ENVIRONMENTAL INJUSTICE? AN ANALYSIS OF GENDER IN ENVIRONMENTAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (ENGOs) IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND TURKEY

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by

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Abstract

In this thesis I investigate gender in environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOs) in the United Kingdom (UK) and Turkey. ENGOs play an increasingly important role as lobbyists on environmental policy making at national and international scales. There is large literature dealing with gender inequalities in governing bodies, and in organisations. However, gender structures of ENGOs and their implications for campaigns have been under-researched.

I therefore examined the structure and composition of ENGOs in the UK and Turkey, how far they include women in decision-making process and the implications for their campaigns. To this end, I undertook cross-national comparative research applying feminist research methodology to explore differences and similarities and underlying factors for gender inequalities in organisational settings in two different societies. The research methods included 38 interviews and one focus group interview in 9 ENGOs in the UK and 40 interviews in 10 ENGOs in Turkey. These were conducted mainly with senior managers, but also with junior managers and staff. Furthermore, I placed myself as a volunteer and researcher in two ENGOs, one in the UK and one in Turkey in order to observe the organisational practices directly and to enable triangulation of data. In addition, I collected secondary data from annual reports, staff charts, publications and websites of the organisations to collect data on gender compositions as well as campaigns of the ENGOs.

In order to explore and provide sufficient explanation for the under-representation of female senior managers and gender inequalities in ENGOs settings, theoretical approaches were looked into in order to find the most appropriate feminist theories that explain the gendered nature of ENGOs. I found that while the ENGO sectors in

both countries are dominated by female employees, white, middle class men are in charge of the decision-making in the ENGOs. Moreover, in the ENGOs I found that there seemed to be resistance to integrate gender related perspectives when deciding environmental campaigns. Since there is no research on ENGOs that makes gender blindness visible, this thesis is an attempt to fill that gap. I argue that neglecting gender relations in environmental decision-making and campaigns reinforces the current gendered practices and imbalances in ENGOs that fail to integrate women's perspectives in environmental policies.

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Acronyms

BETAM – Bahcesehir University Center for Economic and Social Research

CEDAW - Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

ÇEKÜL – Foundation for the Protection and Promotion of the Environment and Cultural Heritage

CEOs - Chief Executive Officers

CPRE – Campaign to Protect Rural England

DG – Directorate General

DSC – Director of Social Change

EIA – Environmental Impact Assessment

EJ – Environmental Justice

ENGOs - Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations

EOF – Equal Opportunities Forms

EU – European Union

F - Female

FoE – Friends of the Earth

FPE - Feminist Political Ecology

FTSE – Financial Times and the London Stock Exchange

HESA – Higher Education Statistics Agency

HR – Human Ressources

IHD – İnsan Hakları Derneği (Human Rights Charity)

ILO - International Labour Organisation

KADER – Kadın Derneği

KAGIDER – Türkiye Kadın Girişimciler Derneği

M - Male

NCVO – National Council for Voluntary Organisations

NGOs – Non-Governmental Organisations

NVIVO – Computer-assisted qualitative analysis software

O.J. – Official Journal

OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

ONS – Office for National Statistics

PA – Personal assistant

PhD – Doctor of Philosophy

RSPB – Society for the Protection of Birds

SPO – State Planning Organisation (DPT)

TBMM – Grand National Assembly of Turkey

TEMA – Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats

TUSEV – Third Sector Foundation of Turkey

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNEP – United Nations Environment Programme

UNIFEM – United Nations Development Fund for Women

USA – United States of America

WEN - Women's Environmental Network

WI - Women's Institute

WWF – World Wildlife Fund

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

'The humankind consists of two sexes, woman and man. Is it possible that a mass is improved by the improvement of only one part and ignoring the other? Is it possible that if half of a mass is tied to earth with chains, the other half can soar into the skies?'

-- M. K. Atatürk

1.1. Situating the research

This research explores how Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOs) in the United Kingdom and Turkey are gendered and the implications of this for ENGOs' policies. It aims to understand how and why ENGOs are structured especially at the level of positions of power and influence such as senior management level, board members and Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) and whether and how such gender structures affect the current environmental policies of the campaigning organisations. This is an important question because of pressure groups' influence on environmental decision-making, and yet it has largely been neglected until now.

This chapter outlines the scope and aims of the thesis and situates the research. In addition, it explains the justifications for the research locations and the comparative case study research. It also identifies the research questions and the contributions that the research makes. Finally, the chapter introduces the research methodology used, and explains the structure of the thesis.

My longstanding interest in gender, and women's rights developed during my university years in Turkey. Because of the secular modern state Turkey has had since Ataturk I have enjoyed all the rights that women should have including the rights of equal access to education, choice of career path and freedom of dress. I

had been aware that top decision-making positions in Turkey including those in politics were a male domain. However, during several years of residence in Germany, Belgium and the United Kingdom for studies and work I became conscious that, despite cross-cultural differences including the way women's rights were gained (bottom-up approach in most of the European countries compared with the top-down approach in Turkey), there were similarities in terms of female under-representation in decision-making and the position of women in society. Moreover, my interest in environmental issues has developed through environmental lectures as part of my studies in Turkey. Several years of work experience in different countries and in a European environmental consultancy provided me with insights into organisational life. Therefore, my motivation to conduct research on gender and ENGOs comes from my personal experiences, where I observed a clear gendered division of labour and masculinist working practices. The vast majority of employees in one of the organisations where I worked were young, single and female, but the men held the senior positions of authority. In addition, it seemed to me that many women tend to reduce their working hours or leave their jobs if they become mothers. It is an important issue since it appears that gendered organisations limit the career chances of women and, in case of ENGOs, influence the abilities of ENGOs to incorporate gender issues into their policies and campaigns.

Gender is defined by Acker (1992) and Lorber (1994) as socially constructed roles, cultural phenomena and identities. According to Scott (1986: 1067) 'gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes and gender is a primary way of signifying relationship of power'.

1.1.1. Scope and aims of the thesis

Gender has been identified by feminist sociologists as an important dimension of research since the 1970s. They stress how it is important to understand 'gender as an organising principle in all systems including work, politics, economic development, law and other systems' (Coltrane, 2000: ix). Concurrently, environmental degradation has been a topic of growing concern. MacGregor (2009: 124) asked 'why there is a need to pay greater attention to gender [in environmental policies]?', and argues that it is because impacts of environmental degradation are not gender neutral (Agarwal, 1996; Harcourt, 1997; Masika and Joekes, 1997; McGregor, 2009; Parikh, 2009).

As Bina Agarwal argues 'the feminist movement and the environmental movement both stand for egalitarian and non-hierarchical systems and thus they share many common domains and need to work together to develop common perspective, theory, and practice' (1998:193). Ecofeminism emerged in the 1970s to acknowledge that environmental degradation needs to be seen from a feminist perspective and include gender analysis, because it is not gender neutral. Thus, ecofeminism paved the way to an understanding that environmental struggles and gender justice are interlinked (Salleh, 1995) and need to be addressed together. Paradoxically, while environmental justice initiatives since the 1980s aim to address the disproportionate environmental burden on disadvantaged people, the environmental justice literature has been largely unresponsive to the gender dimensions of environmental issues. Thus, it generally fails to acknowledge gender inequality as a structural feature of environmental injustice (Nightingale, 2006; Buckingham and Kulcur, 2009) (exceptions: Taylor, 1997; Di Chiro, 1998; Stein, 2004; Kurtz, 2007).

ENGOs ‘have become a significant force in most industrialised countries, especially in the countries where there is no successful green party, and other parties have been largely unresponsive to environmental problems’ (Carter, 2007: 144), such as in the UK and Turkey. The importance of NGOs in participatory democracy was recognised in Chapter 27 of Agenda 21 (UN, 1992) and ENGOs as pressure-groups have been influential in increasing public awareness and forming and mobilising mass public action and shaping environmental policies. Some examples of successful campaigns that show the influence of ENGOs include the anti-whaling campaigns in Australia (Grey, 2006); Greenpeace’s campaigns against nuclear weapons testing and dumping at sea of radioactive and industrial waste and disused oil installations; the Southern Ocean Whale Sanctuary (Greenpeace, 2011) and the latest ethical tuna fishing campaign which resulted in major British supermarket groups agreeing to ban seining using fish-aggregating devices by 2014 (Independent, 2011). Moreover, the role of ENGOs in influencing global climate change policies has been of increasing importance (UNEP, 2010).

Because gender is an important factor when considering environmental injustices (Novotny, 1998; Reed and Mitchell, 2003), I argue that there is a need to examine the gender structures of ENGOs and the implications this may have for their policies. ENGOs ‘work upon sets of principled ideas or values’ (Gillespie, 2006: 327) where profitmaking is not the aim. Therefore, I had expected ENGOs to be different from the corporate world, striving for gender equality and having gender sensitive campaigns. However, while the majority of volunteers in the environmental justice grassroots movement (Di Chiro 1998; Taylor, 1997) as well as in the NGO sector (Evans and Saxton, 2005) are women, they constitute a minority of senior managers in the environmental movement (including ENGOs) where they can receive higher

remuneration, advance their careers and most significantly where they can be involved in and influence environmental decision making. This thesis shows that ENGOs in the UK and Turkey have been organised similarly to what Seager (1993) observed 20 years ago in the USA regarding the preponderance of men in ENGOs and their neglect of environmental justice issues in their campaigning strategies. I found that while the ENGO sectors in both countries are dominated by female employees, white, middle class men are in charge of the decision-making in the ENGOs. Moreover, there seemed to be resistance in the ENGOs to integrate gender related perspectives when deciding environmental campaigns. I argue that neglecting gender relations in environmental decision-making and campaigns reinforces the current gendered practices and imbalances in ENGOs that fail to integrate women's perspectives in environmental policies. It has been acknowledged that 'inequities in representation and political participation result in gender blindness and bias and issues that affect women differentially are not adequately represented, conceptualised or addressed in decision-making arenas regarding policy and programs' (Reed and Mitchell, 2003: 321). Since there is no research on ENGOs that makes gender blindness visible, this thesis is an attempt to fill that gap. As Lorber (2005) argued, 'the best way to deal with the injustice implicit in current configurations of practices is to make them visible' (cited in Poggio, 2006: 230).

1.1.2. Research Questions

The research questions have arisen through examining literature on organisations; gender and environment, and environmental justice; exploring which issues were taken up by ENGOs; whether the gender compositions of ENGOs at management level had been analysed; and campaigns and policies of ENGOs had been

researched through a lens of gender. While environmental degradation is a key global concern and the disproportionate burden of environmental problems on women has been acknowledged (Donohoe, 2003; Shrader-Frechette, 2005), I found that the implications of gender in environmental decision-making in ENGOs is severely under-researched. Integrating a gender perspective and incorporating a feminist analysis of campaigning organisations can illuminate whether and how gender may be significant for shaping environmental decision-making, as well as to assess the relevance of gender in environmental campaigns.

Therefore, the research is driven by the overarching aim of investigating: **How are women represented in the decision-making of ENGOs? What are the reasons for this**? and **what are the implications of this for their environmental campaigns?**

The first research question aims to reveal **how gendered ENGOs in the UK and Turkey are** and **why and in what ways they are gendered.** To this end, the gender compositions and the working practices of the ENGOs are investigated.

The second research question aims to explore, **the implications of the gender compositions of the ENGOs for their environmental campaigns.** To this end, I examine the connections between the management compositions and the environmental campaigns of the ENGOs and assess **how gender influences ENGOs' campaigns**. In particular, I investigate **whether ENGOs which have a more gender-balanced management composition are more likely to take gender into account when deciding their campaigning strategies and whether they have any gender sensitive campaigns.**

In order to address the research questions an additional question was necessary, namely **what theoretical approaches are most appropriate to explore and understand the gendered nature of ENGOs**.

Moreover, this research also explores **the differences and similarities between the British and Turkish ENGOs in terms of gender composition and campaigns** in order to better identify causal relationships between the disadvantaged position that women find themselves in the ENGOs and their country specific circumstances.

1.1.3. Research locations

In order to identify similarities/differences and relationships (Hughes, 1999) between the ENGO sectors in two different countries and identify underlying factors for gender bias practices and policies, cross-national comparative research was conducted. Since gender relations vary between areas (Walby and Bagguley, 1991), the research could have been expected to find significant differences between the ENGO sectors in these countries. However, the comparative research undertaken suggests that the under-representation of women in the ENGO sector is a trans-national issue caused by patriarchal and capitalist gender relations limiting the career chances of women independent of country-specific conditions. In addition, I also found that the ENGOs in both countries neglect gender in their environmental campaigns and are unwilling to take up environmental justice issues. These gendered similarities would not have been apparent if I had only focused on ENGOs in one country.

The focus of this research is on national and international ENGOs with bases in the United Kingdom (UK) and Turkey. The UK was chosen because the environmental movement has a long history and is well established. Moreover, as a well established European Union member state, EU legislation (EC Treaty, 1997) requires member

states to integrate gender equality in all their activities (gender mainstreaming) (Art.3(2)). In addition, it is where I am resident.

Gender compositions and campaigning strategies of ENGOs based in Turkey are also investigated. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk established a secular modern state in 1923 and paved the way to provide equal rights and opportunities for women. In addition, Turkey along with the UK committed itself to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of women in decision making in forums such as the UN World Conference on Women in 1995 in Beijing. As a candidate country for membership of the European Union (EU), Turkey has also been aligning its legislation with the EU. It is also my home country and where I grew up and studied.

1.1.4. Methodology

A feminist research methodology informed my research into women's experiences helping to reveal and challenge male dominated structures, socially constructed gender relations and gender inequalities in organisational settings. Qualitative methods (semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observation) were adopted to collect information from which I was able to develop insights (Mack et al., 2005) related to organisational settings to understand the factors that lead to gendered practices. I chose to use qualitative methods since they offer the potential for an in-depth understanding of the issues researched and at the same time they can offer good ways of empowering research participants (Sprague and Kobrynowicz, 2004), However, in my case interviewing elites caused asymmetrical power relations favouring elite interviewees (Zuckerman, 1972; Kezar, 2003).

As a part of the research, 38 interviews and one focus group interview were undertaken in 9 ENGOs in the UK and 40 interviews in 10 ENGOs in Turkey. These

were conducted mainly with senior managers, but also with employees and volunteers since more women were represented in these job segments and interviewing employees enabled me to gather data not only from dominant groups (mainly senior men). This was important, as conducting feminist social research requires us to ‘give insights into gendered social existence that would otherwise not exist’ (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2004: 147). However, in a few instances I was denied access to employees by senior management and in one case only allowed to conduct a focus group interview.

A number of measures were adopted before starting this research, including a clear detailing of methods of data collection, which was important to identify what data was needed to answer the research questions. The fieldwork was extended to two years in order to collect data from a varied selection of organisations including small, medium and large ENGOs. Furthermore, I placed myself as a volunteer and researcher in two ENGOs, one in the UK and one in Turkey, in order to observe the daily organisational practices directly and enable triangulation of data. In addition, I collected secondary data on gender compositions and the campaigns of the ENGOs from annual reports, staff charts, publications and the websites of the organisations.

1.1.5. Original contribution of the research

A systematic literature search, using key words such as ‘gender and environment’; ‘gender in environmental campaigns’, and ‘gender and environmental justice’, in publications entitled Gender, Place and Culture; Politics of Gender; Women and Environment; Local Environment; Political Geography and Environmental Politics, published between 2000 to 2011, identified a lack of any analyses of ENGOs and gender or of environmental justice and gender.

The main contribution of this research is that establishing a relationship between the gender compositions of the ENGOs and environmental campaigns and exploring the implications of more gender balanced senior positions of the ENGOs for environmental campaigns. In addition, the thesis contributes to feminist organisational and environmental justice frameworks by examining how gender relations affect the ENGOs and their campaigns. The examination of whether and how gender is significant in ENGOs' environmental campaigns illuminates the role of gender in campaigns of the ENGOs. The thesis provides case study evidence of how male domination of decision making posts in the ENGOs has an impact on how those ENGOs are structured to limit women's perspectives both internally (organisational) and externally (campaigns).

As cross-national comparative research, this thesis also makes a valuable contribution to understanding the underlying factors caused by patriarchal and capitalist relations, which are reflected in working practices of ENGOs. Although the research was conducted in two different societies, the UK being a well established EU country and Turkey, I found that the ENGO sectors in both countries are very similar in terms of male domination in senior management roles and working practices as well as the lack of awareness of gender issues, including in their campaigns. This would not have been apparent if I had analysed only one country. Analysing only one country would only allow me to draw specific conclusions, however studying two countries allowed me to explore widespread causes of gender inequalities related to the issue.

By exploring the gender compositions and working practices of ENGOs, the research contributes to a greater understanding of the factors that contribute to the under-

representation of women in top management roles in the ENGOs, which this research established. Therefore it contributes to feminist organisational literature by revealing that in the ENGOs the senior management positions are male dominated, and how gender-biased working practices such as culture of long working hours, lack of formal recruitment and promotion procedures and short-term contract work relations for jobs that are female dominated, limit the opportunities of advancement for women chances since the different needs of women are ignored as a result of patriarchal and capitalist relations existing in both societies. Moreover, the research also contributes to the environmental justice literature by establishing a relationship between ENGOs and environmental justice campaigns and revealing that ENGOs neglect of and unwillingness to take up gender and environmental justice issues in their campaigns.

In addition, the lack of democracy in civil society organisations has been an increasing concern. Although few scholars in the USA indicated many years ago that ENGOs are not gender balanced, transparent and progressive (Seager, 1993; Carter, 2007; Vázquez, 2011), democracy in ENGOs has been less researched. Thus, this research contributes to the debate by disclosing the undemocratic nature of global ENGOs since I incidentally found that national ENGOs with international links appear to have little influence to decide on their own campaigns.

The research contributes to methodological debates on elite interviewing because it illustrates that the methods advocated for feminist research are not necessarily appropriate for carrying out research on a group of elites (mostly white men in senior roles). Feminist research methodology aims to empower research participants and establish an egalitarian relationship with them. However, the asymmetrical power

relations favouring elites influenced the research process since I was often powerless to choose the day, time and duration of the interviews and in some instances I was denied access to other research participants by senior management under their authority. My research highlighted how elite interviewing has different implications than interviewing a lower-socioeconomic status group of people and how elite interviewing can alter the researcher's intention to undertake certain methods of research.

1.2. Structure of the thesis

This chapter has set out the aims and scope of the thesis, explained the selection of the case study countries and the methodology as well as outlining the theoretical framework. Chapters 2 and 3 establish the theoretical background to the thesis. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on ecofeminism, feminist political ecology and environmental justice to discuss how the relationship between gender and environment has been understood and demonstrates why gender in the ENGO sector and in their campaigns has been under-researched.

Chapter 3 examines the literature on gender and organisations, particularly feminist approaches to organisation theory, including liberal, radical and Marxist/socialist feminism, which provide a theoretical basis for the thesis. While liberal feminism has contributed to women's increased access to the labour market, it does not explain the underlying factors that contribute to gender inequalities or women's under-representation in senior positions as much as radical and socialist/Marxist feminism do. Gender denial theory is explored and the implications of gender diversity in senior management positions are also discussed in the chapter.

To provide the context for the comparative case study, equal opportunities legislation, women's participation in the labour force and the characteristics of the ENGO sector in both countries are presented in detail in Chapter 4. In order to explore the factors behind the under-representation of women and analyse the working practices and campaigns of the ENGOs, care has been taken to outline country specific circumstances in the research.

Chapter 5 sets out the methodological framework and offers a reflexive account of the research design and research process. It also justifies the use of a feminist research methodology. It describes the methodological and ethical issues relevant to the research, including access to the research participants, obtaining informed consent, ensuring confidentiality, power relations related to interviewing elites as well as the analysis and dissemination of data.

Chapters 6 and 7 present and analyse the data in order to answer the research questions. In order to answer the first research question (how and why the ENGOs are structured as they are), the gender compositions and the working practices of the ENGOs are examined in Chapter 6. The chapter shows that most of the ENGOs are male dominated at senior levels. In order to explore the reasons for this, working practices including promotion and recruitment practices, working hours and funding policies as well as organisational culture are analysed. Women's dual workload and childcare responsibilities are looked into. The chapter shows that gendered working practices in organisational life in the ENGOs appear to be a reflection of patriarchal gender relations and inequalities in larger society. In addition, capitalist relations contribute to these practices where the differential needs of women remain invisible in organisational settings due to financial pressures on the ENGOs and the tendency

of the ENGOs to mimic the corporate world. Furthermore, Chapter 7 explores how gender is relevant in environmental campaigns since the consequences of environmental degradation are not gender neutral, and whether relatively gender-balanced organisations are more likely to have more gender-sensitive campaigns. To this end, I look into the campaigns of the ENGOs, and the most important factors in their design and implementation. In addition, campaigns of the ENGOs that have more gender balanced management compositions are compared to those that are male dominated. Since the research found that gender was not considered relevant in environmental campaigns by the research participants, the chapter also explores the possible explanations for this neglect of gender and environmental justice issues by the ENGOs.

Finally, Chapter 8, the concluding chapter, summarises and discusses the main findings on the basis of the research questions. I found that in both countries a gendered division of labour exists: while stereotypically female occupations including secretarial and administrative staff as well as non-management roles were female dominated, senior management roles and therefore policy decision areas and science related roles (such as in conservation departments) were predominantly male. One of the most important contributors to the low number of female managers appeared to be the gendered working practices, which were surprisingly similar in these two different countries studied. In addition, there was little awareness of gender and environmental justice issues in ENGOs' campaigns and therefore their policy areas. Undertaking this comparative research enabled me to see the deeper factors underlying gender inequalities, which emerge as a result of patriarchal and capitalist relations, in the ENGO sectors in both countries. Therefore, the thesis contributes to feminist organisational literature by revealing androcentric features of the ENGO

sectors, as well the environmental justice literature by establishing a relationship between ENGOs and environmental justice issues and disclosing that ENGOs, as one of the important agents of environmental decision-making, neglect to take up gender and environmental justice issues in their environmental campaigns.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW 1 – Gender and Environment

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is one of the two chapters that establish the theoretical framework of the thesis. It presents an overview of the feminist literature on gender and environment, exploring the relationships that are established between gender and environment and how they can inform the thesis to analyse gender relations and their implications for environmental campaigning organisations. Moreover, it also explores why gender relations in ENGOs' working practices and in their campaigns have been given little attention. I will highlight three key theoretical frameworks to examine the gender and environment nexus. Firstly, ecofeminism will be presented to discuss its limitations and possible contributions to the research (Section 2.2). Secondly, feminist political ecology will be reviewed to reveal that while the relationship between gender and environment has been well documented, only a few links have been made between gender and environmental organisations (Section 2.3). In addition, literature on environmental justice will be referred to, to review environmental injustices relevant to gender and how gender has been neglected by the environmental justice literature and environmental campaigning organisations (Section 2.4).

Since the 1970s, certain theoretical approaches including ecological feminism (known also as ecofeminism) and feminist political ecology have emerged focusing on these issues. This chapter will also review the framework of environmental justice, because of the high representation of women and their role in grassroots movements and the EJ movement's importance in environmental decision-making.

2.2. Ecofeminism

The link between gender and environment was first made in the academic literature in the 1970s by scholars of ecofeminism (early ecofeminist literature includes D'Eaubonne, 1974; Griffin, 1978; Daly, 1978; Merchant, 1980; Shiva, 1988; Diamond and Orenstein, 1990; Mies and Shiva, 1993). Ecofeminism grew because the environmental movement did not include any feminist analysis and feminism had no interest in environmental issues (McGuire and McGuire, 2004). According to Merchant (1992), ecofeminism emerged because its proponents believed that feminism was the only solution to social and ecological problems. King (1989) claimed that the ecological crisis must be made central to feminist philosophy and politics, because 'the ecological crisis is related to the systems of hatred of all that is natural and female, by the white male, western formulators of philosophy, technology and death inventions' (p.353). It was argued that ecofeminism was necessary to achieve 'a feminism that is ecological and an ecology that is feminist' (Warren and Cheney, 1991: 179).

Ecofeminists examined the link between environmental deterioration and women's subordination, and the role that gender inequality plays in shaping human–environment relations, natural resource use, environmental degradation and perceptions of the environment (Goldman and Schurman, 2000). It was argued that ecofeminism engaged directly with 'the humanity-nature problematic' (Salleh, 2003: 64). Ecofeminism suggests that the oppression and domination of women and the exploitation of nature are interlinked (Shiva 1988; Agarwal, 1992; Plumwood, 1993; Mellor, 1997). Thus, according to Mellor (1997: 1) 'ecofeminism takes from the green movement a concern about the impact of human activities on the non-human world

and from feminism the ways of women's subordination and oppression'. Most scholars of ecofeminism have identified Western patriarchy as the cause of domination of women and nature (Griffin, 1978, Shiva, 1988 and King, 1989). Since women were seen as closer to nature and men closer to culture, women were seen as inferior by men based on the subordination of nature to culture. Ecofeminist scholars such as Plumwood (1993, 2006) challenged all androcentric structures, because according to her, most women do not do well or achieve equality under androcentric regimes. Androcentrism (male centeredness) takes male values or practices as the norm where men and their experiences are privileged (Worell, 2001). Ecofeminists such as Shiva (1988) and Merchant (1980) criticised the Age of Enlightenment and modernisation that resulted in dichotomies, where women's work burden increased and women were marginalised due to capitalist patriarchy, because the market as the measure of all productivity resulted in the value of women's work and status being devalued.

Most ecofeminists claimed that women's liberation cannot be achieved by freeing them from sexual and reproductive biology, but rather eliminating the hierarchies that were built by men (Biehl, 1991). Social constructivist ecofeminism, which will be reviewed at the end of this section, was influenced by Marxist feminism, which argued that the link between women and nature is a social construction produced by binary relationships including between women and men (Mellor, 1992; 1997).

The elimination of hierarchies and burdens built by men and the reductionist western science argument of ecofeminism is important for the thesis when exploring the general neglect of the ENGOs to consider gender relations in campaigns (chapter 7), since it shows how women and their relations with the environment have been

devalued. The critique recognises the devaluation of women and exclusion of them as experts by devaluing local knowledge created by women (Shiva, 1988). Western science is seen as 'a source of violence against women as it subjugates and dispossesses them of women's full productivity, power and potential' (Shiva and Mies, 1993: 24). According to ecofeminism, Western science is patriarchal and nature-biased, because it is founded on the domination of non-human nature particularly due to capitalist values creating dualities and hierarchies, which result in the oppression of women and nature (Barndt, 2007). The bias and reductionism of resources to profit-making occurs for example when a forest is only seen as commercial wood, pulp and paper instead of an ecosystem, where money is used to exploit and destroy nature and this mechanism has been supported politically by Western states (Custers, 1997). Ecofeminist critique of western scientific thought, which exploits women and non-human nature, should be relevant to ENGOs as no action on environment would be correct without considering women. Chapter 7 will show that there is sufficient evidence that women have a specific relationship with non-human nature as a result of disadvantages and societal valuations of biological and physical differences between women and men (causing differential exposure to chemicals and environmental pollution), and in terms of women's involvement in the fight against environmental injustices at grassroots level. However, this is neglected by the environmental justice literature as well as ENGOs.

Ecofeminism does not consist of one single theory and I agree with Warren (1994) that it is important to acknowledge and understand the different perspectives. The central division is between cultural (also known as radical or spiritual ecofeminism) and social ecofeminism (socialist/materialist eco-feminism) (Plumwood, 1992; Mellor, 1997). The main difference between them is how they explain the link between

nature and women. While cultural ecofeminists propose biology as the main factor for women's particular relationship with nature, social ecofeminists understand social construction as the main cause. Cultural ecofeminists such as Daly, (1978), Shiva (1988), Spretnak (1989; 1990), and Merchant (1996) tended to naturalise the connection between nature and women and presupposed that women are closer to nature, because of their biology and naturally have more nurturing and caring characteristics. However, Shiva, Mies and Merchant have evolved their views. On the other hand Gupte (2002), based on a study, argued that not gender, but other factors such as feminist consciousness, age, ideology and affiliation to a political party is relevant to explain the environmental consciousness of people. Castree and Braun (2002) argued that men and women have the same motivations, and being male or female is not important, but men have been moved away from nature.

While cultural ecofeminism was considered by some scholars as empowering, it was mainly criticized as essentialist especially where certain metaphors including Mother Earth were used to explain women's closeness to nature (Shiva, 1988; Starhawk, 1989; Spretnak, 1990). It was also criticised as sexual stereotyping (Biehl, 1991) and utopianist (Sargisson, 2001). Cultural ecofeminism was also criticized as reducing women to their biological abilities as child bearers, and gendered roles as nurturers (Hawkesworth, 1990). It has been argued that 'fighting essentialist notions like biology is destiny has been a central tenet of feminism' (Godfrey, 2005: 38) and focusing on women's nurturing and caring attributes would only further reinforce women's traditional roles (Biehl, 1991; MacGregor, 2006). In addition, like post modern feminism, the assumption of women as one undifferentiated category with the same sympathies and understandings was criticized (Agarwal, 1998; Nightingale, 2006). According to Godfrey (2005: 38), 'essentialism is a philosophical charge

applied when words like nature, woman, class, or race are used to imply something unchanging, biologically innate, ahistorical, or universal'.

Social constructivist ecofeminism emerged due to some feminists who criticized and 'challenged essentialist thinking contained in the analysis of cultural feminism and instead focused on the material practices that bring women closer to nature and thus give them learned, practical knowledge of ecosystems' (Nightingale, 2006: 165). It has been argued that due to the different roles and responsibilities of women and men environmental changes affect women and men differently (Sass, 2001). Having also found parallels between the exploitation of women and nature, materialist ecofeminists argued that women and nature are socially-related and both suffer as a result of prevailing social and economic structures. Agarwal (1998), who called herself an ecological feminist to distance herself from essentialism, stated that ecofeminists fail to address economic and power relations. Having recognized the link between women and the environment, Agarwal (1998) argued that the link is not due to biological connections as cultural ecofeminists suggested, but rather due to women's material relationships with nature as providers of the basic needs of their families. According to Agarwal (1998: 197), 'women's and men's relationship with nature needs to be understood as rooted in their material reality, in their specific forms of interaction with the environment and as there is a gender and class (caste/race)-based division of labor and distribution of property and power, gender and class (caste/race) structure people's interactions with nature and so structure the effects of environmental change on people and their responses to it'. Agarwal (1991) highlights that a number of factors including customs, regulations and social structures play an important role in determining women's relationship with the environment.

As this thesis explores gender in environmental organisations and also aims to illuminate why they are gendered as they are, including their working practices and campaigns, Ecofeminist materialist political economy (hereafter materialist ecofeminism) was developed by Salleh (1997), Mellor (1997, 2006) and Bandarage (1997) to explore the links between gender and economic systems. Materialist ecofeminism points out that women's work and labour under a capitalist patriarchal system is exploited. Therefore materialist ecofeminism also suggests the factors that limit women's advancement chances in organisational settings, which will be examined in chapter 3. According to materialist ecofeminism 'the valued economy is parasitical upon other aspects of human and natural existence', because women's work and lives, like the natural world, are externalised and exploited by the valued economy [which is defined as an economy that values human activities in money or prestige terms]' (Mellor, 2006:139 and 148). Mellor calls it 'gendering of economic systems and gendered society' (2006: 140). Mellor (2006) also recognised that women constitute a large number of employees, which also reflects the current gender structures of most of the ENGOs. Thus, Mellor (2010a) argued that the link between domination of nature and subordination of women are linked 'due to masculine-dominated economic systems' (p.14). According to Mellor (2006), the gendering of economic systems and a gendered society is not accidental, because 'women's work is the basic work that makes other forms of activity possible by securing the human body and the community. If a woman enters formal economic life she must leave her woman-life behind; childcare, domestic work, responsibility for elderly relatives, subsistence work, and community activities' (p.140). Therefore, these arguments inform the thesis when the working practices (chapter 3) and campaigns including gender aspects (chapter 7) of the ENGOs are explored.

Ecofeminism offers a way of understanding that environmental change and degradation is not gender neutral and these differential impacts on women[1] need to be addressed by policy makers and ENGOs as important agents of environmental policies. Moreover, materialist ecofeminism offers an important contribution to understanding the gender division of labour and the linkages between the domination of women and the environment by discussing the low value jointly accorded to nature and women. As such, it is relevant to the thesis when analysing the reasons behind the gender blindness in the ENGOs: firstly regarding the under-representation of women in senior roles and gendered working practices (chapter 6) and secondly in campaigns of the ENGOs (chapter 7).

While ecofeminist philosophy has been stereotyped as essentialist (Harris, 1996), it cannot be disregarded, since the connection between feminism and the environment was first explored by ecofeminist scholars, and it also influenced other theories of environmental feminism including feminist political ecology (Schroeder, 1999). Zimmerman (1994), for example, claimed that ecofeminism provides an important explanation on environmental problems that we face today. Similarly, Plumwood (1993) argued that ecofeminism drew attention to explore the link between the domination of nature and women's oppression. However, with its critiques of reductionist science and patriarchy, and by 'pointing out the deep sources of mechanisms' oppressing women (New, 1996: 80), ecofeminism offers a useful, albeit limited, framework to explore the links between under-representation of women in decision-making roles and the invisibility of gender in environmental campaigns.

[1] Due to physical and biological differences, but also social roles including caring for vulnerable groups of people such as children and elderly in their families (Schultz et al., 2001).

2.3. Feminist political ecology

Feminist Political Ecology (FPE), which is 'linked to political ecology, feminist cultural ecology, as well as feminist political economy' (Banerjee and Bell, 2007: 11) emerged in the 1990s to include women and gender when analysing ecological, economic and political power relations (Thomas-Slayter and Wangari, 1996) in addition to other factors including class, caste, race, culture and ethnicity (Rocheleau et al., 1996). FPE has mainly explored the 'gender differences in environmental issues' around three emerging issues of feminist political ecology that were identified by Rocheleau et al. (1996: xv). The themes include gendered knowledge; uneven distribution of access to and control over resources and environmental decision-making. The feminist 'political ecology framework sees gendered natural resource management as embedded within wider political economic frameworks' (Resurrection and Elmhirst, 2008: 9).

It is argued that environmental knowledge is shaped by social, political and economic contexts, and also that the contexts themselves are gendered (Rocheleau et al., 1996). The arguments on gendered knowledge follow the feminist critiques of scientific knowledge (gendered science) expressed, amongst others, by Sandra Harding (1987, 1991). FPE focuses on men and women's differential knowledge regarding natural resources as a result of everyday social roles and access to training opportunities (Nightingale, 2006), as well as how women's knowledge and practice of natural resources remain invisible. On the basis of case studies, FPE aimed to show that while women's and men's knowledge and priorities differ, women's opinion and knowledge are not taken into account, for example when deciding on community development projects (involving mostly agro-forestry or

natural resources), which causes the gendered nature of ecological science and practice (Rocheleau, 1991).

Scholars of FPE have also conducted research on the control of and access to natural resources from a gendered point of view, to understand gender differentials in resource rights and women's exclusion from natural resources, namely gendered environmental rights - especially land-rights (Agarwal, 1994; Meinzen-Dick and Zwarteveen 1998). For example, Rocheleau (1991); Rocheleau and Edmunds (1997); Fortmann (1996); Jewitt (2002) and Howard (2003) through case studies, explored the gendered nature of resource use and access to natural resources (mainly forests, water, and land). Rocheleau (1991) examined how gender-based, and often unequal divisions of labour, contributed to the complexities of natural resources use and agroforestry.

Finally, the third area of research within the FPE context focused on gendered environmental politics, and particularly on grassroots activism of women (Rocheleau 1991; Rocheleau et al, 1996; Campbell, 1996). A large number of case studies and assessments have been conducted on NGOs. The majority of which are involved in agriculture, forestry, and rural development projects within a gender and development context (Rocheleau, 2008), environmental departments of development agencies (Kurian, 2000). The few case studies focused on ENGOs only as agents for directing development assistance funds in the context of community-based conservation projects (e.g. Campbell and Vainio-Mattila, 2003). However, leaving aside the few exceptions such as Engel-Di Mauro (2003), who looked at the role of gender in soil management in Hungary and Davidson and Stratford (2007) on water

management and gender in Tasmania, research within the context of FPE has been mostly concentrated in the Global South[2].

FPE has grown in size and diversity (Rocheleau, 2008) and has been influenced by post-structuralism in considering power, women's agency and subjectivity (Radcliffe, 2006). Nonetheless, FPE still mainly focuses on emerging political economies, and concentrates on gender and development issues, and sustainability. Many FPE scholars have suggested future directions that FPE should explore such as a) the 'gendered urban industrial environments in the Global South, and the gender issues in rural, resource-based conflicts in Europe and North America' (Rocheleau et al., 1996: xv), b) research on gender relations within the debates around environment and development (Leach, 2007), and c) 'the research gap on masculinity and the environment and differences in environmental experiences among men and women' (Banerjee and Bell, 2007: 15-16). I contend that research on gender relations in ENGOs and their campaigns would also make an important contribution to FPE as it is also about economic and political power relations related to environmental issues and environmental decision-making.

FPE provides an important contribution to gender issues because it recognises that some of the crucial elements in environmental issues are access to, control over, and the distribution of resources and that the differential challenges and opportunities that women and men have consequences of these (Nightingale, 2006). Moreover, FPE offers a good theoretical background for this thesis since it highlights women's differential needs as well as knowledge on natural resources due to their social roles and how their knowledge of and relationship with nature remain invisible. This is

[2] The term 'Global South' is used to refer to the less industrial advanced countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

particularly important because this research shows that there is a lack of acknowledgment of women's differential needs and knowledge by the ENGOs since it was found that in none of the ENGOs studied was there an environmental campaign that considered gender relations and differential impacts of environmental degradation on women (Chapter 7). However, FPE offers little help for revealing the male dominated structures of environmental decision-making processes and the relations around the formulation of public policies.

2.4. Gender and Environmental Justice

The Environmental Justice movement emerged first in the United States in the 1980s through the work of grassroots activists in response to environmental inequities, unequal protection, differential enforcement and treatment of people of colour (Taylor, 2011b). 'Environmental justice attempts to uncover the underlying assumptions that may contribute to and produce unequal protection' (Bullard, 2001: 153).

According to Shrader-Frechette (2005) environmental injustice occurs when individuals suffer disproportionate environmental risks, unequal access to environmental goods such as access to and use of green spaces and natural resources, and less opportunity to participate in environmental decision-making. Environmental justice scholars argue that environmental protection is a basic right. The environmental justice literature has documented, for example, differential exposure to pollutants and health effects of chemicals and pollutants on people with different socio-economic backgrounds (Veenstra and Kelly, 2007). The environmental justice literature seeks to identify the links between social inequalities including race, class and income, lack of social capital as well as occupational and

residential segregation and the ability of influencing and resisting political decisions related to environmental and health issues (Morello-Frosch, 2002). The roots and the consequences of differential exposure of people who face elevated health risks have been researched by scholars of environmental justice including Bullard (1994; 1999; 2000); Agyeman et al. (2003); Kurtz, (2007).

Activists of the environmental justice movement demand recognition of communities unfairly affected by the activities of industries and governments. There is a growing body of evidence to suggest that gender is an important factor when considering environmental injustices (Seager, 1993; Novotny, 1998; Reed and Mitchell, 2003). Taylor (2000:542), for example, argued that environmental justice is 'the first paradigm to link environment and race, class, gender, and social justice concerns in an explicit framework'. Furthermore, persons who are most exposed and vulnerable to the consequences of environmental problems and injustices are people who live in poverty, and despite women's increasing participation in paid work, women constitute the poorest population worldwide due to gender-pay gaps, unequal education and career opportunities, and longer life expectancy (UNa, 2011, also Alcock, 1993 for gender dimension of poverty). A far higher proportion of women than men work part-time, due to caring responsibilities at home. The links between poverty and low housing standards, fuel poverty, transport, location of accommodation, underemployment, and environmental injustices have been long recognised (Bullard, 1990; Walker et al, 2005; Stephens et al., 2007). Furthermore, environmental degradation and pollution affects men and women differently (Seager, 1996). This is because women tend to live longer and be poorer than men (OECD, 2010b). In addition, women are more likely to be exposed to chemicals because of the social construction of gendered roles and due to biological and physical differences

between men and women (Seager, 1996; Krupp 2000; Carvalho et al., 2011). According to Krupp (2000), women are more exposed to dangerous levels of chemicals because safe experience is calculated on a fit, male body (Del Rio Gomez and Lynn, 2007) and women are still generally excluded from chemical risk assessments (Krupp, 2000).

In addition, gender differences are not taken into consideration, for example when identifying potential risk due to exposure to hazardous substances and environmental degradation (Kurian, 2000). The general exclusion of women from decisions regarding the siting of potentially hazardous facilities, is also seen as a result of women's under-representation in certain scientific jobs (for example as environmental impact assessment experts) and decision-making bodies, which causes women (and children) not to be considered in calculations in scientifically devised industrial standards (for so called acceptable risk) (Seager, 1996; Di Chiro, 1998; Kurian, 2000).

However, while mainly focusing on the unfair burden on blacks, working class communities, and ethnic minorities, thereby pointing out the relationship between environmental justices and race and class, gender has received little attention and the environmental justice literature generally fails to acknowledge gender inequality as a structural feature of environmental injustice (Stein, 2004; Buckingham and Kulcur, 2009) (few exceptions include Taylor, 1997; Di Chiro 1998; Stein, 2004; Nightingale, 2006; Kurtz, 2007).

