32.76	39.08	31.98	30.26	21.32	17.45	19.07	22.19
OECD members			89.19		70.00	10.41	24.80		37.80		24.33		12.32	
Pakistan	56.98	49.87	41.18	86.93	10.36	60.11	35.14	25.92	33.38	39.58	22.32	22.03	11.30	12.25
Peru	93.71	87.91	78.38			4.94	38.47		30.72		14.22		16.22	13.78
South Africa	94.14			69.87	19.38	33.18	38.80	35.59	30.72	31.39	12.19	10.75	19.13	14.28
Sri Lanka				67.31	19.29		28.67	42.95	47.11	32.58	20.17	15.05	10.78	19.92
Turkey	95.44	88.23	87.16		86.31									
Uganda				75.89	4.76	32.75	59.16		24.55		16.30		11.70	
United Arab Emirates		90.03												
SOURCE: World Bank														

As a result, the provision of widespread quality education can be conceptualized as a major social challenge or “grand challenge” in emerging markets. “Grand challenges” are problems that affect large populations. To be solved, they require the concerted action of multiple stakeholders

and strategies that span diverse fields and disciplines. According to the literature, social problems are “grand challenges” if they are complex, uncertain and evaluative (Ferraro et al., 2015). This means that solutions to these problems involve multiple actors and interactions (complex); require diversity of expertise (evaluative); and, consequently, outcomes are difficult to forecast (uncertain) (Ferraro et al., 2015: 365-367). Because grand challenges entail elements of risk, actions to tackle them increase a manager’s ability to adapt to new situations as they evolve (Eccles & Nohria, 1992), especially in emerging economies with a long history of instability and political and economic transitions.

The provision of universal quality education is complex because it involves a multiplicity of individuals, groups, and institutions interacting and collaborating often via conflicting agendas. These include national and local government institutions, teachers’ unions, private educational institutions (Akkari, 2013), as well as NGOs and international agencies, such as the World Bank, OECD, UNESCO and UNICEF. All these institutions in time shaped identities and developed their own specific and often conflicting approaches through routines, patterns and standardized practices (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015; Mundy and Verger, 2015), making education an evaluative problem. Given that the same goal can be tackled through different strategies and approaches, the task of developing universal quality education is also uncertain in its outcomes (Eisenhardt & Sull, 2001; Eisenhardt and Bhatia, 2002).

Since the end of the 1970s, emerging markets transitioned from growth models based on import substitution and high government expenditure to market economies fostering export-led development strategies. For instance, Indonesia, China, and Chile started liberalizing their economies in the late 1970s, Turkey and Vietnam in the 1980s, India and Argentina in the 1990s, several African economies embarked in major reforms since the 2000s (Austin et. al, 2017: 558-9). This change paralleled the increasing popularity of Milton Friedman’s libertarian ideas, the neoclassical doctrine supporting liberalization, widely promoted by US-backed international agencies, so-called “Washington Consensus” (Agüero, 2005; Stein, 2008). According to the

neoclassical paradigm that “social responsibility of business is profit,”⁵ firms should only operate in the direct interest of their shareholders, government intervention the economic sphere should be minimal, hence developing countries should embark on large scale privatizations of government-owned corporations, cut public expenditure, welcome foreign capital and lower their tariff barriers. This new doctrine became popular, as several emerging countries hired US economists as advisers and consultants on their development strategies, famous examples are the “Chicago Boys” in Chile (Silva, 1991; Corvalán, 2002); and the “Harvard boys” advising on privatizations in Russia (Jones, Comunale, and Lazaroff-Puck, 2017).

Despite the big social challenges of fostering universal quality education, in the context of trade liberalization the business segment started to increasingly get involved in education projects both in the for-profit and non-profit segments (Menashy, 2013). Intuitively, the private sector may find investment in secondary schools or universities more attractive, as in poor countries only wealthy segments of the population demand and can afford longer and improved education. This was the path followed in East Asia (Taiwan and Korea), where the private sector developed higher education, while public expenditure was allocated to reduce illiteracy.

However, primary schooling and vocational education became also increasingly appealing to the private sector. As the cases of Dr. Elizabeth Mary Okelo Makini School, a group of private primary schools between Kenya and Uganda and Syed Babar Ali, which after founding a successful packaging business in Pakistan, ventured into education and founded LUMS business school, which eventually became a University. In Latin America, Amalia Lacroze de Fortabat, the former president and chair of the largest cement producer in Argentina, built several technical schools; and Reinaldo Solari, Chair of Falabella, the largest multinational chain in Chile’s retail, launched a program to help low-income schools named “School Support” almost forty years ago.

As the decision of going to education might sound counterintuitive, it is in line with the idea that trade liberalization leads to improved literacy and acts as positive shock to the level of education. More local jobs put pressure on the education system, access to foreign capital enables

⁵ Milton Friedman, “The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase its Profits,” *The New York Times Magazine*, September 13, 1970.

increased public spending and inflow of aid, as well as improved circulation of knowledge (Robbins, 1994). Business leaders in emerging markets point out that education helps people to make better decisions in terms of credit and consumption (Reinaldo Solari, 2008) and that supporting women education is particularly important because: *“It’s the mother who raises the children. (...) If they remain ignorant mothers, so their children also remain ignorant”* (Murat Vargi, 2014).

Meanwhile, education at all levels became a central focus of CSR and philanthropic activities across most of the developing world (Sanborn and Portocarrero, 2005; Menashy, 2013). In our dataset about 75% of interviewees engaged in educational projects in some capacity, and most of them as non-profit or CSR activity non-core to their business. Table 3 presents the number and percentage of business leaders involved in education projects in the three regions.

Table 3 – Business leaders involved in education projects

	South and Southeast Asia	Middle East and Africa	Latin America	Total
	30	22	45	97
# involved in education	24	18	33	75
% involved in education	80%	82%	73%	77%
# for profit education	6	4	3	13
% for profit education	25%	22%	9%	17%

Turitz and Winder (2005) argue that education is a priority because is a popular cause with the public, represents a low risk and lower cost investment compared to other issues such as healthcare or environmental protection, and fits national priorities, making it possible to leverage government resources. Alongside with improved effects on reputation, business leaders see the possibility of giving back to their society of origin, and pursuing ideological and religious causes. For instance Sizne Nxasana, a South African serial entrepreneur, noted: *“I’ve always been very passionate about education. (...) if a lot more people could be given opportunities in education, their lives, and their communities’ lives, their families’ lives, could be changed for the better.”* Kenyan business leader Manu Chandaria explains the philosophy behind his involvement in social

projects: *“Yes, because we are Jains. Jains believe in nonviolence, (...) To be truthful and to be able to hear another’s viewpoint. (...) In our business it is a philosophy to be useful to others, to be friends to others, to be holding the hands of others... because you have a capacity to hold. (...) money is here today; money may not be there tomorrow. A good set of principles and values will remain with you for a lifetime.”*

