

Chapter 11

Wine Industry in Baja California, Mexico: A Gender Perspective



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Abstract The aim of this chapter is to analyze cases of women's participation in a cultural industry. Our focus is the wine industry of Baja California, where more than 90% of Mexican wine is produced. This is a qualitative study, descriptive in scope, that makes use of in-depth interviews focused on women who collaborate in the Baja California wine industry. This study allowed us to characterize the inclusion of women in this sector, and was accomplished by analyzing their profile, motivations, and achievements, and the challenges that have shaped their experiences within this cultural industry. This study also addresses the lack of research regarding female entrepreneurship within the Baja California wine industry. For researchers and professionals, this study will contribute to knowledge of female participation in this industry, and for wine practitioners, it offers information about women's performance in this sector. The study calls for openness on the part of government and wine industry executives toward women's participation in the development of the region.

Keywords Women entrepreneurs · Economic development · Wine industry · Gender · innovation

11.1 Wine in Baja California, a Cultural and Creative Industry Under Consolidation

This last decade has seen the emergence of a considerable number of studies on industries and the creative economy. This body of research is derived from the acknowledgement of the vital role these factors play in economic development,

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social integration, and the revival of urban areas in decay (Casani, Rodríguez-Pomeda, & Sánchez, 2012; Kozina & Bole, 2017).

These factors, which are essential for regional development, and which creative industries have encouraged systemically or through an organic development trajectory, are based on components offering high added value—given the difficulty of replicating them in the short term—such as cultural heritage, human talent, intellectual property, and the ability to collaborate in ecosystems (Buitrago & Duque, 2013).

In other words, a creative economy is formed when one moves from a specific sectorial focus on creative products (culture) to creative occupations as inputs in the general economy, and creative products as intermediate inputs in other sectors (Araya & Peters, 2010; UNESCO, 2013).

Although the origin of the concept can be traced back to work by Schumpeter (1942) with the concept of creative destruction, the concept of creative industry first appears in 1973, when the local government of New England developed a state survey on the topic, followed by a study on the impact of art in 1978. However, it was not until the nineties that the concept began to gather momentum, and policies explicitly supporting creative industries were recognized and enacted at an executive level in Australia and England (Araya & Peters, 2010; Garnham, 2006; Moore, 2014).

The term has been fueled by other concepts like *cultural industries*, defined as industries that combine creation, production, and marketing of creative content that is intangible and of a cultural nature. This content is usually protected by copyright and may take the form of a good or service. Cultural industries include printing, publication, and multimedia, audiovisual, photo and film production, as well as craftwork and design (Lebrún, 2007).

In Latin America, early efforts were made by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) in the report “Cultural Industries in Latin America and the Caribbean: Challenges and Opportunities” (Quartesan, Romis, & Lanzafame, 2007). This document makes an effort to give an account of the economic contribution, highlights the contribution made by cultural identity, and endeavors to classify industries that at that time were considered most relevant. The greatest challenges cited by the report are education and training, integration into regional markets, international trade, coordination between sectors, product distribution, and investment mechanisms, and one aspect that is particularly emphasized is public policy and the role of the state.

Another necessary reference to understand the phenomenon of creative industries in Latin America is the document entitled “The Orange Economy” (Buitrago & Duque, 2013), which was also funded by the IDB and integrates new elements into the discussion, acknowledging a symbiosis between technology, culture, and the economy as a facilitator of the creative economy. The report mentions key aspects such as the demographic bonus, intangible and natural capital, and the true economic contribution of the sector, in which Brazil and Mexico come top. It also acknowledges substantial challenges such as the effective recognition of intellectual

property rights, high levels of informal workers, inadequate classification systems, inconsistent political engagement, and internal and external resistance.

Both of these reference documents for the Latin American context mention tourism services as a relevant sector for creative industries in regions, meaning that the region's historical and cultural heritage, combined with natural surroundings, produces appropriate conditions to foster tourism. Mexico is the best example of this trend, with the tourism sector being one of the highest contributors to GDP.