Although the fact that many women juggle domestic roles and paid work makes it difficult for women to undertake volunteer and community work (Taniguchi, 2006), it is known that the grassroots environmental justice movement mostly involves

women, from low-income and ethnic minority communities (Seager, 1993; Brown and Ferguson, 1995; Di Chiro, 1998). It is also led by women taking actions against environmental problems such as toxic waste movement in the USA, the Chipko movement in India, and the Greenbelt movement in Kenya (Agarwal, 1998; Zelezny and Bailey, 2006 and Greenbelt, 2010). In the Greenbelt movement, for example, 70% of the participants were women (the Greenbelt, 2010). Although women are disproportionately impacted by environmental degradation and are at the forefront of environmental justice movement affecting their communities, gender has received little attention from the environmental justice literature. This research explores whether the ENGOs have any environmental justice campaigns that incorporate gender since gender sensitive campaigns are likely to be environmental justice issues. It is because women are more likely to bear environmental injustices due to social roles; biological and physical differences between women and men (Resurreccion and Elmhirst, 2008) and the linkages between poverty and environmental injustices.

The following section will explore the literature to identify whether the ENGO sector has been researched in terms of gender and whether ENGOs have been responsive to gender and gender issues in their environmental campaigns.

2.4.1. ENGOs and environmental justice issues

The importance of ENGOs in environmental decision-making has been long recognised. It has been documented that ENGOs as environmental pressure groups are very important in shaping environmental policies since they influence the environmental agenda (Seager, 1993; Rootes, 2006) and put pressure on governments and decision-making bodies (Carter, 2007; Binder and Neumayer,

2005; Affolderbach, 2008). While smaller ENGOs in particular try to shape environmental policies by increasing environmental consciousness and public awareness (ENGOs' role as watchdogs[3] Börzel and Buzogány, 2010), certain large ENGOs aim to influence decision-makers directly (Chartier and Deléage, 1998).

Following Seager (1993: 4) that a 'feminist analysis of environmental problems must be rooted in an analysis of the social, cultural and political institutions' (Seager, 1993: 4), I argue that there is a need to reveal gender relations in ENGOs. Because of the high number of females in environmental grassroots activism, it could be expected that women play an important role in environmental decision-making and would be represented in large numbers in the ENGO sector as senior managers. However, a few studies conducted in the USA indicated that the leadership positions in environmental organisations are male dominated (Seager, 1993; Taylor, 2002). Seager (1993) discovered almost 20 years ago that until 1989 there was no woman at the top of any of the ENGOs in the USA and Taylor's (2002) analysis of the environmental movement in the USA revealed that around 80 percent of top leaders (presidents, CEOs, chairs) were white, middle-class men. However, no research has been done in other countries and these studies did not explore the implications of gender for environmental campaigns[4].

Furthermore, equal representation of women in environmental decision-making and policies has been agreed by the UN (1995) as a part of gender mainstreaming (Walby, 2005). Gender mainstreaming means gender equality and gender perspectives are to be taken into account in all activities and policies including

[3] By alerting media and draw attention to administrative deficiencies in certain projects.
[4] A research project was conducted to explore whether and how NGOs, mostly developing NGOs, based in Malawi address gender inequality in their programmes, which found limited awareness related to gender issues in the organisations (see Tiessen, 1999).

planning and policy development, research, resource allocation, legislation as well as the implementation of projects and programmes (UN Women, 2011). Moreover, gender mainstreaming requires assessment of the implications of any planned action on women and men to take into account women's and men's concerns and experiences (UN Women, 2011). 'The active participation of women and the integration of gender issues in environmental policies and actions are critical determinants for the implementation of the commitments of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), the World Summit on Sustainable Development (2002), and the Millennium Development Goals' (UN Women Watch, 2005: 1). In addition, Agenda 21 recognised the importance of NGOs in participatory democracy (UN, 1992).

Because NGOs are mostly involved in values-driven activities (Etzioni, 1961; Najam, 1996; Lewis, 2003) including conservation, development efforts and empowerment, it might be expected that they are different from other organisations. However, according to Vázquez (2011: 167), 'the expectation that NGOs are different than other organisations caused unrealistic expectations among the public' and this has led to a drop in public trust. A recent survey (nfpSynergy, 2011) undertaken in the UK indicates that public trust in charities has fallen from 70% in 2010 to 53% in 2011. It has been documented that ENGOs have become increasingly professionalised (Jepson, 2005; Evans and Saxton, 2005). It is argued that in the European Union (EU) 'the professionalisation of ENGOs was fostered by the EU's preference for 'twinning' projects, because the EU channelled its environmental funding through large environmental organisations to increase their effectiveness' (Börzel and Buzogány, 2010: 718). As a result of this professionalisation ENGOs have been increasingly adopting the management techniques and structures of profit-making

business organisations. This has been criticised as potentially compromising the motivation of NGOs as well as their abilities to act as a critical voice (Wallace, 2000).

NGOs have been criticised for being ‘internally undemocratic, characterized by authoritarian or charismatic personalized leaderships, competitive, driven along class, gender, religious, regional, spatial and ethnic fault lines and steered by either the state or donors, or both’ (Mercer, 2002: 13). They have also been criticised for being a white and male dominated sphere (Gibelman and Gelman, 2001, 2004; Plumwood, 2006). Seager (1993: 185), one of the few scholars who has identified the gendered management structures of ENGOs and their campaigns, argued that ‘environmentalists do not question gender relations even though the leadership and structure of environmental establishments in North America and Europe is becoming increasingly male and white, and they replicate the structure of corporations, militaries and governments by their efforts to get more professionalised and replicating those corporations'. In addition, ENGOs are increasingly funded by the corporate world, which extends the business world’s influence on the environmental movement (Tokar, 1997). Thus, Seager (1993) argued that the schism between the environmental movement, which is a mostly male-led professional elite and the grassroots movement, which is female-led and working class, has been widening. Therefore, the reasons for male domination in top management levels in ENGOs may be a reflection of the historical development of ENGOs as well as replication of the world of business and its organisational culture which is hostile to women. Feminist organisation theories and factors that contribute to the under-representation of women in organisations will be explored in chapter 3, which will attempt to find explanations for the domination of men in decision-making roles.

A possible explanation for the reluctance of ENGOs to take up environmental justice and gender issues may be explained as follows: First, the environmental justice movement emerged from people of colours' grassroots activists, rather than from the white middle-class ENGO sector, or from within the government or academia (Bullard, 1999). ENGOs have been criticized for having conservation policies with little interest for the people living in the area designated for protection (Rudel, 2005). Thus, it may not be surprising to see that white middle class men dominated environmental groups concentrate on 'environment-first' rather than 'people-first policy' (Bryant and Bailey, 1997: 134) and generally do not take up any environmental justice issues (apart from a few environmental organisations). While many ENGOs' policies focus on conservation-related goals including wildlife protection and deforestation, environmental justice issues are mostly related to social justice and public health issues (so called urban issues) (Seager, 1993; Taylor, 2002), even though 'most environmental issues involve both human and non-human-issues' (Plumwood, 2006: 59). Agyeman and Angus (2003: 348) argued that 'broad focus civic environmentalism is far more likely to result in a greater social capital, and a holistic appreciation of the inextricable links between environmental, social and economic characteristics of sustainable communities'.

Secondly, different definitions of 'environment' by mainstream environmental organisations and the environmental justice movement as Di Chiro (1998: 138) highlighted may also be a reason for the failure of ENGOs to take up environmental justice issues. For mainstream environmental organisations the environment is limited to natural resources, plants and animals. However, according to the environmental justice movement, the environment is where you live, where you work, where you play thereby including everyday urban issues.

In addition, the concept of scales (Smith, 1992; 2000) may also give a possible explanation when exploring the neglect of gender in policies and campaigns of the ENGOs. Household is a scale where patriarchal gender relations in terms of reproduction and consumption take place (Marston, 2002). 'Women are mostly embedded within households or their families and this makes women publicly less visible, because women are less geographically concentrated than ethnic minorities or people in poverty' (Buckingham and Kulcur, 2009: 661).

Plumwood (2006: 60) argued that 'a feminist focus on the larger political and historical context of human/nature and self/other formation can give us a richer, more integrated and more coherent conception of the environmental problematic, broadening the narrow focus on non-human, wilderness issues to represent more closely the full range of issues and concerns in real environmental struggles'.

In summary, the environmental justice framework is important for this thesis since women are more likely to bear injustices, because of both their social roles and the biological and physical differences between women and men (Resurreccion and Elmhirst, 2008). Moreover women are more likely to face poverty, which 'has been acknowledged as a dimension of environmental injustice' (Buckingham and Kulcur, 2009: 660). Since this thesis examines ENGOs and their campaigns (chapter 7) gender responsive campaigns are more likely to be linked to environmental justice issues. Therefore, when addressing the research question and exploring campaigns of the ENGOs in terms of gender and the neglect of ENGOs to take up gender sensitive campaigns (chapter 7), the environmental justice framework offers a useful analytical tool.

2.5. Summary and conclusions

This chapter has presented the theoretical arguments concerning the gender and environment nexus to see whether, and how, gender has been related to environmental issues and environmental decision-making. Ecofeminism and feminist political ecology offers valuable insights by highlighting the oppressive factors both jointly affecting women and the environment, gendered differential roles and rights, and the gendered division of labour, which are caused as a result of social, material, and political relationships. It has been acknowledged that women are disproportionately affected by environmental issues due to assumptions on the biological and physical differences between men and women, as well as gendered roles.

The environmental justice literature was reviewed to explore the likely exposure of women to environmental injustices as well as the gender blindness of the environmental justice literature and ENGOs. In addition, the literature on women's activism in the environmental justice movement was reviewed and shows that while women dominate and often lead environmental grassroots movements, they are largely absent from the decision-making of ENGOs. The role of ENGOs in developing environmental strategies has been long recognised. However, the literature reviewed suggests that even though gender has been acknowledged as an important factor, apart from a few exceptions, the gender compositions of ENGOs, and their implications, have been overlooked. The next chapter will present the theoretical framework on gender and organisations to review how feminist organisational theory can give an insight into gender relations in ENGOs.

CHAPTER 3 LITERATURE REVIEW 2 – Gendered nature of organisations

3.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to set the theoretical background for one of the research questions and examine the gender compositions of ENGOs, especially the low representation of women in senior managerial positions, and gender inequalities in the organisational context. In addition to the gender and environment literature discussed in Chapter 2, an examination of feminist organisational literature may also provide clues as to how gender informs the ENGOs' policies and campaigning strategies (Chapter 7). Gender[5] inequalities in organisations[6] and the low number of female managers emerge as a result of factors which interact at the societal, organisational and individual level. This chapter explores the literature on feminist theories including liberal, radical, Marxist/socialist and post-structuralist feminist approaches to organisational contexts in order to address the research question what feminist theoretical perspectives are most appropriate to explain the underrepresentation of women in senior roles and gender inequalities in the ENGOs. This was important to identify the reasons behind these inequalities since during the research I realised that none of the feminist theoretical perspectives was alone provided a sufficient explanation for the gendered nature of the ENGOs. Therefore, I think that it is important to review these feminist perspectives to see their contributions as well as limitations for providing explanations for the gender inequalities in organisatisational

[5] I also acknowledge that women and men are not homogeneous social categories and in addition to gender, there are other factors that affect our work life including race, class and ethnicity.

[6] Organisation is defined in many ways. According to Max Weber (1964: 151), it is 'a system of continuous purposeful activity….with the intent to maintain the existence of the specialized activities'. According to Martin (1990: 184), 'feminist organisations are organisations with a feminist ideology, values, goals and outcomes'.

settings. During the research, I realised that the liberal feminist perspective did not alone provide sufficient explanations for gender inequalities and I had to include radical and socialist feminist perspectives to explore genderedness of the ENGOs. The justification for why a combination of feminist theories was necessary to explain the gender inequalities in the ENGOs is provided in section 3.2.5. In addition, meso (organisational) level and other factors such as human capital theory and gender stereotypes will be examined.

It is known that, despite the increasing female participation in the labour force and women's greater representation in low and middle management positions (Dalton and Kesner, 1993; Powell, 2010), top managerial positions are still mostly occupied by men (Ross-Smith and Huppatz, 2010). The number of female senior managers in upper management positions, especially Chief Executive Officers (CEOs), and on boards of directors, is very low in most of the corporations around the world (Catalyst, 2010). In 1977, Kanter (1993) claimed that 'women populate organisations, but they practically never run them'. After more than three decades, of the 500 largest corporations in the world, only 13 had a female chief executive officer (UN, 2010). In Europe, despite the existing equal opportunity polices, women constitute only 12, 5 percent of the boards of directors of FTSE 100 companies and 21 percent of these companies have only men on their boards (Opportunity Now, 2011). According to the OECD (2010), women are less likely than men to be in a management position, namely on average across the OECD countries only one third of managers are female. Moreover, sectoral and occupational segregation[7] in the valued economy is present as horizontal segregation (women are absent from senior

[7] Unequal distribution of men and women among different jobs.

positions) and vertical segregation (women are largely present in sex-stereotyped jobs or sectors) (Anker, 1997; Meulders et al., 2010).

'Gender represents a basic, systematic, constitutive and discursively (re)produced notion within re(productive) organisational processes' (Bendl, 2008: 50). Many scholars agree that gender is integral to organisational processes and practices and it is important to consider gender when examining organisations (Acker, 1992, 1998; 2000) because organisations are gendered in many ways (the early work of women in organisations include Acker and Van Houten, 1974; Kanter, 1977; Acker, 1990; Cockburn, 1991; Morgan, 1992; Hearn, 1994; Gherardi, 1995). There has been a large amount of research on the under-representation of women in top positions mostly concentrating on corporations (Moore, 1988; Tharenou, 1999; Oakley, 2000; Singh and Vinnicombe, 2004), but within organisational studies no empirical research has been done on senior female managers in ENGOs and the implications of gender structures on their organisational policies and strategies[8].

In this chapter, the traditional classifications of feminism, namely liberal, radical, Marxist/socialist and post-structuralist feminism will be examined. These theories are widely taken into account in feminist literature on organisations for their ability to explain this inequality (for example Mills and Tancred, 1992; Witz and Savage, 1992; Alvesson and Due Billing 1997; Calas and Smircich, 2003). Even though these feminist approaches agree that women are disadvantaged, they differ in the ways in which they explain gender inequalities in organisations (Flax, 1990). For example, in explaining 'women's access to organisations and their performance in organisations,

[8] Research was carried out by Tina Wallace, Sarah Crowther, and Andrew Shepherd in 1995-1996, on changes in NGO policies and procedures in relation to programme and project management. The research looked at the gender policies in development NGOs in the UK and explored whether and in what ways UK NGOs incorporate gender into their international development work policies (see Wallace, 1997 and Wallace, 1998).

the notion of gendered organisational practices as well as about the very stability of categories including gender, masculinity, femininity in relation to organisations and each approach frames the problem differently and proposes different courses of action as solutions' (Calas and Smircich, 2003: 219). The issues that influence gender differences in career patterns and choices are various and multifaceted. Therefore, in addition to these feminist perspectives to explain the under-representation of women in management roles, sufficiently meso level perspectives on organisational theory will be examined. Many scholars such as Ragins and Sundstrom (1989), Fagenson (1990) and Alvesson and Billing (1997) also highlighted the importance of including an organisational (meso) perspective to explain the women's under-representation of women at higher job levels. Integrating these perspectives will allow me to frame the causes of the under-representation of women in senior management levels in ENGOs.

This chapter does not include literature on mainstream organisational theory nor all feminist approaches such as anarchist, psychoanalytical, black feminist or third world/post colonial feminist approaches, because these are less relevant to the context of this thesis and would widen the scope of the thesis immensely. The chapter rather aims to discuss the most commonly used feminist theoretical perspectives that have contributed to feminist organisation theory.

3.2. Feminist organisation theories

In the following section liberal, radical, Marxist/socialist and post-structuralist feminism will be examined.

3.2.1. Liberal feminist organisation theory

The liberal feminist organisation perspective is based on principles of liberty and individualism (Simpson and Lewis, 2007) where gender inequalities in organisational settings are the main focal point (Benschop et al., 2001). Liberal feminists mainly focused on female managers (O'Connor and Netting, 2009). According to them, gender differences are not something natural, but a result of sex role socialization (Ely and Meyerson, 2000; Nentwich, 2006).

The liberal feminist perspective argues that women and men have the same abilities and rationality (which is defined as to think and act with reason and not by emotion) and therefore 'men and women are the same and gender-neutrality can be achieved by removing barriers, discriminatory practices and policies' (Alvesson and Billing, 2009: 23). However, this has not been possible. Being emotional, often associated with women (Lloyd, 1993), is not highly valued in an organisational context, because it is believed that emotions exist within the realm of irrationality and there is a norm in the West that emotionality and rationality are at two opposite poles[9] (Callahan et al., 2005). It is argued that emotions distort knowledge and interfere with the collection of reason-based information (Reger, 2001). In challenging this, liberal feminism aims to reveal the similarities of men and women by exposing the distortions of sex role stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination and claim equal rights for women in the workplace (Halford and Leonard, 2001). Emotion is defined as 'specifically feeling caused by changes in physiological conditions relating to the autonomic and motor functions' (James, 1884: 190). While 'reasoning is seen as a form of activity: it is held

[9] According to the Western conception of the order of the world dualisms include man/woman; reason/emotion; culture/nature; mind/body; activity/passivity; thought/matter; human/animal, which created 'defining male as being opposed to and superior to female, and rationality as being opposed to and superior to nature, matter and emotion' (Nelson, 1997: 157).

to be something that we do, which is under our control such as we choose to focus on a problem, to search for more evidence, emotions are seen as involuntary occurrences' (Price, 2005: 2).

According to liberal feminists, similarity to men is one of the most important principles, on the basis of which women and men should have equal access to opportunities. Meritocracy plays an important role according to which women are able to advance in their career in a given society and achieve equality. In a meritocratic system personal merit and contribution to organisations/society is the basis for promotion and distributing rewards (Alvesson and Billing, 1997; Scully, 2003). A meritocratic position is interested in the factors that prevent the use of qualified employees (Alvesson and Billing, 1997). Proponents of meritocracy argue that lack of women in management positions would mean that this human potential is underutilised by society. However, they claim that in a meritocratic society people move freely in the business world and they are promoted according to their qualifications and personal merit and thus gender does not play a role. Meritocracy has been criticised for making false assumptions, such as that people move up and down freely on the career ladder and that people have equal access to opportunities (French, 1986), as well as believing that only those most qualified deserve to attain the top positions and that no one has any privileged position in society (Young, 1990). McNamee and Miller (2004: 40) questioned 'if merit was the sole cause of achievement, why the vast amount of raw talent is found among white men who dominate leadership positions'.

The liberal feminist approach assumed that individual skills and abilities are independent of sex. According to them, organisations are composed of rational

individuals seeking autonomy and efficiency in line with liberal political theory, which aims to make organisations efficient (Calas and Smircich, 2006). According to the liberal feminist organisation theory, gender stereotypes occurring in organisations widely reflect the rest of society (Gherardi, 2005; Calas and Smirchich, 2003). Thus, liberal organisation theory aims to set up gender-neutral organisations by establishing gender neutral bureaucracy. The concept of bureaucracy which was developed by Max Weber (1968) influenced the gender neutral approach, which means that individual skills and abilities would be the most important factors, which could be assessed and valued objectively in bureaucratic organisations, because organisations with a bureaucratic structure see workers as individuals, but not as men or women (Halford and Leonard, 2001). Thus, liberal feminist scholars are proponents of gender neutral bureaucratic organisations. According to liberal feminists, rational bureaucratic organisations where rules and procedures are set out carefully to get rid of prejudices and traditions from earlier times can provide gender equality[10] (Halford and Leonard, 2001) and 'women's emancipation is to be achieved with a greater degree of inclusion of women in mainstream organisations' (Alvesson and Billing, 2009: 23). However, as we have been experiencing including more women into organisations did not lift gender inequalites and increased the number of women in senior roles.

According to the liberal feminist perspective, as other feminist perspectives, the under-representation of women, especially in decision-making roles in organisations

[10] According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2005: 2), 'gender equality means fairness of treatment between women and men and it entails the concept that all human beings, men and women alike, are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles and prejudices'. Thus, gender equality covers the following issues: 'equality of opportunity and treatment in employment; equal remuneration for work of equal value; equal access to a safe and healthy working environment and to social security; equality in obtaining meaningful career development; a balance between work and home life that is fair to both men and women and freedom from sexual harassment' (ILO, 2005: 2).

in comparison to men, is due to existing modes of beliefs, customs and prejudices as well as a lack of experience/opportunities in business and training (Halford and Leonard, 2001; Benschop et al., 2001; Lorber, 2005; Nentwich, 2006). The inequalities existing in organisations are the implications of the organisational structures that are biased. Therefore, in order to minimise these inequalities women must be granted equal rights so that women can compete equally with men (Kolb et al 2003). However, I think that in order to be able to compete equally with men certain gender inequalities including childcare responsibilities of women must be first taken into account. Liberal feminists argue for the reform of organisations (Ferguson, 1984; O'Connor and Netting, 2009) to achieve gender equality, but these reforms, except for the principle of achieving equal access to organisations, have not been effective. As a result of the liberal feminist movement, many national and international governmental bodies including the European Union have adopted equal opportunities and affirmative action policies/legislation such as the Gender Mainstreaming Policy (EU, 2011) to minimize gender inequalities. However, equal opportunity policies have been criticised, because such legislation and policies would normally be applied to the public sector, but are ignored in private organisational settings. Thus, ‘such procedures would not be a guarantee of fairness, because they could be easily evaded by drawing up job specifications that only allow a few applicants to apply’ (Webb, 1997: 160).

Liberal feminism draws on two divergent liberal feminist theories, namely liberal individualism and liberal structuralism (Eisenstein, 1981; Friedan, 1982; Epstein, 1988). While they both agree on the need to minimise the differences among men and women in society by providing education and training, liberal individualists argue that women should be trained/equipped. Therefore it is also described by some

scholars as the ‘fix the women approach’ (Ely and Meyerson, 2000: 105). On the other hand, liberal structuralists point out that structural barriers hinder women getting to better places in organisations (Reskin and Roos, 1990; Kanter, 1977). Thus they suggest minimising the barriers through organisational policies such as mentoring and flexible work possibilities (Nentwich, 2006).

The liberal feminist movement has made important contributions to workplace and feminist organisational theory. One of the things it has lead to is an increase in the number of women in male dominated jobs, but there is a consensus that women are still a long way from gender equality reflected by sexist patterns of hiring and promotion, persistent gender divisions of labour including low numbers of women managers in top jobs and gender pay gaps (Lorber, 2005). For example, in Europe women still earn on average 17.8% less than men, and there is still only one woman for every ten members of boards in the largest publicly quoted companies in the EU (EU, 2011). The solutions that liberal feminism offer are criticized for being insufficient to change the factors that create inequalities within organisational settings (Kolb et al., 2003), because the causes of gendered divisions of labour are not in fact gender-neutral (Benschop et al., 2001) as assumed by liberal feminist organisation theory. Liberal feminists were also criticized for assuming ‘equality’ in the sense of ‘sameness’ (Nentwich, 2006: 501), being mainly interested in a comparative analysis between men and women and not paying attention to ‘how notions of managerial positions came to be/are still defined’ (Calas and Smircich, 2006: 291). Liberal feminism has been rejected by some feminists because it would overlook the underlying factors of women’s inequalities and not take into account the bias embedded in organisational culture and practices (Halford and Leonard, 2001). Therefore, liberal feminism was accused of not being sufficient enough to achieve

advancement for women (Ring, 1985). Similarly, Calas and Smirchich (2006: 293) argued that 'the women in management literature, often sharing the philosophical thoughts of liberal feminist theory, is less likely to address gender justice policy implications as it highlights the freedom of choice belief that it is the right thing to stay at home'. According to this belief, if women stay at home, it is because they choose to do so[11], but it undermines the dual workload, domestic responsibilities and other inequalities that women face as a result of which they must stay at home (Domosh and Seager, 2001; McDowell, 2001).

3.2.2. Radical feminist organisation theory

Radical feminism sees 'society as a system of social relations between men who create solidarity and control women and maintain the original division of labour, which is seen as the root of the present division of labour' (Alvesson and Billing, 2009: 66). Radical feminism mainly focuses on general features of society, but the institution of the family, sexuality, and the oppression of women through unpaid domestic labour and reproduction in particular are accepted as the primary causes of inequality (Aitchison, 2005). According to radical feminists, 'all personal problems were believed to be political and patriarchal power was believed to be ubiquitous' (Alvesson and Billing 2009: 79).

Walby (1997) argued that patriarchy, which pre-dates capitalism, exists as six partially-interdependent structures namely the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions. According to Walby, the 'patriarchal system excludes women from the better forms of

[11] Preference theory, which was initiated by Hakim (2000), aims to 'explain and predict women's choices between market work and family work' (Hakim, 2003: 7).

work which cause segregation of women in less skilled jobs' which she calls patriarchal relations in paid work (p.21). However, unlike radical feminists she suggested that patriarchy evolves rather than exists in a fixed form.

The radical feminist approach which is considered 'woman centred' (O'Connor and Netting, 2009:169) argued that women and men are different and have different capabilities, and it is the differences that should be valued equally (Nentwich, 2006). Therefore, radical feminists, like materialist ecofeminists, criticized the way that certain values that are defined as male, including 'rationality', 'reason' and 'lack of emotion', are privileged while certain stereotypical feminine attributes (emotionality, empathy and ability to see many sides of the same issue) are devalued within organisational contexts. They criticized the liberal feminist assumption that bureaucracy is the best organisational form, because this supposed gender neutrality forces women to accept and follow masculine ideals (Ferguson 1984; Halford and Leonard, 2001). Ferguson (1984) argued that feminist organisational theory is crucial for gender equality since bureaucratic organisations have an impact on the entire society because they reinforce gender inequalities and subordination of women.

Radical feminists aim to integrate feminist values such as equality, community participation and integration into organisational structures (Calas and Smircich, 2006). Similarly, radical feminists often 'reject functionalist assumptions grounded by regulation and control and rather seek to create alternative/radically different organisations in order to create woman-space to fulfil women's needs' (Calas and Smirchich, 2006: 295) where women are not subordinated to men, women's autonomy and self development is encouraged, and collaboration and nurturing can be present (Ferguson, 1984; O'Connor and Netting, 2009). Therefore, organisations

built around radical feminist values [including organisations such as women's shelters and rape crisis centres] have aimed to be decentralized, not hierarchical, but egalitarian and participatory instead of focusing only on certain organisational aims and having formal rules (Ferguson, 1984; Calas and Smircich, 2006). Most of these organisations aimed to transform capitalist masculinist organisations amongst others by replacing bureaucratic structures with flat organisational structures where participation in decision-making is promoted (Martin, 1990).

As was also revealed by this research, radical feminists argued that, women and men do not have the same orientations, and 'the aim of women should not be competing with men, but rather the basic structure of the society and the organisations must be changed to make competition a less central notion' (Alvesson and Billing, 2009: 23). These organisational and institutional transformations would create an equitable distribution of power, value women's abilities and vision and take into account gender-based experiences (O'Connor and Netting, 2009). 'Radical feminists also believed that it is naive to believe that once women have made their way to the top [under a bureaucratic system in which they have had to compete in masculinist ways], they will then change the rules' (Alvesson and Billing 2009: 168).

In paralel to radical feminism I think that liberal feminism's emphasis on rationality, reason and lack of emotion is not justifiable, because as radical feminists argued that these attributes are accepted (by society) as male characteristics and attributes which privilege men. Radical feminism argues that differences between men and women must be recognized and 'feminine' qualities should be valued and taken into account, especially by managers, because it will ultimately benefit organisations (Halford and Leonard, 2001). Contrary to liberal feminists, radical feminists argued

that the state should not intervene with policies or legislative acts, because these automatically increase male power since the state supports and aims to preserve male privileges.

While Ferguson (1984: 122) argued that 'feminism must be radical or it ceases to be feminism and instead becomes only a procedure for recruiting new support for the status quo', radical feminism was criticized on the grounds that it could over-emphasise gender differences and the special contribution of the female workforce to organisations. Liberal feminists, as equal opportunity advocates, argued that 'the special contribution and alternative values approach [radical feminism] would reinforce stereotypical views of women and feminine values like connection and nurturing and would reinforce women to have careers in human resources departments and day care centres instead of as executives in industrial or financial corporations' (Alvesson and Billing, 2009: 171). As discussed in chapter 2, cultural ecofeminists were criticised with the same argument (Biehl, 1991). The success of the leaderless and structureless organisations that radical feminists aim for was also questioned. For example, Calas and Smircich (2006) argued that in order to survive, many of the radical feminist organisations later developed a Weberian style of bureaucratic organisational form which is assumed by gender blind organisation theory as an ideal type of organisation where a gender-neutral working environment is achieved.

3.2.3. Marxist/socialist feminism on organisation

Marxist and socialist feminism believe that capitalism is the main cause of all social inequalities and the family as an institution plays a significant role in the subordination of women (Alvesson and Billing, 2009: 66). Marxist feminist analyses

see the family as a source of women's oppression, because it excludes women from the public sphere (Jaggar, 1983). The family assists capitalism by not recognising and not valuing women's work at home, because it is seen as unproductive (Jaggar, 1983; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Alvesson and Billing, 2009). 'A reserve army of labour, which consists of a large, flexible and easily controllable group of workers who can be pulled in and pulled out of the economy when required, is the basis for capitalist society and therefore women as a group are less well organised in the workplace, in comparison to men, are kept in poor positions at work, and in unskilled work (Halford and Leonard, 2001: 16). Similarly, Walby (1997: 33) argued that 'women are marginalized and subordinated due to the pattern of their employment, which is characterised as lower payment and low labour force participation'. Because of these arguments, Marxist and socialist feminism mainly focused on women's marginal position and weak bargaining power in the labour market.

According to Marxist/socialist feminists, capitalism forces men and women into traditional roles (men into the public sphere of paid labour and women into the private sphere of unpaid domestic work where women are not rewarded), creating a sharp division between public and private work (Iannello, 1992), which I also observed during the fieldwork. Under Marxist and socialist feminist approaches, organisations are understood as instruments of class domination where people are brought together to apply control through supervision and sanctions (Halford and Leonard, 2001). Marxist and socialist organisational analyses also criticise bureaucratic organisations, because this form of organisational setting enforces, firstly, divisions of labour by 'de-skilling workers' as no worker can complete a full task, and secondly, the career hierarchy which undermines solidarity, both of which reduce workers' bargaining power (Halford and Leonard, 2001). Similar to radical feminist theory,

socialist and Marxist approaches aim for organisational change to minimise gender inequalities (O'Connor and Netting, 2009).

The ‘dual system theory’, which was introduced by Hartmann (1979), attempted to link radical and Marxist feminist theories, arguing that capitalism and patriarchy are the joint causes of women’s oppression (Hartmann, 1979). However, Walby (1997) criticized the theory for not offering sufficient analysis especially regarding the links between patriarchy and capitalism. Walby (1997) further argued that capitalism and patriarchy may have different and also conflicting concerns, because women’s access to the labour market may weaken patriarchy. According to Walby (1997) gender inequalities are caused by capitalist patriarchy and therefore class analysis must be combined with radical feminist theory in order to provide sufficient explanation of gender relations in both patriarchal and capitalist structures (discussions around patriarchy, Pollert, 1996). Hartmann’s theory was also criticised for ‘lacking in historical and cultural specificity’ due to the different forms of patriarchy and historical changes that were not taken into account (Walby, 1997: 75).

Marxist and socialist feminism has been criticized on many points (Sargent, 1981). Connell (1991: 42) argued that ‘Marxist theory gives little to bite on, because women’s oppression started long before capitalism and it occurs even in the socialist countries’. Similarly, I believe that as argued by Jaggar (1983) and Young (1981) socialist nations have not substantially lifted women’s oppression. It is known that in socialist societies affordable childcare facilities and free health and education services are more likely to be than in capitalist societies which increase women’s labour participation (Molyneux, 1981). However, women in socialist societies must do as much unpaid work at homes as women in capitalist countries, and in some

countries, which claim to be based on socialist values, there is less sexual and reproductive freedom than in capitalist countries (for example, in China, women's reproduction has been controlled by the State by introducing a limit on the number of children that women can have). Ngan-Ling et al. (2004: 178) argued that 'women in socialist China used to believe, and some still do, that they were rather liberated in comparison to previous generations of women living under a patriarchal-feudal system, yet they still faced traditional gender role ideology and sexism'. Mitchell (1971: 100) criticized Marxism for seeing women only in relation to capital, and not taking into account other sources of oppression such as reproduction, socialization of children and sexuality. Mitchell (1971) agreed with the Marxist assumption that women's oppression is caused by reproduction which trapps them between maternity and the family sphere and does not allow them to participate in production. However, she argued that destroying the family as an institution cannot alone free women from oppression. According to Benschop et al. (2001), the socialist feminist perspective does not take into account how organisations are structured and how the dominant gender ideology determines sex inequalities.

3.2.4. Post-structuralist theory

Post-structuralist feminism emerged in the 1980s as women, including black, lesbian and working-class women, argued that feminism did not represent their experiences, interests and concerns, and they questioned early feminist assumptions that all women are oppressed in the same way (Fraser and Nicholson, 1990; McDowell, 1991; Kemp and Squires, 1997; Cudd and Andreasen 2005). Critics of mainstream feminism argued that in addition to gender and class, a third inequality was present in society, namely race (together referred to as a 'triple oppression') (Barrett and

Phillips, 1992). In its current form feminism is largely represented by middle-class, white, heterosexual, Western women who mostly concentrated on their own interests and therefore racial, economic and sexual differences were ignored (Butler, 1990; Butler and Scott, 1992; Corrin, 1999; Hooks, 2000; Cudd and Andreasen, 2005).

Post-structural feminist theory focused on dismantling the discourses and assumptions that sustain gendered hierarchies and traditions to develop new meanings and understandings for alternative policies and practices (Fletcher, 1999; Rao et al., 1999). Therefore, post-structuralist feminist scholars aimed to deconstruct 'the ideas of fixed meaning, unified subjectivity and centred theories of power' (Weedon, 1999: 100). Post-structuralist organisational literature focused, amongst other things, 'on discourse analysis (Kelan, 2009; Jackson and Carter, 2007), gendered identities, and power relations' (Calas and Smircich, 2006: 314). Post-structuralist approaches questioned the assumptions, previously taken for granted in organisations, in order to explore and disclose underlying power relations by using theories of subjectivity, social processes and language (Calas and Smircich, 1992). One of the important features of the post-structuralist feminist approach is the role that language and other forms of representation play in research (Fairclough, 1989). Some post-structuralist organisational analyses tried to show that how the language producing organisational knowledge can gender organisations (Calas and Smircich, 2006). According to the post-structuralists, during knowledge production power issues arise since the researcher is able to count and take into account some voices and exclude some others in the data analysis (Fletcher, 2005).

Post-structuralists rejected the 'notion of essentially male or female structure by replacing the unitary norms of woman and feminine gender identity with plural and

complex conceptions of social identity, treating gender as one relevant strand among others and pointing out how these purportedly natural oppositions culturally constituted categories, products and producers of particular social and material relations' (Mills and Tancred, 1992: 226). Fletcher (2005) argued that feminist post-structuralism offers a voice to organisational discourse in order to disrupt patriarchy. Alvesson and Billing (1992) argued that men and women are not homogenous groups.

Post-structural feminists criticized liberal and radical feminism for being essentialist and trying to homogenise women by neglecting the cultural differences and sexuality that are often experienced in organisational settings (Aitchison, 2005). Linstead and Thomas (2002) argued that management research has either worked against or disadvantaged the feminine, thus application of post-structuralist feminism to organisational research will help in rejecting essentialist notions of identity, because subjectivities are constructed and reconstructed in discourse within a particular setting and relation. Alvesson and Billing (2009) pointed out that according to post-structuralist thought, using the concept of subordination of all women as universal issue is problematic, because it is totalising.

Meyerson and Kolb (2000) suggested that a conceptual shift from liberal feminism to post-structural feminism could lead to broader structural and cultural changes to 'taken for granted assumptions, values, and practices that systematically accord power and privilege to certain groups of men at the expense of women and other men' (p. 554). However, although some feminists have believed that the post-structuralist diversity argument brings some sort of empowerment, others oppose the argument as they are concerned that it would threaten the feminist community due to

no existing philosophy being accepted by all feminists. Therefore, it may be argued that it fractures a potentially stronger 'political' alliance. Halford and Leonard (2001: 24) argued that 'post-structuralism allows us to accommodate the diversity, [but at the same time] there is a failure to give any weight to the repeated, mundane patterns of discrimination and disadvantage that certain people share, like women, ethnic minorities, the old and the young, gays and lesbians, disabled people. The similarities in experience that these people may have are not acknowledged in post-structuralism, nor are the perpetual advantages that accrue to many (mainly) white men'. Similarly, Iannello (1992) argued that rejecting labels and categories restrains our ability to explore the linkages between feminist theory and practice and in order to understand how political and social change occurs, a context for feminist thought and action needs to be identified.

3.2.5. Setting the theoretical context

After discussing the four main feminist perspectives inform organisational theory, it can be argued that it is very difficult to find a single perspective that can provide sufficient explanation for the under-representation of female senior managers and gender inequalities in organisational settings. I think that none of the feminist theoretical perspectives was alone sufficient to explore the reasons behind these inequalities. Therefore an additional research question was necessary to address 'what theoretical approaches are most appropriate to explore and understand the gendered nature of the ENGOs'. This theoretical enquiry helped me to identify patriarchal workplace structures and the reasons behind the underrepresentation of women in senior roles. The liberal feminist theory has been important because seeking equal opportunities for women heightened public attention. This led to the

adoption of equal opportunity policies, the introduction of childcare facilities, maternity leave benefits and legislation, which have been important to reduce gender inequalities and increase the number of women in the labour market.

However, liberal feminist theory does not recognise the different needs of women compared to men in organisational contexts. In fact, the theory is based on the argument that women are similar to men, which does not reduce gender inequalities and the under-representation of women in senior management roles. It rather assumes that setting up bureaucratic organisations would be sufficient for the advancement of women. According to this theory, women must compete on equal terms with men to get to the top positions, without taking into account childcare responsibilities, work-family conflicts and women's differential needs and approaches in an organisation. It is rather argued that minor organisational changes would be sufficient for the advancement of women in organisations and it is then up to women to pursue a career. However, the current figures of female managers in organisations suggests that this argument reinforces inequalities for women in career advancement, because it does not question capitalist relations, masculine working practices and male-centred organisational culture that do not take into account women's needs. I argue that liberal feminism therefore does not alone provide a sufficient framework for this thesis to explore the under-representation of female managers. Therefore, I propose that gender inequalities in an organisational context can be explored better with the help of different feminist theoretical perspectives including radical feminist and socialist feminist perspectives. Radical feminism argues that women have differential needs in organisations due to unequal domestic responsibilities and the need for consciousness-raising in the public sphere regarding the personal lives of women caused as a result of inequalities within family life,

childcare, sexuality and other aspects of life. There is also a need for organisational transformation where recruitment and promotion practices must be reconsidered, and appropriate work arrangements must be provided, to adapt to these differential needs, rather than asking women to adapt to masculinist organisational settings as liberal feminists suggest ('fix the women' approach). A radical feminist view provides a good framework for understanding the persistent under-representation of women in senior roles in an organisational context and illuminating how organisations serve patriarchy. Therefore, I argue that radical feminist theoretical framework is also needed to explore gender inequalities in the ENGOs for the purpose of this thesis.

In addition, socialist/Marxist approaches are also important for understanding capitalist societies and for pointing out the unequal gender positions within these social structures. The existing (so called[12]) socialist societies have not lifted gender inequalities and discrimination and women also face similar gender inequalities in socialist societies. However, I argue that socialist/Marxist feminism provides an important theoretical background since it points out some of the underlying factors that cause inequalities in society and organisational life. These resonate with an ecofeminist materialist feminism, such as a profit centred capitalist way of living and organising, a division of labour as well as patriarchal assumptions and roles and highlighting that organisations serve capital.

On the other hand, while I believe post-structural theories are important, with their emphasis on the inequalities caused by race and class in addition to gender as well as acknowledging the diversity among women, they do not provide sufficient explanation of women's career disadvantages on the whole. Rather they fracture

[12] I am aware that socialism has not been fully achieved in any country.

feminist thought with the ‘diversity among women’ argument. I believe that gender inequalities that women face including lack of access to and control over resources, gender pay gaps and dual roles, unite them. Especially because in the Global North feminism seems to have lost its momentum, post-structuralism makes it more difficult for feminists to organize around the factors that cause gender inequalities. I agree with Grosz (1994: 93) ‘if women cannot be characterised in any general way, if all there is to femininity is socially produced, how can feminism be taken seriously? If we are not justified in taking women as a category, what political grounding does feminism have?’

In this chapter organisational (meso) level explanations will also be considered. Organisational level explanations will provide a link between macro-causes and organisational features including organisational structures, culture and practices (Alvesson and Billing, 1997). They provide a better understanding of the factors that cause gender inequalities, gender divisions of labour and limitations for women’s advancement in organisations (Ely and Padavic, 2007). It should be noted that macro- and meso-level theoretical approaches are interlinked. While the macro-level explains general features of society and ways of organising (for which radical and socialist/Marxist feminist analyses will be used in this thesis to explore), meso-level explanations focus on organisational practices including organisational structures and cultures. In addition to macro- and meso-level explanations, gender denial will be explored.

3.3. Organisational reasons for gender inequalities (meso-level perspectives)

Meso-level theorising explores the links between structural processes and individual-level characteristics (House et al., 1995; Syed et al., 2009). It aims to explain gender inequalities by concentrating on organisations to find out why certain social practices are reproduced in organisational settings in the form of hierarchies and inequalities in the labour market. Focusing on organisations (the meso level) enables me to investigate gender inequalities and factors that limit women's careers in a more concrete way than only looking at general factors for these disadvantages in society (macro-level). Meso-perspectives include organisational reasons such as organisational structures, organisational policies, and organisational culture. However, I am aware that the meso-level explanations and inequalities overall emerge due to macro-level inequalities, because 'women's position in any organisation is inseparable from women's position in society' (Wolff, 1977: 20).