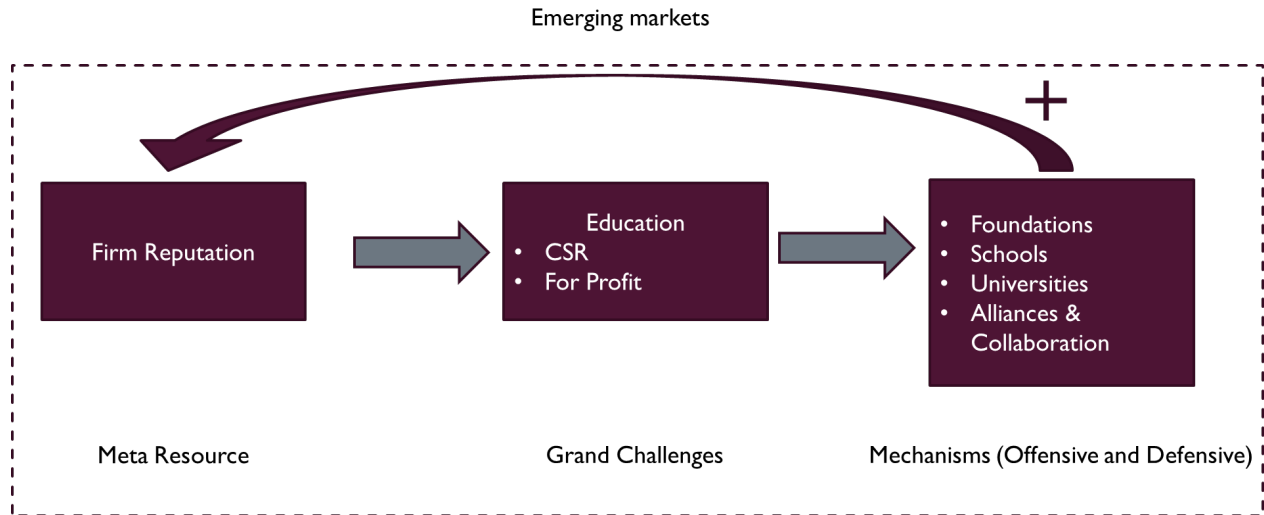
4. Solution-Driven Approach to Reputation-Building

Grand social challenges involve both political and economic outcomes and hence hover between the public and the private sectors (Rojas & Morales, 2005). In order to be resolved, they require the participation of heterogeneous actors such as scientists, local communities, unions, universities and several other stakeholders, that business need to deal with in order to be successful in their business (Durand, 2005: 215). By providing solutions to these challenges companies make themselves known as reliable and trustworthy, and potentially align previously mismatched incentives with other important stakeholders.

As Shinta Kamdani, explained: *“Public, private, and civil society need to all be together—they are, I think, the three elements that are critical for a nation such as Indonesia. And for the longest time, the lack of trust has been the biggest issue. So we are now trying to rebuild this trust and trying to recognize that we can have common goals as well.”*

Thus, by financing or supporting projects addressing education, companies can improve or maintain their reputation potentially for the long-term. In turn, being a meta-resource, a more favorable reputation among these groups allows firms to activate conventional resources important for their business, such as finance, labor or government relations. As a result, we argue that companies will engage in different types of education projects according to their expected and desired outcomes, in terms of resources and stakeholders they want to mobilize.

Figure 1 presents our model.



Manuel Sacerdote, CEO of Bank Boston in Argentina, captured the process underlying the model. In the 1970s and 1980s Bank Boston found itself at disadvantage compared to competitors because American banks did not have a good reputation among the public and their small size did not allow them to lend to the government. Hence, they established a foundation dedicated to promote export and diffuse practical strategies to increase the inflow of foreign currency in the country. This way, the company aligned its incentive with the government, while improving their public image, and potentially breed future customers for the bank. He reflected: *“Instead of lending them U.S. dollars, we were going to teach them how to get their own dollars. (...) We were doing great with our exports school. We were providing something, and we were providing it for free. We taught people how to export. That’s still going on... Consortia were built for exports. For instance, small businesses that were unable to export on their own came together in some regions to export their products collectively.”*

We outline three set of strategies that enable companies to mobilize resources via improved reputation. These are: (i) the development of educational projects at different levels; (ii) the construction of alliances and collaborations; (iii) and creation of foundations to support education initiatives. Taken together, these strategies relate and reinforce each other. Table 4 presents an overview of our findings across these three dimensions.

Table 4 – Solution Driven Reputation Building

Mechanisms				
	South & Southeast Asia	MEA	Latin America	Total
Involved in Education	24 (80%)	18 (82%)	33 (73%)	75 (77%)
1) Pre-University projects (% education)	16 (53%)	12 (55%)	22 (49%)	50 (67%)
2) University (% education)	10 (33%)	11 (50%)	13 (29%)	34 (45%)
3) Other initiatives (% education)	17 (57%)	12 (55%)	11 (24%)	40 (53%)
Alliances with other stakeholders	12 (40%)	11 (50%)	18 (40%)	41 (55%)
Foundations	9 (30%)	11 (50%)	11 (24%)	31 (41%)

4.1 Educational projects at different levels

The interviews show that business leaders and companies in emerging economies are very aware of the reputational value of getting involved in educational projects. We argue that by engaging across different education levels, they aim to mobilize diverse stakeholders.

In our dataset, 67% of corporations and business leaders get involved in **pre-university projects**. By supporting primary education at the local level, companies expect to gain reputational benefits which are broader in terms of audience and have long-term impact. Consequently, improved primary education is likely to help relations with employees and local constituencies.

Alberto Benavides, founder and former Chair of Buenaventura Mines in Peru consulted a delegation of workers about what sections of a community camp site to prioritize. He realized the importance of primary education for his workers, when they expressed the preference to have the schools built first instead of their accommodations. Reinaldo Solari, explained Falabella's commitment: *"Our support to low income schools is life-long, and our relationship with each school involves, primarily, financial aid for basic facilities. We start by providing everything they need for an IT room –thirty, forty or fifty PCs – and move on to educational issues and requirements. Currently, we are working on a reading and comprehension program, because most people read but don't understand what they are reading."*

Fernando Merrill, founder of MFJ Group in Sri Lanka observed: *“I vowed [to myself that] if my business is successful, I will share my earnings with workers and the poor. When I started my own business I had 18 employees (...) I said, ‘I would like to take responsibility for the education of your children’ by providing them with all textbooks, clothes, shoes, and stationary required, apart from offering scholarships to those who do well, right up to university. I undertook to care for the children by funding their university education locally or and in regional universities, if they wished. (...) Today, in the Dilmah factory alone, there are 1,400 employees. All of them enjoy these benefits and much more. (...) So business, I always say, must become a matter of human service.”*

Overall, primary education projects help improving long-term growth and provide the possibility of better life to the local communities, so companies can signal a long-term commitment in terms of providing jobs and development.

A second type of projects are those related to the creation of **universities**, either for-profit or nonprofit, which represent 45% of the cases across our three macro-regions. These type of projects are generally targeting narrower strata of the population (often élites) and create positive reputational outcomes within the business community.