There are forms of tourism that can be combined with other sectors to offer higher added value. This has occurred with wine and culinary tourism in Baja California, which, thanks to a combination of global recognition of the quality of its food and wine, its infrastructure, and a wide range of products, has become an option for entrepreneurs seeking to capitalize on investments in a fast-growing trend (Ruiz, Martínez, Verján, & Valderrama, 2011; Reyes Orta, Olague, Lobo Rodríguez, & Cruz Estrada, 2016; Ruiz, 2017; Valderrama, Verján, & Velázquez, 2010).

It is therefore logical to consider these wine and culinary tourism companies cultural and creative industries, given how they relate to the historical and cultural context, but also to new service sectors (architecture, design, and entertainment services, among others), which have surged due to their location and offering in a sector considered strategic in the Baja California region, and which have positioned Baja California as the leading wine-producing region in Mexico.

Baja California is a peninsula surrounded by the Pacific Ocean and the Sea of Cortés, and to the north, the state of California, United States of America. One of the most representative businesses is tourism; the region welcomes 160,000 visitors a year and boasts 27 hotels and 42 restaurants offering traditional cuisine, in addition to five convenience stores and six tour operators. Consequently, wine tourism in the region is a strategy for economic development, strengthened by the consolidation of wine routes, especially those in Baja California (Tijuana-Rosarito tourism corridor and the wine routes of Valle de Guadalupe, the old wine route, and the Ojos Negros route). This has given rise to the development of micro, small, and medium-sized companies (Quiñónez, Bringas, & Barrios, 2012; Trejo-Pech, López-Reyna, House, & Sarmiento-Pérez, 2010). "Many of these wineries have been created with the support of government and l'Escuelita [*sic*] by the Agronomist Hugo d'Acosta Enrique López [*sic*], who, with the support of his brother Alejandro, created this incubator" (Meraz, 2017).

In an interview, Gabriel Díaz (personal communication, 2017), director of the wine museum, reports that the museum has 120 registered wine producers, which results in an on-site sample of between 350 and 400 brands. It receives 70,000 visitors during high season (between March and September), from other states in Mexico (30%), the cities of Mexicali and Tecate (25%), Tijuana (10%), Ensenada and Rosarito (10%), and the remaining 10% from abroad, mostly the state of California, USA. These visitors go to see the largest and best-known producers, but there is also a large cluster of micro-wineries in the region, which due to their location, low production volume, and the fact they are fairly new, go unnoticed.

The wine tourism business in Baja California is at an early stage and has received national and international recognition, notably due to the quality of wines and wine

experiences, which serve to complement the cruises and beaches. This sector's competitiveness has played a key role in the region's development, hence the importance of measuring the factors that impact its growth.

Additionally, this area offers visitors artisan bread, olive oil, jams, and a wide range of cheeses, among other traditional products. Culinary options range from classic inexpensive cuisine to the finest dishes in open country surrounded by the endemic, distinctive landscape of the valley. There is also a wide range of accommodation options offering high-quality service and comfort, most of which are surrounded by nature and allow visitors to come into contact with the traditional roots of the grapevine and vineyard. The road network provides easy access for tourists, with public transport available for locals, and connects the main road from Ensenada to Tecate with the toll-free road to the city of Tijuana. The roads are signposted and leaflets are available to guide visitors (Valderrama et al., 2010).

11.2 The Gender Perspective in the Wine Industry in Baja California

Gender equality is an essential development objective, given that international law recognizes that, as a driver of human development, this is every person's right. However, achieving equal participation by women remains a challenge, particularly in decision-making. In response, the United Nations Development Programme (2007) has carried out a joint human rights-focused initiative on gender equality named "Leave No-One Behind," which strengthens women's participation and equal decision-making in public administration.

Equal participation by women, as a gender perspective, also implies the existence of a fairer and more democratic development and the eradication of discriminatory treatment against any group of persons, meaning that societies should create equal opportunities so that both men and women may successfully fulfill their role in the family and social life cycle (Panisello & Pastor, 2015). Indeed, inequalities go beyond the different sexes' reproductive functions; this has led to the marginalization of women and a lower value placed on women's work and household responsibilities, among other situations (Marx, 2010).