3.3.1. Organisational structures

Organisational structures account for the under-representation of women in senior management roles by hindering the entry of, and women's advancement in, organisations (Fagenson, 1990). The theories that aim to explain women's under-representation in senior roles include the following: tokenism (as expressed by Kanter 1977); organisational structures and positions within organisations (power) (Kanter 1977, Ragins 1989), gendered workplaces (Acker, 1990; Bradley 1989, Rosin and Korabik, 1991); lack of mentors (Fagenson 1988); organisational culture as well as difficulties resulting from combining family and work.

Scholars including Kanter (1977), Acker (1990) and Alvesson and Billing (1997) have claimed that the dynamics and effects of positions in organisational hierarchy and the sex ratio are crucial for understanding gender imbalances and their consequences. Hierarchy is defined as 'any system in which the distributions of power, privilege and authority are both systematic and unequal' (Ianello, 1992: 15). Schein (2007) claimed that since the beginning of industrialisation most of the top management positions have been occupied by men and these positions have resulted from the gendered division of labour. Thus, the job requirements and responsibilities introduced over the years have developed into norms and behaviours that are seen as necessary, which is parallel to the radical feminist argument that organisations reflect patriarchal values and gendered assumptions. According to Kanter (1977), who is one of the most notable proponents of the structural approach (Timmers at al., 2009), the structure of opportunity, the structure of power and the proportional distribution of men and women are important dimensions that replicate gender inequalities in organisations. Kanter argued that gender inequalities arise due to organisational structures, not because of characteristics among men and women. Kanter (1977) and Acker (1990) argued that power is not so much a question of people, but of hierarchical positions, and an opportunity structure which is crucial for women's advancement.

'Status characteristics theory' which was originated by Berger et al. (1977) indicates that there are differences in status characteristics that create hierarchies within groups (Robbins and Judge, 2009), causing disadvantages for women. The theory argues that beliefs about status characteristics, including gender and race, influence performance expectations unconsciously (Delamater, 2006). According to the theory, the group with high status (men) in an organisational setting systematically devalue contributions of lower status group members (women) (Pennera, et al., 2010). The

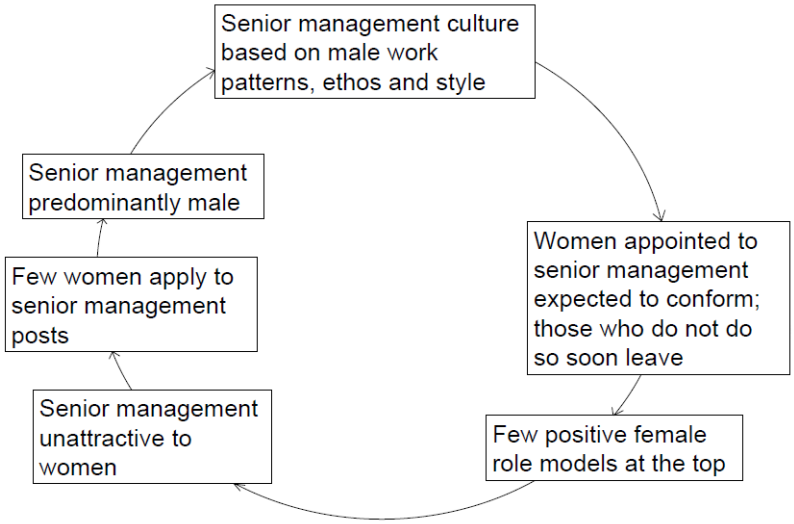
term status refers to a position or rank in relation to others (Merriam-Webster, 2010). The theory suggests that men are, in general, perceived to be more competent in comparison to women and as a result women are generally seen as having lower status than men (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004; Delamater, 2006) as also argued by radical feminist scholars. As a consequence of these assumptions women must provide more evidence in order to prove themselves on having ability (Terjesen et al, 2009). However, Brent and Walker (2002) criticised the theory on its assumption that diffuse characteristics such as race and gender have greater effects on performance expectations than specific individual characteristics of people.

However, it should be noted that 'organisations cannot be seen as static, as unchanging black boxes that are an exogenous part of the causal contexts' and therefore they do not operate independently from other societal processes (Fincher, 2007: 8). Therefore, meso-level explanations are interlinked with macro factors since organisations operate and aim to survive in a socioeconomic environment where certain rules and assumptions dominate. As a result they reflect these dominant ways of living including patriarchal and capitalist relations that are present in a given society.

Kanter's (1977) work, which has liberal feminist roots, has been influential (Lewis and Simpson, 2011). According to Kanter (1977), persons belonging to minority group that is less than 15% of the whole group become tokens. In particular, her argument that gender imbalance results in individual consequences of tokenism such as heightened visibility of women to perform well, increased attention to the differences between men and women, isolation and encapsulation of gender-stereotyped roles, which will be explained. Kanter's theory was also supported by research which

argued that gender and gender compositions mainly influence workplace behaviours (Miller and Karakowsky, 2005). According to Kanter, the consequences of unequal numbers of women and men in a workplace are performance pressures, social isolation, and role encapsulation and, especially for women who hold jobs most frequently held by men [such as senior management jobs], tokenism poses an important problem as women would feel more pressure and isolation. It was documented that, especially in stereotypical male dominated occupations, additional effort sometimes needs to be spent by women to survive (Newman, 1995; Lyness and Thompson, 1997) and women in elite positions very often feel like 'outsiders on the inside' (Moore, 1988: 568). The circle of cultural barriers in organisations is illustrated by Figure 3.1. (Newman, 1995: 24) below.

Figure 3. 1.The circle of cultural barriers



According to Kanter, in order to avoid tokenism, in addition to increasing the number of women, women's networks as well as flexible organisation structures, where tokens have contact with more than one leader or can move from one place to another, must be created to achieve contact with the group members. However, it

can be argued that in the case of top management this would not improve the situation for female managers because management tends to be a male-dominated area. Kanter's critical mass theory was supported by many researchers (Ely, 1995), and endorsed in 1995 by the United Nations. This proposes that a minimum of 30% of positions should be filled by women to make a visible difference in decision-making (UN report, 2005). Oakley (2000: 328), for example, argued that a critical mass of women in senior positions would threat the 'old boy network'. It was argued that men can control the powerful positions by promising and offering positions through informal channels among men (ThirdSector, 2011) in order to choose the people they feel comfortable with and build networks to keep their power (Dempsey and Diamond, 2006). Oakley (2000) argued that negative effects of tokenism are expected to continue to work against women's advancement, and therefore a critical mass of 35–40% of minority membership is necessary in groups to overcome these.

However, the critical mass argument was also criticised for 'often seeing the 30 percent representation of women as a panacea and ignoring achievements of women where they are represented in smaller numbers. It was also argued that in practice the critical mass of 30 percent was often used as a ceiling rather than a minimum' (UN, 2005: 9). In addition, it was argued that critical mass theory would neglect the complexities of gender integration and factors of gender discrimination in the workplace and Kanter was criticised for relying on numbers or focusing on only women working in stereotypically male occupations and concluding on a limited set of examples (Yoder, 1991). Ott (1987) argued, on the base of a study conducted on women working in the police force and health sector, that when critical mass was achieved, men still resisted women. While Kanter has contributed to feminist organisational theory amongst others with the tokenism and critical mass theories, on

the other hand she does so from the liberal feminist approach, arguing that there is similarity between women and men and therefore that small organisational changes, including increasing the number of women and establishing gender-neutral organisational structures would lift barriers to women's career chances (Lewis and Simpson, 2011).

Radical feminist analysis of gendered organisations and gendered practices formulated by Acker (1989, 1991, 1992, 2006a, 2006b, 2009) has been very influential in the last two decades (Mills and Tancred, 1992; Martin and Collinson, 2002). According to Acker (1990, 1992, 2009), organisational structures are not gender neutral as claimed to be by mainstream organisational research. She argued that a specific theory of gender and organisations is needed to acknowledge that gender inequalities including the division between paid work and unpaid work; gender segregation and inequalities regarding income and status, are reproduced by organisational practices. Thus, the whole of organisational analysis has to be rethought on the basis of a fundamental gendered substructure, because gender inequalities exist, among others, in gender segregation, power, salaries, and organising processes. Gendered institutions occur through practices and social norms, which impact men and women in a different way (Van Staveren, 2011). Acker defines 'gendered[13] as advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine' (1990: 146). Similarly,

13 'Elements in a theory of gendered organisations include 'gendered processes', namely gender divisions of allowed behaviours and power; creation of symbols, images and forms of consciousness; interactions between individuals and internal mental work of individuals as well as the 'gendered substructure' of the organisation, meaning spatial and temporal arrangements of work, rules prescribing workplace behaviour, practices and relations encoded in arrangements and rules are supported by assumptions that work is separate from the rest of life and that it has first claim on the worker' (Acker, 1992: 252 and 255).

according to Hearn (2000: 609), organisations are considered to be gendered by their 'management, formal and informal hierarchies, divisions of labour, sexual structuring, use and control of violence and abuse, relation to the private and domestic worlds and constructions of relations of centre and margins'.

Acker claimed that the gendered substructure of organisations is caused by ideological assumptions; practices and policies, for example, through identifying responsibilities, coordinating activities, introducing procedures related to wage determination, recruitment and promotion. The gender division of labour is maintained in family structures through organisational practices, as the latter reinforces employees to separate their family life from paid work and this is often very difficult for women with young children (Acker, 1990). The construction of certain symbols and images in the form of language, ideology and dress codes reinforce certain individual identities and images of masculinity and femininity and therefore gender stereotypes. Depending on the organisational culture, each organisation imposes its own language, beliefs, roles and identities (Newman, 1995) such as formal and informal 'gendered rules on who speaks, who is heard and how speaking is interpreted' (Harlow et al., 1995: 98). Therefore, organisational culture has been increasingly seen as a barrier for women's career advancement (Acker, 1990; Cockburn, 1991; Aaltio-Marjosola and Mills, 2002; Collinson, 2003). It has been argued that even in organisations where equal opportunity policies are in place, organisational culture may be resistant to those policies (Newman, 1995). Simpson and Lewis (2005) argued that organisational culture is determined by the dominant group and power systems that exist in organisational settings and often excludes those people who do not fit (also Davey, 2008). Organisational culture has been questioned by radical and post-structuralist feminists regarding gendered

assumptions. Under radical feminist theory, organisational culture reflects stereotypical assumptions as well as other gender inequalities that women face in society. However, the understanding of culture and cultural meanings requires in depth analysis because majority of the cultural aspects are produced consciously (Aaltio-Marjosola and Mills, 2002).

Moreover, job evaluation policies are gendered, because they are based on the job components which assume a set of beliefs and values that are the underlying logic of organisations and do not take responsibilities in the private sphere of life into account. In addition, 'gender is known to be associated with strong and widely shared stereotypes' (Banaji and Greenwald, 1995: 181). Stereotypes are mainly based on patriarchal assumptions in society and are therefore tied to macro-level feminist theories that feminists including radical and liberal feminism proponents have been fighting against. These stereotypes lead to discrimination against women of childbearing age, because of the assumption that these women would go on maternity leave soon after their recruitment (Itzin and Phillipson, 1995). Gender equality legislation has not solved the deep underlying issues including stereotypes and patriarchal assumptions that restrict women's advancement chances in organisational settings. As a result women remain in the minority in senior management positions in both Turkey and the UK (see Chapter 5).

Another structural hindrance for women's careers is work-life balance or domestic responsibilities, which generally fall on women (Hartl, 2003). This hindrance is closely related to macro level and patriarchal gendered assumptions. At the organisational level these assumptions are supported because of the gendered nature of workplaces and normative gender-based beliefs and expectations, which cause

differences in the work and family role characteristics and pressures in the family and workplaces (Parasuraman and Simmers, 2001). As a result, women are often required to make a decision between competing personal and professional demands and needs. Acker (1998) argued that 'the gendered divide between paid work and unpaid family reproductive work, and consigning the latter to women, causes subordination and devaluation of women' (p.197). As a result of this divide, in organisational settings the work related demands are prioritised and emphasised more than the life outside work (Acker, 2006), as the radical feminist view argued. Thus, gender inequalities in organisations are, especially in capitalist countries, supported because organisational life is privileged over other areas of life in society and organisations are supported by the state on their gendered policies including their reproduction-neutral approach. All these factors, in turn, create gendered organisations.

In parallel to the materialist ecofeminist and radical feminist arguments, it can be argued that 'without the invisible labour of women at home, men would not have the ability to work 40 to 60 hours a week to gain success in a professional career' (Ferree and Hall, 1996: 946). As a result of patriarchal assumptions in society that assign women domestic responsibilities female managers have been found to have fewer children than male managers (Moore, 1988; Wood and Newton, 2006). Work arrangements that require long hours and/or weekend work as well as frequent travelling are not compatible with family life especially due to the disproportionate child care responsibilities of women as well as gendered assumptions that women are supposed to be managing family responsibilities (Tharenou et al., 1994; Poole and Isaacs, 1997). Thus, inequitably divided family roles and work-family conflict mostly affects women in their career by causing increased stress, lower productivity,

and as a result some women choose not to apply for higher positions and, often change their career path or stop working (Zeng, 2011). Özkanli and White (2009) found that despite the relatively higher percentage of female professors at Turkish universities (around 23%) in comparison to some Western countries such as the UK (around 10%) (Özbilgin, 2004), in Turkey many women do not apply for senior management positions in universities because these roles would create a conflict between their job and family responsibilities. In addition, lack of support from family and society affects women's advancement and if women receive extended family support and inexpensive domestic help they find it easier to advance in their careers (Makombe, 2006).

In the OECD countries including the UK and Turkey, fees related to childcare are very often high, which can mean that 'in the short-term work does not pay for many second earners in couple families' (OECD, 2011a: 4). Thus, family-friendly work practices are very important to facilitate the career advancement of women, because they help to retain female employees by achieving a better family-work life balance as well as achieving organisational commitment and job satisfaction (Ngo et al., 2009; Beauregard et al., 2009). These practices include 'flexible work hours (such as flexitime that permits workers to vary their start and finish times provided a certain number of hours are worked; a compressed working week, in which employees work a full week's worth of hours in four days and take the fifth off), working from home, sharing a full-time job between two employees (job sharing), family leave programmes (parental leave, adoption leave, compassionate leave), on-site childcare, and financial and/or informational assistance with childcare and eldercare services' (Beauregard et al., 2009: 3). Burke et al. (2006) found, in a study conducted in the banking sector in Turkey, where there were supportive organisational

experiences and practices, women were more engaged in their work, had more job satisfaction and indicated greater levels of psychological well-being. On the other hand, it has been also argued that flexible work in the sense of 'working from home' can marginalise women and maintain structures of oppression as women especially mothers remain on the peripheries of organisational life (Graley, 2010).

Part-time work arrangements and job sharing are preferred options by many mothers (around 40% in the UK) (OECD, 2007; PewResearch Center Survey, 2007) mainly as a result of the absence of adequate childcare facilities at affordable prices. However, part-time working practices and women's advancement are found to be negatively correlated. Only around 4% of women working part-time are in managerial positions and it has been reported that they experience very limited employment prospects in terms of mobility and promotion given the lack of quality jobs available on part-time occupational arrangements (Durbin and Tomlinson, 2010; Dex and Bukodi, 2010). Women employed in part-time work are found to be more likely to have low levels of education, have families with young child(ren) and work in small companies (Manning and Petrongolo, 2004). In the UK, 'part-time jobs are often concentrated in specific firms or occupations and lack of affordable childcare and long working hours in the UK are argued to be one of the important factors for occupations of many women in part-time jobs' (Rubery et al., 2005: 1). Therefore, it has been argued that while part-time work can increase the employment rate of women, such as it has done in the Netherlands, it can also mean marginalisation of women, such as has been identified in the UK (Fagan, 2001). By contrast 'women who work continuously in full-time jobs not only tend themselves to hold higher status jobs than other women but also to be partnered by men in high status employment' (McDowell, 2001: 451).

On the other hand, the link between long working hours and career advancement has been well documented. It was argued that being visible and available are very important promotional criteria in organisations (Herman et al., 2010). Persons spending long hours in organisations are more visible and assumed to be more committed to work which may play an important role in promotion (Bailyn, 1997; Lewis, 1997). Metz's (2003) study into whether the barriers to women's managerial advancement in the banking sector in Australia had changed from 1997 to 2002 showed that, in particular, respondents were more likely to report that 'willingness to work long hours' was an important factor in their career advancement.

Moreover, senior management experience to become a CEO and CEO experience are important factors in addition to social networks to get on the boards of organisations (Heidenreich, 2010). It has been documented that rapid socialisation is important in achieving success in organisations (Bierema, 1996). Thus, women are often advised to build networks and strategic alliances to help them to climb up to managerial positions (Reimers-Hild et al., 2007), since informal networks seem to play an important role for men's career advancement in organisations (Tharenou, 2005). Therefore, lack of mentors[14] has been identified as an important factor for women's under-representation at higher management levels (Tharenou, 1997; Burgess and Tharenou, 2002; Shakeshaft et al., 2007; Sealy and Singh, 2010). Mentoring accounts for a significant proportion of career success, because it provides support for career advancement in organisations (Ragins and Cotton, 1999; Okurame and Balogun, 2005). Thus it is particularly important for women to have mentors (Ragins and Scandura, 1994). According to Ragins and Cotton (1999) and

[14] 'A mentor is defined as one of a network of helping relationships who provides emotional and career support and can serve as a role model' (Ensher and Murphy, 2011: 254).

Hau-siu Chow and Ng (2007), men are more likely to receive appropriate mentoring than women, because they are generally in more powerful positions. On the other hand some research suggests that women and men receive equal mentoring (Young et al., 2006).

It was argued that employers and managers create inequalities and a gendered division of labour in the workplace (Alvesson and Billing, 1997). In a study conducted by Metz and Tharenou (2001: 312) 'women reported gender discrimination as the most frequent barrier to their advancement at all managerial levels'. There is a vast amount of literature arguing that the glass ceiling creates barriers that negatively impact women in their career paths (Kanter, 1977; Inman, 1998; Davies-Netzley, 1998; Singh and Vinnicombe, 2004; Sampson and Moore, 2008; Purcell et al., 2010). Oakley (2000) argued that the glass ceiling is created especially through human resources management policies and practices including recruitment policies, training and career development and promotion, which minimise career advancement chances of women getting to the senior positions. The 'glass ceiling' is defined as an invisible barrier preventing the rise of women into leadership ranks (Purcell et al., 2010; Zeng, 2011). In contrast the term 'glass escalator' is used to indicate that due to certain hidden advantages men are more likely to be accelerated into top management positions (Williams, 1992).

The glass ceiling can be endorsed by recruitment procedures as well as training opportunities provided at organisational level. While recruitment practices are one of the significant areas of concern because they can create discrimination and prejudice against women (Acker, 1990; Bain and Cummings; 2000; McDowell, 1997), it has been documented that women often receive fewer training opportunities than their

male counterparts (The City and Guilds Centre for Skills Development, 2009) and they are ‘more likely than men to seek training in their own time and using their own money’ (Inman, 1998: 38). It is argued that the reason for this may be because women are likely to work in smaller organisations and lower paying job segments (EWCO, 2010). Moreover, even if women receive training, they are not rewarded for their new skills to the same extent as men (The City and Guilds Centre for Skills Development, 2009) which restricts the promotion possibilities of women.

3.4. Gender denial

Gender awareness requires recognition of gender equality and discrimination. It has been documented that 'gender' in some organisational settings does not seem to be an important issue (Halford and Leonard, 2001) and while gender can be a key factor for some people in organisations, it may not be a factor for many others. For many people the significant differences in career structures relate to class, race, age, education, experience and personality rather than gender (gender denial) (Smith et al., 2012). In a study conducted by Martínez et al. (2010) in relation to gender awareness, men scored less than women. Powell (2010) argued that because masculine behaviours and values are accepted as the norm, management theories are based on observations of male managers. According to Dempsey and Diamond (2006: 5), ‘staff may deny gender’s relevance to avoid any acknowledgement of the projections they place upon a woman in a position of authority. If a female CEO is controlling and aloof and it is simply part of her personality that cannot be changed, then we can deny that we have expectations of her as a woman in the position’. Connell (2009: 73) also argued that ‘gender relations are always being made and remade in everyday life. If we do not bring it into being, gender does not exist’.

In addition, it has been argued that one of the reasons for denying gender is that discrimination against women is often thought to be a thing of the past and no longer exists in the Global North (Swim et al., 1995).

3.5. Implications of gender diversity in management

Boards of organisations including non-governmental organisations (NGOs) play a crucial role in decision-making. They are 'responsible for broad organisational policy-making, supervision of management, fund-raising, budgeting and establishing operating procedures, among other governing functions' (Abzug et al. 1993: 271). A great deal of literature focusing mainly on corporations argues that gender diversity on boards as well as at director level is good for corporate governance, which causes more profitable business (Smith et al., 2005; Adams and Ferreira, 2009; Carter et al., 2010).

It has been also argued that women are more likely to be on the boards of organisations with high public visibility, either to prevent social criticism or to bring greater expertise to the board (Bernardi et al., 2006). This argument was supported by a European Union study that was based on 3,000 businesses from the (then) 25 EU Member States which suggested that establishments with diverse personnel benefit from a better image in the market (EU Commission, 2005).

Diversity issues on boards have been getting more attention (Post et al., 2011). As a result a number of initiatives have been introduced such as 'the 40% Quota Law' in Norway to increase the number of women on corporate boards (Professional Boards Forum, 2012). Carter et al. (2010) argued that even though it would not affect all organisations in the same way, gender and ethnic diversity in upper management levels would bring more opportunities to organisations since more human capital with

external networks and information would be incorporated into the organisations. According to the UN (2010: 123), ‘corporate boards with more female members have greater participation of members in decision-making’. While some research has argued that women are more ethical than men (Bibb, 2010; Atakan et al., 1999; Atakan et al., 2008) and therefore gender diversity would enhance business ethics, there are other studies that do not support these findings (Ye, 2010). Furthermore, it has also been argued that the greater the proportion of women on the board, the better the attendance levels of male directors and more equity based the pay for directors (Adams and Ferreira, 2009). Smith et al. (2005) found, in a study conducted on the 2,500 largest Danish firms that sought to answer the question ‘do women on boards really affect financial performance of companies or is it actually the case that better performing firms are more likely to hire women?’, that the better performance of companies was due to board diversity. In addition, Jurkus et al. (2011) linked performance improvements and reduction of costs related to certain operations in organisational settings to the increasing number of women in management. In contrast, it has also been argued that gender diverse boards may experience more conflicts when deciding which would cause a slow decision-making process (Hambrick et al., 1996).

It has been argued that women and men’s leadership practices differ (Fletcher, 1999). Melero (2011) found, in a study based on a Workplace Employee Relations Survey, that where the percentage of female managers is high, good workplace management practices such as increased employee feedback and development, interpersonal channels of communication and employee participation in decision-making are likely to be present. Similarly, it was argued that women managers delegate more responsibility to their subordinates, create family-friendly work

environment and support female employees (Fagenson, 1993). In contrast, Maume (2011) claimed that female supervisors foster the career prospects of their male subordinates more than their female subordinates.

However, it should be taken into account that it is difficult to make conclusions on the number of female managers and organisational changes because, as Hendix et al. (2010) pointed out, it needs to be asked first whether female managers are able to change organisational structures/practices or whether they are not able to do so as they are bound by higher-level management who are predominantly male. In addition, it may be questioned whether only those women who adapt to these settings climb up the organisational hierachy. Moreover, as proponents of critical mass theory argued, a certain percentage of women in top management jobs may be required to change the existing male structures of organisations.

Most importantly, it has been argued that ‘gender balanced boards are more likely to understand women’s needs and expectations and consider them in their decision making’ (Jarboe, 2012: 3). On the other hand, Nielsen and Huse (2010: 136) have argued that ‘while the role of women on boards is getting increased attention, research has failed to establish a convincing case for the presence of women on corporate boards of directors and therefore more studies are needed on the effects of women directors on board decision-making and effectiveness’. It should be noted that placing female managers in more strategic positions such as chairs or key committee members where they can influence organisational policies in addition to increasing their numbers is important, because gender parity is measured both by absolute numbers and the levels of responsibility given to women (Kanter, 1977; Barrett, 2010).

Although I do not intend to dismiss the implications above, it can be argued that we do not need to find all the reasons for and benefits of more gender-balanced management structures and boards of companies. Women constitute half of the population, thus they simply deserve to be more equally represented in the decision-making processes of organisations and especially in ENGOs, because these play a significant role in shaping environmental policies that have disproportionate impacts on women.

3.6. Summary and conclusions

Having considered liberal, radical, Marxist/socialist and post-structuralist feminist theoretical frameworks, as they are applied to gender and organisations, it is difficult to agree on a single feminist theoretical framework that explains the under-representation of women in senior management roles. Thus, a combination of feminist theoretical perspectives including the emphasis of radical feminism and Marxist/socialist feminism on the inequalities caused by patriarchal and capitalist structures and the need for an organisational change (where organisational structures and practices are created to ensure a more equitable distribution of power) inform the thesis.

Moreover, it is also important to include the explanations that take into account organisational factors such as organisational structures that produce gender inequalities due to hierarchies, recruitment and promotion policies, working arrangements as well as other factors such as gender stereotypes and status characteristics into the thesis in order to understand the factors that create gender inequalities at organisational and individual levels. These issues are important to highlight amongst other things gender stereotypes, the differential needs of women,

as well as the uneven distribution of resources and power among men and women as has also been argued by radical feminist theory. In addition, gender awareness or gender denial in organisational settings needs to be taken into account to examine why certain factors including personality, education and experience seem to be more important for some some people including the research participants to explain the differences in career progress between men and women, but not gender. All these explanations are partial and must be understood in relation to other issues.

In addition, feminist organisational theory also provides insights into why gender is not incorporated into policies and campaigns of ENGOs as will be discussed in chapter 7. Since women's work and contribution to society is made invisible and not valued in most organisational settings as radical feminists argued, it may be expected that these (gender-biased) organisational policies would not include any gender aspects. This thesis aims to fill the gap and explore gender inequalities in ENGOs since these have been underresearched in terms of their working practices and policies.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methods and design, as well as data collection process used to answer the research questions. The chapter first explains the choice of a feminist research methodology and, includes a section on feminist research highlighting the lack of agreement on what makes research feminist. The chapter also critically considers and justifies the methods used to gather data including semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant observation and quantitative data collection. A detailed insight into the design of the research, the fieldwork and the difficulties that were faced is also provided.

Issues around cross-national comparative research will also be discussed since comparative research was undertaken to illuminate gender structures and their implications in ENGOs in the United Kingdom (UK) and Turkey and to explore similarities and differences between these very different countries regarding the topic. The chapter explores some other methodological issues that were important for the research process including ethical issues, gatekeepers and issues relating to interviewing elites. It also covers ethical issues that arose during the research process. The chapter also provides information on how the data collected has been analysed and disseminated. Moreover consistent with using a feminist methodology, issues related to positionality and reflexivity as well as power relations between the researchers and research participants are discussed.

4.2. Choosing the appropriate research methodology

According to Harding (1987: 3), 'methodology means the theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed'. Decisions about methodology are very important in knowledge production (Ramazanoglu, 1992). Moreover, it is important to choose an appropriate methodology which allows optimal and efficient data collection as time and finances can constrain the research process. I decided to do a comparative case study in order to explore the gender structures of the ENGOs and their implications in the UK and Turkey. The research was designed to reveal similarities and differences between the ENGOs within and between the two countries.

'Feminist research has been developed by researchers aiming for involvement, activism and social critique for the purpose of liberatory change' (Gatenby and Humphries, 2000: 89). A feminist methodology was adopted because the research aims to explore gender compositions and inequalities in ENGOs and the causes of these and therefore 'the central concern is gender' (Hammersley, 1992: 187). Feminist methodology has a multitude of aims which include, but are not limited to: researching women, revealing and challenging male dominated structures, challenging socially constructed gender relations and gender inequalities and injustices and thus it is suited to an emancipatory type of research. This research aims to point out the disadvantages that women face in organisational as well as environmental contexts. I argue that with its principles and objectives, feminist methodology and epistemology is the most suited for this research, because the personal experiences of research participants are explored in depth. In addition, one of my research questions was to explore the feminist perspectives that are most appropriate to understand the gendered nature of ENGOs. As Poggio (2006: 230)

has argued 'the choice of methodology is determined not only by the object of research, but also by the author's positioning with respect to the debate on gender'. I aimed to apply research methods that are adequate to 'values and aims as feminists' (McDowell, 1992: 405). A further source of motivation for feminist methodology is that of giving women and me[15], as a researcher, a voice (Gorelick, 1991; Maguire, 2001) and by applying qualitative methods, which are widely chosen by feminist researchers (Kirsch, 1999), I gained access to everyday experiences and perceptions of women as well as men on organisational practices.

Feminist methodology provides a way of establishing an in-depth understanding of people's life experiences, and motivation to explore the reasons behind gender inequalities. Moreover, I chose feminist methodology because, although it turned out to be difficult during the research process when interviewing elites (mostly white men) due to unequal power relations favouring elites, it aims to establish an 'egalitarian relationship with research participants and draws abilities to listen, empathize and validate personal experiences as part of the research process' (McDowell, 1992: 406). However, as will be discussed in sections 4.6 and 4.8 it is very difficult to create an absolute non-hierarchical relationship with research participants (Nast, 1994), especially if they belong to an elite group.

In order to illuminate gender aspects in organisational settings between the two countries, comparative case study research, applying qualitative methods, was adopted. In order to overcome possible weaknesses of individual research methods, triangulation was used. This involved conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant observation and data-gathering from annual reports and the official

[15] Since feminist methods enable researchers to be more reflexive about themselves and the research process than other research methods.

websites of the ENGOs. The qualitative methodology adopted in the research process enabled me to gather data through semi-structured in-depth interviews as well as participant observation in the selected ENGOs. This approach permitted me greater involvement in the daily life of the research participants and enabled an in depth analysis of the organisational practices and patterns of two ENGOs.

4.3. Methodology

4.3.1. Feminist research

Although there has been disagreement regarding what constitutes feminist methodology and what makes research feminist (Doucet and Mauthner, 2006), it is generally accepted that 'the motives, concerns and knowledge brought to the research process' (Brayton, 1997: 1) make research feminist. One of the important motives of feminist research is to challenge and unravel dominant power relations and contribute to social change (Gatenby and Humphries, 2000). Moreover, 'the basic premise of feminist methodologies is the epistemological belief that women can possess and share valuable knowledge and thus research can start from the perspective of women's lives' (Hesse-Biber et al., 2004: 14).

Feminist methodology finds positivism problematic because traditional positivist theories argue for universal truths and a scientific objectivism, which is described as 'reality in a value-free way' (Gray, 1995). While positivist theory argues that 'truth comes from eliminating the role of subjectivist judgments and interpretations' (Sprague and Kobrynowicz, 2004: 78), feminist methodology criticises these assumptions. In positivist science the researcher is expected to be detached from the researched, neutral and value-free in order to ensure objectivism (McDowell, 1992). In contrast, feminist research suggests that researchers cannot and must not be

neutral (Kezar, 2003). Harding (1997: 165) argued that 'we need to avoid objectivist stance that attempts to make the researcher's cultural beliefs and practices invisible while simultaneously skewering the research's objects, beliefs and practices to the display board'. Therefore, positivism has been criticised as being 'both a reflection and extension of the dominant worldview and is used in the service of maintaining unequal power relations' (Hesse-Biber et al., 2004: 11). Many feminists have argued that objectivist epistemology is masculinist as it is based on masculine experiences (Keller, 1983; Harding, 1983; Acker et al., 1983). According to feminist researchers no person can be absolutely free from values and 'it is more logical to accept our subjectivity, our emotions and our socially grounded positions' (Ramazanoglu, 1992: 211). Harding (2004) argued that the more value-free research appears, the more likely it is that it serves the interests of the dominant group. Feminist epistemology criticises traditional epistemologies because women were excluded as agents of knowledge, science has been a masculine arena and history has been written from a male perspective (Harding, 1997).

Such values, experiences and emotions can serve as an impetus for a thesis such as this. My motivation to focus this thesis on female management and gender structures within organisations emanates from a feminist consciousness of the gender inequalities that exist at the organisational level. This research explores women's experiences as well as men's in order to find the reasons for the low number of female managers and produce knowledge and disseminate it. As Acker et al. (1983: 424) argued, if we want to make a difference in women's lives we need to take 'gender as central in constructing all social relations and taking individual women's lives as a problematic and reveal women's everyday world and explore what happens and how events are experienced by women'.

Feminist research has particular ethical and political concerns (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2004) and is also engaged in studying power inequalities between the research participants and researcher in order to question how these power relations affect knowledge production and research (Doucet and Mauthner, 2006). While positivist science assumes that the researcher is the knower and the research participant is the researched, feminist research aims to develop co-production of knowledge with research participants by including their experiences and perceptions (Hesse-Biber, et al., 2004) and removing hierarchies between them (Hammersley, 1992), but co-production requires some intentionality on both parties..

While it has been argued that feminist knowledge is grounded in the experiences of women (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2004; Davis, 2007) and revealing dominant relations of power (Marshall and Rossman, 2010), feminist research has also been criticised for taking experience as a source of knowledge because personal experience is 'factual, limited, partial, uncertain and socially located and therefore it cannot be generalised' (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2004: 125). However, qualitative research does not seek to generalise, but rather aims to provide in-depth understanding (Herriott and Firestone, 1983; Firestone, 1993). Firestone (1993: 16) argued that 'generalization requires extrapolation that can never be fully justified logically'. On the other hand, disregarding experiences related to gender inequalities would lead to dismissal of the reasons behind these experiences because we would not be able to explore why and how a particular gendered experience occurs. Therefore, 'personal experiences as a necessary element of knowledge of gendered lives and actual power relations' (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2004: 127) are one of the important elements in feminist research. Moreover, people's perceptions create realities for other people. During the research process, the perceptions of senior

managers seemed to have an impact on junior managers and other employees. Since in feminist research it is also important to include different voices (Gatenby and Humphries, 2000), this study includes female and male research participants as well as junior and senior staff in order to gather data from a wider variety of research participants and include different experiences and perceptions. Interviewing elites brought different dimensions into the research. Feminist research aims to empower and give voice to research participants. However, elites have privileged positions. I agree with Hesse-Biber (2012) that 'feminist perspectives also carry messages of empowerment that challenge the encircling of knowledge claims by those who occupy privileged positions' (p.3). There have been a number of feminist researchers who conducted and analysed elite inteviews (McDowell, 1998; Ross, 2000; Mikecz, 2012). In my case, I needed to interview elites that had power in their settings to reveal their perceptions on working practices where they rule and set policies. Organisations are ruled by elites (most likely by elite men) and through interviewing them I was able to reveal gendered perceptions and practices in these organisational settings. I needed to 'challenge elites [knowledge] that excludes' (Hesse-Biber, 2012: 3) to include gender issues. I think that the benefits, then, of interviewing men in powerful (elite) positions in my research, outweighs the danger of privileging their views. Interestingly, including elite men into the research particularly in the UK revealed that some of them were more conscious than some female elite research participants about patriarchal relations and women's dual responsibilities in the society.

Feminist epistemology has been an important element in feminist research. Harding (1991: 109) pointed out that it questions: 'who can be a knower? (only dominant groups or women too?) What kinds of things can be known? What tests must beliefs

pass to be legitimated as knowledge? (only tests against what men in the dominant group tend to think of as reliable experience and observation?), what is the nature of objectivity?' as well as 'who judges the validity of our work?' (McDowell, 1992: 413). Acker (1983: 431) argued that in order to assess whether 'the knowledge that we produce is worthwhile we need to check whether the findings of our research contribute to women's movement in some way (emancipatory goal)'. However, this is not an easy task especially in the short term. Moreover as Acker (1983: 431) added 'an emancipatory intent is no guarantee of an emancipatory goal'. I agree with Ramazonoglu and Holland (2004: 147) 'the point of doing feminist social research is to give insights into gendered social existence that would otherwise not exist'. Therefore, it can be argued that by revealing and pointing out gender inequalities in the ENGOs and understanding the under-representation of women in environmental decision-making by conducting interviews with elites including elite men, this research contributes to knowledge development in feminist research.

According to Harding (1997), feminist scholars have adopted different ways to respond to the criticisms that have been levelled at their work and to justify the results of feminist research. These feminist theories of knowledge include feminist empiricism, the feminist standpoint perspective and feminist postmodernism (Hartsock, 1983; Haraway, 1988; Smith, 1990; Harding, 1991). Feminist empiricism is defined as 'any epistemology that combines empiricist methodology with feminist goals' (Campbell, 1994: 90). However, it has been also argued that 'feminist empiricism cannot remove androcentric biases and rather duplicates traditional research, which is shaped by patriarchy, elitism, heterosexuality and racism, and would only add women into the research' (Hesse-Biber et al., 2004: 11). On the other hand, the feminist standpoint perspective starts from the experiences of marginalized

and subordinated women (Poggio, 2006). Feminist standpoint theory suggests that 'women occupy a social location that affords them a privileged access to social phenomena' (Longino, 1993: 201). This was also expressed as 'marginalized groups hold a particular claim to knowing' (Doucet and Mauthner, 2006: 37), because of the experience of oppression and disadvantage that these groups (e.g. poor, black, Asian, homosexual, women, disabled) experience in the society. During the research process I realised that some of the elite men were more aware of patriarchy than elite women that I interviewed, which seems to be contradictory to feminist standpoint theory. However, I believe that feminist standpoint theory enables, for example, women to understand and provide an insight into the lives of other women (Hartsock, 1987). From the feminist standpoint theory, women have a better insight into other women because of their own gendered experiences, which give them a privileged position as researchers. It has been argued that 'subjectivity of the oppressed is less distorted than that deriving from the dominant group' (Lennon and Whitford, 1994: 3). One of my main motivations to conduct this research was my consciousness about gender inequalities and experiences within organisational settings. 'We also need to address our own position as producers of knowledge' (McDowell, 1992: 413). At the time of starting the research for this thesis I was not yet a mother, and was not fully aware that having a baby would restrict my mobility as much as it has. Therefore, being a working mother during the research process made me more aware of women's unique position as childrearers and bearers and homemakers and also the related inequalities that women face in career advancement. Thus, in my case I find that feminist standpoint theory provides a valuable contribution to the research. I will discuss issues around positionality in section 4.8.

The feminist standpoint theory has also been criticized on the grounds of strategic essentialism, especially by postmodern feminist thinkers who argue that women cannot have privileged access to understanding their own oppression, because 'there is no such thing as a woman's perspective homogenous enough to ground the feminist standpoint' (Ahlström, 2005: 90) since society produces different standpoints depending on factors such as race, class and sexual orientation (Harding, 2004). 'Even if a particular feminist theory cannot make good on the claim that it has privileged access to reality, it may offer true representations that are more useful to women than other truthful representations' (Anderson, 2011: 1).

4.3.2. Comparative research

The commitment to explore the similarities and differences between the ENGOs, and also between two very different countries, namely the UK and Turkey in terms of the research questions is an important feature of this thesis. The research was undertaken in the UK and Turkey applying cross-national comparative research in order to examine and reveal the current gender structures of the ENGOs in both countries, the factors shaping and influencing these structures and the implications of these. According to Walby and Bagguley (1990), gender relations vary between areas. Since the research was conducted in two countries with significant socio-economic and historical differences, it can be expected that gender relations and career opportunities for women in each country to be different. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, equal opportunity policies have been one of most the significant factors for women's access to the labour market. Thus, the motivation behind the comparative research was to find out the differences and similarities between these

countries within the research framework and whether and to what extent country specific circumstances play a role in shaping the structures of the organisations.

Case studies have been valued in the theory building process (Walton, 1992; Eckstein, 2002), because 'theory developed from case study research is likely to have important strengths like novelty, testability, and empirical validity, which arise from the intimate linkage with empirical evidence' (Eisenhardt, 1989: 548). Similarly, Flyvbjerg (2006) has asserted that case study research is a good way to generate knowledge.

Comparative institutional analysis has played an important role in the social sciences (Morgan et al., 2010) and 'the merit of basing a comparative analysis on corporate knowledge and narratives derived from interviews is acknowledged' (Hughes, 1999: 372). It has been argued that 'gender deserves greater attention in cross-national research' (Shandra et al., 2008a: 68). Although some comparative research has been done in the UK and Turkey on gender in the organisational context, including financial institutions and academia (Özbilgin and Woodward, 2004; Tanova et al., 2008; Malach-Pines et al., 2008; Malach-Pines and Burke, 2008; Birol et al., 2010) to date, no such comparative research has been conducted to examine gender in ENGOs in the UK and Turkey. Therefore, this thesis has the potential to make a valuable contribution to feminist research and the environmental movement in terms of comparative analysis since as was argued by Yin (2003: 6) 'case study findings can be generalised to other situations through analytic[16] (not statistical) generalisation'. The term 'generalisability' was defined as 'the degree to which the findings can be generalised from the study sample to the entire population' (Polit and

[16] By 'using a study's theoretical framework to establish a logic that might be applicable to other situations' (Yin, 2003: 18).

Hungler, 1991: 645 quoted in Myers, 2000) or ‘making predictions based on a recurring experience’ (CSU, 2011: 1). Many researchers have argued that the issue of generalisability is not of a significant importance in qualitative research since its aim is to interpret the data collected within a particular context as opposed to relating it to or making predictions about other groups (Williams, 2004). Similarly, Myers (2000) argued that qualitative research based on a small sample size can be more valuable than a quantitatively large sample because it provides personal understanding of a case by examining the case in depth and from different perspectives.