For example, Guillermo Murchison, former CEO of the largest firm on shipping and logistic in Argentina comments his involvement in the establishment of Universidad San Andres in Buenos Aires as a way to improve research, networking and counter brain-drain: *“In 1984, out of the ninety students who had graduated from high school, seventeen had gone to the United States to pursue their career studies. (...) I truly believe it is a good thing to do your postgraduate studies abroad. But I think it best to make your degree experience in your home country, because it is then that you make lifelong friends.”* About research he adds: *“My research included a study at the University of Buenos Aires. (...) I found nothing innovative; no research was done. There were no full-time professors and no library. (...) Thus, we started San Andres University. I had a utopian vision. San Andres University was launched by San Andres Civil Association, as a way of creating credibility. I knocked on many doors looking for funds. Economy minister Lousteau was a member of the first graduating class. His father contributed enormously.”*

Antonio Bailleres, one of the richest men in Mexico and CEO of the business group BAL, described his father’s motives behind the foundation of ITAM non-profit university: *“We must*

remember the parable of the fisherman: that we must teach the hungry how to fish instead of giving fish to them. Today, education is what opens up possibilities, more equitable opportunities, for everyone. However, the education provided by ITAM is an élite education; that is the way it was intended and that is the way we want to keep it. We provide scholarships for many students who are unable to pay tuition, but we do it because of their talent and their personal merits. (...) the objective is to create leaders with values who will drive the country to a more just and prosperous situation for all Mexicans.”

The entrepreneur Syed Babar Ali, founder of Packages Limited and of LUMS, a major non-profit university in Pakistan, observed: *“This was a time that I thought of setting up the business school. Having been at Harvard and having been in the private sector, I realized how important it was to have trained people for management. (...) the quality of our graduates — these were MBAs — was different to anything that the business community, and especially the multinationals, had [experienced, they had] never seen that quality before.”* He also admits: *“It was about 15 years ago, we felt that LUMS was becoming too much of an elitist school, and that we should try and recruit students from a less-privileged background. It took us a while to get into full gear, but today we are admitting about 10 percent of the students coming to LUMS from the bottom of the pyramid, and they are on full scholarship.”*

In general, university projects have medium-term outcomes and target narrower layers of the social pyramid. Companies can see their reputation enhanced within the business sector and among local élites, as improved universities provide leadership and human resources to employ in the private and public sector. Potential long term outcomes are improved research, knowledge generation, and reduction of brain-drain.

Finally, 53% of the interviewees mentioned their involvement in **other type of education initiatives**. These programs are often complementary to initiative targeting other levels of education, and can impact a multiplicity of different stakeholders, often for short-term outcomes.

One example is the creation of specific post-graduate training schools to support their own institutions. Devi Shetty, founder of Narayana Health hospitals in India, speaks about their specialized training initiative: *“Nursing education is relatively expensive (...). Also, when they are getting trained for four years, they don’t earn money. This is another obstacle. So, we identify such*

girls who couldn't get admission to nursing college, but they have all the qualifications, and we train them for a particular task—like assisting for a heart operation. So they work as nurse assistants, and over a period of time, they do amazing work.”

By contrast, the Godrej group has focused on a broader spectrum of employability: *“So we have a program, which started about two years ago, to train about a million youth in practical successful trades. We strongly believe that there is no unemployment in India; there is only unemployability. Almost everybody with a good background in training or education will be able to get employed reasonably well. (...) in areas in which we have good knowledge, like sales, or hair salons, or agribusiness, poultry breeding, and other areas where we can develop good strengths amongst the people.”*

In other cases, initiatives may be intended to establish new linkages within external networks and break into new communities. A typical example is the funding of dedicated chairs or research centers at foreign universities (especially in the US), participation to alumni associations, and educational speeches in universities and conferences. Antonio Madero, founder and CEO of the automotive SanLuis Corporación in Mexico, instituted the Fundación Mexico in Harvard with the aim of furthering his network within fellow business leaders in both Mexico and the US. He explained: *“Let's do something so more Mexicans go to Harvard. What is the problem? Money. There are very capable Mexicans but the problem they have is money (...) Fundación México en Harvard, (...) has been a big success because we built trust with the donors, with Harvard, and with the fellows. More than 800 people have gone to Harvard thanks to the Foundation. (...) Then we needed money for a center for studies about Mexico. I went to see Mr. David Rockefeller, who is a very close friend of mine, to convince him to donate. (...) And together we created the David Rockefeller Center of Latin American Studies in 1994. It has also been a great success. In 1996 Harvard honored me as a Harvard Fellow for my contribution. Then Harvard invited me to be a member of the Executive Committee of the University and serve on several HBS committees.”*

4.2 Alliances and Collaborations

When carrying out educational projects, the private sector often has to collaborate with Government institutions and other actors, such as religious organizations or international

agencies. On the one hand, companies see the opportunity to bridge institutional voids, as many education systems have been badly administered by the public sector. As the Nigerian businessman Victor Obsibodu observed: *“At this point in our development, you just need to be hard working because there are performance gaps all around you, from power to water to health, education, and the government is saying they don’t know how to do it and even if they did, there is only so much they want to do so there is a lot of privatization going on one after the other.”*

However, corporations remain skeptical about working with the government because of lack of institutional capacity and general incompetence, and the widespread problem of corruption (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2014). For example, Jorge Born, former president of Bunge y Born, one of the largest agribusiness conglomerates in Argentina, explained: *“Corruption and unlawfulness are central problems in our country. I tried to build ties with the government to support Education; I tried to work to fix that, and I came to the conclusion that the only way to do something effective was to work with universities in order to improve the quality of graduates.”*

Similarly, Indian entrepreneur M.V. Subbiah explains: *“The foundation has four schools; (...) But then running schools and hospitals we have focused up to now entirely on education and healthcare, [for] both of them there is far too much interference from the state and from the government. So therefore we are looking at opportunities to do it differently.”*

In some cases, it is the government that does not wish to cooperate, which enables firms to present themselves as an efficient alternative to the public sector. Keshub Mahindra, chairman of the Indian conglomerate Mahindra Group stated: *“Government may not want business involved. I think they have been compelled to provide so many subsidies in other areas which perhaps are not needed and not yet concentrating on these issues. If you ask yourself after fifty years of growth—there is no water in the villages; no housing. These are basic amenities. No control over food prices. I think the government priorities need to be changed, but sadly they are always influenced by votes.”*

However, engaging in direct competition may trigger retaliation among competing stakeholders. For instance, Fadi Ghandour commented the reaction of the Muslim Brotherhood to his entrepreneurs’ mentorship initiative: *“They found that a bit intimidating for them, because they’re used to playing alone. (...) Their competitor was the government. They filled a gap. People*

don't understand—these ideological organizations filled a gap in society. That's their power, by the way, not necessarily religion. One needs to study that very carefully. They basically came in and provided services when government was failing, and they filled that gap as a non-profit."

Sema Aziz alongside her textile business founded CARE, a foundation running hundreds of schools in Pakistan, which faced strong opposition by the unions: *"The unions thought that somebody had come to take over their domain. As we adopted those schools and committed to put in labs, libraries, fans, lights, furniture and whatever else was needed, the unions kept saying, 'Get out of our schools.'"*

In a minority of cases, direct cooperation with other stakeholders led to positive outcomes for all parties involved. For instance Felipe Custer, CEO of Corporacion Custer in food and chemicals sectors from Peru created a charitable foundation which focuses on learning disabilities and education, and which is funded in part by Custer's publishing of cookbooks and children's books, and in part with the support of a Jesuit organization. African entrepreneur Sizne Nxasana observed: *"We now, in the National Education Collaboration Trust, which was started in 2013, work across about half of the public schools in South Africa. (...) We've already seen a lot of traction in just bringing the private sector to work with government—working with unions to improve the quality of public education in South Africa."* Similarly, Güler Sabancı, head of Turkish conglomerate Sabancı holdings, observed: *"Now Turkey has reached a level where there are many more big family foundations, big wealthy families running a lot of schools and dormitories. So we, at the Sabancı Foundation are adding new things to our portfolio, like working more in partnership in the last decade—because of what we know of this successful triangle—the public-private partnership. We are doing projects together with the United Nations, with the Ministry of Interiors and the Ministry of Family and Education. Joint projects are doing even better advocacy and helping social change as well as supporting the NGOs in the field."*

In other cases, while operating social ventures, companies find themselves to take on unexpected amount of responsibility. After the outstanding results of Sema Aziz's first schools, the government asked for further involvement: *"It was the city district government of Lahore that called us and said, 'Why do your schools do so well and why don't ours? Can you come and adopt some of our schools?' Every school that we built was filling up. The children were doing amazingly*

well. (...) At the government's request, I surveyed about 25 to 30 schools in the city of Lahore. That was a whole eye-opener. Sadly, the state schools were in very bad condition. (...) I agreed to take on 10 government schools. It was a whole struggle."