Gender as a research phenomenon has contributed significantly to the paradigm of contemporary feminism. Its analysis has been categorized from an analytical, transdisciplinary, historical, contextual, and sectorial perspective (Ogato, 2013). In 1955, John Money proposed the term "gender role" to describe different behavior attributed to men and women (De Barbieri, 1992). Gomariz (1992) believed that, as a result of these references, it was possible to analyze theoretical knowledge on sex and gender, also known as "gender studies." This epistemological understanding upholds a reality in power relations between the sexes. In Latin America, this topic has gradually gained in importance and has been slowly incorporated into the legal system and precedent through public policy, which has made it socially relevant and

enabled the right to equality (García, 2016). It also stems from women's interest in pursuing their own activities individually, providing financial autonomy (Caro, 2013). Mexico ranks 68th out of 132 countries for gender equality; considerable progress can be noted, but much remains to be done. Indeed, in 2010 it was reported that out of 112 million inhabitants, 57 million were women and 55 million men, hence the importance of understanding what is happening between these social groups. It is worth adding that, as far as research is concerned, Mexico remains the country with the lowest proportion of female researchers; 22.4% of members of the Mexican Academy of Sciences are women (Estrada, Mendieta, & González, 2016).

Thus, on the understanding that gender has emerged from both an objective and subjective reality in which individuals recreate meaning they derive from language, history, and culture (Góngora & Leyva, 2005), it is fitting to address certain issues such as eradicating forms of discrimination against women and girls, eliminating forms of violence against women, recognizing the value of women's work at home and professionally, ensuring women's full and effective participation, establishing governmental strategies to grant women the right to equal conditions, strengthening laws to promote equal opportunities, and empowering all women (United Nations Children's Fund, 2011).

Similarly, in addition to being a significant economic force, entrepreneurship constitutes a mechanism for the empowerment of women. Women entrepreneurs are a growing sector in the economy, and one to which both the academy and organizations have turned their attention (Rodríguez & Rodríguez, 2013). Thus, entrepreneurship is seen as an essential component of economic development, and fundamental for a successful transition in the economy (Fogel & Zapalska, 2001).

In North America, women often decide to set up their own businesses as a result of discrimination in the workplace (Buttner, 1999; Capowski, 1992), although it is also true that some women do achieve success despite the obstacles they come up against (Aycañ, 2004). Globally, many women are starting their own businesses, but their motivations differ from men's (Lituchy & Reavley, 2004; Reavley & Lituchy, 2008). However, the percentages remain small; for example, only 36.8% of ventures in the United States were undertaken by women (Simon, 2015). In Mexico, there are few studies on the challenges women face in developing and maintaining a business.

There is no doubt that some women achieve professional success in different occupations and industries, but this is not the case for most (Punnett et al., 2007). The percentage of women entrepreneurs remains low (Simon, 2015), and there is no clarity on the extent of women's success or how to determine it.

Terjesen and Lloyd (2015) analyzed the conditions that encouraged high-potential female entrepreneurship in 77 countries, and found that women entrepreneurs play a substantial role in the growth of their economies. If a country fails to support an entrepreneurial mindset, particularly among women, the result will be lower rates of innovation, fewer jobs, and a drop in its own economic well-being.

According to studies conducted by the World Bank (2016), there is strong evidence that female entrepreneurship has a positive impact on social development and prosperity, as women entrepreneurs contribute substantially to economic growth

and poverty alleviation across the world, despite the obstacles they face such as a lack of capital, social restrictions, family responsibilities, and gender inequity.

Having taken these considerations into account, and with the aim of responding to these challenges, this chapter analyzes the career paths of women in a cultural industry, specifically the wine industry in Baja California, where over 90% of Mexican wine is produced (Meraz & Ruiz, 2016). A gender perspective in the wine industry is a relevant topic in Mexico, given that this sector has a positive impact on the region's economic and social development, particularly as it is a rural area that enjoys a strong wine and culinary tradition of international renown, which has been established by men but also women from different generations who have worked and continue to work in the wine-growing valleys of Baja California.