Chapter 5 provides background information on the case study countries including equal opportunity legislation, charities - especially the ENGO sector - and women’s participation in the labour force. Although it is difficult to generalise in qualitative research, by applying comparative research in these countries one can better identify causal relationships between the disadvantaged position that women find themselves in the ENGOs and country specific circumstances including traditional values, the legislative framework and other issues. It has been argued that ‘thinking without comparison is unthinkable’ (Swanson, 1971: 145) and international cross-cultural comparative research has the capacity to inform practice, shape policy and develop theory (Clark et al., 2006). Moreover, comparison enables us to question and rethink features that appear in some cases but not in others (Yengoyan, 2006) and it can reveal feautures which are common despite very different contexts such as the case in this research. Comparative social science has been criticized for having ‘nothing distinctive about it’ (Ragin, 1989: 2). However, the comparative nature of this study has permitted me to identify cross-national differences, similarities and relationships which have the potential to make a contribution to the theoretical development of

comparative research. The comparative research enabled me to find similarities in the ENGOs in terms of the male domination in senior roles, gendered working practices and the neglect of gender and environmental justice issues in their current campaigns. Therefore, adopting comparative research offers a deeper understanding of the factors that cause gender inequalities and particularly since the countries researched are very different in terms of socio-economic and historical background.

Cross-national research projects can be a challenge since it is necessary to manage and fund the research in two different and sometimes distant settings. Moreover, gaining access to potential research participants who can serve as a comparable cohort can prove problematic. In the present study, while access to the organisations in Turkey did not cause any difficulties, in order to collect comparable data from the case study countries the fieldwork period was longer (around 2 years) compared to a single case study. Because of the translation that is required in research of this nature, reliable translation is of great importance because 'all translation to certain extent is subjective' (Yengoyan, 2006: 15) and positionality of the researcher influences the process. A common language of analysis must be found to enable meaningful comparisons to be made (Clark et al., 2006). Therefore, it was important to be fluent in both English and Turkish.

4.4. Research design: case studies in the UK and Turkey

The research process was influenced by the research aims and the question(s) emerged as a result of these aims (Liden, 2011). The important areas that had to be covered during the research design included decisions regarding the methods of data collection, sampling decisions and analysis as well as the interview questions that needed be asked in order to gather the data required (Flick et al., 2004). Two data

collection techniques were selected: semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observation. As is discussed in 4.1.2, incorporating participant observation into the research enabled me to have a better insight into the in-depth ENGOs in both countries. Moreover information regarding the current gender compositions of the ENGOs was collected by means of annual reports, staff charts, publications and websites of the organisations.

4.4.1. Selection of the ENGOs

The ENGOs that were contacted to participate in the research were selected on the basis of their size (number of staff and budget) and reputation. Since it is important to obtain information related to the research from various sources in order to achieve relative good representation of the ENGO sector in the case study countries (Merkens, 1997), a range of ENGOs were contacted to explore whether any differences exist between the ENGOs in terms of gender structures in senior management level as well as practices. The names of the ENGOs have been anonymised throughout this thesis. The research included all of the large ENGOs in Turkey and UK, as well as some middle and smaller sized local ENGOs in both countries. Therefore, it represents a very good proportion of the ENGOs in both countries.

In the UK 9 ENGOs were researched (Table 4.1) between January 2008 to December 2009.

Table 4.1. British ENGOs

UK 1 Medium, national ENGO, conservation
UK 2 Small, national, improvement of quality of life including the environment
UK 3 Small, national, improvement of quality of life including the environment
UK 4 Large, international, mainly conservation
UK 5 Large, international, conservation
UK 6 Large, international, mainly conservation
UK 7 Large, national, conservation
UK 8 Large, national, conservation
UK 9 Large, international, mainly conservation

In Turkey 10 ENGOs (Table 4.2) were researched from May 2008 – July 2008.

Table 4. 2. Turkish ENGOs

TR 1 Medium[17], representative of a national ENGO, conservation
TR 2 Small, local, mainly conservation, non-professional[18]
TR 3 Small, local, mainly conservation, non-professional
TR 4 Small, local, conservation
TR 5 Large[19], national, conservation
TR 6 Large, international, mainly conservation
TR 7 Medium, national, mainly conservation
TR 8 Large, international, conservation
TR 9 Small, national, mainly conservation
TR 10 Medium, national, mainly conservation

'All researchers begin data collection with certain assumptions about the phenomenon being investigated, situations to be observed, and people to be

[17] Interviews conducted in a local representative office of the ENGO. The size of the ENGO 'medium' refers to the ENGO itself and not the representative office.
[18] No paid staff
[19] Interviews conducted with the local representatives as well as at the main office in Istanbul.

interviewed' (Merriam et al., 2001: 406). At the beginning of the research process I did not expect to have problems recruiting research participants. This may have been because I was not familiar with doing research in the UK. However, very quickly it became evident that the British ENGOs were reluctant to participate. In the beginning of the UK fieldwork, the first three ENGOs that were contacted declined to participate in the research (a total of 6 ENGOs did not want to participate in the research). In comparison, all the Turkish organisations agreed to participate. In most of the cases the ENGOs that refused to participate in the study simply did not reply. However, when second or third e-mails were sent the following responses were received.

> 'I am afraid that we don't participate in research of this kind, because we are a really small organisation and get a lot of such requests (CEO-M[20] of a middle size ENGO).
>
> '(The organisation) does not participate in any interview or questionnaire from students. We receive a lot of requests for this, unfortunately we do not have the time and people to participate in these interviews. We hope you can understand this. You can find all available information at our website' (No title provided – F[21] of a middle size ENGO).
>
> 'I'm really sorry about this but I have spoken to the heads of both our HR and legal departments and they are - reluctantly - unwilling to support our involvement in this project. It is not that they have anything against your project per se, more that we are right in the middle of a major planning and budgeting exercise - which involves most staff and is likely to last at least another two months - and are reluctant to sanction anything other than absolute priorities

[20] Chief executive officer- male
[21] Female

during this period. I appreciate that this will be disappointing to you but I'm afraid that there is nothing more that I can do. With apologies' (Legal department - M of a large international ENGO).[22]

Thus, although my aim was to directly select the research participant ENGOs and the interviewees for the British ENGOs I had to adopt a snowball approach. Because gaining access to most of the British ENGOs was extremely difficult and time consuming, the snowball approach was used to ensure access to the organisations (7 out of 9 ENGOs in the UK were approached and interviewed in this way). Therefore, it was sometimes only possible to gain access to management of ENGOs through the interviews conducted by other ENGOs. Since I gathered the contact information of the potential research participants from several sources, including my supervisors and the research participants that I interviewed, the snowball approach did not cause a 'danger of interviewing only certain strata or limited personal networks' (Jones-Correa, 1998: 329). However, the snowball approach did not prove to be a panacea.

Comparative research practice is time consuming and issues such as gatekeepers and access to the organisations are crucial elements in order to gather data in a timely manner (Seidman, 2006; Gilbert, 2008). Even though time constraints played a role, it was not the most important factor due to a relatively long field work period that was necessary to conduct a similar number of interviews in both countries (from January 2008 to December 2009).

[22] I contacted the head of a department whom I found through a snowball approach who then forwarded the request to the legal department. I did not receive any response to my email suggesting that I would be happy to conduct the interviews when the restructuring was over.

4.4.2. Classification of the ENGOs

In the research for this thesis the criterion for the classification of the ENGOs in the UK is based on the number of employees. In this thesis a 'large' ENGO in the UK means an organisation with 50 or more employees. A 'medium' ENGO is defined as having between 11 and 49 employees and 'small' means 10 or fewer employees. However, for the Turkish ENGOs the criteria included, in addition to the number of employees, community organisation (number of representative offices throughout Turkey) and international affiliation. Therefore, in case of the Turkish ENGOs, 'large' means part of an international organisation and/or it had relatively more employees in comparison to the other ENGOs (this criterion was adopted since one of the significant ENGOs in Turkey (ENGO 6) has fewer than 30 employees). 'Medium' for the Turkish ENGOs means organisations with 10-20 employees. 'Small' means local organisations with 10 or fewer employees, and also includes all non-professional ENGOs (organisations with no paid employees).

In the Turkish ENGOs that do not have paid staff or offices, the classification of the interviewees as senior managers or middle managers (Table 5.5) was difficult. First of all because the non-professional ENGOs are voluntary organisations and the research participants work in these organisations in addition to their main jobs and do not receive any remuneration. I classified the interviewees that were the founders of the organisations who were also public facing or sat on the board of the organisations as senior managers. While a city representative of one of the ENGO was classified as senior manager because he had been involved in the organisation for many years and was the person responsible for day to day activities in the city reporting directly to the main office, another representative of the organisation in the

city was classified as a middle manager since she had been managing a smaller scale area at the provincial level and reported to the city representative. Conversely, I classified the coordinators as middle managers because in several professional ENGOs[23] in Turkey there is a flat organisational structure with very few managerial positions (founders often act as the CEO or similar and no other senior managerial staff are present other than coordinators). Finally, policy officers were classified as non-managers.

4.4.3. Interviews

In the UK, 38 interviews with senior managers and employees (by seniority in Table 4.3. and by gender in Table 4.4) in 9 ENGOs were conducted.

Table 4.3. The total number of Interviewees in the British ENGOs

Seniority	**Numbers**
CEOs	6
Senior Managers	14 (+1)[24]
Middle Managers	11
Non-Managers	13 (+ 5)
TOTAL	**38 and 1 Focus group**

Table 4.4. The total number of Interviewees in the British ENGOs by gender

Gender	**Numbers**
Female	23 (+4)
Male	15 (+ 2)

[23] ENGOs that have paid staff
[24] The numbers in brackets indicate the participants in the focus group interview.

In Turkey 40 interviews (by position in Table 4.5 and by gender in Table 4.6) were conducted with senior managers and employees in 10 ENGOs.

Table 4.5. The total number of Interviewees in the Turkish ENGOs

Seniority	**Numbers**
CEOs	3
Seniors Managers	11
Middle Managers	11
Non-Managers	15
TOTAL	**40**

Table 4.6. The total number of Interviewees in the Turkish ENGOs by gender

Gender	**Numbers**
Female	25
Male	15

Mostly face to face interviews were conducted, but in some cases in the UK (due to the location of the organisations or demand by the participants) telephone interviews were also held. An information letter and consent form (see Appendix 10.1 and 10.2) were provided to the participants before the interviews and the interviewees were asked for their permission to be audio-recorded. All the interviews were digitally recorded. The average length of interviews was 45-50 minutes.

The number of the interviews in the selected ENGOs depended on the time, mobility, access and availability of the research participants. The target was to reach as many research participants as possible and efforts were made to get a similar number in both countries. ‘Pilot studies are a crucial element of a good study design’ because

they enable testing out some of the research methods (van Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001: 1). I have had various research experiences during my university studies in Turkey and Germany doing surveys and interviewing people. Therefore, before commencing the interviews, in order to test the research questions and to establish a smooth interviewing technique, a pilot was conducted using a semi-structured interview with one of the equality and diversity officers at Brunel University. Thereafter, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted using the interview guide with senior decision makers including CEOs, human resources managers, managers responsible for campaigns/campaigning strategies, fundraising managers and marketing managers. These individuals were chosen because senior managers are responsible for setting up and implementing the policies of the organisations. However, employees and officers were also interviewed to triangulate the accounts of managers (I-Chieh, 2006) and explore their perceptions. Silverman (2007: 188) has argued that 'interviewees' accounts and the world they describe may vary'. In addition, I also aimed to gather data from employees on the basis of their experiences and perceptions as candidate future managers. Including research participants with eclectic experiences into the research enabled a multidimensional exploration of the research questions (Patton, 1987).

The question formulation process for the interviews began with writing down several initial questions to gather data related to the overall research questions. Consideration was given to the coherence between the questions and information requirements. Words that the respondent might not be familiar with, negative words and expressions, words that would sound like something else or broad concepts were avoided (Flick, 2009). During the research process the questions were evolved which resulted in formulating one open-ended question that aimed at exploring the

respondents' views on whether gender makes a difference in terms of running an organisation, and questions which aimed to explore the organisations' structure, practices and strategies (Appendix 10.3). The interview topics included information on the interviewees and the ENGOs; their working practices; ENGOs' policies and campaigns. Moreover, there was an open question to investigate the perception of the research participants on 'whether gender matters in terms of running an organisation?' The topics were developed from reading the organisation, gender and environment, and environmental justice literature, which indicated that ENGO working practices and the implications of gender on their campaigns were under-researched.

The initial intention was to conduct the interviews first in the UK in order to begin the research. However, due to the reluctance of the British organisations to participate the seed of doubt was sewn as to the future success of the project. Reflexivity is one of the key elements in a feminist research process (Marshall and Rossman, 2010). This enabled me to look for the reason(s) behind this. I first doubted my approach in contacting the organisations by email, but the later stages of the research contacting them by means of telephone proved even more difficult as in many cases either the ENGO's websites provide only one central number, which is often the switch board or reception. This is especially common in the larger ENGOs, where the issue of gatekeeping arises. In order to recruit the research participants it is essential that the researchers 'first have access to them' (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2004: 157). Often receptionists, assistants of senior managers (CEOs), HR and other staff must be persuaded regarding the nature of the research to get access to the target research participants. For example, it was impossible to reach anyone except the switchboard in one of the large British ENGOs where I was refused access to anyone

within the organisation or provided with any contact numbers, because of the magnitude of similar research enquiries. However, in some cases guesswork proved successful. I was eventually able to conduct some interviews with the aforementioned ENGO by guessing the email address of the CEO whose name I found by searching on the internet. Thus, email communication with the potential research participants in the British ENGOs offered an effective albeit often slower way of recruiting people. In this way it was possible to contact the persons for interview directly, which enabled me to provide detailed information about the values and ethics of the research because I was able to attach to the emails the document related to the research and research ethics. Another drawback of telephony was that it was often more difficult as people were often short of time or in the middle of a work activity. Respondents often requested call backs or for requests to be sent by email after the conversation. It has been acknowledged that gaining access to elites is difficult since 'they are busy and have limited time' and alternative ways of communication may be required to reach them (Kezar, 2003: 404). Therefore, especially after adopting the snowball approach in the UK, communication by means of email was a very good way of recruiting research participants, providing them information on the research as well as setting the schedule for an interview (Holden et al., 1993).

Positionality of the research participants is an important element in a research process. At the beginning of the fieldwork I also questioned whether my positionality as a foreigner and woman (Merriam et al., 2001) could explain the level of non-respondents in the UK and/or whether feminist research may not be welcome by some organisations especially where male-dominated structures are present. Drawing upon my fieldwork experience, the reactions that I received during some of

the interviews, even in my home country in Turkey, were unexpected and surprising especially when a male senior manager at a large ENGO started questioning the purpose of the research. It was necessary to terminate the interview after 15 minutes because the manager refused to provide answers for the crucial interview questions including the number of male and female employees and the role of gender in management styles. The manager repeatedly asserted in an increasingly annoyed manner that the city where the interview was being conducted was a modern city and he was a follower of Ataturk so that he did not see people as male or female, but only as 'objects (obje)'.This interviewee suggested that I was pushing human beings into categories and trying to find negatives about the city. In another large ENGO I was asked if I was being financed by foreign donors in order to reveal any negative aspects of Turkey (scepticism about research sponsored by organisations and agencies, Broadhead and Rist, 1976). On the other hand, during the research process I also experienced that some of the female CEOs were equally unenthused with the line of questioning and did not want to participate in the research. Gender denial, which is discussed in Chapter 3 on gender and organisations, can also be one of the factors why some organisations/persons did not want to participate in the research, in addition to other factors (it was argued by many persons contacted: being very busy and receiving many research enquiries[25], despite the fact that an interview could be conducted at any time). As a matter of fact, many research participants responded in the interviews that 'gender does not matter'.

[25] This can be demonstrated with an example taken from the official website of a British ENGO: 'We get a lot of requests from students for help with reports about environmental issues. We wish we could help each of you individually, but we need to keep our staff focussed on winning campaigns. You can browse our website for information'.

After securing and initiating my research observation in the British ENGO by the snowball approach, I contacted the Turkish ENGOs in Turkey again to inform them of the planned start date of the interviews. In general, the Turkish research participants were easier to get access to and they granted me the time that I wanted. While in the UK the interview duration was mostly set by the research participants as a condition of being interviewed and participating in the research, in Turkey I was often able to move from one ENGO to another to conduct the interviews as soon as I completed the interviews in one. Therefore, I was able to conduct many interviews in a relatively short time in comparison to the UK. During the Turkish fieldwork I secured the Turkish ENGO that would be the focus of my in-depth study for the following year. I was not able to conduct the Turkish interviews and do the participant observation during the same period of time in an ENGO in Turkey, because of the high number of interviews that I wanted to conduct in a short period and commitment to start the in-depth research with a British ENGO.

Interviewing is regarded as the most appropriate and familiar method of acquisition of qualitative data particularly by feminist researchers (Mishler, 1991). As was discussed in section 4.1.1 interviewing as a technique was chosen because it is regarded as especially adequate if the purpose is to collect research participants' perceptions in their own words (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998). I decided to conduct in depth interviews because I aimed to collect personal experiences as well as perceptions of the research participants related to organisational settings and policies. Interviewing offers the opportunity for dialogue between the researcher and research participants and allows them to express themselves and make sense of their own experiences (Valentine, 2005), which is one of the aims of feminist research. Moreover, interviewing as a technique enabled me to be aware of some

issues that I did not anticipate before the interviews (Knowles, 2000), including hierarchies, the importance of so-called scientific values in some ENGOs and working practices of the ENGOs.

4.4.4. Participant observation ENGOs

The in-depth study British ENGO, where the research observation took place, was chosen because of the relatively gender balanced senior management team, but more importantly their willingness to be a participant observation ENGO since especially in the UK the ENGOs were very difficult to access. Once I had found an insider from the ENGO who arranged access for me, I aimed to start the fieldwork in the UK and collect data as soon as possible. The Turkish ENGO was chosen because it was convenient to do the research, they were positive about the research, and also the ENGO was the only professional ENGO[26] in one of the cities where I collected the data in Turkey. Participant observation in the British ENGO took place from July to November 2008 with observation one or two days a week. In Turkey participant observation took place from April to August 2009 with observations made 2-3 times a week.

4.4.5. Secondary data collection

Moreover, as a part of the research, secondary data in the form of statistics, annual reports, information from the ENGOs' websites and certain public information sources were referred to in order to collect information on the current gender structures of the ENGOs to explore sex segregation in the organisations, size and funding sources as well as their campaigns and policies. In addition, the Equal Opportunities Forms in the British in-depth study ENGO were analysed for the first

[26] With paid staff

time in the organisation, which informed the research concerning the job applicants' gender and age.

Some problems emerged during the secondary data collection process. These included the following: some of the small Turkish ENGOs had limited opportunities to provide a website in comparison to the larger ENGOs. As a result, some of the information that was needed for the research was either limited or not available at all. In some cases it was not possible to find any information on grants or funds that were available to the organisation during previous years. Moreover, even in some of the relatively large British ENGOs no information on staff or an up-to-date annual report could be found online. In these cases interview data or field notes were referred to and the most recent annual report of the organisation had to be used. In addition, qualitative data gathered from participant observation and the interviews conducted informed the research.

4.5. Research methods

'A research method is a technique for gathering evidence which includes listening to research participants, observing or examining records and historical traces' (Harding, 1987: 2). One of the most important elements in research is to match the theoretical framework with the methods applied in order to answer the research questions, but also to recognise and acknowledge these decisions (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Although feminist research is often linked to qualitative research methods, feminist researchers use different types of research methods and combine qualitative and quantitative methods. It has been argued that 'there is a direct link between epistemology (theory of knowledge) and methods' (Hesse-Biber et al., 2004: 6). Thus, the choice of method should depend on the purpose of the research. In many

situations ‘the use of multiple methods, known as mixed methods, is shown to be the best approach when considering the ambition of testing or creating social theory’ (Liden, 2011: 1). Therefore, the research methods employed as part of this thesis include mainly qualitative, but also some quantitative data. In order to study structures, processes and practices of the organisations, interviews were conducted and participant observation was undertaken to observe interactions, images and symbols in the organisational practices. Moreover, working hours, flexible work arrangements, mobility, and work contracts in relation to positions were examined.

4.5.1. Qualitative data

The research questions which aim to explore organisations and gender inequalities in these settings and the adoption of a feminist methodology led the research in a mainly qualitative direction. Qualitative methods were developed as the most effective way to gather data on women’s everyday lives and the challenges they face in the late 1970s by feminist scholars (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2004), because qualitative research aims to find causalities and reasons behind the issues explored (Firestone, 1993). It has been argued that ‘qualitative, detailed, small scale and case study work is ideally suited to study the research participants’ (McDowell, 1992: 406). Advantages of qualitative methods include ‘concrete depiction of detail, portrayal of process in an active mode and attention to the perspectives of those studied’ and quotations and descriptions provide an insight view (Firestone, 1987: 20).

Participant observation and interviewing provided good ways of capturing the processual and complex factors at work in studying gender (Poggio, 2006). One of the important decisions for choosing the qualitative research was that to collect data about the social reality and the reasons behind these realities and gender inequalities

within organisational settings through qualitative methods including observation and interviews. The data generated by applying qualitative research methods is 'valued for respecting the understandings and experiences of research subjects, and making explicit the politics of knowing and the possibilities of empowerment' (Sprague and Kobrynowicz, 2004: 155). However, there is no ideal theoretical framework in which to conduct qualitative research (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

4.5.1.1. Semi structured in-depth interviews and focus groups

Since perceptions of the research participants related to gender issues cannot be observed directly as a part of qualitative data collection, face-to-face semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted in the UK and Turkey. Where face-to-face interviews were not possible telephone interviews were required in the UK. 'In-depth interview is a technique designed to elicit a vivid picture of the participant's perspective on the research topic' (Mack et al., 2005: 29) and provides an opportunity to collect direct information including personal feelings, opinions, individual experiences as well as interpretations from insiders. Moreover, double interpretation takes place since the interviewees give their accounts, which I then interpret (Nicolini, 2009). In-depth interviews are one of the most common methods for collecting data amongst feminist researchers (Sprague and Kobrynowicz, 2004) because, although it can be debated how much egalitarianism can be achieved (Kezar, 2003), they can provide a more equal relationship with research participants while offering a relatively in-depth understanding of the issues researched. Therefore, I conducted interviews to collect detailed insights from the research participants related to organisational settings and understand the factors that lead to current gendered practices.

In-depth interviewing provided me with the opportunity to communicate with the research participants and ask their perceptions and experiences regarding the organisational settings they work in. However, I am aware that 'experiences of the research participants and ways of knowing affect the stuff and processes of fieldwork' (Nast, 1994: 56). Similarly, gender, class, race and other social identities have an impact on the interview processes since we live in a social context (Kezar, 2003). Semi-structured interviews, conducted on the basis of interview questions were chosen as an interviewing method in order to ensure a degree of comparability between the interviews, the organisations and also between countries. Interviewing as a technique established a 'collaborative and non-exploitative relationship' with the research participants (McDowell, 1992: 406). Moreover, during the interviews I was able to rephrase and adjust my questions according to the responses and research participants' experiences, which enabled me to gather information that I would not have been able to do with quantitative methods. During the interviews I realised that the research participants were very open on issues and as a result some surprising information about the recruitment processes of some ENGOs (preference to employ single, young women) and concerning internal democracy was disclosed by senior managers. This shows that all mutual trust was developed by the research participants (Kezar, 2003), but it also indicates that elites may feel secure in their powerful positions and undermine researchers (Schoenberger, 1992).

A focus group interview, comprising one senior manager and 5 officers who volunteered to participate in the research was conducted in one large British ENGO over an hour long period. The focus group was arranged by the ENGO and I did not have any influence on choosing the participants, apart from suggesting a maximum of 10 people in order to facilitate a smooth and efficient focus group. The focus group

interview was conducted as a condition of the CEO participating in the research, due to the time constraints and the workload of the employees. Focus groups provide an opportunity to bring people together to discuss issues and reveal differences in terms of people's values, beliefs, emotions, perceptions and experiences among the participants and therefore 'focus groups accord strongly with the semi-structured interview' (Scott, 2011: 685). Furthermore, in organisational settings focus groups can be useful to identify group norms and discover differences in terms of opinion and perception within the group. The dialogue and knowledge created during the focus group interview made people aware of things such as gender composition in management roles and the link between campaigns and gender that they had not thought about before. Focus group interviews are considered to be an efficient data collection technique since information from several people can be collected in a relatively short time (Patton, 1987).

Focus groups have some disadvantages. In a focus group the number of interview questions must be reduced due to the number of participants and not all persons may participate in the discussions in the same way either because of dominant personalities in the group or reserved attitudes (see Appendix 10.4 for the focus group interview questions). Similarly, 'control over self-presentation' (Kelman, 1982: 85) may be an issue due to power relations, especially where the group members include persons belonging to higher ranks which may reduce the willingness to reveal experiences and perceptions of the participants (Patton, 1987). In contrast, face to face interviews provide a good way of revealing individual experiences, perceptions and feelings and addressing confidential and more sensitive issues. Therefore, it has been argued that 'focus groups used in conjunction with other methods would deliver the best overall results both in terms of complementarity and additionally' (Scott,

2011: 693). In my case there was only one focus group interview because it was the only possibility to include one of the large British ENGOs in the research. I found the focus group interview very useful because it enabled me to see the advantages and disadvantages involved with it and I was able to compare the focus group interview with the in-depth semi structured interviews. Moreover, I was able to get relatively good information on the ENGO through the focus group interview within a short time and the coding during the data analysis stage was easier due to there being less data in comparison to the in-depth interviews. However, I realised that the in-depth interviews provided me with richer information about the interviewees as well their perceptions in comparison to the focus group. I treated the focus group interview similarly to the in-depth interviews and coded and analysed the data belonging to the research participants as individual data.

Informed consent is one of the elements of conducting ethical research (Flick, 2009), and 'aims to ensure that the research participation is voluntary and informed' (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011: 85). Therefore, it is crucial to provide information regarding the research, about the voluntary nature of the study, how the data will be used, who has access to the data and whom the subjects can contact in case of any questions. Informed consent is also a way of earning participants' trust which helps to collect quality data.

As has been alluded to earlier, one of the major challenges of using interviews as a technique for data collection is accessing and recruiting interviewees. In addition, finding an interview location that offers privacy and protects confidentially also often poses a problem (Mack et al., 2005). This difficulty is exacerbated in small organisations with limited resources and space. In the two participant observation

ENGOs in the UK and Turkey this was especially challenging. In addition, transcriptions of interviews are time consuming and the interviews conducted in Turkish created another dimension in the research. Although transcription is a difficult and time consuming process, listening to the interviews during the transcriptions enabled me to refresh my memory of the research process, which helped me to code and analyse the data more easily. The interviews in Turkey were conducted in my first language and were not translated, except when I used extracts as quotes in the data analysis chapters.

4.5.1.2. Participant observation

Participant observation is a qualitative method derived from ethnography with the aim of getting an insider perspective (Mack et al., 2005). It is a process where a research setting is observed in order to collect data and the data collected is interpreted and given meanings by the researcher (Ritchie et al., 2005). 'Data obtained through participant observation serves as a check against participants' reporting what they believe and do as well as gaining understanding of the environment and it provides a nuanced understanding of a context that can come only from personal experience' (Mack et al., 2005: 14).

The research question 'how are the ENGOs structured?' can be answered through gathering quantitative data by means of annual reports and staff charts, but the questions of which other people play an important role in the social network of the ENGOs (such as volunteers, people who donate or provide funding, etc.), the actual organisational practices and the role that gender plays in organisational settings may best be examined through participant observation. Participant observation was undertaken to provide in-depth understanding of the inner-workings of the

organisations in question, since through observation it was possible to gain knowledge about the internal procedures and day-to day activities of the organisations which I would not have been able to collect by only conducting interviews. Participant observation allowed me to get close to the organisational settings, gain first hand experience and access personal knowledge (Patton, 1987).

During the participant observation in both countries I was able to observe and study patterns and organisational practices as well as conduct interviews. A research diary was kept during the fieldwork. Participant observation provided a good way of experiencing everyday life in the in-depth researched organisations and getting familiar with their organisational practices and also verifying interviewees' accounts.

Before I started the participant observation the employees were aware that I was volunteering, but also doing a research project and observing them. I became especially aware of this when the volunteers' officer told me that I would be able to observe the organisation more easily if I conducted simple tasks such as manual work such as typing the volunteers' contact details and filing some documents. This raised the concern of 'how to avoid disturbing what is being investigated' (Hammersley, 1992: 195). However, during the participant observation I was also accepted as a volunteer and felt that the employees did not have the strong feeling of being observed. Being a volunteer and participant observer at the same time made it possible for me to be more involved in the organisation since I had more access to information related to the ENGO and more contact with the people present. However, some short comings of participant observation have also been recognised. For example, although it would be important to capture them for the research, some practices may occur very seldomly, thus information collected related to the research

setting is based on the observations of actions that have occurred during the research process (Flick, 2009). Multiple data collection is one of the crucial elements of good participant observation (Stallings, 1977; Flick, 2009). Therefore I used 'triangulation' which involved making observations, interviewing (formal and informal) and using other information sources such as the internet, publications and previous strategy documents of the organisations. As a researcher, my role in the British ENGO was more like an 'observer-as-participant' (Gold, 1958 quoted in Ritchie et al., 2005: 64), because I was also an office volunteer engaged in certain tasks such as typing the new volunteers' contact details into the computer; filing and arranging documents for the volunteers' officer and the CEO, as well as analysing equal opportunity forms which were completed by the job applicants and disseminating the findings of the analysis to the senior managers for the first time.

In contrast, in the Turkish ENGO I was a 'complete observer' (Gold, 1958 quoted in Ritchie et al., 2005: 64), because of the size and the limited opportunities of the organisation. It was a very small office with few desks and computers. On some days there was not even one spare desk, therefore I had to take notes of my observations on my lap. I wrote in my research diary: 'Sometimes I can only have a chair, but no desk, which makes it more difficult to observe because not all chairs face towards the office space'. In the Turkish ENGO I acted solely as an observer apart from providing some information about the number of volunteers in the UK and the type of activities that they undertake to assist the senior managers before I started the fieldwork.

Observing practices, culture and behaviours in both ENGOs happened through participation in and observation of the day-to-day activities of the organisations, staff arrival and leaving times, employees' working part-time, clues on the gender

divisions of labour (e.g. gender of receptionists, but also women in management roles), dress code, circulation of the staff, interaction of the senior managers with employees, garbology (observing whether organisations have recycling habits) and other environmental behaviour in the organisations. The observation also included the physical environment including how desks are organised and separated; physical barriers with managers and staff, posters on walls and resources of the organisations including computers, telephones and other technical aids.

Staff meetings can provide a good way of observing organisational hierarchies and gendered practices (Rubin and Babbie, 2009). Although in the British ENGO meetings were organised and held in many instances, I was declined access to any of them. The same reason was always given for this refusal, this being that 'the meeting(s) would include strategic information'. In the Turkish ENGO no such regular staff meetings were organised and the CEO and the senior managers were reporting any significant issues directly to the board. As a result of this, I was not able to observe behaviours, practices and interactions during meetings. However, in both organisations I attended volunteers' events where I was able to meet and conduct informal interviews with the volunteers and observe senior managers.

I started observing as soon as I entered the organisations, and captured the observations by taking detailed notes by means of a research diary immediately, and where this was impossible, later. The use of field notes and keeping of research diaries is one of the primary tools of participant observation (Newbury, 2001). They are often used in qualitative research as a tool for capturing detailed information in research settings. Keeping field notes enabled me to be involved at the same time in both observation and analysis (Eisenhardt, 1989) since I had to keep in mind the

research questions and try to interpret them. I tried to organise my research diary and field notes well by setting up a structure including a statement about the particular setting, enumeration of participants (number, general characteristics e.g. ages, genders), descriptions of the participants, chronology of events, descriptions of the physical setting and all material, objects involved and descriptions of behaviour and interactions. Where necessary I used pseudonyms or other codes, especially when taking notes on site, in order to maintain anonymity. As soon as I gained more experience in the field, I discerned the matters that seemed to be more important and concentrated on them. In participant observation it is vital to recognise the patterns including behaviours and actions that seem to be repeated over a course of time in order to gain comparable results. The length of time devoted to participant observation varies in research projects while in some projects especially in anthropological studies, long-term observation is thought to be vital, in others depending on the time and resources available (Patton, 1987) the duration of the fieldwork can be shorter. As the research involved two organisations in two different countries and time and resources were restricted, observations continued until the point of empirical saturation. This means that 'the generic features of new findings in the organisations consistently replicated earlier ones' (Flick, 2007: 58).

4.6. Ethical issues

In social sciences, ethical and political considerations enter into the research design and the execution of the project (Sjoberg, 1971). These ethical issues vary depending on the research method conducted (Kelman, 1982). Informed consent and confidentiality are important when conducting qualitative research. Informed consent should provide sufficient information so that potential research participants are able

to reach a clear understanding of the research and the participation itself (Wiles et al., 2005). When conducting interviews an information document was presented in person during the interview and/or sent by email, and formal consent forms in both languages, namely in Turkish or English were provided and signed by the interviewees as relevant (see Appendix 10.2). In case of telephone interviews, the forms were sent by email. Similarly, before I started conducting the participant observation, people in the ENGOs were aware of my involvement in a research project, because they were informed by means of verbal and email communication on the research by my contact person before I arrived.

In feminist research, ethical concerns play an important role (Knight, 2000). At the beginning of the research, because the aim was to reveal and challenge male dominated structures I had doubts that I would be able to recruit a sufficient number of ENGOs. However, since the research was informed by feminist methodology, one of the principles of which is to inform research participants correctly, information on the research and its objectives was provided clearly to the research participants and no information was withheld. Moreover, since the research has involved adult elites, there has never been any doubt that the information provided to the research participants and what participation would involve was understood by them. Since I contacted the vast majority of the participants beforehand and an interview time and date was set up at their convenience, the participants were given sufficient time to consider whether or not they wanted to participate in the research. I also informed them that they could withdraw from research participation at any time.

Moreover, I have been aware that I have a responsibility to safeguard the interests of those involved in, or affected by, my research. An issue of public exposure of

research participants may arise when the research involves perceptions and individual experiences of the participants. Therefore, maintaining confidentiality is an important issue in order to avoid the research participant organisations as well as individuals being exposed and linked to the data collected. By not naming and disclosing personal characteristics of the interviewees as well as any information which could reveal the researched organisations, anonymity was protected.

Recognising that 'feminist research strategy does not mean that feminist knowledge is necessarily favourable to women' (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2004: 148), all research findings are disclosed and disseminated accurately and truthfully. In addition, conducting cross-national fieldwork requires having knowledge about history, culture as well as local issues of the countries concerned, to avoid exploitative research and ensure a smooth relationship with the research participants. As a person who grew up in Turkey I know the Turkish culture intimately and since I have been living and working in the UK for more than 5 years I am familiar with British culture and history.

Moreover 'it is critical to pay attention to positionality, reflexivity, the production of knowledge and the power relations that are inherent in research processes in order to undertake ethical research' (Sultana, 2007: 382). The issue of power has always been an important consideration within the research context. There are some issues related to power differentials and unequal power issues between researchers and research participants when doing a piece of research. Since the research has involved organisational settings and elite groups including CEOs, senior managers and other employees, the power relations are different than in other research settings where non-elite groups are involved (Mullings, 1999). 'Elite status stems from the

control of human, capital, decision-making and knowledge resources' (Desmond, 2004: 264), because they have authority, prestige and power in their settings (Zuckerman, 1972). In my case in some instances I felt subordinated because the research was dependent on the willingness/cooperation of the relatively small number of people in senior positions. Therefore, issues that are important in feminist interviewing such as 'mutuality, reflexivity, and trust, can be affected by power relations' (Kezar, 2003: 401) and therefore they may be affected in elite interviewing. In order to achieve as much mutuality and trust of the participants I provided information about the research and confidentiality issues before the interviews and disclosed all the necessary information. Furthermore, the interviews had to fit into their busy calendar, on a few occasions an interview had to be postponed several times because something more important had to be completed. Moreover, in order to address and equalise/improve the asymmetrical power relations between myself and the elite (Kezar, 2003) and having experienced at the beginning of the fieldwork that 'being a student' can reduce the chances of recruiting research participants, I started using the title 'PhD researcher' and stating where necessary that I was also an environmental consultant. Before this research I did not have any experience interviewing elites. While I felt very secure conducting the interviews with the Turkish participants, I was uncomfortable interviewing the CEOs in the UK at the beginning of the research, because one of the first interviews in the UK was with a CEO of a medium sized ENGO who made me feel very insecure. Although I would have liked to interview the CEO of the British in-depth researched ENGO in a later stage, I was asked to conduct the interview in the beginning of the participant observation period, as he would not have had time for me at a later stage. Before the interview I was informed that the CEO had only 15 minutes. During the interview the CEO

continuously asked me what I meant, tried to rephrase every single interview question and challenged me about the questions. Therefore, the power relations and these circumstances probably influenced the interview, because I was not able to influence the time and duration of the interview, react and adjust the questions during the interview as I would have liked to. However, I gained confidence while doing more interviews and towards the end of the interviewing process in the fieldwork period I enjoyed interviewing elites in the UK.

4.7. Analysing the data and dissemination

Attride-Stirling (2001:386) has argued that it is important to analyse data in a methodical way. Martin (2001) has suggested that a mixture of interpretive methods should be used for analysis to access complex gender dynamics.

All the interviews were transcribed verbatim using the computer-assisted qualitative analysis software (NVIVO) and for analysing the data the transcripts were coded in NVIVO. I did not translate all the Turkish interviews to English, because this would take a significant amount of time and would not be necessary. Thus, after analysing them I translated the extracts that I quote in the analysis chapter, into English. The field notes and research diary kept during the interviews and participant observation process were also reviewed, coded and analysed. In order to analyse the data first of all I listened to the interviews again and reviewed the transcriptions, coded the transcripts and identified categories and themes (Braun and Clark, 2006). The data collected through interviews and participant observation was analysed in relation to the main research questions as well as the interview questions (research guide) that were asked of the participants when conducting the interviews. The interview material belonging to the same themes was put together and reviewed in several

instances. In addition, individual interviews were compared with each other to identify similarities and differences as well as emerging trends and themes between the research participants, the organisations and the case study countries. In addition, quantitative data including written materials and information regarding the ENGOs informed the current gender structures and campaigns of the organisations.

It has been argued that qualitative research 'involves carving out unacknowledged pieces of narrative evidence that we select, edit, and deploy to border our arguments even when we give voice to the research participants' (Fine, 2002: 218). Therefore, when analysing the research data I was aware that I was giving meanings to my social environment that I live in as a result of which I hold power over the research (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2004). Thus, I aim to provide reflexive accounts and reflect on positionality, which is an important element of feminist research (England, 1994). While 'positionality is determined by where one stands in relation to 'the other', at the same time these positions can shift (Merriam et al., 2001: 411)

Dissemination of the research was started during the research process by attending seminars and conferences and giving papers, as well as through publishing academic papers. During the participant observation in the British ENGO and as a part of the office task, I produced a report for senior managers, based on an analysis of the equal opportunities forms that were completed by job applicants. Moreover, a list of persons who were interested in the finalised version of the research was drafted after conducting the interviews and once the research is completed a short report, which draws out the key points in electronic format, will be sent to them by email.

4.8. Positionality and reflexivity

It has been recognized that positionality, including the age, race, gender, class, sexual orientation, political and religious beliefs of the researcher, plays a significant role (England, 1994; Nagar and Geiger, 2007). I am a multi-positioned person as are all, in my case female, white, researcher, mother, consultant, Muslim, secular and in a state of 'in-between-ness' (Tooke, 2000: 217).

The role of gender during a research process is important (Herod, 1993; McDonald, 1992, 1998). My gender may have affected the way I went about recruiting research participants how successful I was in that, and it may have also affected some of the responses given by the participants. While I may have been seen as an insider by some female interviewees, for the male participants I may have been the one who was being researched as a woman.

In addition, researchers' personality, values, social/cultural background, as well as experiences gained through their lives have an influence on the fieldwork conducted (England, 1994). I grew up in a modern city in Turkey in an environment where I enjoyed a secular education where there was no difference between girls' and boys' rights regarding their career prospects and other equal opportunity issues. Ataturk's ideology shaped me through my life where women should be equal with men in every aspect of life. My professional experiences of working in the public sector, as a trainee in the European Commission, as well as in several profit based organisational settings during my studies, and currently being a regulatory environmental consultant in a corporate environment, have provided me with insights into organisational life. Moreover, my personal experience of having studied and/or worked in Turkey, Germany, Belgium and the UK has provided me with useful practical information on

cross-national comparisons between different countries relating to gender inequalities, lack of women in senior management positions and childcare policies and related arrangements in practice in these countries.

Being a mother of a baby during the fieldwork, also affected/shaped my attitude to the research. I have experienced various difficulties as a working and student mother when trying to establish contacts with ENGOs, arranging and conducting the interviews, and doing the fieldwork. I had to take into account when I was on the telephone with the (potential) research participants that my (at that time 3 month old) baby could wake up at any moment crying and I had to arrange childcare for every interview and participant observation day. On the first day of the research observation period in the Turkish ENGO, I had to take my child with me because I could not find someone to look after her, which was very upseting. I noted in my research diary the reaction of having a child with me on them as follows: ‘’Ms. X was at her desk, she was surprised seeing Dolunay. During our conversation she said to her couple of times ‘shhhh this is an office’ which made me even more upset’’. During the interviews I noticed that the vast majority of the female interviewees in senior and junior positions had no children. When I questioned the link ‘between career prospects and having child(ren)’, I had the feeling it was assumed that I did not have any childcare responsibility. This generated several questions such as: was it because of the experience of the participants that it is very difficult to have both a career and children or was it the norm in society that students are not associated with children? In one instance a male chief executive of a large British ENGO advised me not to have any children because it would ruin my career.