Hence, while recognizing the advantages of social involvement, business leaders increasingly come together to face the challenges of operating in this space. For example, in Chile the Matte and Solari families joined efforts using a common foundation called APTUS, focusing on primary education projects. Antonio Celia, CEO of Promigas in Colombia recalls: *"Nicanor Restrepo, [another business leader] called me and a group of our friends, organized a meeting and told us: 'Business leaders have to do something for education. We cannot leave education on the State's hands alone.' And that's how, 12 years ago, the Business Leaders for Education foundation started. It intends to make public elementary education better. It is a rather large group, and we have become a support for the government."*

Thus, CSR initiatives align the interest of the corporate world at a systemic level. As business leaders recognize social involvement as an imperative, they use existing platforms and organizations, or create new ones, to discuss, collaborate and exchange information on how to tackle these social issues. This channels increasing resources to CSR, but also indirectly contributes to strengthen the ties within the business sector, and to foster the business interest in negotiations with other stakeholders. Anu Aga, Former Chairperson, Thermax Global and now at the head of Thermax Foundation explained that among other activities she decided to support "Teach For India,"⁶ following the example of other business leaders: *"As the company stabilized and started making profits, though it was not in any way compulsory, good companies and people whom I respected like Azim Premji or Tatas or Bajaj or Birlas or Godrej [influential business figures in India] did give quite a lot to social causes. So in a small way my board was ready and willing to give. [...] Thermax Foundation supports five schools in Pune and from our personal funds (we give 30% from our yearly income from Thermax dividend) we look after Teach For India, which is a growing organization."*

⁶ Godrej group is also major donor to Teach For India. See: <http://www.godrejandboyce.com/godrej/godrejandboyce/recentInitiatives.aspx?id=1&menuid=1163>

Thus, in terms of relationships with other stakeholders involvement in education generally allows firms to reap benefits in terms of reputation and gain prominence, in turn strengthening their role as local stakeholders. However, these activities are bound to generate tension with existing incumbents and may result in unexpected responsibilities. For this reason, the corporate sector comes together to solve common issues with social engagement, and this results in stronger business networks and increased influence.

4.3 Foundations

Foundations are very popular legal structures to organize resources dedicated to CSR initiatives. Around 40% of the interviewees across the macro-regions established foundations promoting education (See table 5). Consistent with Sanborn (2005) findings, the foundations in our sample are private and nonprofit, they are legally autonomous, and they are dedicated to grand social challenges, primarily in education and healthcare. Most foundations have secular orientation and were created in the 1990s and 2000s with funds or properties provided by private corporations or business leaders.

As organizational structures, foundations entail diverse benefits for the corporate sector. First, in most countries foundations provide significant tax benefits. In Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Chile and Peru), some legislatures are more generous than others; Brazil is the most liberal case in their tax treatment of nonprofit in education, as they are free and clear of federal, state and municipal taxes (Irrarrazaval and Guzman, 2005). In 2014, India implemented new CSR guidelines requiring companies to spend 2% of their net profit on social development.⁷ Through foundations, companies feel responsible to manage directly those funds that otherwise would go to the government. As Raul Baja explains: *“They [foundations] have a certain income every year and by law, 85 percent has to be spent. So we are spending that money and that will have to continue to be spent, because that’s why they have income tax exemptions. Over and above that, we have to spend two percent of the net profit of the Group companies. (...)*

⁷ “India's new CSR law sparks debate among NGOs and businesses”, The Guardian, Aug 11, 2014: <https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/india-csr-law-debate-business-ngo>

Including the trusts, we will have to spend about US\$30 million dollars in India—about Rs. 180 crores or 1.8 billion rupees, which is a fairly large amount. We can't spend this outside of India. From the charitable trusts, we need some permissions.”

Second, foundations create complementary ties between philanthropic and commercial activities with social and economic benefits for both the foundations and the companies. As mentioned, CSR on education helps companies to acquire a friendly humanistic image among the public and the use of foundations impacts positively on reputation (Rojas and Morales, 2005).

Chilean business leader Eliodoro Matte, explained the reaction of employees, the local authorities and the community to the establishment of his foundation: *“our family has a deep interest in social matters (...) and it is highly concerned with educational issues. This involvement in social activities is both a company and a Matte family tradition. My sister Patricia serves as president of an important foundation called Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria (Primary Education Society), which includes over 20,000 students in fifteen schools for low-income people. (...) we have joined city administrations to implement educational support programs. (...) People appreciate such concern, and workers welcome the possibility of sending their children to a good school”*.

Finally, foundations entail an additional reputational advantage. As foundations are one of the preferred vehicles that multinationals use to organize CSR in the developed world, companies can present themselves as abiding by global standards and adopting global practices. This also signals that they qualify as suitable partners to foreign investors and as potential candidates to access international business networks. Several interviewees commit to partner with major Western foundations. For example, Indonesian businessman Dato Tahir described his partnership with Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation: *“‘if you give one dollar, we of Bill Gates Foundation will match with one dollar.’ So, I say, ‘Okay. For what purpose is the money used?’ They say, 75 percent for Indonesia: HIV, malaria, tuberculosis, and family planning. And 25 percent goes to the world polio fund. I say, ‘I make profit. I pay one dollar; he pays one dollar. Then one half dollar goes to my country. Half a dollar goes international, and still, my country is one of the members.’ I say, ‘Good, I will do it.’ (...) So, three weeks later, I receive a letter from Bill personally. He said, ‘Okay, we agree. We meet in Abu Dhabi, then we sign.’ This year is the third year, we will donate again in five years.”*

Jorge Born explained the value of his foundation in the Latin American context: *“It is a very important foundation nowadays, with award programs for leading scientists and school support programs. In a nutshell, we do a lot of work with private universities. This allowed us to change our roles entirely here in Argentina, engaging in monetary donations a lot more. Of course, we get support from others as well; we work with the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, as well as with other foundations around the world. We are very involved in foundation work here. We also built a foundation in Brazil.”*

5. Conclusion

This paper examined the literature on global education and reputation in emerging economies in order to evaluate the aims and strategies of major local actors funding CSR projects in education, a “grand challenge” in the dynamic context of emerging economies. A favorable corporate reputation is recognized as an important meta-resource, facilitating business activities. On the one hand, it provides “defensive” outcomes, as companies with good reputation increase their incumbency in their business environment. On the other hand, it creates “offensive” mechanisms, as companies can leverage their positive reputation to access business opportunity, negotiate better conditions, and have preferential treatment with other stakeholders.