In order to have an impact on gender differences in the wine industry, it is necessary to create positions that develop into opportunities for those working in the industry. The patriarchal order assigns women the responsibility of reproductive labor (within the home) and men the figure of breadwinners (away from the home). This stigmatized figure has been changing, which has been reflected in an increase in female participation, female-headed households, and women holding managerial and executive positions (Ely & Meyerson, 2010; Mazei et al., 2015). The same is true with wine consumers. Nowadays, consumers (not just men but also women) value quality more and wish to gain a deeper understanding of the virtues and properties of wine (Gender in the Global Research Landscape, 2017).

Despite equal opportunities in recent years, a certain inequality is still perceived with respect to work in the wine industry. For example, in Argentina, there is a marked difference for female workers who are paid less on account of their sex (Martín & Dalla, 2012). In the same vein, it is reported that the Mendoza wine industry is represented by young male professionals in senior and intermediate-level positions, putting another sector—such as young women—at a disadvantage (Dulcich, 2016). In this sense, it is worthwhile mentioning that it is necessary to include a gender policy that focuses both on gender inequalities and political, institutional, and corporate processes, which doubtlessly entails transforming and reorganizing institutions to enhance their development (Inter-American Commission of Women, 2012).

As for Mexico, the wine industry there has been exposed in recent years to a cultural evolution process due to market acceptance of wine consumption, which meant that wine came to replace other drinks, both alcoholic (such as beer and tequila) and non-alcoholic (carbonated drinks and artificially flavored drinks). This was complemented by several causes at a national level: an increase in wine production in various parts of the country, which has come with a diversification of the tourism industry (Espejel, Ferrer, Leyva, & Santos, 2014), the adoption of a wine-drinking culture (Ruiz, 2014), and an increase in quality and international awards (Sánchez & Mungaray, 2010), among others.

In general, the wine industry in Mexico—and specifically in Baja California—features a series of challenges but also achievements by actors working as producers or enologists in the many wineries. This is a result of motivation and innovation acquired through years of experience making wine a high-quality product targeted

at different national and international market segments that demand Mexican wine (Covarrubias & Thach, 2015). It should be added that, despite progress, there remain deficiencies and constraints: the lack of infrastructure for production processes (winemaking), the high cost of materials like bottles and cork, limited funding from the government, a total lack of oversight by a regulatory council safeguarding the interests of producers (Trejo-Pech, Arellano-Sada, Coelho, & Weldon, 2012), among others.

It is vital to stress that there is a strong preference for red wine due to the health benefits this type of wine is said to provide. As a result, market tendencies are geared toward personalized, naturally occurring products that are handcrafted (and therefore limited in production) and do not harm the environment. There is therefore a tendency toward signature wines, which establish a close relationship with consumers' lifestyles. In this respect, female enologists have indeed differentiated themselves, which has provided prestige and distinction, but at the same time, the enormous challenge of facing up to the masculism that is rife in the echelons of power in enology and winemaking and pervades the wine industry (Atkin, Nowak, & Garcia, 2007), particularly in Latin America.

It is in this context that, today, wine is part of the day-to-day life of a significant proportion of the population, both men and women, and consequently many wineries are developing products to appeal to the female market. One successful option has been to offer light wines with a low alcohol content; furthermore, the industry must understand women's buying habits—in other words, which kinds of information are most suitable to access this market. It is said that extrinsic qualities, such as packaging, encourage women to make a purchase (Orth, 2002). But if retailers understood forms of consumption, particularly among women, this would inform decisions on pricing policies and wine distribution and marketing. Even so, it should be noted that men account for the largest share of the market and wine selection, and are even likelier to see themselves as wine connoisseurs than their female counterparts (Barber, 2009).