In addition, social differentiation such as otherness, insider-outsider and nationality play a role when doing cross national fieldwork, but due to the 'dynamism of positionalities in time and through space, no individual can consistently remain an insider and few ever remain complete outsiders' (Mullings, 1999: 340). As a result of this the 'insider-outsider boundary can get blurred' (Sultana, 2007: 382). In Turkey I was an 'insider' belonging to the same culture, but an 'outsider' as a research student living abroad. In the UK I was an 'outsider' by not belonging to the British culture, but an 'insider' living there.

Even when I was an insider in some instances, I felt hierarchies in terms of power structures in the ENGOs in both countries while I was interviewing the elites. 'Elites are less accessible and are more conscious of their own importance' (Richards, 1996: 200). In addition, 'given the strict security and time constraints that most elites operate under, researchers often find themselves with only a brief window of opportunity to convince those from whom they seek information… where researcher's positionality has a crucial impact upon whether [the researcher] is granted an interview' (Mullings, 1999: 339). Senior managers that I interviewed were often also gatekeepers (even if only secondary behind receptionists and assistants). Since, feminist research is interested in demolishing power relations between the researchers and research participants, it is often assumed that the researcher has greater access to power. However, as discussed earlier, research processes that are involved in interviewing elites bring in other power dimensions as was evident in my case, where the elites had the power (Zuckerman, 1972; Kezar, 2003).

As mentioned before, reflexivity is an important element in feminist research (Fonow and Cook, 1991; Kirsch, 1999; Doucet and Mauthner, 2006), where it 'is a process of

critical reflection both on the kind of knowledge produced from research and how that knowledge is generated, [because] our social and political locations affect our research' (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004: 274). During the research process I was concerned whether the study would add to the privilege of an already relatively privileged group of women. I am aware that those women who are high up in the career ladder are privileged as they normally come from white and middle class backgrounds. I acknowledge that many of those women are not aware of gender inequalities in organisational settings and/or do not have any explicit feminist consciousness. However, I aimed to explore and challenge traditional male structures by researching senior positions. Moreover the research also aimed to benefit less privileged women, namely those coming from a lower class background and with fewer opportunities, who are likely to face environmental injustices. I hope that during the research process I did stimulate the research participants thinking on gender and gender sensitive campaigns.

4.9. Summary and conclusions

This chapter has provided a background to the research methodology. Feminist methodology and feminist research have been explored since the research seeks knowledge on gendered structures and gender inequalities and their implications, and is informed by feminist motives. It has been acknowledged that there are many ways of conducting feminist research and there is no consensus on what makes research feminist because of 'the lack of agreement over what constitutes feminism as theory and practice' (Brayton, 1997: 1).

As a part of the research, qualitative data was collected by means of semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observation in order to answer the research

questions. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with senior managers as well as junior staff to include experiences and perceptions of a wide range of research participants on the basis of the interview questions that were asked during the interviewing process. Participant observation was conducted over a period of time to observe organisational practices and structures in the British and Turkish ENGOs. Participant observation enabled me gain insider knowledge about the organisations which I would not have been able to collect by only conducting interviews.

During the research process I experienced difficulties accessing and recruiting research participants particularly in the UK. I also became aware of the power structures and hierarchies in some of the ENGOs as a result of which I was unable to reach some of the potential research participants. I also felt subordinated during the research process because the research was dependent on the cooperation of a relatively small number of people.

Since the research aims to compare ENGOs with each other as well as the case study countries, namely the UK and Turkey, it is a comparative research. Cross-national comparative research enabled me to explore deeper understanding of the underlying factors behind under-representation of women in senior roles and gender biased campaigns.

Within the research ethical issues, power, positionality and reflexivity are important since these issues are significant when conducting feminist research to ‘generate more inclusive, flexible and informed methodologies’ (England, 1994: 251; Doucet and Mauthner, 2006). Therefore, I provided detailed information to the research participants regarding the research and tried to explore their experiences, perceptions and struggles in their working environment. Finally, during the writing

process of this thesis I aimed to reflect on the research process and issues related to the research as much as possible.

The next chapter will provide background information on the case study countries in terms of equal opportunity legislation, women's participation in the labour force as well as the ENGO sectors.

CHAPTER 5 Context Chapter – United Kingdom and Turkey

5.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the legislative frameworks for gender equality in the United Kingdom (UK) and Turkey. The chapter reviews legislation on equal opportunities and related public policies because, although it has not brought equal representation of women in top positions, the legislative framework is an important factor that influences women's participation in the labour market and, therefore the number of women in management positions. I aim to provide an overview of the equal opportunities legislation and women's participation in the labour force both in the UK and Turkey in order to explore the factors behind the low number of women in senior roles despite the equal opportunities legislation which has been in force for many years. Gender equality in the European Union (EU) is also examined to compare the related EU legislation with the UK, as an EU country, and Turkey, as a candidate country to the EU. Women's participation in the labour market (including full-time and part-time working) and pre-school policies for children that influence women's participation in the workforce are examined. Finally, the ENGO sector in both countries is explored to provide background information on the sector including historical development, funding sources as well as members/volunteers.

It is not an easy to task to compare two countries, and especially those that have very different historical and traditional backgrounds. The UK is the birthplace of the industrial revolution in the late 1800s and one of the Member States of the EU. On the other hand, Turkey has been a Muslim secular country, with its geographical location between Europe and Asia and being a European, Balkan, Black Sea, Mediterranean and Middle-Eastern country is exceptional. This has shaped the

country's culture and life styles (Kongar, 1986). Therefore it could be expected to find differences between women's representation in the ENGO sector in senior roles and their campaigns in terms of gender sensitivity in these countries. Therefore, comparing these two very different countries will allow me to gain a deeper understanding of the underlying factors behind the low number of managers in the ENGOs and their policies.

5.2. Equal opportunity policies and legislation

5.2.1. Equal opportunity policies and legislation in the European Union

In the European Union gender equality was initially restricted to equal pay provisions which later gave an impetus for gender equality legislation (Roth, 2008). Under Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome, which set up the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957, 'equal pay for equal work' was included as a principle. It bans sex discrimination in pay for the same work. Only as of the 1970s, has additional legislation been adopted to promote gender equality in other areas including equal treatment for men and women regarding access to employment, vocational training, promotion and working conditions (Directive 76/207/EEC); equal treatment for men and women in matters of social security (Directive 79/7/EEC and Directive 86/378/EEC); and legislation to protect self employed women, and pregnant and breastfeeding women (Directives 86/613/EEC and 92/85/EEC) (see Appendix 10.5 for an overview of the current EU legislation on gender equality).

The Treaty of Amsterdam of 1997 introduced the principle of equality between men and women as one of the important objectives of the EC (Article 2) as well as giving the EC the responsibility to integrate gender equality in all its activities and achieve gender mainstreaming (Article 3). Moreover, the Amsterdam Treaty empowers the

Community to combat discrimination based on sex, race or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation (Article 13).

The European Commission Recommendation and Approved Code of Practice on the Dignity of Women and Men at Work 1991 aimed to endorse greater awareness of sexual harassment in organisational settings. A Gender Mainstreaming Policy was introduced in 1999 to ensure that 'gender perspectives and attention to the goal of gender equality are central to all activities including policy development, research, dialogue, legislation, resource allocation, and planning, implementation and monitoring of programmes and projects' (Eurofound, 2010: 1).

However, the EU can be considered slow in certain issues regarding gender equality, for example the Women's Charter was only adopted by the EU Commission in 2010, which was a result of the Beijing UN World Conference on Women held in 1995, and the 30th anniversary of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Moreover, 'the past EU Framework Programmes have failed to engage and benefit women to the same extent as men for example still less than 20% of senior Grade A posts are awarded to women' (ESF, 2012: 1).

5.2.2. Equal opportunity policies and legislation in the United Kingdom

Although the UK middle class expanded through industrialisation, and new career opportunities were created in the 19th century, British women did not benefit from these new economic and legislative developments until the 1900s (Caine, 1997). However, with the emergence of industrialisation and its inevitable consequence urbanisation as well as the influence of the French Revolution first-wave feminism

started to emerge in the UK in the 1850s (Smith, 2007). In the first-wave feminism[27] middle and upper class white women were mainly involved in the struggle for suffrage and political rights of women and the first association for women's suffrage was formed in 1851 (Wingerden, 1999; Holton, 2003). Only in 1907 under the Qualification of Women Act in 1907, did women gain their right to be elected onto borough and county councils, and as mayors. However, women did not have equal voting rights as men (21 years of age) until the Representation of the People Act was adopted in 1928, and only in 1958 did they gain the right to sit in the House of Lords (Life Peerages Act, 1958). The Sex Discrimination Removal Act permitted women to access the legal and accounting professions in 1920. In 1922 the Law of Property Act allowed married women to have the right to inherit property equally to men. In 1956, reforms were adopted to introduce equal payment for male and female teachers and civil servants.

Gender equality legislation in the UK has been influenced, since the accession to the EU in 1973, by EU gender equality legislation. As a European Union (EU) member state the UK is bound by EU laws. While EU Regulations are directly applicable to, and are not required to be transposed in, national legislation, EU Directives must be transposed into the UK law. However, equal opportunity legislation is passed by the Parliament and Government, which is itself gendered, because politics is a male domain in the UK, as it is in Turkey (see Table 5.1).

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[27] Different perspectives of feminism have emerged throughout the first-wave, second-wave and third-wave of feminisms according which the main cause of subordination and oppression differs. While first wave feminism was concerned about equalities, second wave feminism (from 1960s to 1970s) underlined the differences between men and women as a result of patriarchy which is embodied in society. Third wave feminism (emerged in 1990s) recognizes women's diversity rather than women as a category and believes individual empowerment than activism.

Until the end of the 19th century, women were not allowed to join the trade unions (Davis, 2011), which limited their ability to lobby for equal pay rights. The Equal Pay Act first entered into force in December 1975. The Sex Discrimination Act and the Employment Protection Act were also introduced in 1975 and contained a provision to protect pregnant women at work. The Equality Act was adopted in 2010[28] to provide a single legal framework and bring together the existing equality legislation including gender, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation and religion and belief (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2011). The Equality Act 2010 aims to achieve, amongst other things, gender equality and protect carers, especially women, from discrimination. Therefore, any direct or indirect discrimination is considered violation of the Act. The Act, amongst other things, allows an employer to take positive action to lift or minimise a disadvantage arising from caring.

In the UK women are entitled to statutory maternity leave[29]. While women are not entitled to breast-feeding breaks, they may ask their employers for flexible working arrangements to accommodate breast-feeding, which employers cannot refuse. In the UK breast-feeding time is not considered as working time, unlike in Turkey. However, under the Employment Act of 2002, as of April 2003 employees in the UK who have children aged under six or disabled children aged under 18 have had the right to apply to work flexibly and employers are required to consider the request seriously. Abbott and Wallace (2011: 5) argued that in the UK there is a 'relatively short period of poorly paid parental leave, low provision of public childcare for children between 0-3 years since they are not entitled to free nursery and 3-4 year

[28] The Act repealed amongst others the Equal Pay Act 1970, Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and 1986, and certain clauses of Employment Act, Pensions Act 1995, Gender Recognition Act 2004 and Equality Act 2006.

[29] Under the Employment Act of 2002, women are entitled to up to one year (52 consecutive weeks of which 26 weeks is unpaid) for maternity leave

olds because they are entitled to early years' education for only 15 hours/week and a high proportion of mothers work part-time'.

The UK signed the European Social Charter in 1962. The Charter sets out rights and freedoms regarding employment, including fair working conditions such as payment and working hours, and protection from sexual and psychological harassment. The rights regarding non-discrimination include the right of women and men to equal treatment and equal opportunities in employment and the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of family responsibilities. The United Nations (UN) Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women of 1979 was ratified by the UK in 1986. The Convention was adopted to achieve gender equality by providing equal opportunities in political and public life, in education, health and employment. Moreover, the Optional Protocol of the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women of 1999 was ratified by the UK in 2004 (UN, 2011).

5.2.3. Equal opportunity policies and legislation in Turkey

Westernisation was initiated during the Ottoman Empire period in the 1700s and during the late 19th Century resulted in women starting to become visible in the public and political sphere (Syed et al., 2009). However, women in Turkey gained the rights that they have today mostly thanks to the reforms initiated by M. Kemal Atatürk. The Turkish Republic was founded on the principles of anti-imperialism in 1923 following an independence war fought against the Sultanate and some European countries including Britain, France, Greece and Italy after the First World War in the 1920s. A national parliament was established in 1920. Between 1920 and 1938 major reforms (described in Turkey as a revolution: 'devrim') in terms of political, social and economic life were introduced to transform the country into a modern westernised

society. Secularism, which aimed at separating religious beliefs from the state as one of the six principles of the state was introduced for the first time in a Muslim country (the other principles were republicanism, nationalism, populism, reformism and statism). The caliphate was ended, Islamic rules (sharia) were revoked, religious schools were closed and laws and schools were secularised.

At the same time as the country aimed to maintain political and economic independence, it was important to adopt the institutions and values of the West (Ayata and Ayata, 2007; Özman, 2007). In addition to secularism, which was seen as one of the important conditions to promote and achieve a modern society, the 'women question was one of the central issues that both framed and challenged Turkish modernization' (Ertürk, 2007: 6; also Tufekci, 1981). This challenge was described as 'state feminism' (Binder and Richman, 2011). Granting equal rights to women was considered by Atatürk as one of the central elements of the reforms (Inan, 1966, 1977) as demonstrated in his speeches. For example Atatürk said that 'if a society does not march towards its goal with all its women and men together, it is scientifically impossible for it to progress and to become civilized[30]' (Çorman, 2009).

The Civil Code (Medeni Kanun) was adopted in 1926 to establish gender equality by changing gender relations. For example it banned polygamy, which was a religious right, and women gained equal rights in terms of divorce, inheritance, custody of children, and employment. Before 1926 women were second-class citizens, because they did not have the rights that women have today. However, it should be noted that as an industrialised country with a different historical and cultural background, women in the UK also gained most of their rights between the 1920s and 1950s.

[30] The translation is Çorman (2009).

Turkish women gained more rights under the amendments made to the civil code in 2001, for example the provision that 'the head of the family' was a man was revoked. It also introduced a default property regime and recognised domestic unpaid labour, as well as abolishing the concept of illegitimate children born outside marriage (Ilkkaracan and Berktay, 2002). However, gender inequalities are still to be found in the Civil Code. For example, where a child is born into a marriage or is recognized by the father, the father's surname is automatically given to the child. Similarly, when a woman gets married, she is registered under the husband's registration. This is interpreted by Kurtoğlu (2009: 84) as 'the main basis for the patrilineal inheritance of ancestry'. Furthermore, married women were assigned their husband's surname automatically until 2002. Amendments made in 2002 enabled women who want to keep their name to use their surnames in front of their husbands' surname (Article 187, Civil Code), although a survey conducted in Ankara showed that only a few women have so far applied to use their birth names (Tümgazeteler, 2009).

Turkish women were granted voting rights in local elections in 1930 and rights to vote and hold office in national elections in 1934. Despite Turkish women being granted suffrage rights much earlier than some European countries (including Switzerland and Luxemburg), and making Turkey one of only 28 countries in the world that had suffrage rights for women at that time, women's under-representation in politics, which will be illustrated in section 4.5.2, has been one of the challenges that Turkish women still face today.

According to the Regulation on Employment Conditions of Pregnant or Breast-feeding Women and Nursing Rooms and Child Care Rooms O.J.25522 of 2004, pregnant employees are accorded eight weeks paid leave prior to giving birth and

eight weeks post natal paid leave under the Law No. 4857 on Labour (Art. 74). Paternal leave has only been granted to civil servants for a period of 3 days. This indicates that women are seen as the main carers of children. According to Regulation O.J.25522, breast-feeding women who have babies less than 1 year old must be given 1.5 hours a day to fed their children (in comparison to no legal breast-feeding break right in the EU). Under Article 66 of the Law on Labour, time spent by women breast-feeding their children is counted as working time. Moreover, Regulation O.J.25522 requires facilities where more than 150 women are employed to provide a nursery and nursery school for infants 0-6 years of age. Where 100-150 women workers are employed, the employer must provide a nursery where babies less than 1 years of age can be looked after and breastfed. These facilities must be separated from work facilities and may not be more than 250 meters in distance from the workplace. Although, the enforcement of this requirement in Turkey remains open to examination, there is no such requirement to establish childcare facilities for companies in the EU.

Turkish law on equal pay for men and women is in compliance with EU law on the issue (Foubert, 2010). Article 5 of the Labour Law establishes the principle of equal pay for equal work and sets out the principle of equal treatment and prohibits sex discrimination.

Turkey also signed the European Social Charter in 1961, which aims to ensure social and economic human rights. Moreover, as a candidate country to the European Union (EU), Turkey has been transposing EU legislation, amongst other things on environmental and labour protection, into the Turkish legal system. However, apart from certain EU projects such as twinning projects and capacity building practices

that are funded by the EU to promote gender equality, I argue that the basic legal framework for gender equality had already been in place and the impact of the EU on gender equality legislation in Turkey is rather limited and mostly concerns occupational health and safety.

Furthermore, Turkey has ratified a number of International Labour Organisation (ILO) Conventions that aim to promote equal opportunities between men and women. These include the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No.100); the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No.111) and the Employment Policy Convention, 1964 (No.122). Turkey ratified the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women 1979 in 1985 and the Optional Protocol on the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women 1999 was ratified in 2002 (UN, 2011).

5.3. Women's participation in the labour force

5.3.1. Women's participation in the labour force in the United Kingdom

As of January 2011 the employment rate for women in the UK was 65.3% for all levels of education and around 80% among graduates of university/tertiary education (Office for National Statistics, 2011). According to the Office of National Statistics (2008) and the OECD (2010), career paths differ between men and women in the UK, with female employment concentrated in a few occupations[31] where there are relatively low wages. As an example, 'women typically work more in the public sector where earnings are often lower than in the private sector' (OECD DG Employment,

[31] This is a very similar picture in the other OECD countries which include Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Slovak Republic, Spain, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom and United States.

2010: 4). Even though women are well represented in higher education the overall proportion of female students in the 2009/10 academic year was 56.6%[32] (HESA, 2011). As discussed in Chapter 3, men are more likely than women to be in management positions (Office of National Statistics, 2008). 20% of women in employment do administrative or secretarial work in comparison to 4% of men. In addition, women are more likely than men to be employed in the service sector (Office of National Statistics, 2008). Therefore, it is important to examine the reasons behind occupational segregation, and women's under-representation in senior management.

The percentage of women on the FTSE 100 boards was 12% in 2010 (Vinnicombe Obe et al., 2010). 12.5% of directors and only 5.5% of executive directors of FTSE 100 companies were women and 21% of FTSE 100 companies had no women on their boards (the best ranking company in terms of women's representation on boards had 37.5% women on its board) (Vinnicombe Obe et al., 2010). The situation gets worse for women when the FTSE 250 companies are taken into account: 52.4% of the FTSE 250 companies had no women on their boards and only 7.8% of FTSE 250 board directors were women in 2010 (Vinnicombe Obe et al., 2010). It is argued that at the current rate, it will take around 73 years for equal numbers of women as men to become directors of FTSE 100 companies (Opportunity Now, 2011). A comparison of women in certain positions in the UK and Turkey is illustrated in Table 5.1.

[32] Full-time 49.3%, part-time 58.2%

Table 5.1. Women in top senior positions in the UK and Turkey

	MPs (%)	Cabinet ministers (%)	Professors (%)	Senior managers (%)
UK	22	17	10	23
Turkey	14	3	27	25

Sources: HESA, 2004; Ka-der, 2010; Grant Thornton, 2010 and 2011; Cracknell, 2011; TBMM, 2011

In the UK only around 13% of businesses are majority female owned[33] (Growing business, 2011) and women-owned businesses constitute only 29% of the self-employed[34] (FSB, 2011). Although, self-employment provides a flexible working arrangement for women and thus increases women's participation in the labour market, the self-employed are excluded from employment protection rights including unfair dismissal[35], compensation for redundancy, holiday and other benefits (Newell, 2009).

In the UK the number of part-time jobs[36] has increased in Britain since the 1960s. They are mainly occupied by women with child care responsibilities and associated as low paid job segment (Dex and Bukodi, 2010). Around 38% of women with dependent children work part-time, but only 4% of men with dependent children worked on a part-time basis (ONS, 2008). Similarly, women without children are more likely to be in employment (ONS, 2008). It has been argued that 'in the UK flexible working time as a tool for work-family reconciliation for carers has produced a situation where mothers pay a high price, because flexible working hours are seen mainly as a women's issue associated with the mummy track, causing gendering of

[33] Majority female owned business means a business that is 51% or more is owned by a female.
[34] There are no statutory definitions of 'employment' or 'self-employment' in the UK (Newell, 2009).
[35] Where a person works for a company or companies as self-employed.
[36] According to the OECD (2010), part-time employment refers to persons who usually work less than 30 hours per week in their main job.

flexibility and worsening the existing inequalities such as gender pay gaps and occupational segregation' (Abbott and Wallace, 2011: 10).

Availability and affordability of childcare is crucial for women's employment (Morgan, 2005). In the UK, publicly subsidised childcare is only available for children 3-5 years of age and limited to 15 hours/week (Directgov, 2011) and therefore many parents are required to find other forms of childcare assistance (Spence Boocock, 1995). On the other hand, the cost of a day nursery place in London was between £126 and £375 per week in 2011 (Babycentre, 2011) and 'parents of children aged 3-5 in the UK spend an average of one third of their net income on childcare costs' (Guardian, 2011: 1). As will be discussed in chapter 6 this has negative implications on dual earner families, especially those with low wages. In the UK, childcare costs are among the highest in the OECD[37] (OECDa, 2010). On the other hand, women are more likely to work full-time when their youngest child gets older (OECDa, 2010). In the UK it appears that the minimum age of the last dependent child before a woman returns to full employment is 10 years and over in the UK (Abbott, and Wallace, 2011) and 60% of women tend to return to the labour market when their children are 6-15 years. In Turkey only around 30% of women return to the labour market when their children reach the age of 6-15 years and only 20% of mothers return to the labour market when the youngest child is younger than 3 years, compared to 55% in the UK (OECDa, 2010: 9).

5.3.2. Women's participation in the labour force in Turkey

Although gender equality rights have been in force in Turkey since the late 1920s, women's position in society as well as in education and employment is low (UN,

[37] The OECD average of 26 countries is 13% (OECDa, 2010).

2002). Even though the legal reforms initiated transformation of the country, 'the private sphere regarding gender roles, intra-family relations, and the authority patterns in the wider society' have not been addressed (Ayata and Ayata, 2007: 222).

In the UN gender inequality index[38] Turkey occupies 83rd place among 169 countries while the UK is in 26th place (UNDP, 2010). The percentage of illiterate women in Turkey was around 12% in 2010 (around 4 million women in comparison to around 1 million illiterate men), which varied depending on the age-groups, cities and rural areas and between the western and eastern regions of the country. On the other hand 42% of high school graduates are women, 44% of university graduates and 46% of masters and PhDs are female, and 36% of PhD holders are women (Directorate General on the Status and Problems of Women, 2010). The number of women working in public institutions is very low with only 22% of employees there being women (CEDAW, 2010). In top positions very few women are present: no female Governor or Secretary of State exists; only 2% of district governors (kaymakam) are female; only 11.4% of the general directors of ministries are female (Ka-der, 2010).

The female labour force participation rate[39] in Turkey in comparison to the OECD countries has been very low (Davarcıoğlu-Özaktaş and Konur, 2011). The employment rate for women is only around 26% for all levels of education, while it is 64.5% among university graduates (OECD, 2010a). Moreover, the female labour force participation rate has been falling since 1988 where the rate was around 34%

[38] 'Gender inequality index value measures loss in achievements in three dimensions of human development, namely reproductive health, empowerment, and labour market, due to inequality between genders' (UNDP, 2010: 2).

[39] 'According to the Turkish Statistical Institute, labour force participation is defined as the ratio of the labour force to non-institutional population for age 15 and above. According to the OECD, it indicates the ratio of the labour force to non-institutional working-age population (15-64)'. (World Bank and SPO Report, 2009: 36).

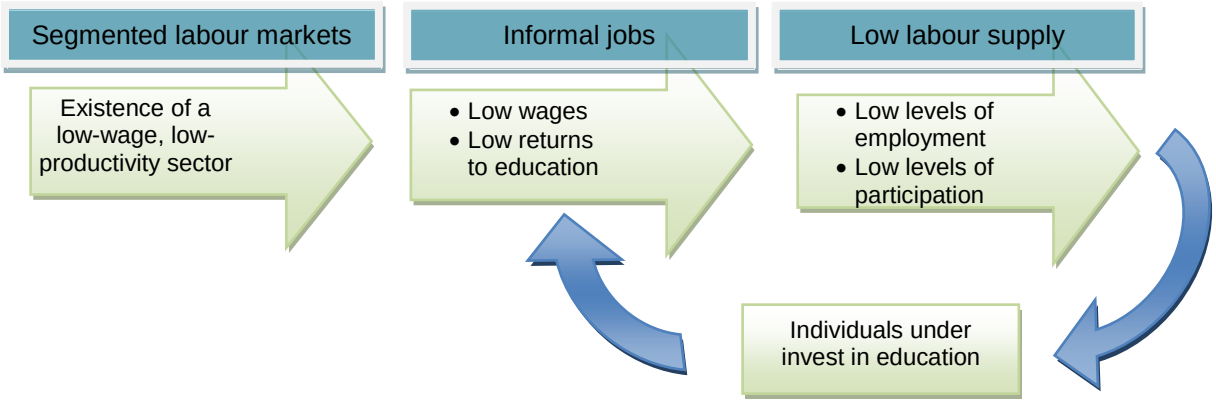
(ILO, 2009). In 2008, in the OECD area Turkey had the widest gender gap in employment rates at 40% (OECD, 2010a). It has been argued that the decrease of female labour participation since the 1980s is due to the country's transition from an agricultural economy to one based on services and industry (BETAM, 2010) and a decrease of employment in the agricultural sector. Since the 1980s, the Turkish economy has been characterized by the liberalisation and the privatization of state owned establishments as well as a rise in export-oriented industrialisation, which has accelerated urbanization and immigration to cities. It has been argued that the increased rate of migration is part of the explanation for the low employment rate of women as they migrated from rural areas where they were occupied in unpaid agricultural employment as family members and to urban areas where they stayed at home (World Bank and SPO Report, 2009). The majority of women working in Turkey were engaged in the agricultural sector in the 1980s. Furthermore, women with low levels of education in urban areas face complex cultural and economic barriers that also cause low employment rates for women (World Bank, 2009). Certain traditional patriarchal ways of thinking and male dominated relations can be argued to be one of the significant barriers for women in the country. Although, there is no legal obligation for women to obtain their husbands' permission to work, the expectation to grant an approval for work can pose a barrier for women to enter the labour market especially those having a low education level. It has been argued that the reasons for the low participation of women in the workforce include socio-cultural barriers; education levels; rapid and uneven urbanisation; the residential area; marital status and household size (World Bank and SPO Report, 2009; Davarcıoğlu-Özaktaş and Konur, 2011).

Article 70 of the Turkish Constitution requires that everyone must have an equal right to work, and no discrimination must be made based on gender. Under Article 50 of the Constitution, no one must be required to perform work unsuited to her/his age, sex, and capacity. According to Article 10 of the Constitution, everyone is equal before the law without any discrimination on the grounds of language, race, colour, gender, political view, philosophical belief, religion, and similar reasons. According to the Article, men and women have equal rights. However, a Report (2010) published by the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) Committee and the Turkish Women Platform urged the Turkish Government to adopt an Equality Framework Law and amend the equality provision in the Constitution in accordance with Article 1 of the CEDAW Convention to promote gender equality. Furthermore, the amendments made to the Law on Social Insurance and General Health Insurance (Sosyal Sigortalar ve Genel Sağlık Sigortası Kanunu) in 2008 have been criticised for seeing women as the 'main care provider of families' by emphasizing on a patriarchal family structure and assigning women to stereotypically gendered roles (CEDAW, 2010).

Social roles and women's domestic responsibilities are among the barriers that cause inequalities in employment. No free entitlement to child care is provided for children less than six years of age in Turkey. Only 26.5% of 3-5 years of children attend pre-school education in comparison to the EU average of 88.4% (DG on the Status and Problems of Women, 2010). As one of the implications of this, employment rates for mothers with very young children under three years of age are very low (ILO, 2009). Although extended home-care or childcare leave is available for working mothers, those on leave are not included in the employment figures during this period (OECD Family database, 2010). Similar to most of the countries in the Global North, the high

cost of childcare is one of the main problems for Turkish women's representation in the workforce since the provision to provide compulsory child-care arrangements is only valid for facilities where more than 150 female workers are employed and it is not enforced adequately. In parallel to the UK, childcare costs play an important role in Turkey for women's access to the labour market. For women especially those working in sectors with low wages and long working hours and living in large cities, one of the main obstacles for work is childcare, because it would cost most of their salary (World Bank and SPO Report, 2009). As a result, especially for women who are married, participation in employment decreases and leaving work after maternity leave is a typical pattern for many women in Turkey (CEDAW, 2010 and OECD Family database, 2010). Hence, the highest labour participation rate for women is between 25 and 29 years of age (ILO, 2009). In addition, it has been found that families with low education levels do not seem to invest in the education of their daughters (World Bank and SPO Report, 2009) which also contributes to the low employment rate of women, which is illustrated by Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1. The link between low levels of employment and individual investment in education



Source: Based on World Bank and SPO Report, 2009 (p.21)

It is known that part-time employment arrangements offer access to employment particularly for mothers. However, part-time working arrangements are not a common practice in Turkey in comparison to the UK. Less than 20% of women and only around 5% of men are in part-time employment in Turkey (OECD Family database, 2010).

Atatürk encouraged women to enter occupations that were considered a male domain (for example Sabiha Gökçen became the first female combat pilot in the world in 1937) and this policy targeted women from all sorts of backgrounds. However, the modernisation efforts did not change every woman's life in the same way. It was argued that while it was emphasised by the elites that the country could only progress through achieving gender equality, however the attempt to improve gender equality was undertaken by male-dominated institutions (Ertürk, 2007). As a result women belonging to the lower- socio-economic classes particularly in rural areas did not profit much from the modernisation efforts (Özbilgin and Woodward, 2004) and rural-urban differences in terms of women's position and emancipation emerged (Ertürk, 2007). 'Consequently, despite many gains and the integration of some women into modernisation, the gender order remained intact. Moreover, political developments and conservative governments that came to power after the 1950s have also played an important role in persistent gender inequalities in the labour market. It has been argued that the right wing parties have reinforced gendered roles and the division between private and public sphere for women (Yeşilada and Noordijk, 2010; Arat, 2010). As an example, in 2011 all appointments made to the Constitutional Court were men and the appointments made to the High Judicial Council include only 6 women in comparison to 205 currently appointed men (Rekorhaber, 2011) as a result of which the representation of female judges amongst

others in the High Court (Yargıtay) has decreased from 34% in 2008 to 2% in 2011 (Yarsav, 2011).

5.4. The ENGO sector

In this section I will examine the ENGO sector in both case study countries in terms of historical development, size, number of volunteers and sources of their income, since this is important to understand their structures and campaigns. In addition, the ENGO sector provides employment opportunities and career chances and is subject to employment legislation.

5.4.1. The ENGO sector in the UK

According to the EU Commission and the UN, the term NGO refers to organisations that share the following common characteristics: they are not-for-profit; not primarily guided by commercial goals and considerations; voluntary; have institutional existence and accountability to members and/or donors, and independence both from government and public authorities and from private organisations (EU Commission, 2000; United Nations, 2003).

ENGOs in the UK may be organised in the following types of legal structures: trusts, unincorporated associations, companies limited by guarantee and another incorporation including royal charter. Trusts are cheaper to establish and simpler to operate. The unincorporated association is the most common form within the charity sector. In case of companies limited by guarantee, trustees are protected from personal liability to third parties. As a result of differences in legal rights and liabilities, ENGOs are organised in different types. For example Friends of the Earth UK and the National Trust have been organised both as a ‘trust’ and are ‘limited’ to allow a

wider spectrum of work, since trusts are restricted from political or campaigning activity (Charity Commission, 2008).

The ENGOs' structures vary, but very broadly an ENGO may include a board of trustees, staff including a senior management team, other employees, members and volunteers. Some ENGOs are established at the international, national or local level. The boards of ENGOs play an important role in management, because they are the governing body responsible for setting as well as overseeing the policies and activities of organisations. Elected for certain length of time varying from 1-3 years, boards approve the annual budget of ENGOs, appoint and supervise the Executive Director (CEO) as well as, together with CEOs and senior managers, leading the organisations.

In the UK the Charity Commission and the Inland Revenue regulate and supervise the activities of charities (Charity Commission, 2012) and therefore play an important role establishing public trust in the charity sector. Since the 1960s charitable organisations have to register with the Charity Commission if their income is over £5,000 year. Charities registered with the Commission are required to provide certain information to the Commission including the way they operate and how they use their resources which is made available to the public online by the Commission.

Environmentalism in the UK

The environmental movement has developed in the UK since the 19th century when the first environmental protection socities started emerging as a reaction to the adverse impacts of the industralisation on the environment. The movement became much more prominent as of the 1960s when environmental policies and legislation increased and became more significant (Rootes, 2007). It has been argued that

environmental NGOs in Britain are some of 'the oldest, strongest, best-organised and most widely supported environmental lobbies in the world' (McCormick, 1991: 34). During the late 19th and early 20th century some of the large ENGOs that are still active today were formed (Lowe and Goyder, 1983; Rawcliffe, 1998 and Rootes, 2007). For example one of the first ENGOs the Society for the Protection of Birds (later RSPB) was formed in 1899, the National Trust in 1895, the Society for the Promotion of Nature Reserves (later Wildlife Trusts) in 1912, the Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE) in 1926, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) in 1961; and at that time more radical ENGOs such as Greenpeace and Friends of the World were founded in early 1970s (DANGO, 2011 and official websites of the ENGOs). While the WWF was considered to be traditional conservation organisation along with the other ENGOs that were established earlier in the first stage, ENGOs such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth were seen as the forerunners of the new environmentalism since they adopted different approaches and included themes other than conservation (Rootes, 2006). However, since then more radical groups and organisations have been established who are organised via social media.

From the 1960s the number of environmental organisations as well as volunteers increased rapidly in the UK (Rootes, 2007). Moreover, since the 1990s social movements have been playing an important role in the country (Rootes, 2008). They have been present in mass mobilisation events and collective campaigns against, for example, certain infrastructure developments such as roads and airports or other forms of environmental activism (Rootes, 1999, Saunders, 2005). It can be argued that because of its size and growth the environmental movement has been important in the UK.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, broader environmental concerns other than wildlife and habitat protection such as sustainable development and consequences of human activities started to be a concern for environmental groups, and ENGOs such as WWF UK began to include these concerns in their policies (Rawcliffe, 1998; WWFa, 2012). Although in the 1990s environmental justice started emerging in the UK (Bulkeley and Walker, 2005), as of 2000 'the concept of environmental justice has attracted increasing attention in the UK' (Agyeman and Evans, 2004: 155). However, as will be explored in chapter 7 when the campaigns of the ENGOs are assessed, ENGOs still mainly operate within the traditional priority objectives including conservation and wildlife. In the 1970s environmental organisations as pressure groups influenced environmental policies by mainly private negotitations with government officials in the UK. However, in the 1980s procedures were set up to seek consultation with the environmental groups where 'consultation has been seen as a privilege, but not a right' so that the environmental NGOs are expected to adhere to an unwritten code (McCormick, 1991: 24). While initially charity work in the UK in general was undertaken by rich people for doing good, in later stages more people became engaged in the voluntary movement (Braid, 2003; Carter, 2007). However, the voluntary sector is arguably still dominated by white, middle-class people, both as volunteers and paid workers (Evans and Saxton, 2005; Bolton and Abdy, 2007; Brodie et al., 2009; Sadler, 2010).

The voluntary sector, including ENGOs, makes an important financial contribution to society. According to the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO, 2009), in the UK there are around 900,000 civil society organisations[40] (of which around

[40] This figure includes civil society groups, societies and organisations with charitable status (NCVO, 2009).

180,000 are charities with a combined income of £53.2 bn) with around 700,000 paid staff of which 38% work part-time (Clark et al., 2011). In 2011, 68% of paid staff of NGOs in the UK was female (Clark et al., 2011). It has been argued that the high number of women was because of the part-time opportunities that the voluntary sector provides (Wilding et al, 2006), because nearly half (45%) of the women employed within the voluntary sector were employed part-time' in the UK compared to 23% for male employees in 2011 (Clark et al., 2011: 2). However, the percentage of women in part-time employment in the British ENGOs appears to be low (as Chapter 6 will discuss).

Furthermore, ENGOs have been increasingly professionalised in the UK (Evans and Saxton, 2005; Rootes, 2006) and the number of highly skilled paid staff working in the sector has increased rapidly, with a 26% increase in terms of paid-staff between 1995 and 2005 period (Championing Neighbourhoods, 2011). Similarly, although career prospects are more limited than in the corporate world, the number of the employees working in the British ENGOs has been increasing. For example one of the largest ENGOs in the UK, the RSPB, employs around 2030 people, WWF UK has over 300 employees, the National Trust 594, CPRE 46, Friends of the Earth Trust 101 and Friends of the Earth Limited 32 and the Wildlife Trusts 61 (ENGOs websites, 2012; FAME, 2011). Therefore, the ENGO sector particularly in the UK appears to provide employment opportunities for many people. ENGOs are subject to employment legislation and it can be argued that the ENGO sector in the UK is becoming more important in terms of employment and career development chances.

Since ENGOs have been formed to achieve certain objectives including public good such as the conservation of resources and protection of the environment (Lewis,

2003), they are expected by society to adhere to certain values including democracy, transparency and gender equality when adopting their working practices (Jepson, 2005). However, although the democratic nature of ENGOs has been questioned and criticised (Carter, 2007), the working practices of British ENGOs have been under-researched. On-the-job training opportunities offer important chances in career development especially for young people (Jackson et al., 2008). However, for example, internship positions at ENGOs are either very limited or do not exist especially in some of the largest British ENGOs. Illuminating the working practices of the ENGOs will provide a valuable contribution. On the other hand, certain codes of practice such as the Gender Equality Duty, which has been in force since 2007 in the UK, in order to tackle gender equality is not applicable in the NGO sector because it only applies to public bodies. Moreover, no such commitment to increase the number of women on the boards of organisations has been initiated in the ENGO sector.

The number of members[41] of environmental NGOs has increased since the early 1970s. For example the RSPB alone has over a million members and around 15,000 volunteers (RSPB, 2012), the National Trust has 3.8 million members and 61,500 volunteers (National Trust, 2011) and WWF UK has 530.000 supporters[42] (WWF UK, 2012). On the other hand 'Greenpeace, by contrast, is not a mass-membership organisation and its structure is designed to ensure the autonomy of its governing elite' (Rootes, 2006: 780). In the UK, since 2001 while levels of formal volunteering have increased, informal volunteering has declined (Voluntary Action Barnsley, 2010). In 2009 57% of adults in England volunteered informally (Hilton et al., 2010). In 2008 formal volunteers contributed around £22.7 billion to the UK economy

[41] It should be noted that some ENGOs are membership organisations and some not.
[42] Supporters include members, adopters, campaigners and other financial and non-financial types of support (WWF UK, 2012).

(NCVO, 2009). It has been recognised that volunteers provide a very important contribution to the NGO sector (DSC, 2012), However, there is no specific piece of legislation that covers volunteers and their rights and therefore 'volunteers are not covered by the same protections as paid staff' (NCVO, 2012; Restall, 2005: 6). At the same time, it has been found that the types of membership of ENGOs has been changing from gathering and attending meetings to passive direct debit payment memberships (Hilton et al., 2010). Members have different rights in different ENGOs. For example, while in the National Trust members can participate once a year in an annual general meeting and debate and vote on resolutions thereby contributing to overall policies of the organisation (National Trust, 2012), in some ENGOs such as Greenpeace membership is only limited to a financial contribution and members do not have any significant rights in the organisation's management (Greenpeace UK, 2012).

Sources of charities' income include governmental grants, fundraising, donations, membership payments and organisations' own income sources. Traditional patterns of funding have been changing, because around 75% of charities do not receive governmental funding or voluntary income (including grants, donations and legacies) (NCVO, 2009). Therefore, charities' funding sources have been shifted and there is an 'increase in reliance upon public sources including grants, contracts, and service level agreements' (Kendall and Almond, 1999: 185) as well corporate funding (Liverman, 2004; fundsforngos, 2012).

5.4.2. The ENGO sector in Turkey

There are two types of NGOs in Turkey, namely charitable trusts or foundations (vakıf) and associations (dernek). Charitable trusts (known as waqf) 'allocate the

future income of a property which is under private possession to the public benefit with charity purposes' (Şennur and Tuyan, 2009: 123). Under the Constitution, anyone can establish an association without requiring a permit. Associations can be established by seven founders. Even though both types of organisations can be involved in similar kinds of activities, the establishment of a charitable trust requires some capital or property (Civil Code, 2002). Therefore, the resources of their founders play a significant role in deciding the type of NGOs to set up in Turkey (Toumarkine and Hersant, 2005).

Charities were significant contributors in social, cultural and economic areas of life during the Ottoman period (Toumarkine and Hersant, 2005; İnalcık, 2006) in terms of helping the poor, scholars, students and travellers. As a result of this their number increased significantly (İnalcık, 1997 and 2006; Radushev et al., 2003). In 1908 participation in non-governmental organisations as a constitutional right was recognised for the first time (TUSEV, 2011). In 1909 the first Law on Association (Cemiyetler Kanunu) was adopted, which remained in force until 1938 (Arslan, 2010).