In the context of emerging economies business leaders are specifically interested in engaging in social projects that can enhance their reputation. On the one hand, in some countries, because of colonial legacy, large public sectors and, cronyism with political élites, and rampant inequality, the corporate sector developed a reputation of being greedy and opportunistic. In other contexts, they combine the need to nurture and sustain their reputation with the aim to improve the business environment, which often presents several institutional voids.

As Gao et. al (2017) theorized, one way for companies to build or strengthen a favorable reputation is to fill institutional voids, by providing solutions to pressing social problems, also known as “grand social challenges.” We investigate this idea further and contribute to this scholarship by showing that this occurs specifically through the adoption of CSR projects targeting education. We argue that companies engage in education CSR to reinforce their image for

themselves across different groups of the social pyramid. In line with business history and business ethics literature, we find that companies in emerging markets consider enhanced reputation a strategic tool and a meta-resource to expand business locally and internationally; facilitate their prominence and bargaining power with the government; and strengthen ties within the business community. Remarkably, we observe homogeneous trends both across and within our three macro-regions.

First, we focused on how different types of projects impact shape the perception of different stakeholders. Projects addressing pre-university (primary and secondary) schooling promote long-term development at the community level and improve relations with workers, local government, and communities at large. Projects targeting university or higher education are instead instrumental to develop skills and talent to be more immediately employed at the industry or sectorial level, but potentially involve long-term benefits in terms of knowledge generation and reduced brain-drain. This way, they often help companies strengthen their legitimacy among their peers. Other type of CSR activities are instead adopted to break into new networks, such as foreign business circles, specific political groups, or international agencies.

Second, we observe recurrent patterns in terms of organizational structures and practices that companies adopt to carry out their educational initiatives. Alliances and collaboration with external stakeholders have both an offensive and defensive outcome for the private sector. On the offensive side, firms strengthen their network within their business community of reference, as business leaders often create forum and platforms to discuss and coordinate their social work. In terms of defensive mechanism, engaging in initiatives that require the participation of a multiplicity of stakeholders, companies increase their prominence within their business environment and often obtain improved bargaining power with the government or the public. Finally, a significant percentage of our interviewees chose to organize their CSR efforts in foundations. We found that foundations include a series of tangible and intangible benefits. While capitalizing on tax exemptions, firms used foundations as ways to signal their adherence to global practices and establish linkages within international business networks.

References

- Abdelrehim, Neveen, Josephine Maltby and Steven Toms, 2011. "Corporate Social Responsibility and Corporate Control: The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, 1933–1951," *Enterprise & Society*, Volume 12, Issue 4 December, pp. 824-862
- Agir, Seven 2017, "Legal Change and Business Enterprise in the Middle East, 1850 to Present," Working paper presented at Business History Seminar, HBS.
- Agüero, F. 2005. The promotion of Corporate Social Responsibility in Latin America. In *Philanthropy and Social Change in Latin America*. Sanborn, C, Portocarrero, F (eds). Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, U.S.; 163-190.
- Akkari, A., 2013. Blurring the Boundaries of Public and Private Education in Brazil. *Journal of International Education and Leadership*, 3 (1), 1-13.
- Akkari, A., Lauwerier, T. 2015. The education policies of international organizations: Specific differences and convergences. *Prospects*, 45:141–157.
- Aldcroft, D. H., 1998. Education and development: the experience of rich and poor nations, *History of Education*, 27:3, 235-254.
- Austin, Gareth, Carlos Davila, and Geoffrey Jones. "The Alternative Business History: Business in Emerging Markets." Special Issue on Methodologies. *Business History Review* 91, no. 3 (Fall 2017): 537–569.
- Balarin Maria, and Martin Benavides (2009) "Curriculum reform and the displacement of knowledge in Peruvian rural secondary schools: exploring the unintended local consequences of global education policies," *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 40:3, 311-325, DOI: 10.1080/03057920903374440
- Baldwin, Richard, 2012. "Global supply chains: Why they emerged, why they matter, and where they are going," CEPR Discussion Papers 9103, C.E.P.R. Discussion Papers.
- Benton, Gregor and Edmund Terence Gomez, (2014). "Belonging to the nation: generational change, identity and the Chinese diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37:7, 1157-1171, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2014.890236
- Bittencourt, Manoel, 2018. Primary education and fertility rates: Evidence from Southern Africa, *Economics of Transition*, 04 , Vol.26(2), pp.283-302.
- Bonal Xavier (2011). "Plus ca change ...the world bank global education policy and the post-Washington consensus," *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 12:1, 3-22, DOI: 10.1080/09620210200200080

- Bondy, K., Moon, J. and Matten, D., 2012. "An institution of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in multi-national corporations (MNCs): form and implications." *Journal of Business Ethics*, 111 (2), pp. 281-299.
- Bucheli M, Salvaj E. 2013. Reputation and political legitimacy: ITT in Chile, 1920-1972. *Business History Review* 87(4): 729-755.
- Bucheli, M., & Salvaj, E. 2018. Political connections, the liability of foreignness, and legitimacy: A business historical analysis of multinationals' strategies in Chile. *Global Strategy Journal*, doi: 10.1002/gsj.1195.
- Chatterji Monojit, 2008, *Education and Economic Development in India*, Working Paper, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/4810799 Education and Economic Development in India](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/4810799_Education_and_Economic_Development_in_India).
- Corvalán L. 2002. *Del anticapitalismo al neoliberalismo en Chile: izquierda, centro y derecha en la lucha entre los proyectos globales, 1950-2000*. Sudamericana: Santiago, Chile.
- Davis, G, Robbins, G. 2005. In Nothing but Net? Networks and Status in Corporate Governance. In *The Sociology of Financial Markets*. Knorr Cetina, K, Preda, A. (eds). Oxford University Press: UK; 290-311.
- Easterlin, R.A., 1981. Why isn't the whole world developed?, *Journal of Economic History*, 41, 10-14.
- Eccles, R. G., & Nohria, N. (1992). *Beyond the hype: Rediscovering the essence of management*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
- Eisenhard, K., Sull, D. 2001. Strategy as simple rules. *Harvard Business Review*, 79, 106-117.
- Eisenhardt, K., Bhatia, M. 2002. *Organizational complexity and computation. The Blackwell companion to organizations*. Edited by Joel Baum. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Eeckhout, P., and Scholliers, P. (2012). The Proliferation of Brands: The Case of Food in Belgium, 1890-1940. *Enterprise & Society*, 13(1), 53-84. doi:10.1017/S1467222700010934
- Engerman, Stanley L., Mariscal, Elisa, Sokoloff, Kenneth L., "Schooling institutions and Path of development in the Americas, 1800-1945", Working paper, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Ferraro, F, Etzion, D, Gehman, J. 2015. Tackling Grand Challenges Pragmatically: Robust Action Revisited. *Organization Studies* 36 (3): 363-390.
- Fombrun, CJ (2012). The Building Blocks of Corporate Reputation: Definitions, Antecedents, Consequences. In: Barnett MI, Pollock TG (eds). *The Oxford handbook of corporate reputation*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp 94-113.