In this way, it can be noted that one of the most recommended steps to eliminate sexism in wine-making and enology is to develop a culture of tolerance and competition in which women are permitted to play a significant role in selecting wine and as enologists, which is beginning to be reflected in an ever greater number of female owners of wineries or wine production companies (Atkin & Sutanonpaiboon, 2007), in particular in Baja California. This is closely linked to what is happening on the international scene, where well-being, religion, health, sex, fertility, and status are important aspects that create a connection to wine (Chang, Thach, & Olsen, 2016; Charters, 2006).

With all this in mind, women who wish to gain knowledge and fulfill roles as wine promoters must face up to barriers and obstacles that, together, hinder the development of a stereotypically masculine culture. Overcoming these barriers will make it possible to stamp out existing inequality. On this basis, this study describes below the method used to conduct this research, which sought primarily to construct positive narratives about what women do; their contribution to their family, work, and society; and their motivations and needs, achievements, and difficulties.

11.3 Methodology

This chapter is an approach to women's participation in the wine industry in the Baja California region, and seeks to contribute to literature on women's role as entrepreneurs in this sector. Thus, the study focuses on female entrepreneurs who operate within the aforementioned area.

The study uses a qualitative focus and semi-structured interviews to collect data. These interviews were conducted in March and April 2018, and included four women who shared their experiences within the wine sector, as entrepreneurs or leaders of business ventures. This made it possible to describe their career path in the industry by analyzing their profile, motivation, and achievements, and the difficulties that have shaped their background.

As mentioned in the instrument selected, semi-structured interviews were conducted in five particular phases: *profile*, *motivation*, *achievements*, *difficulties*, and *innovation* (see Table 11.1).

Each category was divided into subcategories, which sought to gain a deeper insight into women's situation in the region's wine industry. Thus, the profile category identified the distinctive characteristics of these entrepreneurs and business ventures, with respect to age, level of education, number of years in the business venture, and number of employees in the company. The achievement category, on the other hand, seeks to describe subjects' perception of the success they achieved over their career, and the link between success and their gender. Just as achievements are identified, it is also necessary to highlight the difficulties and obstacles they have had to overcome in relation to the company's life cycle, but also their

Table 11.1 Dimensions of the study

Experience in the wine industry	Profile	Name, age, level of education, degree, marital status, number of children Company name Number of years since the business venture began Number of employees in company
	Motivation	Reason for starting the business venture Business idea Motivation in pursuing the venture
	Achievements	Reason for success Business environment External factors Relationship between gender and success
	Difficulties	Relationship between gender and difficulties Difficulties at the beginning Difficulties in the course of development Work-family balance
	Innovation	Creativity and originality Differentiation Process improvement

Source: Own work

position as women. The last category describes aspects associated with innovation, such as creativity, originality, and differentiation in the business venture, and how improvements are applied to processes.

11.4 Analysis and Discussion

To analyze and interpret the results, five dimensions were identified to address the main topics of the study, namely the entrepreneurs' profiles, motivation in undertaking their business venture, the difficulties they have faced both personally and professionally, and finally, aspects related to innovation within their business.

Profile.

The profile category sought to describe the main characteristics of the entrepreneurs' profiles, and provide an initial insight into the business venture undertaken by each (Table 11.2).

It can be seen that the profiles identified are diverse, with ages ranging from 34 to 55 and both single and married women. All have bachelor's degrees as a minimum, with specialization courses or graduate programs in enology, agricultural production or gastronomy.

Their businesses are located in the Valle de Guadalupe, Valle de Santo Tomás, San Antonio de las Minas, and Ensenada. Most are small businesses with under five employees, but two have approximately 140 and 300 employees; the latter is the oldest winery in the region, with the remaining wineries ranging between 5 and 18 years old.