Since 'the 1950s the number of associations increased especially due to the introduction of the multi-party system as well as alterations in regulations' (White, 2002: 202). However, the coup in 1980 ended the activities of many associations and some charitable trusts, because the violent confrontations between the left and right movements in the 1970s were thought to be linked to them (Toumarkine and Hersant, 2005). The number and variety of associations and charitable trusts including ENGOs increased when a neo-liberal economy was introduced after the first elections following the coup, in 1983 (to a total of 65,000, of which 2500 were charitable trusts).

In Turkey there is limited literature and data on civil society organisations (TUSEV, 2011). There have been different opinions on the history of the voluntary sector in Turkish society, namely on the one hand it has been argued that the charity sector is a new phenomenon. However, on the other hand it has been argued that the first modern type of voluntary organisations were established after 1839 when reforms were introduced by Ottoman Sultan Abdülmecid I (Tazminat Fermanı) to modernise the Empire in order to compete with European countries (Erdem, 2008).

The number of charitable trusts in Turkey is presently around 4,540 and there are around 86,030 associations, which are unevenly distributed throughout the country and are most likely to be present in the five largest cities of Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana and Bursa (TUSEV, 2011). The majority of the associations, namely 65% of them related to social issues and 1.6% (around 1.300) on environment related NGOs. 56% of charitable trusts work on social solidarity; 47.5% education, 21% health and 4.2% (around 190 charitable trusts) on environment related issues.

The Environmental movement in Turkey

The first ENGOs in Turkey supported by the political elite were established only in the 1950s, when environmental problems were not on the political agenda (STGM, 2007). However, many of the large ENGOs that are active today such as TEMA, ÇEKÜL, and Doğal Hayatı Koruma Derneği were founded in the 1990s. In recent years the number of ENGOs has increased, but there are only about 20 that are of considerable size and influence. In Turkey some of the ENGOs that are significant in the country were set up by businessmen to contribute towards environmental protection, as a whole, but most of them sought to achieve afforestation of the country.

There are many local initiative groups/foundations that work on a voluntary basis without employing any paid staff and are active in environmental protection. The number of supporters and volunteers in NGOs is considered to be lower than in the Global North, which may be related to the perception of civil society organisations after the 1980 coup as well as the overall low income levels and number of healthy retired people in the society (TUSEV, 2011). While 4.5% of the total population are members of social and 5.3% of political NGOs, volunteers account for only 2.5% (of which 30% are also members of at least another NGO) of social solidarity and 4.2% political NGOs (TUSEV, 2011). The majority of Turkish NGOs (87%) believe that public participation in NGOs is low (especially amongst people under 25 years), with around 8 million members, and it is argued this is one of the important problems that NGOs face after financial problems (TUSEV, 2011). One of the largest ENGOs in Turkey, TEMA, has around 400,000 volunteers and over 80 representatives, who work as volunteers throughout Turkey (TEMA, 2012).

Only 57% of civil society organisations have paid staff. 60% of paid staff work in administrative jobs including secretarial and accounts, 15% of them work as experts and 8.5% as senior managers (Yeğen et al., 2010). Similarly, apart from the large Turkish ENGO TEMA, which has around 100 paid staff and Greenpeace Turkey with around 40 employees (interview data; Greenpeace Turkey, 2012), the majority of the ENGOs have small offices and a limited number of staff. For example one of the important ENGOs, Doğa Derneği, has only around 20 staff (Doğa Derneği, 2012). Therefore, it is not suprising that local ENGOs mainly rely on volunteers and do not have any paid staff. As a result, in terms of employment and career prospects, the Turkish ENGO sector is limited since there are not many professional ENGOs and the number of employment positions is low, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Similar to the British ENGOs, membership rights vary from one ENGO to another. While for example members in Doğa Derneği have voting rights and can participate in some way to developing policies (Doğa Derneği, 2012), in some others such as Greenpeace Turkey the role of membership is limited to financial contributions.

In comparison to British ENGOs, Turkish ENGOs are smaller in terms of size and budget. Thus, Turkish ENGOs appear to be flatter in hierarchical structures due to the lower number of employees. The financial possibilities of Turkish NGOs are very limited - 44% of them have less than 10,000 TL annually (1 £ is equivalent to around 3 TL in August 2012), while only around 9% of them have more than 200, 000 TL (TUSEV, 2011). The funding of the associations mainly arises through donations. However, the amount donated is rather limited (18% of the total NGOs' income), with funding from public sources accounting for 6% of the total and income through sale of services/goods such as agricultural products, journals are other limited sources accounting for 5% (TUSEV, 2011). Only those NGOs recognised as 'being of public utility' (kamuya yararlı dernekler) can receive state subsidies. Law No.4962 of 2003 introduced provisions whereby certain charities, such as those involved in environmental protection afforestation, may be provided with tax exemptions by the Council of Ministers (Notification O.J. 26482, 2007). Currently there are only around 240 charities that profit from tax exemptions (DG Charities, 2011) and being dependent on the decision of a political body for financial support may cause political pressure for NGOs. As a result, the degree of institutionalization and professionalism in the Turkish voluntary sector appears to be low due to the limited financial sources, the low number of volunteers, and paid staff hired on a contract basis for limited periods time on the basis of project work (TUSEV, 2011). Consequently, some local

initiative groups of which all participants work on a voluntary basis have been set up to be active in environmental protection.

Despite all these problems, Turkish non-governmental organisations, and especially ENGOs, are playing an important role in shaping governmental policies. In particular, large ENGOs such as the Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats (TEMA), which is one of the largest ENGOs in Turkey in terms of paid staff and supporters' base, have been successful in influencing legislation and legal cases (TEMA, 2011).

5.5. Summary and conclusions

This chapter has provided information on equal opportunity regulations in the UK, European Union, Turkey, the NGO sector, as well as women's participation in the labour force both in the UK and Turkey. It should be noted that a comparison of gender equality in the UK and Turkey is complex due to the different cultural and historical differences between the two countries. The gendered similarities existing in both countries in the ENGO sector would not be apparent if I had not conducted a comparative case study research. In the UK gender equality rather derived from the bottom up and women lobbied for their equality at legislative level. In contrast, although a few feminist organisations emerged in the Ottoman era beginning from 1908, Turkish women gained gender equality through the newly established state (top-down approach).

Although it has been accepted that the European Union's legislation has made a positive contribution in the member states to reduce gender inequalities, its level of impact has not found any consensus and varies from very limited to significant due to

its limited coverage especially in the initial stages of the EU and uneven implementation of the legislation (Walby, 2004).

Although certain gender equality legislation was adopted before the country's entry in the EU in 1973, in the UK gender equality legislation was impacted by EU regulations after entry to the EU. Women's participation in the labour market is high, but British women are minorities in senior level positions in the public and private sector. They still face problems related to occupational segregation and gender pay gaps. Turkish women are equal with men in law and have all the legal rights on gender equality that comply with the EU legislation. In fact, in a few aspects such as the requirement to establish free nurseries for companies employing more than 100 female workers and the legal entitlement to 1,5 hours of breast-feeding per day as a part of the employment rights of women, Turkish legislation provides more legal rights than the UK for women with children. However, in practice not all Turkish women have benefited from the legislative rights due to traditional and patriarchal structures. Equal opportunity legislation is required for women's advancement in the labour market, but enforcement and people's attitude are also important to achieve gender equality. Turkish women, particularly those in rural areas and from low status job sectors, still face traditional patriarchal issues. Women's participation in the labour force in Turkey is very low due to many factors, including gendered roles and domestic responsibilities, and, in particular, childcare and the lack of national policy to increase the number of women in employment practices such as the absence of free childcare for children under 6 years of age. In addition, part-time employment practices, which accommodate childcare and other responsibilities, are seldom. Moreover, it can be argued that daily politics have also been a barrier for women's advancement. While in the late 1920s, state feminism was introduced by Atatürk and

issues related to women's rights were one of the important elements of the new modern state, the conservative governments that have been in power in Turkey since have had an adverse affect on gender equality in the labour market. 'Paradoxically, however, currently there are higher proportions of professional women in certain high skilled occupations in Turkey than in many more developed countries' (Özbilgin and Woodward, 2004: 669).

The voluntary sector in the UK, set up the by the elite, has a long tradition and is becoming increasingly professionalised. The sector plays an important role in society in terms of income generation, employment and others, but especially small NGOs face financial pressure and depend on the work of volunteers. In Turkey, although charities have been playing a very important role in society for a long time, and there are many NGOs, many of the large and important ENGOs that operate today were only founded in the 1990s. As a result of this relatively recent history, the low level of volunteers and financial difficulties that the Turkish ENGOs have, institutionalisation and professionalisation of the Turkish NGOs in comparison to the British ENGOs is relatively low. Despite this fact, Turkish ENGOs have been playing an important role raising environmental consciousness in society and lobbying at governmental level. Since the ENGO sectors in both countries increasingly provide employment prospects due to professionalization, they are subject to employment legislation.

This chapter has explored secondary data regarding the UK and Turkey in terms of gender equality, participation in the labour market as well as the ENGO sector, and therefore it is closely linked to Chapter 6 where the ENGOs will be examined in terms of gender compositions and working practices in order to reveal gendered practices in the ENGO sector.

CHAPTER 6 The gender structures of ENGOs

6.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the data collected during the research in the UK and Turkey to explore the research question: whether the environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOs) are gendered in terms of their management compositions and working practices and why and how they are gendered. The chapter also examines the implications of these gendered structures in the ENGOs in relation to women's career prospects. Thus, the chapter explores gender in the ENGOs in the case study countries in order to reveal how gender relations contribute to the compositions and working practices of the ENGOs. In Chapter 7, the campaigns of the organisations are examined to explore the implications of the gender structures for the ENGOs' policies and campaigns.

In order to see whether the research ENGOs are gendered, firstly senior management positions (board, CEO and other senior management) are examined (section 6.2). Then, gender structures and age profiles at employee level are looked into, because this provides clues regarding the working practices of the ENGOs (section 6.3). In the following sections 6.4 to 6.6, the ENGOs' organisational and working practices are examined and organisational, individual and macro-factors are assessed to find explanations for the current gender representation in the organisations. These sections have been organised according to themes including organisational structures and hierarchy, gender compositions as well as working practices that emerged from the interviews and the participant observation that fitted

the categories of inquiry in the thesis. At the organisational (meso) level, working practices including working hours, family (un)friendly practices, recruitment and promotion are examined. Moreover other factors such as training and education; continuous work experience; being visible to senior managers, and gender stereotypes are looked into, because, in line with the literature, these factors emerged during the research process as important for career advancement. Finally, at the macro level the overall causes for women's under-representation at the top senior management level in the ENGOs are explored.

6.2. Gender compositions of the ENGOs

This section examines the gender compositions of British (section 6.2.1) and Turkish ENGOs (section 6.2.2) in order to answer the first research question: how are the ENGOs structured in terms of gender at their senior management level? In addition, organisational hierarchy in the ENGO sectors in both countries is examined since organisational hierarchy has been pointed out to be important in decision-making and therefore in influencing organisational policies.

As was discussed in Chapter 2, ENGOs as environmental pressure-groups are very important in shaping environmental policies and they are aware of their influence.

> 'In order to achieve the changes that we want in an area, we focus on influential power sources and follow the power. We attack power, therefore we stand always against the power…let me put it this way, if there is a tower, we check

what stone we need to remove to collapse the tower. We look for the critical stone. We look for it and remove it' (large Turkish ENGO, CEO-M) [43].

Legitimacy[44] is important for ENGOs since 'it determines the support they will garner for their campaigns, from their peers, scientific community, media, and ultimately the public, as well as their access to funding through membership and donors' (Gritten and Saastamoinen, 2010: 50). According to their websites and annual reports, the ENGO sector claims to be transformative, attain high levels of accountability and transparency and act for public good (annual reports and public websites of the research ENGOs). Some ENGOs aim to 'increase the representation of under-represented groups in their work so that everything they do more accurately reflects the population' (LWT, 2010: 8), while for some others everyone should get a fair share (FoE, 2012). Public trust in ENGOs is important in order to get donations and other sources of income (Jepson, 2005) and therefore they are expected to have clear aims and goals (Lowe and Goyder, 1983). Public support can be maintained when it is believed that 'ENGOs are acting in the larger public interest' (La Riviere et al., 1996: 166). A search of the ENGOs' websites and annual reports showed that the core principles of some large ENGOs include transparency, measurable results and the right to disagree (WWF global, 2012). On the other hand, some ENGOs have been urging the corporate world to become more transparent and accountable[45]

[43] 'Bir şeydeki bir konudaki istediğimiz değişimi yaratmak için etkili olan güç hedeflerini odaklamak ve gücün peşinde gideriz. Güce saldırırız yani eee dolayısıyla gücün karşısında her zaman dururuz. Şöyle söyleyeyim eeee bir şey varsa bir kule varsa o kuleden hangi taşı çekersek o kule devrilir ona bakarız. Yani o kritik taşı ararız. O kritik taşı bulup onu çekeriz'.

[44] 'a generalised perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions' (Suchman 1995: 574 cited in Gritten and Saastamoinen, 2010)

[45] 'A commitment to corporate accountability seeks to highlight socially and environmentally damaging corporate practices and to introduce a new regulatory framework, expose the impacts of consumption on the environment, oppose unsustainable waste disposal and promote zero waste policies (Rootes, 2006: 779).

(Rootes, 2006). Since it is also required by law, ENGOs are required to strive for gender equality by adopting equal opportunity policies. Therefore, taking into account all these factors, it may be expected that ENGOs are more likely to have gender-balanced management structures and policies than the private sector where profit-making is the main aim. It is expected that ENGOs may be women-friendly workplaces than some other organisations (Vázquez, 2011), because 'there is less overt sexism and women are more respected' (Seager, 1993: 175) as was argued by one of the CEOs in the UK:

> 'I think the ENGO world is one of the easiest sectors where women succeed in. I think that's because NGOs are based on values, so that they are driven by an ideological belief such as fairness, decency, quality and therefore it would be inconsistent for them to discriminate against someone I don't know on gender or physical capacity... so that is why I think easier' (UK 1, CEO-M).

ENGOs such as the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF) have urged for reform of organisations and international actors including the World Trade Organisation to be more democratic and transparent because it would lead to better environmental policies (WWF, 1999). According to Edwards (2004 cited in Jepson, 2005: 516), 'if NGOs challenge the accountability of other social actors, they must themselves be accountable[46], otherwise their legitimacy will decline and with it their capacity to advocate their cause successfully' (for accountability in the NGO sector, Brown and Moore, 2001). Thus, this research aims to find out whether the ENGOs that claim to belong to a sector which is progressive, are so in reality. Are the ENGOs and their

[46] Accountability (maintaining trust) includes 'rational accountability (where individuals and organisations report to a recognized authority and are held responsible for their actions) and moral accountability (NGO's responsibility to its mission, values, staff and the social values and public constituencies that it was formed to advocate and represent)' (Jepson, 2005: 520).

working practices gender balanced or do they only project a gender-balanced image (PACS, 2006) to dress their window as was indicated by the CEO of a large British ENGO?

> ‘I think that when you get to the, in terms of the front line,…we can choose whom we put for our spokespeople for a campaign. Now, if we put women up or if we put ethnic minorities up, or if we put people up from the south to talk about the campaign to be in the media to be on television and so on, we also are sending a very clear message to the world, that [the organisation] is a very diverse organisation, people from all sorts are working for it, and we are actually promoting and empowering. I think people would look at the organisation differently if we always have white men as our spokespeople so people outside would think we are a white man organisation, whereas if we have, you know, like Chinese women or whatever, people would very much think that we are a different kind of organisation, more global, more you know, more gender-balanced and so on. So I think at that level, yeah, we can make very conscious decisions’ (UK 4, CEO-M).

It was recommended by a report that the UK listed companies in the FTSE 100 aim for a minimum of 25% female board member representation by 2015 (Davies report, 2011). A report recently published encourages more women in leadership positions in charities indicating only a minority of charities have gender balanced boards (Jarboe, 2012).

I argue that examining the gender compositions and policies of the ENGOs will help to illuminate the ways of working of the environmental movement in the UK and Turkey and how environmental policies are shaped by these structures since the role

of ENGOs as important agents of environmental policies has been widely acknowledged (Carter, 2007; Scherrer, 2009; Börzel and Buzogány, 2010). Especially in the UK, but also recently in Turkey, the NGO sector has been increasingly professionalised and organisations 'have applied and adapted tools from the business and public sector' (Jepson, 2005: 518, also Evans and Saxton, 2005). This can also be illustrated with one of the responses as follows:

> 'The CEO at the time [to a large British ENGO] was brought in…he used to work for some big mining company in the UK, so he isn't and he doesn't know anything about biodiversity, conservation, wildlife. He was brought in as a businessman. I think a lot of the people thought that actually the CEO should have knowledge about wildlife conservation issues, should be dedicated, shouldn't be working in an industry that is so destructive... to the environment. So, you know, there were lots of problems with that. He is not the CEO anymore. I mean I think he did good things to the organisation. He has made the organisation much more business-like, but a lot of staff were not happy with having a CEO who came from that kind of background' (UK 1, senior policy manager-F).

Seager (1993) recognised 10 years ago that ENGOs have been moving towards more business like organisations in order to adapt to a complex environment where 'the conventional male worlds of business and science as exemplars of organisational behaviour' dominate (p.10).

In order to explore whether the organisations are gendered, firstly the current gender structures of the organisations are assessed. Power is one of the processes that causes inequalities between men and women in organisational settings, and 20

years on, Acker's observation that 'the most powerful organisational positions are almost entirely occupied by men' (Acker, 1990: 139) remains valid in the private sector as was discussed in Chapter 3 on gender and organisation. In this section, the most senior positions in the ENGOs are examined to see whether the ENGO sector in the UK and Turkey are as progressive as they claim to be and promote gender equality. While business organisations have been examined in terms of gender and gendered processes amongst others by Kanter (1977), Acker (1990, 1992), Martin (1990), Mills (1992), the ENGO sector has been under-researched. Seager (1993) and Taylor (2002) have pointed out that the most senior positions in ENGOs in the USA are male dominated. However, to date no research on the gender structures of ENGOs and their implications appears to have been conducted in Europe. This study is an attempt to fill that gap.

When examining gender representation in the ENGOs organisational hierarchy[47] should be looked into. In addition to gender, class and race are also important factors that explain the differences in hierarchical structures (Acker, 1989; 2006). Bureaucratic organisational settings are likely to enforce divisions of labour because de-skilled workers cannot complete full tasks and hierarchy erodes solidarity among the employees (Halford and Leonard, 2001). Moreover, 'the steepness of hierarchy is one dimension of variation in the shape and degree of inequality' (Acker, 2006: 445), because power differences between positions occur. For example in Turkish ENGO 5 the chair of the board's vote counts double in case the board members' votes are indecisive. Similarly, the employees of the Turkish ENGO 6 and British ENGO 4 are

[47] Hierarchy can be defined as 'the systematic positioning of one social group over another' (Cooper, 2006: 855). Hierachical organisations are defined as those where 'all participants are linked into a single pyramidal structure of control relations' (Ianello 1992: 16) or 'any system in which the distributions of power, privilege and authority are both systematic and unequal' (Ianello 1992: 15).

expected to obey the decisions taken by the senior management team, even when they disagree.

> 'We have a rule which is…if the manager decides, it is a decision. You may not agree with it, but you do it. You protest it, but still you implement it'[48] (TR 6, CEO-M)

Power inequalities within organisations occur as a result of female under-representation in the most powerful occupational positions (Acker and Houten, 1992). Particularly, large ENGOs have hierarchical organisational structures, which are similar to large business organisations including one or two boards (board of trustees), chief executive of the office (CEO), CEO assistants, senior managers, middle managers, supervisors and officer positions. Therefore, 'the formal hierarchical authority structure of bureaucracies endows some positions with more power than others and work tasks and relations are organised accordingly' (Martin, 1996: 267). Formal hierarchies are based on 'abstract differentiations' (Acker, 1990: 148) and are mostly gendered, because, as this chapter will demonstrate, powerful positions are occupied often by men, even in organisations (such as the ENGOs) where women employees are in larger numbers than men (Martin, 2006). Moreover, informal hierarchies also contribute to creating power structures by transmitting messages about gendered roles and processes through organisational culture (Newman, 1995), as was reported by some female research participants in the ENGOs.

However, it should be noted that the management composition of organisations is fluid and gender compositions change frequently for many reasons. During the

[48] 'Bizde bir kural vardır o da şey…yönetici karar verdiğinde o karardır.... O karara karşı gelebilirsin ama yaparsın. Protestonu koyarsın ama yinede uygularsın'.

fieldwork, some of the senior management positions in both the British and Turkish ENGOs changed. Moreover, ENGOs seem to undergo frequent restructuring processes, which change the number and composition of their staff as well as their priority work areas.

> ‘I haven't worked there [UK 9] for about ...15 years, so things may have changed. I have heard since I left, the changes in management resulted in quite low staff morale for a while. I don’t know if it is like that now, organisational restructuring, lots of people lost their jobs. Also there were changes within the program. Some people didn't understand the rationale for the changes. It was mainly more sort of changes in certain programs so less...weight were given to other areas of work, so lots of you know re-structuring changes’ (UK 1, senior policy manager-F).

Therefore, this study reflects the gender compositions, working practices and policies of the ENGOs during the research process of this thesis, namely between 2007 and 2011.

6.2.1. United Kingdom

In the ENGOs studied the posts at senior management level were mainly occupied by men, which is very similar to the business sector in the UK. The majority of the board members in the British ENGOs were also male. Only two of the nine ENGOs had, respectively, female chairs of their governing bodies (UK 2 and 4) and female CEOs (UK 3 and 8). In the British organisation where the participant observation took place (UK 1), senior management roles were more equally distributed between women and men. However, the most senior roles including the CEO and board members were predominantly male. Table 6.1 provides an overview of the gender

distribution in senior management roles including the chair of the governing board, board members and chief executives.

No conclusive statement can be made on the relationship between the size of the organisations and the presence of female senior managers regarding the ENGOs on the basis of the data collected. However, the literature (Odendahl and Youmans, 1994; Bradshaw et al., 1996) argues that women are more likely to be present on the boards of small and less prominent organisations. Although, it appears that the large British ENGOs tend to have more males on their boards, one of the largest ENGOs in the UK (UK 4) had one of the fewest numbers of men on the board with 57% (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1. Gender structures of the British research ENGOs in top senior management roles (2011).

Organisation	**Size**	**Chair of governing board**	**% Board male**	**Chief executive officer**
UK 1	Medium	Male	75	Male
UK 2	Small	Female	55	Male
UK 3	Small	Male	64	Female
UK 4	Large	Female	57	Male
UK 5	Large	Male	73	Male
UK 6	Large	Male	64	Male
UK 7	Large	Male	86	Male
UK 8	Large	Male	83	Female
UK 9	Large	Male	75	Male

Source: Annual reports (2008-2011) and the ENGOs' websites

Awareness of the unequal distribution of the senior roles in the ENGO sector was high among the research participants in the top management positions in the UK. The environmental movement in terms of gender compositions was not seen as

different from other sectors by those research participants who argued that there were gender imbalances. Many of the senior managers thought that the management of the environmental sector especially at the top is masculinised.

> ‘I think there is a structural problem in society that it still tends to be male at the most senior level and that's.... there’s a real problem.....that we haven’t overcome yet, we are starting....’ (UK 2, CEO-M).

> ‘I think, environmental NGOs are very male, I think... if you go through them...we have dinner every two months at the ...some of the main ENGOs, I would say there are (X-CEO-F) from the (ENGO), and (Y-CEO-F) from the (ENGO), if X sends the deputy sometimes it’s a woman sometimes it’s a man, and if Y sends her deputy, then it is a man, if men send deputies then is a man and uhff.....It is very very male’ (UK 7, CEO-M).

> ‘It is interesting, it appears that there is a glass ceiling in the environmental sector as there are in many other sectors. You know, the senior management... tends to be more men than women’ (UK 2, head of fundraising and communication-F).

Although some research participants in the UK did not agree that the environmental movement is male dominated, they agreed that there should be more female CEOs because of the high number of women employees in the organisation.

> ‘I don't think [the environmental movement] is male dominated, but I think that there aren’t enough women who are executive directors. I mean the fact that there is an organisation here where half of the senior managers at least are women, more than half of the staff are women, and there should really be a woman who is the executive director here’ (UK 4, CEO-M).

Women are segregated in certain jobs and certain job segments (horizontal and vertical segregation[49]) (Charles and Grusky 2004; Robert at al., 2009). Similar to the private sector, based on the data collected during the research, gender segregation was also observable in the environmental sector where women were heavily represented in administrative and secretarial jobs and men in science and policy based jobs (Wirth, 2004).

> '…looking at my organisation...most of the assistant staff, administrative staff is female…there is big bias towards females in there and…marketing and communications tends to be also mostly women and while science,...conservation departments tend to be mostly, well well male dominated and the senior management male dominated (UK 5, policy officer-M).

> '…at the [organisation]… the science sector is very dominated by men, marketing and supportive services are very dominated by women, whether that is just, you know people choosing particular careers, or whether it is due to bias in some senses that, I mean, that you always got a locker room feeling, where scientists sitting here with 4 or 5 guys there might be a woman in there' (UK 7, head of campaigns-M).

Therefore, it appears that reductionist western science assumptions, which were one of the most important critiques of ecofeminism (Custers, 1997) as explored in chapter 2, seem to be evident in ENGOs, where men dominate as experts in scientific roles and decision-making as experts and women are represented in supportive roles as a

[49] Horizontal segregation means women are likely to be present in different jobs or occupations in comparison to men. Vertical segregation means women usually hold the lower status and lower rewarded positions in the same job segment (European Union, 2009).

result of inequalities in society and where certain scientific experts are 'the only legitimate knowledge-seekers and knowledge-justifiers' (Flannery, 2007: 152). As will be discussed in this chapter, the data suggest that the ENGOs have gender biased organisational practices and policies, which are adopted from organisations that are based on profit making. At the same time women's traditional responsibilities and therefore their contribution to society are dismissed and devalued, because they are not taken into account, as will be explored in section 6. 4.

Organisational hierarchy

All the British organisations, except for one small organisation (UK 3), had many levels of hierarchical structure including the board, CEO, senior management team, line managers (middle managers) and/or coordinators. Only one organisation (UK 3) had a small number (four) of senior managers and the rest of the employees had no managerial positions due to the size of the organisation. The number of hierarchical levels increases with the size of the organisation and the number of employees. However, even the medium sized British ENGOs had many hierarchical levels including the board, senior managers, line managers and supervisors. It should be noted that some profit-oriented organisations have been aiming to be less hierarchical in recent years by removing some management levels (Acker, 2006), but the NGO sector seems to be slow in adopting new approaches to increase efficiency. One respondent (UK 1 – volunteer officer-F) repeatedly mentioned in response to two different questions that were not related to organisational structure that she felt the organisation was very hierarchical. The formal hierarchical structure was confirmed by the CEO of the organisation, but he argued that at an informal level there was no strict hierarchy. While some of the research participants thought that

hierarchy was necessary, ‘I don’t know I don’t see any other way of structuring it’ (UK 1, middle policy manager-F*)*, some others argued it was not.

> ‘You’ve got an organisation that may be maximum 40-50 people, and you have a board of trustees, a CEO, directors and various things, senior managers, managers, and then officers such and such. So, that's for me, it just seems an unnecessary level of hierarchy in such a small organisation…a more modern system would be flatter, you know...’ (UK 1, middle manager-M).

Some research participants who have had work experience in the private sector agreed that in terms of structural organisation, there is no difference with the private sector, while the others emphasised that there is a clear difference.

> ‘…. the structures are actually quite similar in comparison to where I worked previously [commercial organisation]. There are sort of similar numbers of staff involved, so there is no enormous differences in terms of structure, I think they [the private sector] are just commercially slightly more aware and things happen quicker whereas there is more trustees, volunteers, there is more process internal to get things done in an ENGO than in the commercial sector’ (UK 1, corporate manager-M).

The research participants’ accounts varied on hierarchy at the organisational level depending on their previous jobs and personal experiences and the organisation. Although, in many cases the research participants had work experience in different ENGOs (including the ENGOs that declined to participate in the research, which enabled me to get cross-organisational comparisons between the ENGOs), it is very difficult to draw a conclusion regarding the hierarchies and what role they play in gender imbalances in the British ENGOs. Therefore, future research should examine

the role of organisational hierarchies in imbalanced gender compositions and gendered practices in the ENGOs. However, it can be argued that different levels of hierarchy exist in different organisations depending on the size of the organisations, and due to the unequal power structures bias occurs since men are heavily represented in senior positions (Acker, 1989). Overall, the British ENGOs seem to be more hierarchical than the Turkish ENGOs, which will be examined in the next section.

6.2.2. Turkey

The current gender structures at senior management level in the ENGOs in Turkey are also male dominated and very similar to the British ENGOs (Table 6.2). Apart from one ENGO (TR 9) the boards of the ENGOs were dominated by men and, except for ENGO 9, all the chairs of the boards were male. In terms of CEOs there were only two female CEOs in medium and large ENGOs (TR 7 and 8). Moreover, it should be noted that the female CEO of Turkish ENGO 5 was replaced by a male CEO during the fieldwork. Thus, similarly to the British ENGOs, no link can be made between the size of the organisations and female representation in the most senior roles in Turkey. On the one hand, while female representation on the board of a small ENGO (TR 9) was 60%, which is the best female representation rate among the Turkish organisations, on the other hand female representation in one of the largest ENGOs in Turkey (TR 5) was also relatively high with 56%. The in-depth research ENGO (TR 4) had the most gender imbalanced board with 100% male board members. This gender imbalance was argued by a research participant: because the ENGO was set up by a businessperson and the board consisted of

businesspeople and there were fewer businesswomen than men[50]. This argument is similar to that used by the British research participant in British ENGO 1 who argued that the male domination in top roles maybe as a result of the fact that the conservation sector in the UK was set up by men.

> ‘Yes quite interesting, cause you think the conservation was founded in Britain by men, although rather say perhaps the charity sector (UK 1, volunteers’ officer-F).

However, as radical feminists have argued, women’s contribution to society has often been made invisible (Amoako, 1997). There are many successful women who initiated environmental organisations including the Green Belt Movement in Kenya (Breton, 1998; Perry et al., 2010) or contributed a great deal to the initiation of environmental organisations such as Octavia Hill co-founding the National Trust in the UK, Sandra Ann Harris and Bernadette Vallely establishing the Women’s Environmental Network (WEN); and Fügen Tuzlalı and Güzin Poffet Tamaç were among the founders of CEKUL in Turkey.

[50] ‘Yönetim kurulu iş dünyasından kurulmuş. İş dünyasının liderleride hep erkekler, çok az kadın var’ (TR 4, volunteers’ manager-F).

Table 6.2. Gender structures of the Turkish research ENGOs in top senior management roles (2011).

Organisation	Size	Chair of governing board	% Board male	Chief executive officer
TR 1	Medium	Male	85	Male
TR 2	Small	Male	77[51]	No CEO
TR 3	Small	Male	60[52]	No CEO[53]
TR 4	Small	Male	100	Male
TR 5	Large	Male	64	Male[54]
TR 6	Large	Male	57	Male
TR 7	Medium	Male	90	Female
TR 8	Large	Male	68	Female
TR 9	Small	Female	40	Male
TR 10	Medium	Male	80	Male

Source: Annual reports, the ENGOs' websites and interview data (2010 and 2011)

Some British research participants who have had contact with Turkish ENGOs argued that there are more female senior managers in the environmental sector in Turkey than in the UK.

> '…actually the situation in Turkey is a little bit better, as for female. I think I have seen actually quite a lot of female managers, quite a lot of female top managers in Turkey' (UK 5, policy officer-M).

However, when the most senior positions, including the boards, chairs of governing boards and CEOs in the organisations in Turkey are examined, there is a similar

[51] ENGO 2 is a non-professional organisation and has no paid staff. It aims to have no hierarchical organisational structure. There is no traditional board, but founders of the organisation have formed a board like structure to take and implement the decisions taken and no managerial positions exist.
[52] NGO 3 is a non-professional organisation and has no paid staff.
[53] The person who is responsible for day-to-day issues is male, who is also the founder.
[54] During the interviews in Turkey, the CEO was female

picture to the British ENGOs in terms of current women's representation in top management, which was also acknowledged by a research participant.

> '…the Turkish organisations that I know, they have very very impressive female staff up to the top level. So you might expect, you might compare two countries whether there is a difference, an obvious difference in the role of the society, but the segment you picked which is the conservation charities, the differences would be rather small, and I know very good and successful conservationists who are women' (UK 5, senior policy manager-M).

Organisational hierarchy

The Turkish organisations are smaller in size and budget than the British ENGOs and, except for the large ENGOs, they have generally flatter structures and fewer layers of management compared to the British ENGOs. Two of the Turkish ENGOs are non-professional ENGOs in that there were no paid staff and these organisations rely on the voluntary contributions of their members. While the large Turkish ENGOs (TR 5, 6 and 8) have organisational structures similar to the British ENGOs (board of trustees, board of directors, senior management team including CEO and line managers) where roles and responsibilities of people are clearly defined, in the smaller ENGOs (TR 7) apart from the board and the CEO, there were no managerial positions.

> 'Hierarchy is not multi-level here, there is a very simple hierarchy here. One management board and a coordinator (CEO), the coordinator is our manager.

Otherwise everyone shares her/his experiences regarding her/his project with the others'[55] (TR 7, policy officer-F).

Similarly to the research participants in the British ENGOs, there was no agreement in the Turkish ENGOs on the necessity of a hierarchical structure at an organisational level. While in a large ENGO (TR 6), where a stricter mechanism is in place since the employees must do what the senior management decides whether they agree or not, some interviewees argued that hierarchy was needed. In contrast, in the small ENGOs people often associated hierarchy with governmental institutions and with slow and ineffective working environments.

'Generally all institutions have a hierarchy. It is also required. I cannot say that [the organisation] is less or more hierarchical, but it is needed in order to proceed with work and it [hierarchy] is present here'[56] (TR 6, volunteers coordinator-F).

Moreover, in Turkey, leadership seems to be important in the environmental sector and those who established the organisations play(s) a very significant role. They often act as the president and/or chair of the board and are involved in decision-making in the organisation. One research participant from a large ENGO also pointed out that NGOs are slow in adopting new approaches and reducing hierarchies in order to increase efficiency.

'It (the ENGO) is hierarchical. NGOs have a vertical hierarchy, but in the private sector especially lately we were managed and managing with horizontal

[55] 'Hiyerarşi çok fazla kademeli değil çok ıhm basit bir hiyerarşik düzen var. Bir yönetim kurulu, bir genel sekreter, genel sekreterimiz yöneticimizdir. Bunun dışında herkes kendisi projesi ile ilgili sadece deneyim paylaşımında bulunur'.

[56] 'Genel olarak her kurumun bir hiyerarşisi var. Olması da gerekiyor. Daha mı az hiyerarşik yada daha fazla diyemem ama işlerin yürümesi için gerekiyor ve oda burada var yani'.

hierarchy where everyone was responsible for the job that s/he was doing, but here this is not the case… NGOs are hierarchical and there is a structure where everyone is bound to the head [founders]. This is not correct, this is done wrong in Turkey,…in order to solve this problem the founders of the NGOs should have courage to leave their places to new people. Otherwise, the phenomenon continues and no chances in terms of the current organisational structures may occur'[57] (TR 5, sponsorship manager -F).

In the Turkish ENGOs, similarly to the British ENGOs, the gendered division of labour can be observed since female employees dominate the sector and all of the CEO's assistants, receptionists and administrative jobs were occupied by women, while the most senior positions in general were a male domain as is argued by radical feminist theory. However, the gender division of labour was not obvious to the research participants in Turkey as much as in the British ENGOs since, except for ENGO 5 and ENGO 6, there were flatter structures and fewer managerial positions in the Turkish ENGOs.

6.3. Gender and age profile in the ENGOs

This section considers the gender and age profiles of the ENGOs, because this can illuminate the working practices of the ENGOs and help to identify the factors behind the low female representation at senior management level. During the fieldwork in the UK and Turkey I realised that the ENGO sector in both countries was numerically

[57] 'Hiyerarşik olması doğru. Birde dikey hiyerarşinin olduğu yerler sivil toplum kuruluşları. oysa özel sektörde, son zamanlarda artık ıhm homosite giden bir yatay hiyerarşiyle yönetiliyorduk ve yönetiyorduk. Dolayısıyla herkesin yaptığı iş oranında sorumlu olduğu bir düzen vardı orda, oysa burda yaptığımız iş değil konumu bütünden sorunlu bir, başa bağlı bir hiyerarşikten bahse.., tabi ki bu doğru değil, Türkiye'de bu konu yanlış yapılıyor, sivil toplum kuruluşları hiyerarşik ama şu anda yapacak bir şey yok, yani bunun kökünden değişmesi için sivil toplum kuruluşunu kuranların ve buna emek verenlerin yerlerine yeni insanların devretme azminde olmaları lazım. O azmi göstermediği sürece, o liderlik sivil toplum kuruluşunda liderlik olgusu bitmediği sürece de bu olmaz'.

dominated by highly educated young female employees, which is a similar finding to the literature that suggests that women constitutue a significant proportion of the employees in the NGO sector (Wallace, 1998; Moreno, 2008; Clark and Michuki, 2009). Although many research participants argued that women tend to have more social responsibility and environmental awareness, which resonates with the ecofeminist 'women are closer to nature' argument and therefore they prefer working for ethical reasons rather than financial motivations[58], it is known that low paid jobs and sectors are occupied mainly by women (Ruwanpura, 2004; Phelan,1994 for lower salary expectation of women).

> 'I think that women are more sensitive in areas of social responsibility and this is probably, because their sentimental sides are more developed'[59] (TR 4, officer-F).

> 'We [the employees] find it very positive working for the environmental movement, I think. It is a lot about being motivated by making a difference. For me that is the key that gives me a lot of job satisfaction' (UK 7, senior policy campaigner-F).

However, on the other hand it was also argued by the research participants that the NGO sector is dominated by female employees due to certain stereotypical assumptions about gendered roles and the traditional division of work in society (the gendered division of labour), where women have the main care giving-role (Cooke, 2006). Some research participants also associated women's involvement in the NGO sector as an extension of their domestic responsibilities (Senol, 2009). In addition,

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[58] See for example for the motivations of women's involvement in the NGO sector in Jordan (Clark and Michuki, 2009).

[59] 'Sosyal sorumluluk ile ilgili konularda kadınların daha duyarlı olduğunu düşünüyorum. Bunun da duygusal yönlerinin daha gelişmiş olması ile alakası vardır sanırım'.

assumptions about the attitudes of women and men in terms of career prospects including men being more ambitious and career oriented than women also seemed to be a factor for men's relatively low representation in the ENGO sector.

> '.....it is not necessarily about being activist...it's just who is naturally pre-disposed to care and probably women.....I think' (UK 1, conservation manager-M).

> 'Maybe more women are inclined to work in charities than men. I don't know. I am sort of thinking about my own experience within the NGO world, I would say that that is probably a trend that men see themselves as a main breadwinner and more aggressive more competitive, more ambitious' (UK 2, operations manager-F).

The Turkish and British ENGOs on the whole were very similar in terms of gender composition at officers' level. The organisations were mostly dominated by women, while men were normally likely to be found either in more senior roles or, as it was indicated in Turkish ENGO 7, that men worked as officers when they were students.

> 'I think we are here around 20 people and three quarters is women[60]' (TR 8, f fundraising coordinator -F).

> 'The majority of our staff is female. So when we employ a man, we get: uhhh we got another man! That's quite nice for the gender balance in the organisation, which at one stage I think it was completely female' (UK 3, CEO- F).

> 'I think it's still....I think it's female dominated at.....well more female dominated at low level' (UK 2, CEO-M).

[60] 'Burada herhalde 20 kişi falanız. Yani dörtte üçü falan kadın'.

Thus, the research found that the ENGO sector appears to be dominated by women especially in low positions. ‘Female-dominated occupations tend to have lower wages, less on-the-job training and fewer possibilities for occupational advancement’ (Meyer, 2003: 352). Many research participants were aware that female employees dominate the sector and saw the low wages as one of the main causes for female domination in the NGO.

> ‘There are probably more female employees in the third sector, and that might be because they pay less, I don’t know. ... Maybe it’s the lousy wages’ (UK 7, CEO-M).

Seager (1993) also pointed out that men tend to be concentrate in top senior positions and earn competitive salaries in large ENGOs, while ordinary jobs in the sector, mostly occupied by women, provide only small salaries. The research participants in both countries argued that one of the main reasons for the gender compositions of employee positions is the traditional male-breadwinner female-homemaker model (Breen and Cooke, 2005; Liebig et al., 2011). According to the research participants in both countries, men would not able to feed their family with the wages provided in the ENGOs for junior positions especially if they did not come from dual earner households. This shows that although cultural and traditional values are different in Turkey and the UK, there are few differences between the countries in terms of assumptions on men’s and women’s roles in society and career prospects.

> ‘I think, because we always [talk] about it. We don’t give much money. Therefore, for men it is difficult to manage with the money provided here,

especially if they are the only breadwinners [at home]…men are with us while they are studying or doing masters or doing a PhD'[61] (TR 7, CEO-F).

'Maybe there is just more pressure on them to get a high paid job, maybe there are still stereotypes that it is the man who feeds the family, and perhaps that kind of thought that there are less men going for a charity job which are probably lower paid NGOs' job and charity as well, ehhh yeah may be that is the main reason..' (UK 1, volunteers' officer-F).

Moreover, early career choices in the educational system appear to be important for some research participants to explain the low number of men in the third sector. During the research process it was also found that mostly female applicants apply for the jobs in ENGOs.

(Why more female employees?) 'One of the reasons is because women tend to choose social science and environmental topics at university. Secondly in these fields there is not much money or profit and because we are a men dominated society[62] men go to the private sector or choose engineering. I think it is mainly financial reasons'[63] (TR 8, programme responsible-F).