- Gao, Cheng, Tiona Zuzul, Geoffrey Jones, and Tarun Khanna. "Overcoming Institutional Voids: A Reputation-Based View of Long Run Survival." *Strategic Management Journal* 38, no. 11 (November 2017): 2147–2167.
- Grief, A. (2006). *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lesson from Medieval Trade*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Higgins David M. and Mads Mordhorst, 2008, "Reputation and export performance: Danish butter exports and the British market, c.1880-c.1914," *Business History*, Vol. 50, No. 2, p. 185-204
- Hur, Won-Moo, Kim Hanna and Woo Jeong, 2014. "How CSR Leads to Corporate Brand Equity: Mediating Mechanisms of Corporate Brand Credibility and Reputation," *Journal of Business Ethics*, Volume 125, Issue 1, pp 75–86.
- Irrarrazaval, I., Guzman, J. 2005. Too Much or Too Little? The role of Tax Incentives in Promoting Philanthropy. In *Philanthropy and Social Change in Latin America*. Sanborn, C, Portocarrero, F (eds). Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, U.S.; 3-29.
- Jones, G. 2000. *Merchants to Multinationals: British Trading Companies in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, U.K.
- Jones G. 2005. *Multinationals and global capitalism*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, U.K.
- Jones, Geoffrey, Rachael Comunale, and Kate Lazaroff-Puck. "Boris Berezovsky, Vladimir Putin and the Russian Oligarchs." Harvard Business School Case 317-005, March 2017.
- Khanna T, Palepu K, Sinha J. 2005. Strategies that fit emerging markets. *Harvard Business Review* (June): 4-18.
- Khanna T, Palepu K. 1997. Why focused strategies may be wrong for emerging markets. *Harvard Business Review* 75(4): 41-51.
- Kipping, M. (1999). American Management Consulting Companies in Western Europe, 1920 to 1990: Products, Reputation, and Relationships. *Business History Review*, 73(2), 190-220. doi:10.2307/3116240
- Lamoreaux, Naomi R., Daniel M. G. Raff and Peter Temin, 2003. "Beyond Markets and Hierarchies: Toward a New Synthesis of American Business History," *The American Historical Review*, Volume 108, Issue 2, 1 April, Pages 404–433.
- Lipartito, K. (2013). Mediating Reputation: Credit Reporting Systems in American History. *Business History Review*, Special issue on Corporate Reputation, 87(4), 655-677. doi:10.1017/S0007680513001086

- Lopes, Teresa Da Silva, (2016). "Building Brand Reputation through Third-Party Endorsement: Fair Trade in British Chocolate," *Business History Review*, 90(3), pp. 457-482. doi:10.1017/S0007680516000738
- McGrath, Simon, 2010. Education and development: Thirty years of continuity and change, *International Journal of Educational Development*, 30: 537-543.
- McKenna, Christopher D. and Olegario, Rowena, "Reputation and Regulation in Historical Perspective," Oxford Handbook of Corporate Reputation, ed. Barnett, Michael L. and Pollock, Timothy G. (Oxford, 2012), 260–77
- McWilliams, A. and D. Siegel: 2001, "Corporate Social Responsibility: A Theory of the Firm Perspective," *Academy of Management Review* 26(1), 117–127
- Menashy Francine, 2013. "Private sector engagement in education worldwide: Conceptual and critical challenges," *Annual Review of Comparative and International Education, International Perspectives on Education and Society, Volume 20*, 137–165.
- Mundy, Karen, Antoni Verger. (2015) "The World Bank and the global governance of education in a changing world order." *International Journal of Educational Development* 40, pages 9-18
- Nguyen Van Thang and Nick J. Freeman (2009). "State-owned enterprises in Vietnam: are they 'crowding out' the private sector?," *Post-Communist Economies*, 21:2, 227-247, DOI: 10.1080/14631370902778674
- Olegario, R., & McKenna, C. (2013). Introduction: Corporate Reputation in Historical Perspective. *Business History Review*, Special issue on Corporate Reputation, 87(4), 643-654. doi:10.1017/S0007680513001074
- Pe Symaco, Lorraine, 2014. *Education, poverty, malnutrition and famine: education as a humanitarian response*, London; New York: Bloomsbury.
- Perkins, Edwin J. *Financing Anglo-American Trade: The house of Brown, 1800-1880*, Cambridge: 1975.
- Porter, M.E., Kramer, M.R., 2006. "The link between competitive advantage and corporate social responsibility," *Harvard Business Review*, 84, 1–15
- Rambla, Xavier, 2006. "Globalization, Educational Targeting, and Stable Inequalities: A Comparative Analysis of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile," *International Review of Education*, Volume 52, Issue 3–4, pp 353–370
- Reinert, Sophus A., Sarah Nam, Sisi Pan, and Eric Werker. "ArcelorMittal and the Ebola Outbreak in Liberia." Harvard Business School Case 718-029, February 2018.
- Reinert, Sophus A. "The Great Divergence: Europe and Modern Economic Growth." Harvard Business School Case 715-039, April 2015. (Revised August 2016.)

- Rojas, C, Morales, G. 2005. Private Contributions to the Public Sphere: Corporate Foundations in Colombia. In *Philanthropy and Social Change in Latin America*. Sanborn, C, Portocarrero, F (eds). Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, U.S.; 163-190.
- Rosser, Andrew, 2015. "Neo-liberalism and the politics of higher education policy in Indonesia," *Comparative Education*, 52:2, 109-135, DOI: 10.1080/03050068.2015.1112566
- Sanborn, C. 2005. Philanthropy in Latin America: Historical Traditions and Current Trends. In *Philanthropy and Social Change in Latin America*. Sanborn, C, Portocarrero, F (eds). Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, U.S.; 3-29.
- Sanborn, C, Portocarrero, F. 2005. *Philanthropy and Social Change in Latin America*. Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, U.S.
- Schultz, T. Paul, 1999. "Health and Schooling Investments in Africa," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 13, 3, 67-88.
- Smith, W., M. Higgins: 2000, "Cause-Related Marketing: Ethics and the Ecstatic", *Business and Society*, 39(3), 304–322.
- Silva, Patricio, 1991, "Technocrats and Politics in Chile: From the Chicago Boys to the CIEPLAN Monks," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 1991, Vol.23, p. 385-413.
- Stein, Howard 1992. "De-industrialization, adjustment and World Bank and IMF in Africa." *World Development*, vol. 20, No. 1.
- Sundaram, Jomo Kwame, Oliver Schwank and Rudiger von Arnim, 2011. "Globalization and development in sub-Saharan Africa," DESA Working Paper No. 102.
- Tortella, G., 1993. *Education and Economic Development since the Industrial Revolution*, Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana.
- Turitz, S., Winder, D. 2005. Private Resources for Public Ends: Grantmakers in Brazil, Ecuador and Mexico. In *Philanthropy and Social Change in Latin America*. Sanborn, C, Portocarrero, F (eds). Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, U.S.; 255-283.
- Verger, Antoni, Edwards D. Brent Jr., Altinyelken, Hulya Kosar. (2014) "Learning from all? The World Bank, aid agencies and the construction of hegemony in education for development," *Comparative Education* 50:4, pages 381-399

Appendix A – Data

Interviews database

Interviews are at the core of the Creating Emerging Markets (CEM) oral history project at Harvard Business School (HBS). The paper analyzes a database of 97 oral histories. Each testimony comes from semi-structured interviews with (98) business leaders of major companies operating in emerging markets. The project aims to explore the evolution of business and entrepreneurship in Africa, Asia, Middle East and Latin America.⁸ Interviews have been collected primarily in the period 2007-2017 and include 80 male and 17 female business leaders of major corporations and economic institutions across 20 countries. The database is available for free consultation online (See Table 4 below). Interviewees are selected on the basis of their achievements in their respective industries and geographies over a span of at least three decades of activity. Business leaders are selected primarily when they are retired or at the end of their career to ensure increased freedom and objectivity in their responses. The interviews are coherent in their structure, length (between 30 and 60 pages) and set of topics. In terms of content the interviews generally cover the background of the interviewees; the history of the company; how the business environment evolved; the major challenges; and the role of these business as part of the larger society and community.