Table 11.2 Overview of the entrepreneurs

Interview 01	50 years of age, single. Her education includes a B.Sc. in Biology, M.Sc. in Industrial Management, and M.Sc. in Agricultural Production. Her vineyard is located in the Valle de Guadalupe, is about 18 years old and has two employees
Interview 02	55 years of age, also single. Her education includes a B.Sc. in Biology and M.Sc. in Enology. Her vineyard is located in San Antonio de las Minas, is 13 years old and has just one employee
Interview 03	58 years old, married. B.Sc. in Gastronomy. Her vineyard is in the Valle de Santo Tomás and has approximately 300 employees. She has been involved in the business venture as an enologist for 34 years
Interview 04	34 years of age, married. Electronic engineer. She studied a specialization course in enology. Her winery is in El Sauzal, in the city of Ensenada, and has four employees. She started her business in 2013, but worked in the family winery before then
Interview 05	40 years of age, single. Agricultural engineer and B.Sc. in Enology. Her highest level of education is a Ph.D. in Enology. The vineyard she works at is in the Valle de Guadalupe and has been running for 31 years

Source: Own work

11.4.1 Motivation

In all cases, the entrepreneurs' motivation in developing these businesses arose gradually, whether due to the influence of teachers or experience in the sector. One characteristic that all entrepreneurs shared was continuing education in the area of interest, in this case enology, in addition to a passion for their project and the work involved in it, as mentioned in interview 02:

I'm passionate about it in many ways: one is the science and technology aspect, which is closely linked to my training in microbiology and other areas, and another is the emotional and sensorial aspect – so you have the emotional part and the intellectual part together in the same project.

It is noteworthy that the entrepreneurs' academic backgrounds include degrees associated with science or engineering. Similarly, mentoring stands out as a means to access an industry ordinarily dominated by male figures (Barber, 2009). It can be seen that these two factors played a significant role in the entrepreneurs' careers, and specifically in their decision to enter and remain in the industry.

Business ideas developed organically in each entrepreneur's career, whether they started out in similar industries, such as the food industry, or in the family business. However, they all share the same drive to learn more about wine-making through graduate studies. In some cases, efforts to support the industry led to the development of business ventures through courses to promote grapevine cultivation in the region's valleys. These efforts have resulted in an exponential increase in the number of business ventures in the industry, which in turn has had an impact on the region's wine culture and led to an increase in wine consumption. Entrepreneurs who started out in a family business have sought to undertake their own ventures as a new generation, and differentiate them from the family business.

Once within the industry, the entrepreneurs showed a great passion for the work, for the industry in general, and for their role in what is seen as the vocation and history of the region, embedded both in the region's economic development and cultural landscape, as mentioned in interview 05:

(...) wine is culture and tradition; it is associated with our Mediterranean diet and day-to-day lifestyle. Wine is made to please the senses and emotions and to spend time together. What more reasons do you need when it's made for everyone to enjoy?

This explains why the objective of these businesses is not simply to create a quality product, but develop a different concept with an impact that goes beyond turnover, as illustrated by interview 03:

(...) my idea is that if I can get people interested in wine, a product that is delicious and affordable for everyone, I'm fighting an uphill battle.

The success that each business venture has achieved in the market contributes to entrepreneurs' motivation to sustain this success.

11.4.2 *Achievements*

The success experienced by businesses, for the most part, is described as the result of highly rewarding work, as mentioned in interviews 01 and 03, respectively:

(...) when you do something you enjoy, everything becomes easier” and “(...) there’s no catch, when you enjoy what you do, life flies by and you don’t even realize it (...).

And although Mexico is not recognized as a wine-producing country, particularly due to its low output when compared with other major producers of wine, it has received acclaim for the individual efforts of certain wineries, as is the case with the business ventures of this study, which in turn helps to highlight the success of the region’s vineyards.

One other aspect associated with achievements is experience gained over time, whether by working in other business ventures or in courses and training sessions attended. In this sense, participants mention their experiences traveling to other wine regions and international fairs or contests, where exposure to different varieties of wine also had an impact on their own business ventures, as mentioned in interviews 04 and 05, respectively:

(...) you no longer just focus on what there is here; I mean, you get to see (...) the different sectors and you can do any number of things.