Moreover, I also observed in the ENGOs in both countries that while the majority of the staff was female, and women were represented in stereotypically female occupations including secretarial and administrative staff and HR; certain job

[61] 'Ben şöyle düşünüyorum. Çünkü biz de hep bu konuyu ediyoruz. Biz çok paralar vermiyoruz. Çok para vermeyince de, erkeklerin geçinmeleri burdan aldığı parayla, hele tek tüfek olursa çok zor. Ihım o nedenle, ya öğrenciyken ya da mastır sürelerinde, ya da doktora sürelerinde ıhım bizle beraber oluyorlar. Ama ayrım yaptığımız için değil, zannediyorum daha çok bu nedenle. Kadınlar çoğunlukla fazla oluyor'.

[62] In the Turkish ENGOs it was thought to be that it would be only the case in men dominated societies. There is a similar picture in terms of gender compositions in the British ENGO sector.

[63] 'Sebebi birincisi sosyal bilimlere ve çevre konularına kadınların üniversitede daha çok yönelmesi. İkincisi bu tip alanlarda çok büyük bir para yada kar olmadığı için ve erkek egemen bir toplum olduğumuz için daha özel sektöre yönelmeleri ya da üniversitelere zaten daha farklı mühendisliklere yönelmeleri. ıhım Bence şu anda tamamen ekonomik bazlı olduğunu söylemem mümkün'.

segments including IT and finance positions as well as the most senior positions were mainly occupied by men. As argued by Hearn and Parkin (1983: 219) organisations ‘remain patriarchal, if only by virtue of their domination by men’ at the most senior levels. It can be difficult to have a balance in gender compositions especially in certain job segments such as information technology (IT) where most of the applicants are male due to sex differences in occupations (Beltz et al., 2011). Thus, a higher proportion of female applicants than men may also provide an explanation why the ENGO sector is dominated by women and why horizontal and vertical gender divisions of labour exist in the ENGOs. The Equal Opportunities Forms (EOFs) that I analysed during the participant observation period in the UK as a volunteer provided some insights regarding the gender and age of job applicants at the in-depth research ENGO (British ENGO 1). Around 200 EOFs were analysed for the first time in the organisation. Overall, the analysis indicated that by far the majority of the job applicants were female (70%). The highest percentage was for PA/HR Administrator (85%), while on the contrary, the majority (70%) of the applicants for the surveyor position were male (occupational job segregation). For the more senior position of Head of Marketing and Fundraising (one of the top positions in the ENGO after the CEO), which was reported to be a relatively female domain by the research participants, there were also more female applicants. However, it should be noted that there were five applicants for this position, and one applicant did not complete the equal opportunity monitoring form. Therefore, the analysis showed that 60% of the known applicants were female.

Moreover, the research found that in both countries employees in the ENGOs were mostly young single women with no childcare responsibilities while the senior managers were in their 40s-60s. In the British in-depth study ENGO, the proportion of

applicants was higher in the 25-34 age brackets for officer positions. In the Turkish ENGOs there was a similar picture and the average age of the employees was slightly younger. The average age for example in Turkish ENGO 5 was 27-28[64]; in ENGO 9 it was 25-26[65].

> 'The people I worked with are quite a lot senior and in [UK 8] within our team is all, in the external affairs team in [ENGO 8] where the majority of them sort of late 20s middle 30s girls ladies, if you like, but actually senior, most of the senior management and most of the key internal internal people we work with are sort of ....50s 60s male experts generally with beards and so we keep noticing it very very strongly when we have meetings [laughs]' (UK 8, senior external affairs officer-F).

According to one senior manager in British ENGO 5, the majority of women in lower roles in the ENGOs could be a reflection of the working practices of the ENGOs including family friendly practices.

> 'Ehm,.....difficult to say, all sort of different reasons, I suspect, partly, in some areas it is easier to take a career break for when...when one has a family, easier to come back to jobs I don't know, I suspect it is generally reflects the society' (UK 5, director of conservation, M).

Therefore, the research found that while women are under-represented in the most senior roles, they are largely represented in lower career positions as employees. This is parallel to Mellor's (2006) recognition under materialist ecofeminist theory that while women are present in the economy in large numbers as consumers and

[64] 'İşte ortalama şey diyelim 27 falan diyelim burda. Çünkü 25 de var 30 da var. Ihm hatta 28 demek daha doğru olur herhalde' (TR 5, officer-F).
[65] 'Yani yaş ortalaması biraz düşük olduğu için, 25-26 civarında' (TR 9, officer-F).

employees, they are absent from decision-making. It has been argued that a large number of women are attracted to work in the charity sector, because it provides flexible working hours and part-time work opportunities (Wilding et al., 2006). However, the research indicates that one of the most important issues is that pay in the charity sector is low as will be discussed in section 4.3 and the ENGOs do not differ much from other sectors in terms of flexible working arrangements. In order to see the factors that contribute to these gendered compositions, the working practices of the ENGOs are examined in the following sections.

6.4. Working practices in the ENGOs

This section explores the current working practices of the organisations. Although women dominate the ENGO sector, as section 6.3 demonstrated, the most senior positions in the majority of the organisations were occupied by men (section 6. 2). According to Acker (2006), gendered organisational practices contribute to the low presentation of women in senior management positions. Thus, working practices of the ENGOs will be discussed in the following section. The themes that are examined emerged from the responses to the interview questions and were observed during the fieldwork. It is a complex issue and many factors appear to contribute to gendered practices. Therefore, it is not an exhaustive set of themes and different factors are linked and influence each other.

6.4.1. Recruitment and promotion practices

Recruitment and promotion practices are one of the major areas where discrimination and prejudice towards women can occur (Acker, 1990; Bain and Cummings; 2000; McDowell, 1997). One of the responses provided demonstrates that recruitment and promotion can be a subjective process and the managers are appointed on the basis

of subjective criteria (Acker, 1992) especially in organisations where there are no formal procedures for promotion as was argued by a research participant in Turkey. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, even in organisations with formal procedures, recruitment and promotion criteria are often based on subjective values, as a result of which bias may occur (Acker, 2006).

> [How are the managers appointed?] '[laughs] well, you write down on a piece of paper you know, we want you to have good people skills and good...understanding of the issue and flexibility… you write down all the words, but in the end what you want to see is, if the person whom you can have some confidence in and you can feel they are warm as human beings, and you just feel that they would fit with the ethos of the organisation. So it is really hard to put your finger on. So, you write down all the things you think, educational attainment and blah blah blah blah, but actually you just think: yeah! I can feel that you are a good person, and you are passionate about doing what we do, and you would fit with the ethos of our organisation so we'd like to appoint you, whoever it is...' (UK 3, CEO-F).

Moreover sexist behaviour was also identified:

> '[A senior male manager in a large British ENGO] hired a secretary who was not very well suited to the job, there was another woman in post, a temp, who wanted the job full time and it would have been great, and I remember telling him: why did you go for [name] instead of the one you had? and he said: Ahh she is a bit dominant and I like that in a woman...' (UK 9, ex-manager-F).

Although it was also argued that there was no difference in terms of career progress between the environmental sector and private sector[66], one female research participant argued that there are no formal performance criteria established in the NGO sector. Thus, according to her, advancement in the ENGOs is more difficult than in the private sector.

> (Is there any difference between private sector and the environmental sector in terms of career advancement?) 'Of course, in the private sector you climb up more easily, because there are certain performance criteria in your job that are assessed. However in an environmental NGO, there is no such assessment, here is there is not much of career advancement. Thus, we always do the same job'[67] (TR 5, officer-F)

There may be various factors for the young employee profile in the ENGOs including low salaries, long working hours and the requirement to work on weekends, which are not compatible with family life. These working practices will be examined in section 6.4.2. However, it can also be argued that recruitment policies seem to be one of the crucial factors. In one of the small ENGOs in Turkey, the volunteer manager stated during the interview that when recruiting people, preference was given to people who were young and single. Therefore, the relatively young age group at officer level, especially for many Turkish ENGOs, appears to be a management decision. I underlined this important finding in my research diary: 'single, young women with no family/child obligations are preferred. Is it ethical?'

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[66] 'From the prospective ...of going up the ladder, I would imagine, it probably it is just as harder as any organisation, or any of the field. I don't think, you know, it is necessarily going to be easier in the environmental movement' (UK 1, officer-M).

[67] 'Tabi özel özel sektörde çok rahat yükseliyorsunuz, çünkü sizin ıhm yaptığınız işteki perfor, performans kriterleriniz değerlendiriliyor. Ama bir çevre örgütünde, bir sivil toplum kuruluşunda, böyle bir değerlendirme yok, burda çok fazla yükselme diye de bir şey söz konusu olmuyor. Dolayısıyla hep yaptığımız işi yapıyoruz'.

‘…due to the working hours when selecting someone for a position, being single is preferred because it is thought that having family especially having a small child means that it is not adequate for our flexi hours[68]‘ (TR 4, volunteers’ manager-F)[69].

The findings of the research regarding recruitment practices in some of the ENGOs indicate that, as discussed in the context chapter, although the ENGOs as any employers are bound by law not to discriminate against regarding on the basis of gender, marital status and other factors, in reality they do so. In addition, as discussed before, the lack of formal procedures and career assessment has negative implications on the career advancement chances of employees’ (mostly women since the sector is dominated by women).

The link between high labour turnover and career advancement

It was also ascertained that there was a very high labour turnover rate in the ENGOs in both countries due, in part, to the family responsibilities of women, which also affects women’s promotion chances since frequent changes and short-term jobs are often seen as a disadvantage in career progress (Metz, 2011). This has implications for women in the ENGOs since the majority of the staff found to be female. This is confirmed by Taylor (2011a) who found that women stay with ENGOs for a shorter period. ‘Women were significantly more likely than their male colleagues to have worked in the field for less than 10 years’ (Taylor, 2011a: 377).

‘Circulation [staff turnover] is very high, 2, 2.5 years’[70] (TR 7, officer-F).

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[68] The term flexi hours was understood in the Turkish ENGOs in general as long working hours.

[69] ‘Tabi bu çalışma saatleriniz, seçerken, bir pozisyona birisini seçerken, bekar olması tercih nedeni oluyor. Çünkü aile olmak çocuğunuzun hele ufak çocuğunuzun olması demek. Bizim bu esnek saatlerimize uygun olmayacağı düşünülüyor’.

[70] ‘ayrılanlar oluyor yani biraz sirkülasyon çok oluyor, yani 2 2,5 yılda bir biraz şey oluyor’.

> ‘I would say at least 50% of the staff under two years working here’ (UK 1, CEO-M).

The participant observation time spent in the British ENGO also confirmed this. During the participant observation period, many employees including some senior managers left the organisation. High labour turnover in organisations is argued to be as a result of ‘lack of job satisfaction and low level of employee commitment’ (Luddy, 2005: 1). Moreover, in the ENGOs other factors including short-term employment contracts and limited career chances appear to be important for frequent movement of employees. The flatter structures in the Turkish ENGOs provide fewer possibilities for career progression within the organisations than in the UK. For example, in several Turkish ENGOs (TR 4, 7, 9 and 10) there was a CEO position, but then the rest of the roles were officer roles with no other managers. However, in the large British and Turkish ENGOs there were more opportunities for progression. It has been acknowledged that becoming a manager in organisational settings would require proving oneself and long work experience (Wallace, 1998; Heidenreich, 2010). The research participants in officer roles as well as senior managers were aware of the limited career chances and the link between this and the high labour turnover.

> ‘….for us you can get to certain positions if you do your own project and may be after proving yourself, but this may be a long process…you need to prove yourself by doing things for many years. After that you can reach something’[71] (TR 5, officer-M).

[71] …hani bizde tabi biraz daha şey nasıl söyliyim yani kendi projelerinizi yapıp, belki kendinizi kanıtladıktan sonra bir yere gelebiliyorsunuz. Ama biraz uzun bir süreç olabilir….bir şeyleri yaparak belki kendinizi uzun yıllar ispat etmeniz gerekiyor. Ondan sonra bir şeylere gelebiliyorsunuz.

> ‘Unless somebody falls and dies, it is very difficult, you have five directors and ten heads and the rest of the organisation which are 20 other people. Unless somebody leaves at the top, how are you going to promote? How are you gonna be promoted? and because of the financial constraints that NGOs have, so the one way that someone has a tactic about this is to change jobs’ (UK 2, operations manager-F).

Job satisfaction is one of the factors that influences the retention rate in organisations and job satisfaction seems to be ‘related to autonomy, work-life balance, leadership, salary remuneration and being mentored’ (Chung et al., 2010: 986). The research participants in the ENGOs reported that the working practices including the low salaries and job insecurity were generally incompatible with family commitments.

> ‘Also considering the amount of money you earn, the amount of money you get and the job security you get, which is very low, you have to be really very qualified, and most people are possibly over qualified for what they are doing, and I think that's, you know, that's not always a bad thing, but, I think when people start thinking about bringing up a family or buying a house or...you know those things with their own life, rather than…I think a lot of people would step out’ (UK 1, coordinator-F).

Since the British ENGO sector is more established and professional in comparison to the Turkish ENGO sector, overall it appears to provide more career chances through intra- and inter-organisational moves. Thus, the retention rate appears to be higher in the large British ENGOs especially for those in management positions while it was still an issue for certain project staff. However, even in large ENGOs career chances may also be limited due to the shortage of managerial positions and higher retention

rates for senior management as well as limited funding possibilities. A male research participant with more than 8 years professional experience working in the same ENGO indicated that he had to move from one large British ENGO to another large ENGO in order to get a managerial position, because he was not promoted despite having the required skills and experience.

> 'I think more generally within an organisation I have seen in [the organisation] maybe there are fewer promotion opportunities to move within an organisation than in a large private sector or public sector and in an organisation like this sort of essentially often sitting and waiting for a particular person to go, in terms of promotion' (UK 7, head of campaigns-M).

However, it was also observed that very senior roles including CEO positions may be subject to change. During the fieldwork the female CEO of Turkish ENGO 5 was replaced by a male CEO and the CEO of the Turkish ENGO 6 had been the CEO of another large Turkish ENGO (ENGO 5) for two years before he moved to ENGO 6.

The reasons for the high turnover rate appear to be limited career progress chances, but also due to the working practices of the ENGOs including low wages, workload, long working hours and short-term employment prospects and gender biased internal procedures of promotion. It has been found in both countries that, as argued by radical feminism, 'the preferences of women are subordinated to the inclinations of men toward traditional ways of building careers, as well as organisational cultures' (Armenti, 2004: 18). The ENGOs appear not to be better, but worse than private sector organisations in terms of providing career chances for women since movement within the ENGO sector seems to be more limited due to fewer employment prospects in the sector. There is also a lack of internal promotion in

comparison to the corporate sector. Moreover, as opposed to the arguments of radical feminism, the research participants, including those in the most senior positions, generally did not seem to acknowledge that women can make a difference to management practices by arguing that gender does not matter in terms of management. In the following sections (sections 6.4.2 and 6.4.3) the working practices of the ENGOs will be explored.

6.4.2. Working hours and flexi work practices

'The NGO sector, in contrast to the public and private sectors, sustains its work to a great extent through voluntary contributions of time, talent, and treasure' (Garain, 2004: 1). Many of the research participants in Turkey indicated that their jobs encompassed volunteer work since they need to work extra hours. In the ENGOs in both countries, there appeared to be a culture of long hours, partly as a result of self-commitment, but also to complete the workload in the absence of funding.

> 'People here are very passionate and very committed, we have the opposite problem people not taking holidays and people working too long hours, you know. I don't have a problem of motivating staff here, because they are not doing it... they don't come here for what they get paid, they come here, because they believe in what they are doing, you know' (UK 4, CEO-M).

Moreover, frequent travelling was reported to be required for some employees in both countries. In some ENGOs (UK 4, TR 6 and 10) in certain departments including Campaigns, Policy, Communication and Volunteers' units one of the employment conditions seems to be readiness to travel at anytime to anywhere. Although in some ENGOs (UK 5) it was argued that the employees can choose not to travel, but this may have certain consequences in their career advancement.

‘Our campaigners and volunteers may be required to work a lot when they decide to do a campaign/action, including weekends or if you hear of an environmental disaster and you need to travel to the region. Therefore, especially [certain people] have a requirement to be available anywhere at anytime. Other departments such as finance or fundraising have more regular working hours. It depends from department to department’[72] (TR 6, PA to the CEO).

‘Half of my staff are travelling, so a lot of them are travelling [overseas] 30, 40, 50 trips a year’ [73] (UK 5, senior policy manager-M).

Hakim (2006: 282) has argued that certain occupations ‘requiring extensive travel, public relations work, jobs and careers that have long and/or irregular work hours that are incompatible with personal and family time are impossible to be organised as family friendly’. This may provide one of the explanations why mostly single young people are occupied in these jobs and women who have families tend to leave.

Flexi work arrangements[74] are argued to provide ‘benefits to both individuals and their organisations’ (Labour Relations Agency, 2006: 2). Therefore, flexible work arrangements are accepted as good working practices and are increasingly demanded to meet work-life balance and caring responsibilities such as childcare and eldercare (Labour Relations Agency, 2006). They are especially important for

[72] ‘Kampanyacılarımızla ve gönüllülerimiz ne zaman bir eylem yapmaya karar verseler tabi ki de ıhm çok çalışmak durumunda kalabiliyorlar hafta sonları dahil veya bir çevre felaketi duyuyorsunuz Cumartesi gecenin yarısı atlayıp otobüse veya uçağa her neyse ıhm o bölgeye gitmek durumunda kalabiliyorsunuz. Bu anlamda hani özellikle kampanyacılarımız iletişim sorumlumuz eylem ve gönüllü birimimiz bu insanlar ıhm her an ve her yerde olabilme gibi bir ıhm koşulları var aslına bakarsanız diğer departmanlar biraz daha düzenli çalışma saatlerine sahip finans olsun ıhm örneğin veya kaynak geliştirme bölümü olsun, departmandan departmana değişiyor’.

[73] ‘In my department as I said people have to travel so they are travelling overseas, but I also have people who have children and they say I don’t want to travel. I have staff who have children and they say my arrangements allow this, I can travel’ (UK 5, senior policy manager -M).

[74] Flexi working practices can also be called family friendly practices since theoretically they provide the ways to adapt personal needs of employees.

dual earner families (Abbott and Wallace, 2011). However, it was also argued that family-friendly practices would not solve gender imbalances in terms of representation in senior management roles (Hakim, 2006). According to Hakim (2006), while these practices help women to combine paid jobs with their domestic responsibilities, they create at the same time glass ceilings since they offer limited career progression (Charles and Grusky, 2004; Hakim, 2004; Jacobs and Gerson, 2004). Hakim (2006) further argued that persons working in the jobs that can be organised in flexible ways cannot devote themselves as much as people who work full-time on the same job. In contrast, since 'full-time workers put more energy and time to their jobs, they expect to be properly compensated for their extra availability' (Hakim, 2006: 283). Therefore, only low-grade jobs are offered as part-time (Hakim, 2006). Hakim's argument provides some explanation why most of the people who take part-time jobs have fewer career advancement chances.

Flexible working describes working patterns that are adapted to suit employees' needs and common types of flexible working include flexi-time (choosing when to work); annualised hours (working hours are worked out over a year); compressed hours (working hours over fewer days); staggered hours (different starting, break and finishing times for employees in the same workplace); job sharing; working from home and part time work (Directgov, 2011). In the UK the research participants acknowledge the importance of flexible working arrangements.

> 'It does send out a positive message to employees, and also there are some cases we would look at this, so everyone who wants a flexible working and I think it is really good, it is a good practice, flexible working is more and more important I think' (UK 1, head of marketing and fundraising-F).

> ‘It should do it as a people oriented organisation, it should allow flexible hours’ (UK 1, corporate manager-M).

In the Turkish ENGOs flexible working was understood either as long working hours (Turkish ENGO 4) or only as flexi-time (choosing start and finish times), or, in the rest of the ENGOs as just being able to ring the relevant manager when an urgent issue came up and giving a short brief about the issue. Therefore, it can be argued that the working arrangements in the Turkish ENGOs in general are not as flexible as in the UK. Regardless of the organisation’s size, part-time working arrangements were not practised in any of the Turkish ENGOs during the fieldwork period and in some ENGOs part-time work rather argued to be possible. Part-time work and working from home appears to be an exception, limited to a few students or employees that had to move to another city. This is a reflection of the Turkish labour market where flexi working, including part-time working arrangements, is less common than in the UK (OECD Family database, 2010). While in some Turkish ENGOs (TR 6 and 10) there was no formalised start and finish time for the employees and employees could choose their working times, in some others (TR 5 and 8) there were fixed working hours as in any other business organisations. The size of the organisations does not seem to be a factor determining flexibility in general.

> (Are there any flexi work practices in the organisation?) ‘No, there aren’t. Everyone works in high tempo’[75] (TR 8, PA to the CEO-F).

> ‘The provisions of the labour law apply within the normal standard hours of work from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. for the employees who are on payroll. Thus, the conditions

[75] ‘Hayır yok. Herkes oldukça yoğun tempoda çalışıyor’.

for women with childcare in this NGO are the same as in other workplaces [outside the NGO sector]'[76] (TR 8, PA to the CEO-F).

In the Turkish ENGOs (TR 6 and 7) part-time work appears to be limited only to certain 'valuable' employees that move to another city and to students. In addition, flexi-time policies are widely implemented, which was also understood to be the only way of providing flexi working practices in the Turkish ENGOs.

'Yes, one of our campaigners works as a remote worker part-time since her husband was relocated to another city. Although this is not our policy, we decided to do it not to lose her. There are flexi hours, no problem with it'[77] (TR 6, CEO-M).

'Everyone determines his/her arrival and leave time, 40 working hours weekly is expected from the employees, within that frame, they adjust'[78] (TR 6, CEO-M).

This was also indicated in a large British ENGO (UK 4).

'People here do work very long hours, but I don't insist they are all at their desk at 8.30 in the morning till 5.30 night, some of them might come at 9.30 or 10, but they also work here until 7 or 8' (UK 4, CEO-M).

However, what are perceived to be family-friendly practices such as flexibility in start and finish times (flexi-time) were reported to be causing longer working hours. These type of working practices are not really compatible with family life since people come

[76] 'Şimdi ofisin içinde çalışan insanlar için, normalde WWF ekibi içersinde kadrolu olarak çalışan ekibimizin 9-6 normal standart çalışma kanunu gereği kurallar kanunlar geçerli, dolayısıyla hani çocuklu bir hanım başka bir iş yerinde nasıl çalışılırsa bu STK'da da aynı çalışıyor'.

[77] 'Var mesela bir bayan kampanyacımız eşi başka bir yere gittiği için şeye geçti yani uzaktan çalışmaya geçti yarı zamanlı olarak. Pek politikamız olmamakla birlikte kaybetmek istemediğimiz için ona öyle karar verdik. Zaten esnek zaman uygulanıyor onda bir sorun yok. ehh çocuklu çalışanlarımız var. Bir sorun değil'.

[78] 'Yani herkes gelip gideceği zamanları belirliyor hafta da 40 saat çalışması bekleniyor insanların. O çerçeve de istedikleri gibi ayarlıyorlar'.

earlier or stay late to compensate the hours and often this causes unpredictable working hours (Hakim, 2006). Family structure such as being married or having children has been found to affect women negatively in terms of their paid work (Scholarios and Taylor, 2011). The working practices in the ENGOs seem to confirm Hakim (2006) who argued that these types of working are good to keep women in the labour market due to their dual workload, but they offer limited career progression.

Flat structured organisations are accepted to be more democratic than vertical structures with many levels of hierarchy, because they facilitate a greater level of communication among the staff and allow greater participation in decision-making (Acker, 2006). However, successful flat structures are sometimes limited to smaller companies and due to the fewer number of employees these organisations allow less flexible working conditions and people are required to work long hours (Acker, 2006). In the Turkish ENGO 7, which had a flat structure, where there were fewer employees, part-time job arrangements were seen as unlikely due to the work overload and the low number of employees working in the organisation.

> 'We have had these kind of flexi [part-time] work programmes for university students. This depends on the nature of the job. If it is possible to do a job part-time, it may be offered…'[79] (TR 7, officer-F).

By contrast, in the British ENGOs flexible working practices varied and were more likely to be granted than in the Turkish ENGOs.

> 'We have all the standard policies in terms of... there are some mothers here who work part time, because of their children, they find it easier,...there is the

[79] 'Mesela öğrenciler için bu tür esnek çalışma prog şeyleri yaptık daha önce. Üniversitede okuyan bazı arkadaşlar mesela part time işe girdi buraya. Bu [yarı zamanlı iş] aslında şeye bağlı o işin mahiyetine bağlı. Eğer part time bir şekilde kurtarılabilecek bir işse, o zaman evet part-time bir hanım olabilir. O iş sonuçta full time gereken bir işse zaten on üç kişi olduğu için ... Çünkü sürekli…'.

> availability to work from home occasionally ... some women do that, and we are quite flexible in terms of, people being able to make, in terms of their children and making arrangements around their children. It is not rigid here from that point of view and it doesn't need to be' (UK 4, CEO-M).

In one of the large British ENGOs (UK 6), in addition to reduced working hours, people could work remotely or take unpaid leave. Similarly to the private sector, part-time/job sharing practices seem to be mostly undertaken by women in the British ENGOs.

'Employees on flexible contracts are often excluded from training and development provision and from promotion opportunities' (Abbott and Wallace, 2011: 11) which shows that career advancement chances for part-time workers are reduced (Hakim, 2006). This also appears to be the case in the ENGO sector since the people working in part-time/job sharing arrangements had no managerial responsibilities. Only in one case, in the British participant observation ENGO (UK 1), was an officer promoted as a middle manager after her return from maternity leave, even though she started working part-time. Similarly, one of the research participants (with childcare responsibilities) who job shared and worked part-time (2-3 days/week) in one of the largest ENGOs in the UK highlighted that in order to be promoted to a managerial position, full-time-office based work is required. This supports the literature, which argues that women's advancement chances are reduced when working part-time. Women generally get fewer training chances, because they are likely to withdraw from the labour market and work part-time (Becker, 1993) due to gendered roles and responsibilities as well as limited childcare possibilities that are provided by society (OECDa, 2010). Part-time work is mostly undertaken by women,

and women who become mothers either leave their occupations or return to the labour market after their maternity leave on a part-time basis, because women are the primary care givers (Wall and Arnold, 2007; Smeaton, 2009) due to socially constructed gender roles. As a result of this, the career chances of women are significantly diminished.

> (Are there any job obstacles to climb up managerial positions?) 'It depends on the context, so if you happily live in London[80] and work full-time than I'd say no, there are no obstacles. If you want to do anything less than full-time and if you want to work outside London, then yes there are obstacles…..women are probably more likely to work part-time, so therefore they might experience a bigger impact' (UK 6, senior campaigner-F).

The research therefore reveals that the ENGO sector in both countries in general is not flexible and women-friendly despite the male CEO suggesting otherwise.

> 'I think the NGO world is very flexible, and I think we [ENGOs] are one of the most flexible ones within the NGO world' (UK 1, CEO-M).

In contrast, as will be discussed later in this section, since the ENGO sector provides limited career chances (short-term contract for many employees and low payment) as well as because the working practices are gendered (a culture of long working hours, frequent travelling and weekend work for some employees), as a result of capitalist working practices, which is embedded in society, and their reflection in the ENGO sector, the ENGOs appear to provide little room for advancement of women with family responsibilities.

[80] This is where the ENGO is based.

‘While flexible working arrangements may promote women’s entry to the labour market they are often associated with poor conditions of employment, prospects and protection arrangements and part-time work often does not give access to full employment rights and employment related benefits’ (Abbott and Wallace, 2011: 11). The limited protection of part-time employment was demonstrated when shortly after being interviewed, as a result of the restructuring of one British ENGO (UK 9), the part-time senior campaigner was among the first peope who lost her job.

Although flexi work arrangements are more likely to be practised in the UK than in Turkey:

> ‘Yes, I do think there are [family friendly practices]. I think we've got very flexible working, we've got very good policies in terms of leave and...taking time for caring responsibilities and we act as a very flexible employer in terms on when people can start, how they can take their time, also encouraging people to take time off when they've been working more than... So we are trying to be very flexible in terms of ours, when people can work, or people working from home. So in terms of working environment that's clearly, obviously human friendly and also gender friendly in terms of other caring responsibilities’ (UK 2, CEO-M).

It appears that they vary from one organisation to another. While in one large British ENGO, it was reported that people were normally granted what they ask for[81] and support is provided to ease working from home, in some others at director level certain flexi work arrangements such as working from home is not always favoured.

> ‘Working from home is also an option. If you want to work permanently from home you have to use the flexible working policy and apply to do that. If you just

[81] ‘On the whole, people generally are given what they ask for. It is good for the organisation, yes it has a very good flexible working policy’ (UK 6, senior campaigner-F).

> want to have a day or week part-time work than again than you just negotiate it with your manager and that's pretty easy to do. And also we have set up a system so that people working from home now have all the internet, intranet and work systems like people in the office' (UK 6, senior campaigner-F).

One of the senior managers in British ENGO 7 believed that flexi work arrangements were necessary. He pointed out that the director's vision is very important since it influences the working policies and managers of a certain age seemed to be against these practices. However, according to him, it was only generational attitudes, since flexi work arrangements have been developed recently and gender discrimination was no longer a problem (neo-sexism) (Martinez et al., 2010). Moreover, some large British ENGOs such as UK 5 appear to be less flexible than others.

> 'We don't have very flexible working hours,…..working from home is possible, but for some jobs.....we are flexible to some extent, but I don't think, flexible working is as flexible as some other organisations' (UK 5, senior policy manager-M).

In certain cases 'employees' requests to access work-life balance policies[82] are perceived as being in conflict with operational goals' (Todd, 2011: 1). Family friendly working practices do not come for free, as a result of which 'employers are often unwilling to reorganise work arrangements due to rigidity and/or due to the higher costs entailed' (Hakim, 2006: 281). At the director level, in several British ENGOs (UK 1, 5 and 7), including small and large ENGOs, flexi work practices including part-time work and working from home is not favoured for several reasons. These include the fact that people would not work as much at home; not everyone would have an

[82] The term work-life balance in this thesis refers to flexi working arrangements.

effective working environment; people would miss meetings and therefore cannot be aware of the issues in the organisation; it would cause communication problems between people and some confidential information would be disclosed.

Moreover, the business needs of the organisation were also emphasised when considering granting flexi work arrangements to employees. A senior manager was criticised by some research participants for trying to introduce corporate world rules in the ENGO.

> ‘I think organisations will...you know they will try and balance the needs of the employee with the needs of the business’ (UK 1, head of fundraising and marketing-F).

This indicates that although ENGOs are set up on an ideological bases and values (Jepson and Canney, 2001; Lewis, 2003) they tend to replicate the corporate-world. It is worth noting that a number of businesses have recognised that women bring diversity onto the boards and management of companies, which helps to increase competitivesness of the organisation. However, as will be demonstrated in the following sections no such initiative has been seen in the (E)NGO sector. When taking into account the gendered working practices discussed in this chapter including a clubby way of work, long work hours culture, short-term working practices and recruitment practices, the ENGO sector appear to have worse working practices than particularly some of the large profit-oriented companies.

Moreover, it was also observed during the participant observation period in the in-depth research ENGOs, there were no formal procedure regarding flexible working policies and the employees were not provided with any concise information related to these in the organisation. It appears that flexi-work arrangements were negotiated

with the top management, mostly with the CEO, on an individual basis and not all employees had the same chances. Thus, the data suggests that personal arrangements appear to be important to be allowed to work flexibly.

> ‘If the boss is very hostile for some reason, then you end up in a bad position. I think, currently, the low staff numbers...and at other times, if you have a great boss, you can be flexible [independent from the number of the staff]’ (UK 1, coordinator-F).

In sum, in the ENGOs in both countries there appears to be a culture of long working hours and weekend work and a requirement to travel for certain employees. These are ‘based on a male life trajectory’ (Armenti, 2004: 19) since as reported by the female research participants these three factors are incompatible with women’s dual roles. The current working practices in the ENGOs appear to be one of the reasons for the reduced career chances for women. For example, the job adverts of one of the ENGOs (TR 8) include a condition to be able to fit to ‘flexible working hours’ practices, which was understood in Turkish ENGOs as long working hours. Radical feminism argued that the working practices based on masculine values and women’s dual responsibilities have not been taken into account since (as discussed in chapter 3 under Marxist/socialist feminist theory) organisational structures are based on capital accumulation and profit making. The ENGOs have increasingly adopting corporate world practices where labour, (and especially women’s) exploitation occurs, since their dual workload and reproductive roles remain invisible. It appears that the aims of liberal feminists in the organisational context have been met in terms of the growing number of women entering in the labour market. On the other hand women’s needs as a result of social roles and other inequalities (including insufficient

childcare support, limited access to training and education of those working part-time or from home in particular), which reduce women's career chances, cause wage gaps between female and male employees and sharpen the gender division of labour are not taken into account in the ENGO sector. As a result of these practices and expectations, single and young female employees dominate the sector and as the following sections will examine, those with family commitments tend to leave or work part-time. Flexible work arrangements provided by the ENGOs do not differ significantly from other organisations and in general the ENGOs mimic the working practices in wider society, or are less flexible. In contrast, based on the ENGOs, as a result of the limited resources in the ENGO sector, none of the ENGOs seem to provide compensation to the employees for working long hours. While in the UK, the ENGOs provide time in lieu if an employee works at the weekend, in Turkey the employees repeatedly reported that they do not take any days off to compensate for weekends worked. Although flexible work arrangements seem to provide employment chances for women with dual responsibilities, in general they appear not to help women in their career progress since they are offered in low status job segments and the career chances seem to be limited for those working in flexible arrangements. Deriving from radical and socialist feminist theories women's dual roles and domestic responsibilities and the way working practices are organised around patriarchal values appear to limit women's career advancement in the ENGOs, because women's contribution and women's work in the unpaid private sphere have been invisible in society and these gendered assumptions are repeated in the ENGOs.

6.4.3. Project based funding, short term employment practices and low salaries

'NGOs depend largely on unreliable sources of income' (Crowther, 2001: 5) which can create uncertainty for the organisation and the employees.

> 'The common problem is money. Because it is short term funding for all our projects' (UK 3, CEO-F).

> 'Our revenues are not much. The organisation survives with donations and we also know the budget, nobody hides anything from us, it is very difficult to do the things that I suggest now'[83] (TR 4, officer-M).

The income sources of NGOs include government funding, membership subscriptions, donations, public sector grants, corporate contracts and self-generated income (Moore, 2005; Jepson, 2005). However, ENGOs seem increasingly to chase project based funding in order to survive. One of the implications of this was that the ENGOs had worked in some policy areas that they would not have worked in if they did not have the funding. This will be examined in Chapter 7 where the link between gender and the campaigns of the ENGOs are examined. It is also worth noting that, the ENGOs were having to generate income by means of publications, books, ecological tourism and even the production and marketing of agricultural products.

> 'We have 800 members of which only half pay their member fees regularly. Therefore, it is not possible to say that financial source for the organisation comes from donations or member fees, very little is paid with that. Thus, it is project based and [the organisation] develops products and markets them with

[83] 'Tabi bizim gelirler fazla değil yani nihayet bağışlarla yaşıyor ee bütçesini de biliyoruz, biz bizden hiçbir şey saklamıyorlar, bu bütçeye göre benim dediklerimin yapılması şu anda çok zor'.

the aim of generating our financial sources'[84] (TR 10, volunteers' responsible-F).

During the fieldwork in Turkey, one of the Turkish ENGOs was preparing to move to another location where the rents were cheaper, although the new location was far less convenient for employees and volunteers. In addition, this ENGO was trying to merge with another to be stronger in terms of financial resources. In Turkish ENGO 9, the research participant reported that there were around 18 people when she started working for the organisation, but two years later although the work levels remained the same, the number of employees had to be reduced to four. Thus, the remaining people had to takeover the workload[85].

As a result of short-term project funding, the work contracts of the employees working on projects in most of the ENGOs are for 2 to 3 years. Thus, employees had limited job prospects which contributes to a high labour turnover, as discussed in section 6.4.1.

'…projects are 3 years, and to keep people in the office is very difficult to get funders to get administration costs,.... you can't pay for someone, if you don't have the money, so the person leaves then they bring another grant for another project which is 3 years and then somebody else has to do that. .... so you get different people doing it, obviously people have commitments they want to have

[84] 'Bizim ilgili 800 tane üyemiz var. Kayıtlı üye. Bunların da yarısı falan aidatlarını düzenli olarak yatırıyor. Onun dışında Doğa Derneği'nin işlerini yapmak için mali kaynağı üyelerden ya da bağışlardan geldiğini söylemek mümkün değil. Çok az harcamalarını buradan karşılanıyor. Bunun dışında ne yazık ki proje bazlı. Onun için de projelerden bağımsız olarak kendimizi idare ettirebilmek için bu sivil toplumun devam ettirebilmesi için sağlıklı bir yöntem değil. Bunun için Doğa Derneği ürün geliştirme yoluna gidiyor. Kendi ürünlerini ve marketingi hazırlama….Bunun gibi ürünler hazırlayarak bir taraftan da işte projelerden bağımsız kendi finans kaynaklarımızı yaratmayı hedefliyoruz'.

[85] 'Ama işte derneklerin de durumları hani belli olduğu için maddi açıdan. Mesela, ıhmmm bizim geldiğimiz zaman on yedi- on sekiz eleman kişiydik çalıştığımız ama, maddi imkansızlıktan dolayı bu kadar kişi olabildik. Hani olsa gerçekten yapılacak çok iş var ve olmadıkları için de, bu olan kişilerin üzerine yükleniyor bütün sorumluluklarda' (TR 9, officer -F).

> steady jobs ... they go to a bigger organisation that has more... ehmm.....more security.....basically.. We have got projects for 3 years, recruitment for 3 years. Oh what we do when the funding ends, they haven't been forward thinking whereas now more forward thinking' (UK 1, membership officer-F).

The limited funding appears to put pressure on people, which is recognised by senior management.

> 'The funding model is a real problem... I would like to be able to give people more time to reflect and things like that, but we don't have the money. We can't afford the salaries unless people are working reasonably full time even though they are not full time on that project. There is a pressure problem without question. So I think it is a stressful place to work partly because of the nature, what you are trying to do and because of the way the projects are funded' (UK 2, CEO-M).

In some British organisations (UK 1 and 2) the senior management aimed to get more projects in order to build more security for the organisation and the employees, which was described as forward thinking by a research participant in British ENGO 1. However, this also had some negative aspects as the additional project work was assigned to the employees who already have a workload from another project. Therefore, securing the present staff in the organisations by means of additional funding (extra projects), increases the amount of work for staff.

> 'People might be working on ten or fifteen different projects £10 – 15,000 each. That's quite stressful, because you've got to manage so many different bits' (UK 2, CEO-M).

In summary, as a result of the limited funding, low salaries and poor job prospects, there appears to be a high staff circulation within the ENGO sector in both countries. This has negative implications particularly on women's careers, since continuous work experience has been found to be important for career advancement (Heidenreich, 2010). Section 6.3 showed that the majority of project staff are female. Women's advancement chances are worsened since women tend to have more career breaks than men as a result of gendered roles and women's domestic responsibilities including childcare (Baerts, 2011) and limited career prospects and low salaries do not seem to provide an impetus for women to work continuously, particularly when they have a family (Verbakel and de Graaf, 2008).

6.4.4. Organisational culture

Organisational culture appears to be important for career progress since it can pose a barrier for women's advancement (Acker, 1990; Cockburn, 1991; Collinson, 2003). According to one of the female research participants who climbed high on the career ladder, in order to increase the number of successful women a change must be undertaken in organisational culture. This supports current feminist theory on organisational culture (Halford and Leonard, 2001).

> 'Well…why they [women] don't get promoted? I think there is an endemic issue about, there are many things that resolve to the science bias and the types of people they hire for the jobs, the way the organisations are managed, and the types of policies they put in place, all of which are contrary to the interest of women and it is a systemic failure. There is not just one thing you can point to, I think the whole culture of the environment movement is, you know, placed itself

on so many levels that women actually don't go in and move up the ranks' (UK 9, ex-manager-F).

As Metz (2011: 299) found that 'unpleasant experiences due to behaviour and values characteristic of masculine cultures' (Metz, 2011: 299) in the environmental movement were reported, which may also provide an explanation why there are not many female senior managers. This is a contrary finding to the literature (Vázquez, 2011), which suggests that environmental NGOs are women-friendly workplaces.

> 'In the environmental movement generally at the senior level, you don't really see many female managers at all. I've been quite alone in that regard. Very male... but, even when they are women, the culture itself felt very male….there is a way of working that I have noticed in the environmental movement that is very male, is very macho, and....that's not very appealing to women actually... it's ...you know, think about [a global large ENGO], you know, 'we go out on a ship, right we'll get out on that boat and stop them' [she imitates a male's voice] you know, you might get a few women who are really ok about that, but generally it's not something that someone would associate with what most women would be comfortable about. There is, the maleness of a clubby culture, you know, it is not very family-friendly in terms of having work-life balance so there is certainly that issue that comes into it.....and...I have had so many sexist remarks...' (UK 9, ex-manager-F).

As a result of this kind of behaviour exclusion occurs (Moore, 1988) and she reported that she became more aware of her feminist consciousness once she started working in the British ENGO.

> ‘Moving into the environmental sector turned me into a much stronger feminist than I think I was before. I think I've been a feminist, but I didn’t feel consciously that I had faced sexism until I moved into the environmental movement. So it's quite crystal to me’ (UK 9, ex-manager-F).

Gender based stereotypes also came to light during the interviews. Gender stereotyped socialisation exists, which in turn is a result of different attitudes towards the two sexes and different preconceptions about them (Billing and Alvesson, 1989; Heilmann, 2001; Vogel et al., 2003). As a result of this, women’s career advancement chances are reduced. One of the female senior managers (UK 1) pointed out that if men and women had a similar approach to the work, men would be perceived as professional and strong, and women would be perceived as contrary.