⁸ Creating Emerging Markets Projects at HBS <https://www.hbs.edu/creating-emerging-markets/Pages/default.aspx>

Table 5 – Interviews description

Dataset Overview						
Macro Regions	Countries	Number of Interviews	Gender (Men vs Women)	Family owners vs Executive	Industries	Interviewees
South Asia	India; Indonesia; Philippines; Pakistan; Bangladesh; Sri Lanka	30	20 / 10	23 vs 7	Utilities; banking; canning; real estate; electrical; media; NGO; tea; textile; education; packaging; automotive; furniture; retail; cosmetics; appliances; advertising; pharma; fashion; hospitality/tourism; legal consulting; housing; software; healthcare; plantations; dance and theatre;	Jamie Zobel Augusto de Ayaala; Shinta Kamdhani; Dato' Sri Prof. Dr. Tahir; Sir Fazle Hasan Abed; Anu Aga; Abbas Akbarally; Seema Atiz; Syed Bazar Ali; Rahu Bajaj; Fernando Merrill ; Adil Godrej; Aban Pestonjee; Dr. Subhash Chandra; Ranjan Kapur; Dr. Yusuf Hameed; Ela Bhatt; Dr. Nalli Kuppuswami Chetti; Shahraz Husain; Ritu Kumar; Keshub Mahindra; Suresh Krishna; Prithvi Raj Singh Oberoi; Zia Mooy; Jaithith (Jerry) Rao; Y.V. Reddy; Dr. Prathap C. Reddy; Devi Shetty; M.V. Subbiah; Mallika Sarabhai; Ratan Naval Tata
Middle East and Africa	Sudan; Ghana; Nigeria; Kenya; Uganda; South Africa; Turkey; UAE	22	17 / 5	9 vs 13	Telecom; steel and aluminium; infrastructure; construction; mining; telecom; charity; development; advertising & merchandising; finance; education; accounting; banking; hospitality; media; IT services; shipping; oil and gas; automotive; agribusiness; real estate; petroleum; chemicals; retail;	Kwasi Aboasi; Hakeem Bel-o-sagie; Manu Chandaria; Hubert Danso; Savannah Maziya; Mubrahim; Eva Muraya; Dr. Elizabeth Mary Okelo; Sine Nwasano; Francis Okomo Ovelo; Nii Narku Quaynor; Victor Gbolade Osobodu; Gordon and Morine Wavamunno; Hamdi Akir; Gülsüm Azeri; Cem Boyner; Raimi M. Koc; Fadi Ghandour; Hisni Özyeğin; Güler Sabancı; Selçuk Yaşar
Latin America	Argentina; Peru; Chile; Mexico; Brazil; Colombia	45	43 / 2	39 vs 6	Agribusiness; supermarkets; clothing & shoes; retail; chemicals; cement; shipping & logistics; financial services; faucets & plumbing products; petroleum; natural gas; chemicals; steel; pulp & paper; education; mining; forestry; fishing; wine; glass; beverages & food; electricity; construction; real estate; insurance services;	Arturo Acevedo; Jorge Borr; Federico Brauri; William Engels; Alberto Grimoldi; Tomás Hudson; Amalia Lacroze de Fortabat; Guillermo Murchison; Luis Alejandro Pagani; Manuel Sacerdote; Rodolfo Viegner; Julio Werthein; Paulo Cunha; André Esteves; Jorge Gendau; Erling Lorenzsen; Carlos Wizard Martins; Pedro Moreira Salles; Roberto Setubal; Luiza Helena Trajano; Roberto de Andraça; Roberto Angelini Rossi; Ricardo Claro; Rafael Guilisastri; Andronico Luisici Craig; Jorge Marín Correa; Elodoro Matte Larraín; Horst Paulmann Kemra; Reinaldo Solari; Sven Von Appen; Antonio Celia; Alberto Baileres; Dionisio Garza Medina; Agustín Legorreta; Antonio Madero; Ricardo Salinas Pliego; Daniel Servije Montull; Alberto Benavides; Felipe Antonio Custer; José María Miró Quesada; Augusto F. Wiese de Osmo; Rosario Bazan; Jose Alejandro Cortes; Ricardo Huancahuana; Eduardo Hodschild
Total		20	80 / 17	71 vs 26		

Creating Emerging Markets Project Objectives

The intent is to provide a basis for writing the “business history of the future,” and to provide a new source for research and teaching materials. In many emerging countries, significant and often globally competitive businesses have emerged over the last four decades. Yet often—whether for concerns of privacy, or simply because people are too busy building businesses to think about legacies—there is scarce information available about these entrepreneurs and firms. These interviews will create a resource that captures the memories of the people who built these businesses.

Process

The aim of these interviews is to create a permanent record by capturing your insights in three broad areas:

- 1) the professional history of the business leaders being interviewed;
- 2) the history of the companies they headed;
- 3) the history of business in the countries in which they worked.

Interviews last a minimum of 1 hour and a maximum of 3 hours. The interviews do not focus on facts that are easily available but will instead concentrate on the reasoning behind key decisions and events.

Interview Themes

The five general themes addressed during the interview are:

- a) The process of innovation in their businesses, including the acquisition of international technologies;
- b) The role of family, the issue of succession, and the recruitment of professional management;
- c) Relationships with government (and if appropriate NGOs, international organizations);
- d) Responsibility for society and the natural environment;
- e) Challenges and opportunities of globalization, including globalizing brands.

Appendix B – Methodology

Categories:

To analyze the dataset, we have designed four major binary categories and three ordinary subcategories (of the education projects) to evaluate the nature and extent of involvement of these institutions/entrepreneurs in activities promoting education and talent development. Our aim is to understand the causes behind the involvement in education projects, the different strategies and how they operate, the way they are linked, and the expected outcomes.