Every year it’s different, there are always more new things to learn. Climate change is wreaking havoc in wine-making... I come from the world of research and for me, continuous improvement is fundamental.

This success would be impossible without the perseverance and steadfastness of women entrepreneurs, and the experience-based capacity they developed by making high-quality albeit simple wines with the aim of appealing to a greater number of consumers. By the same token, constant adaptation to a changing environment and external conditions has been the rule to stay in the market. In this sense, constant continuing education has played a key role in this capacity for adaptation, which suggests that a significant amount of time should be devoted to these activities, as mentioned in interview 02:

(...) this is a factor that distracts me from time I need to devote to the project.

Married entrepreneurs must find time not only for continuing education but also for family, so support from family members in their business activities is essential to achieve their aims, as suggested in interview 03:

(...) support from family too, because I sometimes have to spend long hours in the winery or I have to travel or attend training sessions.

It is therefore clear that although women have successfully established themselves professionally, they still shoulder the traditional responsibilities expected of women (Ely & Meyerson, 2010; Mazei et al., 2015).

In the same line of thought, family support has been a significant factor in understanding the industry and processes, and the necessary resources to develop their

own business ventures. It is also possible that specific female attributes have an impact on entrepreneurs' professional success; in this respect, interviews 03 and 05 mention:

(...) I can't bear to think that people who attend wine tastings might end up frightened by technical names, and instead of bringing them closer we scare them away (...) people should feel comfortable about asking.

(...) women's senses – especially smell – are more developed than men's. It has been scientifically proven that regardless of age, geographical origin, and status, women always have better perceptions of wine.

Whereas in interview 01:

(...) I feel women are more impassioned (...) we do things with more affection, more dedication, we're more meticulous (...) even when it comes to labeling – which is the way the bottle is dressed – we're more creative.

In this way, the Mexican wine industry has undergone huge growth, as has the demand for domestic products rather than imported ones. Entrepreneurs who have been in the industry longer remember that, at the beginning, there were few women and it was considered a job for men. This trend did not only apply to people's choice of occupation but also included wine consumption. In contrast, women who are newer to the business disagree, and believe that the region has witnessed increased participation from women. Nonetheless, one common claim made in the interviews is that gender has no bearing on one's ability to make good wine.

11.4.3 Difficulties

As mentioned in the previous section, gender has not been a hindrance in the professional development of most of the women interviewed. However, those who have been in the industry longer did witness resistance to women's entry into the industry, as suggested by interview 03:

(...) you've got three faults: you're Mexican, you have no qualifications [as an enologist] and you're a woman.

Although women continue to make headway in this industry, they face this and other hurdles, such as unequal pay. Similarly, age was identified as a difficulty, and participants mentioned how this could be seen as a defect.

Thus, it can be seen that the challenges in developing a business venture are varied, and answers vary considerably depending on entrepreneurs' time of life. For some, success brings greater scrutiny from peers, which creates an atmosphere of tension between the companies of the region. Another aspect is funding, since this kind of project implies a large investment, so investment by external actors is often required, bringing with it a new set of challenges. This difficulty is faced not only when businesses are launched, but also when they seek to expand. Differentiation is

mentioned as a significant challenge. This involves not just offering a product that differs from the competition, but also commercializing it and achieving market acceptance.

For larger companies, the challenge is to continue growing while ensuring quality is maintained and standards are met, as suggested in interview 05:

(...) We mostly go by the grape quality standards determined by the International Organization of Vine and Wine, so the procedures we use to control and measure this quality are very thorough and rigorous for all the processes at our winery.

On the other hand, marketing is an essential aspect, and is difficult for those without proper training to develop themselves, as mentioned in interview 01:

(...) you're not taught how to promote what you're doing, how to sell it to the market, how to convince customers that yours is the best or get them to take a look at your label.

Similarly, identifying distribution channels is a considerable challenge, especially considering the fact that some distributors demand exclusive rights, which potentially limits the scope of business ventures.