- (1) reflections on reputation,
- (2) involvement in projects related to education with three sub categories;
 - a. pre-university education
 - b. university
 - c. other
- (3) alliances and collaborations, primarily with the government.
- (4) organizational practices: CSR initiative under the corporate umbrella or Foundation

Table 6: Metrics with examples

Category	Reputation	Definition	Methodology	How to measure?	Example/quote
		whether the interviewee explicitly talks about reputation and the dynamics related to their image and legacy (like public commitments or family name) in the interview		we look for explicit mention of words like: reputation, image, name, legitimacy, credibility, legacy, tradition, history, brand, perception; we identify views of the company in relation with major stakeholders, like the press, the public, the government, suppliers, customers, international agency and business partners; we also consider reputation in the broader meaning of brand and in relation to business practices such as not engaging in corruption	For example, Rahul Bajaj, head of the famous Indian Bajaj conglomerate, talks both about their family name, group reputation and the perception of business at large in relation to business' involvement in social and community work: "Industry all over the world has a bad name, industrialists have a bad name; people think we are greedy, only working for our interests. We need to change this perception. Now, this itself is not going to give us a great name, but we should get satisfaction when we are doing good work in sanitation, education, and health, etc., mainly for weaker sections." ; Similarly, Eva Muraya, Kenyan entrepreneur talked about the reputation of her business rebranding her brand: "So we began to get known for a high sense of integrity, and that really lent itself well. Very, very quickly, within the first year, we were dealing with the big organizations because something about the whole way in which we packaged our line of business was very different and very refreshing. But yes, the competition was there, continues to be, even to this delivery of merchandising."
	Involvement in Education	whether the company or the individual is involved in any kind of education-related activity. The category includes large spectrum of initiatives directed at talent and people development, for example education projects as part of CSR activities, foundation and trusts programs, founding of schools and academic institutions as for-profit endeavor, employee educational programs, and involvement with specific organizations promoting education, such as alumni or student networks.		1) education is mentioned among the pool of both for-profit and nonprofit activities carried out; 2) triangulation with online and public information.	African entrepreneur Kwasi Aboasi (Africa Investconsult, Ghana) explained: "Singapore has no natural resources. All they did was to educate their people, educate them, educate them and then they came up with ideas. In Malaysia, the same thing. There's no way you have a Minister of Finance in Singapore or Malaysia who doesn't know economics, and then you come here to a developing country and you go and take somebody, who, say, is a politician. He barely finished secondary school and you make him Minister of Finance, and you think that with technocrats under him he can make it. No way. So the name of the game is education to the highest level for everyone who can. Look at the literacy rate."
	Pre-university	any kind of project targeting primary and secondary education, i.e. providing both basic skills (for example literacy, math and English) and more advanced skills (vocational and high-school training) between 3 and 18 year-olds youngsters. This sub-category includes a range of different projects such as infrastructure development, provision of books and school supplies, scholarships, curriculum and teacher training.		1) pre-university initiative is mentioned among the pool of both for-profit and nonprofit activities carried out; 2) triangulation with online and public information.	We consider all initiatives directed at improving schooling before university. From the training of teachers (Anu Aga, Thermax, India); to the provision of scholarship for high-school (Manu Chandaria, Comcraft group, Kenya); to the physical building of dormitories and schools (Hüsnü Özyeğin, FIBA Holding, Turkey). To the provision of schooling as in the case of Indian business leader M.V. Subbiah (Murugappa group), who illustrates his company's involvement in education: "The foundation has four schools; we educate about 8,000 children of whom 6,500 children [get their schooling] completely free, 1,000-and-odd children...pay us nominal fees."
	University	all projects aiming at directly impacting graduate education, both for profit and nonprofit. These can include building of private universities, as well as funding of scholarships, but not the creation of chairs or research centers in universities, as they do not directly impact students.		1) university-related initiative is mentioned among the pool of both for-profit and nonprofit activities carried out; 2) triangulation with online and public information.	For example we consider both the creation of a business school (later become LUMS) by Pakistani entrepreneur Syed Babar Ali; and/or private non-profit educational organizations created by Peruvian business leader Eduardo Hochschild, dedicated to train professionals in technical careers like TECSUP; several business leaders sponsor scholarships for college study.
	Other	reserve group, which includes all those activities supporting post-graduate skill development as well as network building and promotional and research initiatives connected to education.		1) other type of project (different from pre-university or university education) is mentioned among the pool of both for-profit and nonprofit activities carried out; 2) triangulation with online and public information.	Among these are programs to train small entrepreneurs (Fernando Merrill, WPI group in Sri Lanka); postgraduate courses in medical practice (Apollo Hospital, India); courses teaching entrepreneurs how to export (Bank Boston in Argentina); and the funding of major research centers at Ivy League schools (Nigerian entrepreneurs Belo-Osagie Hakeem's "Fund for the Promotion of Africa" at Yale University, and Center for African Studies at Harvard University)
Alliances and collaborations		whether the education projects requires some sort of contact or alliance with other stakeholders such as government institutions, business associations, NGOs and international agencies such as the World Bank or the UN, and the public.		education projects and initiatives involving a direct contact of any kind with external stakeholders.	Pakistani entrepreneur Seema Aziz created several private schools under a dedicated institution (CARE) and in the process absorbed or turned around some public schools too. Amalia Lacroze de Fortabat built the third largest technical school in Argentina in the 1960s and President Guido himself inaugurated it. Turkish business leader Güler Sabancı explains: "So we, at the Sabancı Foundation are adding new things to our portfolio, like working more in partnership in the last decade—because of what we know of this successful triangle—the public-private partnership. We are doing projects together with the United Nations, with the Ministry of Interiors and the Ministry of Family and Education. Joint projects are doing even better advocacy and helping social change as well as supporting the NGOs in the field."
Organizational Practice		Whether the education initiative is (i) for-profit; (ii) non-profit; (iii) corporate CSR; (iv) Corporate Foundation		1) organizational form is mentioned in the interview; 2) triangulation with online and public information.	India advertising executive Ranjan Kapoor explains how his agency WPP organized its involvement in education: "That's why we just set up our school. The ISDI WPP School or Communication. You know we had 15,000 people in [WPP] India and because of attrition and new hires we need about 3,000 [new] people a year. I am not saying that this school is going to turn up 3,000 people. What we said is, there is great need to have trained people come into the industry as such rather than us having to find people. (...) We just set up the WPP CSR Foundation now, which is really for children from the poorer sections of society to keep them longer in school or [give them skills] and make them employable. The whole idea is improving employability of children in the country whether they get educated or not, but insisting that they do up to 10+2, after which we [teach them skills] to become employable and contributing members of society. So those are things that I am doing, paying back as well."

Acknowledged biases:

Despite the great informative value of the interviews, we acknowledge two major biases. First, it is difficult to measure the actual impact in terms of quality and outcomes of the educational programs of these organizations.

As recognized by one of the interviewees (Ratan Tata, 2005): *“There are ten schools (...) that we were funding, until we found out that the teachers received money, obviously, as salaries, and they received certain additional compensations for each class they taught. But they never taught the class. The principal and they colluded, and they’d go away. (...) This was appalling, (...) We went to the police—they didn’t wish to interfere, and we pulled our money out of those schools. This is just an example of hundreds of thousands of things that are happening in the same kind of way. It just enumerates the kind of attitude that there is.”*

In some other cases, we have large scale organizations that had a significant impact at the regional level, proven by high result based on international standards, such as the mentioned case of CARE in Pakistan, and eventually transformed into a major schooling operation, overseeing 33 private schools and 683 adopted public schools. In other cases, we have very isolated and selective initiatives, such as the provision of individual scholarships, whose impact on society at large is also very difficult to measure.

At a more fundamental level, a challenge inherent of working with this type of dataset is related to the selection of the interviewees and their own perception and use of this exercise. Although several of these business leaders are selected when being at the later stages of their career and on the basis of their ability to speak their mind freely, the public nature of the interviews naturally leads them to think about the reputational consequences of their statements. Both these biases have been addressed via triangulation. The information provided by interviewees have been complemented by a background research of the public information provided by the company itself, as well as press reviews and in-depth enquiry about the companies and interviewees.