For women who have started a family, the problems of achieving a work-family balance are heightened; this kind of project is highly time-consuming, so it becomes necessary to set priorities. However, this is not always viewed in a negative light, as shown by interview 05: "(...) It's like any job, you need to balance your professional and personal life. So far it's all gone fine, in fact I'm pregnant right now. You just have to organize your time." However, in family businesses, this is not such a pressing issue.

11.4.4 Innovation

As far as processes associated with innovation are concerned, product creativity and originality are two essential components. It was found that these factors are mostly considered in the production process, in the wine recipe, which distinguishes it from the competition, as suggested in interview 01:

in the production process, because it's at that point that the wine starts to take on a personality; it's the extra touch you give to your wine;

And in interview 04:

definitely during the process, that's when it has to be.

Answers vary when it comes to identifying the most difficult aspect to mimic. In some cases, it was finding the right outlets for distribution and marketing, especially when one's expertise is more oriented toward the production process. Others believed it was the recipe—finding the right mix of ingredients to produce the desired wine.

Finally, the innovations developed are mostly in the wine-making process and are due in particular to the entrepreneurs' willingness to improve continuously and

achieve differentiation from their competitors. Technology also plays a fundamental role in innovating the wine-making process, and therefore the quality of the product. Another aspect mentioned, besides the production process, is the label design. Labels are expected to be original and appeal to consumers, which is consistent with a more contemporary view of innovation, as innovation is not just found in production processes but also in marketing and brand management.

11.5 Conclusions

As part of the conclusions, it has been confirmed that the wine industry in Baja California is a strategic sector that has established itself at a national level and seeks to improve its outreach and positioning internationally, and in which women are still only beginning to participate. It is still considered, therefore, a male-dominated industry. Nonetheless, the female entrepreneurs in this study acknowledge, first and foremost, that this male dominance has not been an obstacle in their career, and secondly, that attributes inherent to the female gender constitute qualities associated with creative and sensorial capacity, which are an advantage in any sector, but even more so in a creative and cultural industry such as the wine industry.

As for the characteristics of participants, particularly noteworthy are their level of education and unwavering interest in gaining knowledge, and their background in sciences and engineering, structuring the way they think and act and facilitating innovation processes.

It was noted that the entrepreneurs' involvement in the industry developed organically over their careers, whether due to prior participation in family-run wine companies or other similar industries.

Like in other cultural and creative industries like craft beer, innovation was found to be greatest in the production process, where a combination of many variables is the main innovation strategy in the sector. Nonetheless, it was also acknowledged that the marketing and commercialization phase is one link in the innovation chain where significant creative processes can achieve differentiation between competitors. These are processes in which women provide a significant contribution by virtue of their aforementioned creative and sensory skills.

With regard to the family-work balance, the entrepreneurs did not identify any differences between the wine industry and other industries. Although all industries pose challenges that women have had to overcome, the situation is even less complicated for women who work in a family business.

The main difficulties identified by women entrepreneurs involve increasing their presence in international markets, which does not appear to be a problem associated with product quality, but rather visibility and recognition. Similarly, funding to grow their business ventures is also a considerable challenge.

Thus, insofar as public policies are established to support entrepreneurship, it is possible to speak of equal opportunity. Currently, these policies focus primarily on creating new companies where women participate in marginalized areas and in

traditional lines of work with little investment. Consequently, it is necessary to discuss entrepreneurship from a gender perspective and support projects that create added value, in addition to promoting emerging industries.

Finally, and to sum up, this chapter upholds the idea that women's participation in the wine industry in Baja California has the potential to enhance innovation processes and quality, and above all, broaden the spectrum of opportunities to incorporate further participation by women in regional development, as argued by Terjesen and Lloyd (2015). With no female participation, the sector is depriving itself of diversity and inclusion, both of which are key factors in highly creative cultural environments, and fundamental in emerging innovation ecosystems.

Study limitations include the size of the sample, which could be addressed in future studies, along with a greater emphasis on innovation and collaboration variables, which would enable a deeper understanding of the relationships between the different actors within cultural and creative industries.

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