> ‘The woman was perceived as being an awful awful personality, because she was very strong, knew what she wanted for herself and for her organisation...and couldn’t get a job in conservation at all, she couldn't get an office to work, and somebody, a guy that I know of, who was qualified, same similar qualification, similar life experience...and similar approach to... the way he worked, he was very focused, knew what he wanted for himself and his organisation and everybody just thought he was brilliant...This a nice strong character. When you looked at them you know she was always perceived as being ...quite harsh. I still think if a woman...is a manager which is quite strict...focused and whatever, I think people tend to .....think as it is negative, rather than positive....generally. Something that I observed here is that, [female senior manager] and [female senior manager] are very focused and

professional and know what they want and staff, some people don't like them. Some people just don't like that approach' (UK 1, director-F).

Moreover, Status Characteristics Theory seems to be valid for some female senior managers since the contributions of members of lower status groups are systematically devalued by both low and high status group members (Pennera, et al., 2010). During the interviews, female senior managers shared their experiences of feeling excluded or not being taken seriously enough, while a male officer indicated that some men don't necessarily want to take direction from female superiors.

> 'You know in my personal experience with me being director, I don't think I am taken enough seriously... by some people… when I started I was an assistant and then moved up to be director, so I have gone through being an officer, managing work…and I still find I am not taken seriously by... some people that have been around similar lengths of time. They still see me as an assistant and haven't changed the way they think or they just don't want to take me seriously, I am not sure what it is, whether it could be being a woman, I don't know. But, I still think that there is a difference' (UK 1, director-F).

Moreover, it was also reported that even at senior levels, women managers appear to be excluded.

> 'I've just found it shocking, there was a meeting with the climate minister that we would normally, my predecessor would have been invited to, I was not invited to it' (UK 9, ex-manager[86]-F).

The research shows that examining organisational culture reveals some of the factors behind the under-representation of women in senior roles. It appears that

[86] This incident occurred in her current employment where she is the CEO

men as the dominant group determine the group culture (Simpson and Lewis, 2005). As argued by radical feminism, organisational culture in some ENGOs reflects stereotypical assumptions and other inequalities that women face in society. The research contributes to the overall theory that women in senior roles, where there is male domination, are required to put in additional effort to survive (Newman, 1995; Lyness and Thompson, 1997) and women in elite positions often feel like 'outsiders on the inside' (Moore, 1988: 568), even in the ENGO sector.

6.4.5. The link between senior management positions and childcare responsibilities

Drawing on my experience in the in-depth research ENGOs as well as the accounts of the research participants, the number of female staff with children was very small. More importantly, the male senior managers were more likely to have children than their female counterparts in the ENGOs. One of the reasons for employees having few children appears to be the young age profile, which was explored in section 6.3 on the gender and age profiles in the ENGOs. 'The interconnections among childbearing, childrearing and career issues are important components to consider when examining women's career progression (Armenti, 2004: 5).

> 'We don't have many children…I suppose that that's partly due to the demographics of the organisation is a lot of young people employed here. So there are lots of people here who don't have children. And the reason some people don't have children because they don't believe in having children, they don't think the population should keep growing' (UK 4, CEO-M).

> 'One of the main reasons for the low number of children here is that we are very busy people. There is no 9 to 5 here. There is no definite start and end time at

> the office. They know that you are not at the office at 9 a.m., because you had worked the previous day until 11 p.m. Therefore, you cannot have a family and child; because otherwise you cannot continue working here…[87] (TR ENGO 6, officer-F).

However, the low number of children may also be a reflection of the trend that especially highly educated people tend to have fewer children than the rest of society (OECDa, 2010).

It was argued by some of the senior managers in the UK that in order to compensate for the low wages, other incentives such as good maternity benefits were provided to the employees.

> 'We have very good policies and we've got a very good maternity policy, we've got a good paternity policy, we've got all that which I think it's quite common for voluntary sector. Because we don't pay that much, so you have to make up with policies' (UK 7, CEO-M).

However, most of the female employees who had children tended to leave after their maternity leave or return on a part-time basis. In the British in-depth research ENGO there was only one woman based at the main office who had a child, but she had returned to work part-time after her maternity leave. One female manager at British ENGO 7 had taken voluntary redundancy after her maternity leave, which suggests

[87] 'Ya şöyle mesela burda çocuk oranının düşük olmasının en büyük sebeplerinden bir tanesi bizimde yaşadığımız bir sıkıntı ıhm biz gerçekten çok meşgul insanlarız. yani bizim ofis olarak ıhm çalışma saatlerimiz çok fazla yoğun mesela. yani böyle işte sabah dokuz akşam beş gibi şeyim yok zaten öyle yaşamak insanlardan oluştuğu için yani burası. yani bir giriş çıkış saati yoktur mesela bu ofiste. Bilirler ki hani sen sabah dokuzda burda olmazsın çünkü bir öncekinde on bire kadar çalışmışsındır. Dolayısıyla yani bir aile düzenine sahip olmak çocuk çocuğun dışında birde bunun üzerine çocuk sahibi olmak bu tempoyu çok fazla şey yapacak bir şey ıhm bu şekilde devam edemezsiniz burda çalışmaya.

that senior managers often find it hard to combine their responsibilities with family life (French, 1995).

> ‘She has now gone, but she came back between, she took voluntary redundancy, she actually took voluntary redundancy, because she wanted to spend more time with her children, that was the big motivation, I understand her’ (UK 7, head of campaigns-M).

> ‘Quite a lot of employees have short-term contracts which may be one year or two years so…because of that...it might not happen that people have children and come back’ (UK 1, CEO-M).

The explanation for this seems to be the working practices including low wages, short-term employment prospects, long working hours and the requirement to travel for certain employees, since ‘women spend more time on care work (time spent to care for a child or another adult) as a primary activity than men’ (OECDa, 2010: 15). As Wallace (1998: 170) argued on the basis of the research done on NGOs in the UK ‘the travel demands make it almost impossible for women with children to take certain jobs’.

Moreover, the majority of the women who return to work in the British ENGOs seemed to choose part-time work which supports the existing findings that indicate that a ‘significant proportion of women work part-time in the UK and mothers with dependent children are even more likely to do so’ (Abbott, and Wallace, 2011: 9). This has direct consequences for women in the labour market including limited career progress, which has a negative impact on retirement and unemployment benefits (Abbott and Wallace, 2011).

> ‘I would think that more than 80% of women who have had children come back to work at the organisation, but I would think that the majority of them do not work full-time after having had children’ (UK 8, director of fundraising-F).

Moreover, the cost of childcare was perceived to be high in comparison to the wages received by the female research participants, which may also be one of the reasons why female employees choose not to have children or they decide to leave once they have childcare responsibilities. In Turkey, informal carers such as grandparents seem to be important for childcare. However, industrialisation has caused immigration to cities where formal childcare arrangements are necessary and not available to everyone due to its cost (World Bank and SPO Report, 2009). This was found to be one of the major factors for women leaving their jobs or changing the nature of their work (Walby and Olsen, 2002; OECD, 2010c).

> ‘Is having a child an obstacle for a career? I think it is, because if you want to work you must be supported by some people. Either your family is here, your mother or mother-in-law, in Turkey it is generally like that. You hire someone to look after the child, for which the expense would be the same as your wage. If you want to give your entire salary to childcare, you can have a child’[88] (TR 7, officer-F).

Furthermore, when I explored how many of the employees who had children occupied managerial positions, it appears that male senior managers are more likely to have children than female senior managers. It has been recognised that family features especially the number of children and their ages have an important influence

[88] ‘Çocuk kariyere engel mi? Bence engel çünkü şöyle yani çocuğunuz var tabi. Birileri tarafından çalışmak istiyorsanız mutlaka desteklenmek zorundasınız. Ya aileniz buradadır yakınınızda oturuyorsunuz anneniz de kayınvalideniz de birilerine bırakırsınız Türkiye de bu genelde böyledir. Eee evde bakıcı tutarsınız ki onun maliyeti sizin çalışma maliyetinize eşdeğer. aldığınız maaşın tamamını çocuğunuzun bakıcısına vermek istiyorsanız çocuk sahibi olabilirsiniz’.

on career progress (Baerts, 2011). It was argued that ‘around half of the women in senior-level professional and managerial occupations in Britain are childless, even if they have married, sometimes more than once’ (Hakim, 2006: 283). This seems to be also the case in the British ENGOs. In the British participant observation ENGO (UK 1), although women outnumbered men, there was only one female middle-manager based in the office who had a child, working part-time, while 4 out of 5 male managers that I interviewed had children. In the case of Turkey, it appears that the women who had children in the Turkish ENGOs, many of whom were in senior management positions, moved to the ENGO sector when their children were grown up. For example, the female CEO of Turkish ENGO 7 and the volunteers’ manager in Turkish ENGO 4 who had children started working at their organisations when they retired from their previous job, so none of the research participants had any young children. The literature suggests that women are more likely to work full-time when their youngest child reaches the age of compulsory schooling (on average 6 years of age) (Family database, 2010).

In Turkish ENGO 6, two of the senior managers who had children in the organisation were men, including the CEO.

> (How many female managers have children?) ‘Only one [out of five] has children, the others don’t. So, may be that proves the point that the women who don’t have children go higher up in the career ladder…whereas if you look at the men...well...two out of three have children’ (UK 4, CEO-M).

In the UK some senior managers were aware of the gendered division of domestic work, women’s dual work load and its negative consequences on women’s careers since the majority of the domestic work is undertaken by women.

> ‘...it is not just to do with discrimination against women, it is more to do with the lives of women. They have children, got domestic responsibilities, they find it difficult in terms of being able to take on huge responsibilities at work that require very long hours well at the same time, it is to do with, domestic areas of work, by looking after children, and they find it really hard to make men do equal amount of work as women…’ (UK 4, CEO-M).

None of the ENGOs in either country provided any childcare facility. Some British ENGOs mentioned that they provided childcare vouchers within the government funded scheme. In Turkey, no such scheme exists. Some of the employees were anxious about having children, because they thought that they would not be able to cope with childcare and the workload. This confirms the literature that argued that ‘many women cannot see how to balance multiple demands from the domestic sphere with those of career’ (French, 1995: 59). Moreover, childcare cost was one of the concerns of the female employees, because of the limited future prospects due to the project based funding and low wages in both countries.

> ‘I'd like to spend some time with them [children], and yeah it would be really hard to take 5 years out and come back in. Because a lot is about the networking, the other factor that is quite hard..., cause the money is low...if you have a partner who does a similar job to you, it is going to be really hard. Say you might actually just choose...to get a job better paid in a different sector, which seems to be universal what people end up doing, finding it very difficult, yeah that seems to be what happens, you know, maths doesn't really work in a low paid sector’ (UK 1, officer-F).

The contributions of partners in career progression are acknowledged. While women are more likely to support their spouses (Baerts et al., 2011), 'they very rarely get the same support from their partners even when they are in powerful positions' (French, 1995: 59). Often women have career breaks or work part-time due to care responsibilities[89]. Moreover, it appears that partners having two relatively similar jobs that require similar responsibilities seem to be incompatible with family life.

> 'Our head of campaigns has just left and because she couldn't really balance work-life balance, she couldn't do it and with her kids, her husband is also a big campaigner in another NGO, and one of them had to change lifestyles, because they couldn't manage anymore, and the woman chose it and... I see that so often, it is always the woman who makes that sacrifices for career. She says she is happy, she wants to do other things now, not as ambitious, women are not as ambitious as men I think on balance'[90] (UK 9, ex-manager-F*).*

> 'Once you get into really high powerful positions, it is difficult. I know that in my personal life, I am admitting nearly every night, weekends, I work very long hours, I have big responsibilities and I also have two teenage children and my wife works and I know that we couldn't both do my job, she couldn't be a chief executive of an organisation and me being in one. I mean, she could be one; I am not that's fine, but we couldn't both do it. So I think there are compromises to be made, you know it is difficult' (UK 4, CEO-M).

Therefore, the findings of this research also support the literature that while male managers are likely to be supported in their careers, women are considered to be

[89] As a working mother, I acknowledge that many women are willing to have career breaks or step down to reduce their working hours, because they want to raise and be with their children. However, at the current working system this has often consequences resulting in disadvantages in career progress.

[90] This occurred in a development NGO

responsible for childcare and domestic responsibilities to a greater extent than men (French, 1995; McDowell, 2001; Hakim, 2006). This highlights how important it is for women to get childcare support.

> ‘I definitely think that women have got a lot less freedom than men once they have children, so, don't have children. Do you have children? (I have one RK) There you go, it is too late, you've ruined your career [laughs]’ (UK 4, CEO-M).

Moreover, one research participant in Turkish ENGO 5 pointed out the common childcare practices and limitations in Turkey. In Turkey, especially for infants under 4, informal childcare arrangements are important because it is not a common practice in Turkey for parents to leave their babies in crèches due to the culture and extended family support, but also because there are a limited number of crèches. Although the Turkish research participants argued that childcare responsibilities were more likely to be assigned to women in Turkey than other countries, my experience and the data suggests that this seems to be a universal issue and valid for both countries .

It was argued that ‘labour market resources of the partner have a positive effect on the probability to experience a promotion to a top position for men and women, financial resources have a negative effect’ (Baerts et al., 2011: 658). It appears that financial security and the high income of one of the partners provides an incentive for the other to drop out of the labour market and it is very often men who earn more than women. This finding seems to be in contrast to the female research participants in both countries that argued that due to low salaries they would not be able to keep working in the organisation since the cost of childcare was very expensive.

> ‘My wife who is going to have another child soon, she would like to not work for years because that's her priority. I think that would affect her career. She felt,

her career was her main driver, but she will, she will go back to work, but she could afford stop working and go back and have a good career anyway, but it wouldn't be quite as good as it would've been without having those years off probably' (UK 7, CEO-M).

However, in the UK a few exceptional examples were described regarding the support provided to female managers by their partners, which may be one of the important reasons why those who were supported were very advanced in their careers. 'The decision of one of the partners to take a step down in his/her career, for instance by working part-time and taking care of the children, can offer possibilities for the career of the other partner' (Baerts et al., 2011: 655). Although I was not able to collect the data from her, because she did not want to participate in the research, I know from the research participants that the partner of one of the few female CEOs in the research ENGOs chose to retire and become a house-husband.

'There is a woman who is the head of [a British ENGO] for example, a big organisation here, her husband is house-husband, he looks after the children[91], and you do find some examples of women who are in powerful positions where the husband stays and looks after the children, not very often...' (UK 4, CEO-M).

(Do you think that having children would be an obstacle to have a career?) 'Yes, I think it can hold a parent back in terms of a career in that it restricts movement and climbing the career ladder. In my case, my career has continued without much hindrance but my husband has had to take the primary home role in order for me to do this. He still works full time but since my work involves me

[91] 'I have just met her a couple of times, I wouldn't say why that was, whether she feared she couldn't do the job with children or whether he just wanted to look after the children, I don't know what it was' (UK 7, CEO-M).

travelling he has compensated for me by remaining in roles for longer than he would have done if we had not had children' (UK 8, director of fundraising-F).

Moreover, a female top manager of a British development NGO underlined that she would not be able to continue with her career, if her partner did not support her and work part-time. She added that 'any senior level is very demanding of time' which can be argued to be one of the explanations why there are few women at top level and why senior female managers tend to have fewer children than their male counterparts. Thus, it can be argued that there is a strong link between childcare responsibilities and career progress and women who are supported by their partners appear more likely to advance. Organisational culture in the ENGO sector does not seem to be very different from the corporate sector in terms of working practices and the pressure which is put on women due to domestic responsibilities. Further, I argue that working in the ENGO sector appears to be more restricting for women, because the ENGOs offer fewer possibilities than the corporate world regarding childcare support because of their size and limited funding sources.

> 'If you are a high powerful woman in the city and you earn few million pounds a year, you just employ staff to look after your children, that's the way out, but there are very few women in the city. There are very very few women as chiefs. If you look at the number of women, who are CEOs in this country it is very very few. There is a glass ceiling, women are not getting through that glass ceiling' (UK 4, CEO-M).

As discussed in the previous sections, the working practices of the ENGOs appear to put pressure on female employees especially due to the culture of long working hours, weekend work and frequent travelling for some employees. When the

childrearing and childcare responsibilities of women and low salaries in the ENGO sector are taken into account, women have to choose between a career or children. As radical and socialist/Marxist feminism suggest, women's differential needs and responsibilities are not taken into account in the ENGO sector, which is established to achieve certain values and public good. Moreover, it appears that Mellor's (2006) argument that 'the valued economy is parasitical upon other aspects of human existence because women's work and lives are externalised and exploited by the valued economy' (p.139 and 148) also seems to be valid in the ENGO sector. The ENGO sector in both countries seems to mimic the corporate world and in some instances even appears to be more inflexible. Therefore, the research findings indicate that the ENGOs' working practices appear to be gendered. Although it was argued that gender roles differ from society to society because different values are assigned to men and women and what determines the division of labour (Coates, 1999), no significant differences have been found between these two very different countries in terms of working practices as well as research participants' accounts of women's role in society.

6.5. Other factors

As discussed in Chapter 3, other factors including training and education, continuous work experience, being visible to senior managers, and gender stereotypes are also considered to contribute to the low number of female managers. According to human capital theory, education and training as well as years of experience are keys for career progress (McNamee and Miller, 2004). Moreover, different factors including socialisation, cultural stereotypes, personal characteristics and social barriers have been argued to account for different occupational interests between women and

men, which cause occupational segregation (Alvesson and Billing, 1997; Ceci et al., 2009; Beltz et al., 2011). As a result ‘women are under-represented in the fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics careers’ (Beltz et al., 2011: 313). During the interviews in the UK, some female research participants indicated that they felt restricted in their career chances, because in the environmental NGOs a science degree was reported to be important for career progress.

> ‘I think women are passionate about the environment, but the more you go to senior levels it is about numbers and statistics and science and I don’t think you have as many women who are interested in that side or have that background. And so I suspect that if you look at the numbers in academia, the science side is still dominated by males, certainly in my generation anyway is by men’ (UK 9, ex-manager-F).

> (Do you think there are any job obstacles in the environmental movement to climb up?) ‘You need to have a science degree which I don't have, but yeah... not having science degree is a real barrier’ (UK 1, volunteers’ officer-F).

Moreover, it was also emphasised by a senior manager that her previous experience in a British ENGO (ENGO 9) was that having a science degree in the organisation was more important for career progress than having adequate management skills.

> ‘I have noticed, it's all about the science, they don’t get the people skills, they don’t get having to nurture people in their jobs, it was all about if they got hardcore science, and they are fine... certainly in [UK 9]. That was my experience and the people management side was absolutely atrocious, they had no sense of people skills’ (UK 9, ex-manager-F).

Although not all the top managers who participated in the research had science related degrees (such as biology, ecology, environmental science and engineering), this appears to be important especially in the large ENGOs for career progress since many of the top managers who I interviewed had science related degrees. Thus, the research supports the literature that documented that certain ENGOs have recruited their staff on the basis of their scientific background (Rootes, 2007). However, there is a need to research further the links between a science degree and career advancement in the environmental sector since it could be one of the factors for the low number of female managers in the environmental sector.

Management experience and continuous work experience also have been found to be important when climbing the career ladder (Heidenreich, 2010). Women are more likely than men to have career breaks and career breaks result in fewer promotion chances (Baerts, 2011). Moreover, married women were found to be more likely to have career breaks than single women (Verbakel and de Graaf, 2008) which confirms the findings of this research that women tend to leave or reduce paid work when they have a family (section 6.4.4).

> (What criteria are important when recruiting managers?) 'First of all it is important that s/he knows the subject, s/he has to have experience regarding the subject and management experience. For example if we are looking for a campaigns director, s/he may have very good knowledge about campaigns, but s/he may not have any management experience. Management skills are very

important. I can say that it is what we take into account the most'[92] (TR 6, PA to the CEO and HR-F).

Moreover, being visible to senior management appears to be important for promotion (Herman et al., 2010). The research participants also acknowledge that there are differences between women and men's approaches as a result of which men are more likely to be visible to senior management and they progress faster. It has been argued that 'transformational leadership is the preferred leadership style used by women of which characteristics relate to female values developed through socialization processes including building relationships, communication, consensus building, power as influence, and working together for a common purpose' (Trinidad and Normore, 2005: 574) which was confirmed by the female research participants.

> 'It is probably there is a glass ceiling so women are not visible at senior management level and therefore women don't get promoted. At senior management level the policies are in place that are unable to move women up to the ranks to be senior managers....the ways of working...there are ways of working that I want to work in.....I mean generally and [UK 9] in particular…very competitive, very confrontational, very egocentric, as I said to have to the statistics, numbers, whereas I think about the relationships with people and how you build ideas together and I think women we are at a completely different level' (UK 9, ex-manager-F).

One of the ways of being visible includes staying at the office late, which is often not compatible with family life (Wallace, 1998). Moreover, as was discussed before,

[92] 'Bir kere tabi ıhm konuyu iyi bilmesi gerekiyor, konuyla ilgili tecrübesi olması gerekiyor ve management experience olması gerekiyor. Hani atıyorum ıhm kampanya direktörü arıyoruzdur, kampanyaları çok iyi biliyordur ama insan yönetmemiştir daha önceden, management skills çok çok önemli o anlamda ıhm en çok buna dikkat ediyoruz diyebilirim'.

training also improves the chances for getting promoted (Benschop et al., 2001; Nentwich, 2006). One of the youngest female managers in the British research ENGO was promoted within a year of joining the organisation, when her predecessor left.

> (Why do you think that you were promoted very fast?) 'I did a lot of things that were seen and I think I was seen as very organised person, and I did a course in the volunteering sector management, so they could see that I was ambitious and I wanted to operate in a higher level…I think yeah, if you show that you are committed and you are dedicated and you are doing...good things and ehm you get acknowledged and you are learning extra things to...improve, I think... that can speed things up' (UK 1, policy manager-F).

When asked whether staying late plays a role in promotion:

> 'I think that is a fact though, if you want to get higher up...then you need to show that you are committed and staying late, and getting more done is a way of doing it' (UK 1, policy manager-F).

However, as was argued by the research participants, staying late would be a problem for many women especially those with family. In addition, it has been documented that networking is a significant factor for career progress. Social networks to get to the boards of organisations are important (Heidenreich, 2010). Similarly, 'women in executive positions are disadvantaged due to their minority position concerning their access to networks and their ability to build a mentoring relationship' (Rastetter and Cornils, 2011: 43). Thus, it can be argued that one of the reasons for the under-representation of women in top positions, and in particular for

executive and board positions, may be the limited networking possibilities for women and the existence of an old boys' network.

> 'You would be surprised by the number of men who've been to private schools, you know the kind of boarding schools background in these organisations and I do feel sometimes that that leaves a big legacy in terms of how men deal with women and the recognition of sort of male tribe, but wanting to find themselves in relation to the sort of men and there are lots of public school educated men in this area' (UK 2 and 4, head of external affairs[93]-F).

Moreover, the importance of having mentors is pointed out by a female senior manager, which supports the literature on mentoring, underlining that 'the benefits related to mentoring are substantial for individuals as well as organisations' and mentors 'provide emotional and career support and can serve as a role model' (Ensher and Murphy, 2011: 254). However, since the number of female senior managers is low, it appears to be more difficult for women to get support from other female senior managers and share their experiences.

> 'Now, in the environment movement, I don't have any role models….in the development sector, there are a couple of women at senior level..., but they don't engage very much. So I don't feel I have...the higher I get, the more lonely I feel...and in fact, I have just said to my chair, who is a mentor to other women in the sector and I've just said, can you get a dinner together, with other women at senior level so that I can share experiences, because I want to know whether what I am experiencing is just about me or if it is gender biased?' (UK 9, ex-manager-F).

[93] Position in her current employment.

In sum, similar to the literature, this research found that when women are in a minority in organisations, they 'receive heightened attention or visibility; are compared in an exaggerated manner to male peers and are more subject to gender stereotyping' (Merrill-Sands and Scherr, 2001: 6). It appears that at an individual level there are many factors including women's early career choices at school and university, on-the-job training, staying late and being visible to senior management, long work and management experience, which shape career progress. Women on the other hand appear to be at a disadvantage because they are still under-represented in science related degrees, which appears to be important to some extent in the ENGO sector. Moreover, gender stereotypes and expectations seem to be valid in the ENGOs, which make the ENGO sector indistinguishable from profit-based organisations. Therefore, the research contributes to the existing literature that argues that individual factors (although they are the consequences how a society is structured at the macro level) reduce career advancement chances for women and devalue women in managerial positions. Since women mainly occupy employee positions where there are limited future prospects due to the limited funding and career advancement chances in the organisations in both countries, it is difficult for women to advance especially when taking into account gendered stereotypes and roles, and limited networking and training possibilities. Thus, it appears that all these organisational and individual factors contribute to women's under-representation in the ENGO sector in the research countries. The macro factors will be explored in the following section.

6.6. Macro level

The data derived from the ENGOs in both countries suggested that in general, there are universal barriers that cause women to be under-represented in top levels in both countries.

> '…because there are so few women in senior roles, obviously there are barriers' (UK 2 and 4, head of external affairs[94]-F).

The data suggest that a gender division of labour exists at both the organisational and domestic levels in both countries. A gendered division of labour, which emerges because of gender relations (Çagatay, 2003), causes gender inequalities in career advancement. As argued by Mellor (2010b: 79) 'value is attributed to those activities and resources that can immediately access and generate money'. Thus, due to patriarchy and historical factors, but also capitalist relations that are present in every aspect of life, domestic and reproductive labour (unpaid work) are not included in macro-economic analyses, women's domestic responsibilities including care giving remain invisible and devalued (Çagatay, 2003) as was seen in the working practices of the ENGOs. These practices reduce women's career advancement chances, because of the invisibility of a dual workload and related disadvantages that women face in the workplace. As a result, women are required to adjust their domestic labour and reproduction responsibilities, even in the ENGO sector that is established on values other than profitmaking, by taking career breaks and/or reducing the paid hours at work (as shown in section 6.4.2), which was acknowledged by the research participants in both countries.

[94] Position in her current employment.

> ‘Among all the senior managers [in UK 9], there was only one woman, and...with no family, that's it. They send the signals that you can’t be at senior level and be a woman and have a family. I have a family’ (UK 9, ex-manager-F).

The research indicates that although women’s access to the labour market was improved by the liberal feminist movement that accelerated the adoption of regulations, which were expected to eliminate barriers for women, the liberal feminist theoretical framework has not been sufficient to explain deeper issues including women’s domestic responsibilities, childrearing, and care as well as gendered practices that disadvantage women in organisational settings embodied as a part of patriarchal and capitalist relations (Hartsock, 1987). The research therefore supports the view of Hartmann (1987: 109), who argued that ‘men and women have different relationships to capitalism and patriarchy that structure the division of labour in housework’ and society. As a result of this women are disadvantaged in terms of career advancement. Therefore, the family’s role in production and reproduction should be questioned in order to explore reasons for under-representation of women in senior roles since the research found that the dual workload of women especially in the form of childcare was a limitation for women, causing career breaks (Hartmann, 1987) even for privileged upper class women (as was discussed in section 6.4.4). One of the indicators of these inequalities and asymmetrical domestic responsibilities and roles is evident from the research, as in general, women are left to make a hard choice between career and children. The research found that women with childcare responsibilities tend to leave their work and male senior managers were more likely to have children than their female counterparts.

In addition, it is argued by radical feminism that 'men and women differ, on average, in their work orientations and labour market behaviour, and that these differences are linked to broader differences in life goals, the relative importance of competitiveness versus consensus-seeking values, and the relative importance of family life and careers' (Hakim, 2006: 280). Therefore, as radical feminists argued, women and men do not necessarily share the same orientations in life[95] and may have different approaches in organisational settings[96]. However, many women have limited career chances due to social and structural factors including organisational working practices and the expectations to meet gendered roles as homemakers and childrearers and therefore 'cannot make an informed choice' due to limited childcare support and stereotypical gendered roles (Abbott and Wallace, 2011: 10). Since in both countries the ENGOs have been increasingly adopting organisational structures and working practices similar to profit making organisations (professionalisation) in order to survive, they have been organised in similar ways to private sector businesses where capital accumulation and profit making is the first aim and demands of the work is put and privileged over the demands of the rest of life (Acker, 2006). As a result of which caring and reproductive activities are devalued, for which

[95] Some women decide not to have a career by choosing certain occupations, job segments and organisations where career progress chances are less likely; some women prefer having children and working part-time or prefer staying at home (preference theory of Hakim, 2006). 'Some people, some women are less career driven, you know, looking after children comes as the main part of their lives. I think some men would. I mean I wasn't career driven before the kids, but I am much more now. Children do affect in bizarre way don't they, if we just carried on, regardless I mean children' (UK 7, CEO-M).

[96] 'I do think that we have to be careful with generalizations, because there are always exceptions, but I do feel ehm... if I think of the lots of the women I've worked with really cooperatively like I remember we set up something that all the party conferences called the climate clinic, and what we decided was rather than everyone individually competing with each other, we would all come together in one dedicated space and have an agenda, and you know, some was more, will rule some of the part and I worked with woman who was so cooperative and just fantastic to work with, because she was so generously spirited, and it wasn't about claiming credit to herself at all, she was just delightful to work with and...whereas I think men tend to be much more focussed on claiming success to themselves. That's really an important part of the equation, you know. And maybe women should get better at that, but I think that comes naturally to kind of... you know. (She laughs) I don't know it comes naturally to women' (UK 2 and 4, head of external relations-F).

women mostly are responsible (Acker, 2006). Moreover ‘employers are reluctant to recognise the needs of fathers and gender-stereotyping by employers and work colleagues makes it difficult for fathers to take on caring roles’ (Abbott and Wallace, 2011: 10). As a result, as argued by Seager (1993) women are excluded due to the replication of corporate practices and professionalisation in the ENGOs. Therefore, it appears that the gender compositions and working practices of the ENGOs are similar to the private sector organisations where women are under-represented in senior positions. While it can be difficult for profit-based organisations to meet the radical feminist argument that ‘the basic structure of the society and the organisations must be changed to make competition a less central notion’ (Alvesson and Billing, 2009: 23), it could be expected to be easier for the ENGO sector since they claim to be based on values and serve for the public good, not-profit making.

6.7. Summary and conclusions

The research conducted in the UK and Turkey indicates that although women by far outnumber men in the ENGO sector, the boards of trustees as well as the directors (CEOs) in the ENGOs are predominantly male. This raises some questions: why although the majority of staff are female in the ENGOs, do men dominate the top management positions and what are the implications of this? This chapter examined the first question by illuminating the internal world of the ENGOs.

Working practices may be one of the key factors that limit women’s advancement in the ENGOs. The data collected reveals that recruitment and promotion practices can be one of the areas where discrimination and bias occur due to gendered assumptions and values embedded in society. It was found that, in general, organisations had young female staff with no children. There appears to be a

conscious decision to employ this people that meet this young and single profile in some ENGOs where they are preferred due to the long working hours, the culture of staing late, and frequent travelling required of some employees. However, the low salaries and job insecurity due to limited funding may also mean that only single and young female employees are willing to work in these jobs as the high labour turnover in the ENGOs indicates. As a result, employees, and especially those working on projects, stay 2-3 years and (have to) leave. While the scarcity of project funding is one of the reasons for the labour turnover, it was also reported by the research participants that the working practices were incompatible with work-life balance and family life especially due to gendered roles in society, women being the main homemakers and having care responsibilities. Stereotypical gendered roles came to light when the research participants argued that the low male representation in the ENGOs was due to men's main 'breadwinner' role as well as career orientation, since the ENGO world offered limited chances for career progress especially in Turkey. While the British ENGOs are more established and have more funding possibilities than in Turkey and therefore tend to be more professionalised, the ENGO sector in Turkey has been increasingly developing and looking for ways to be sustainable. To this end, many of the Turkish ENGOs have been developing ways of generating funding since project funding through the corporate sector in Turkey seemed to be less common than in the UK. In addition, the ENGO sector especially in Turkey seemed to provide limited career chances due to flatter structures, the size of the organisations and limited funding. The research participants were aware that career progress required them to prove themselves by being visible to the management, working long hours by staying late, working weekends and being willing to travel at any time. However, none of the above is compatible with family life/work-life balance

for women especially because of the gendered stereotypes and gendered roles in society in both countries and the tendency of the ENGOs to reflect these roles in their working practices.

Moreover, none of the ENGOs had a crèche or nursery, which was not considered as a problem by the management of the organisations since the number of children was very low. In fact, male senior managers were more likely to have children than the female senior managers and female employees in the sample ENGOs in both countries. One important factor for female staff not having children was reported to be the expensive cost of childcare in both countries and low salaries in relation to the corporate world. As a result, women with children leave or work part-time. There seems to be a link between women's care responsibilities and career progress. Childcare responsibilities appeared to have an adverse affect on career advancement of women, which was also confirmed by some senior managers, which partly explains why there are few women in top positions and why female managers had fewer children than male managers. Overall, the research shows that female research participants seem to be aware of the gendered working practices in the ENGOs, but they appear to go along with these practices due to personal motivations and the restrictions of limited funding sources for the ENGOs.

There seem to be few differences in terms of working culture between Turkey and the UK in the sample ENGOs, although they are two very different societies in terms of history, culture and religion. The responses to the interview questions in both countries were very similar. It can be argued that this is because the research participants in the sample ENGOs were highly educated, often university graduates or similar level. It may be that because of the globalisation of environmental issues

and environmental campaigns the organisations feel they must adopt similar structures. It also appears that the ENGOs in general reflect the working practices in society in which they are based. In terms of flexible working practices, which are increasingly requested, while the British ENGOs had more flexibility than the Turkish ENGOs, there are no consistent approaches or formal procedures for this and they were instead granted on an individual basis, which provides differential access to work-life balance for the staff in the organisations. While in some ENGOs senior managers and some employees who are seen as being more valuable than others were granted more flexibility, in others managers were not granted certain flexible arrangements such as working from home. Informal procedures, inconsistencies and unclear policies regarding the flexibility, caused some research participants confusion. Moreover, subjectivity seems to play a role since flexibility is granted depending on the person and the perception of the managers. The research data also indicate that although large ENGOs have more possibilities to provide a flexible working environment than smaller ENGOs, they are not always willing to do so. This may be partly because of capitalist relations and the ENGOs' aim to minimise their expenses, as well as the invidual failure of persons in management positions as was argued by one of the top managers in a large British ENGO:

> 'I am sure you are aware, if you are doing this doctorate, women are not always the greatest champion of women in the workplace. There are some women who can be quite questioning of whether you should make allowances for, you know, childcare and so on, even if they have been in the same position. It is not...You can't see, because somebody who is a mother and bringing up children is not necessarily going to be sympathetic to the next one' (UK 7, CEO-M).

Conversely, there is evidence that shows that flexible working arrangements do not make an important positive contribution to women's advancement chances in organisational settings, but rather strengthen the glass ceilings since flexi working is only granted for certain jobs where there are limited career progress chances.

At an individual level, training and continuous working experience in the labour market were identified as important by the research participants. One of the gender biases for career advancement was reported to be having a science degree, while people skills were not taken into account when appointing managers in certain ENGOs. Moreover, being visible to senior management by staying late or adopting certain approaches that are perceived as masculine were argued to pave the way to the management roles. Gender stereotypical assumptions including different expectations for female and male managers were also experienced by some female managers in the ENGOs. Although mentors have been identified as important by organisational scholars for career progress, as pointed out by one of the female research participants in a top position, role models for women in top positions are very rare and as a result some women in top positions may feel more unsupported relative to their male counterparts.

At the macro-level there seem to be universal barriers that hinder women's advancement to senior positions in both countries. While horizontal and vertical gender divisions of labour, separating paid work and unpaid work and undermining the latter due to capitalist and patriarchal ways of working, appear to play a very important role for women's career disadvantages, the ENGOs are organised in ways that provide limited career chances for women. The research found that the ENGOs' working practices do not differ significantly from organisations that are profit-oriented,

and may even be more limiting for women's careers, since some of the working practices including long working hours culture, short-term contract oriented career prospects and 'clubby' way of working as well as the failure to improve female representation in the most senior roles (Davies report, 2011). Overall, it has been found that there are many factors that influence women's career advancement and the ENGOs seem to reflect the rest of the society and the dominant patriarchal values. Therefore, the research contributes to feminist organisational research by revealing the gendered practices and factors that contribute to the under-representation of women in decision-making in the ENGOs in Turkey and the UK.

The gendered nature of society was recognised by some of the research participants and the impacts this can have on women's careers:

> 'I think we need to change. I think there is an issue for men generally. I think the economic system is far too masculine, there is far too much pressure around success so you might have a woman working here at [the organisation], but her partner may be at, you know, sort of job that requires him to be there, all hours so she ends up with the burden of the childcare. And that puts tremendous pressure, so that she may only be able to work part-time… so you know, I think there are some limitations built on to how we do, we organize work in society and the models, and the roles between men and women I think it is a big problem' (UK 2, CEO-M).

It has been argued that 'ENGOs need to develop and debate a distinct and credible accountability regime that strengthens and defines their role in society' (Jepson, 2005: 515). Wallace (1998) argued that having women at the top does not necessarily mean that the organisation is more gender-sensitive and policies and

structures are gender-balanced. However, the ‘status of women is a good barometer of the value and worth they hold in the workplace’ (Wallace, 1998: 170) and I think since ENGOs aim to act for the public good it is one of the better ways of demonstrating that they are accountable and progressive in society. In this way, they can strive to be role models, to achieve a more democratic and sustainable society, especially for organisations in the private sector rather than imitating these, because those have fewer motives to act for the public good.

The next chapter will explore the implications of this gendered practice for the policies and campaigns of the ENGOs, and investigate how gender influences the campaigns of the ENGOs. In particular, it will examine whether the ENGOs with a more gender-balanced management are more likely to consider gender when deciding their campaigning strategies and have any gender sensitive campaigns.

CHAPTER 7 Implications of gendered organisations for campaigns

7.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the policies and campaigns of the ENGOs and the implications of the gender compositions of the ENGOs on their campaigns. Campaigns are among the most significant policy instruments of ENGOs. As was indicated in Chapter 2 on gender and environment, the literature suggests that mainstream ENGOs tend to neglect issues around environmental justice and mostly concentrate on narrowly focused environment first policies (Bryant and Bailey, 1997; Agyeman and Angus, 2003; Shandra, et al., 2008). I argue that one of the reasons for this neglect may be caused by gender-imbalanced management since senior managers play a significant role in decision-making. Therefore in this chapter I will investigate the current gender structures of the ENGOs to see how this might influence or affect their policies.

To this end, campaigns and strategies of the ENGOs in both countries are assessed to see what difference gender makes and whether any gender analysis is done when the ENGOs deciding on their campaigns and policies as urged under the Gender Mainstreaming policies advocated by the United Nations (1995). Examination of the policies of the ENGOs will enable me to see whether the ENGOs that are led by the relatively better gender-balanced management teams are different from those dominated by men. This will help to explore the implications of gender for the practices of the ENGOs. Seager (1993) and Taylor (2002) pointed out that the most senior positions in ENGOs in the USA were male dominated and Reed and Mitchell

(2003) highlighted that women were under-represented in environmental policy decision-making despite being disproportionately impacted by environmental degradation. In the last section, an attempt will be made to explore why gender is not incorporated and is still marginalised in the environmental policies of ENGOs.

7.2. Campaigns of the ENGOs

This section will explore the campaigns of the British and Turkish ENGOs. As explored in Chapter 2, ENGOs play an important role in advising and lobbying governments on environmental matters and therefore shaping governmental policies as pressure groups. Moreover, some of the large ENGOs with global networks play an important role by setting environmental agendas and international policies in many countries. ENGOs announce that they will continue 'to press decision-makers to take action and encourage more supporters to demonstrate to politicians that taking conservation seriously makes electoral sense' (RSPB, 2011: 10). Cross-national research undertaken has revealed that ENGOs contribute significantly to the improvement of environmental situations (Bradshaw and Schafer, 2000; Frank et al., 2000; Shandra et al., 2008). It has been experienced in the past that well organised campaigns can mobilise and form mass public pressure as well as shape environmental policies. For example CPRE's pressure on urban planning contributed to the Town and Country Planning Act 1932 and the Restriction of Ribbon Development Act 1935 in the UK (Rootes, 2007). Similarly, one of the largest ENGOs in Turkey, TEMA, has contributed to the adoption of laws related to environmental

legislation[97]. The role of the ENGOs in environmental policy making was also clear to the research participants.

> 'The most important difference in the activities of the organisation in 15 years is that the organisation has been recognised at the state level seriously. It has contributed towards the preparation and adoption of two laws. Moreover it has contributed preparation of the laws directly'[98] (TR-officer-F).

As discussed in Chapter 2 on gender and environment, it is known that environmental degradation has different impacts on women and men. The impacts vary from exposure to chemicals and environmental pollution, impacts of natural disasters and climate change as well as natural resources degradation due to gendered roles in many parts of the world (Seager, 1996; OECD, 1997; Masika and Joekes, 1997; Krupp, 2000; Adger et. al., 2007; Resurreccion and Elmhirst, 2008; Nugent, and Shandra, 2009). As was discussed in Chapter 6 women and men have different roles, responsibilities and needs, which are linked to social and economic structures of the capitalist way of life. As a result women and men exercise different levels of control and power over resources (Moser, 1989; Sass, 2001). Therefore, gender-sensitive environmental policies and considering gender inequality as a component of environmental injustice is important to mitigate the differential impacts of environmental problems (Bulkeley and Gordon Walker, 2005; Brody et. al., 2008). It has been acknowledged that sustainable development cannot be achieved without integrating women's perspectives into development strategies (Harcourt, 1997).

[97] The ratification of the Law on Grassland in 1998 by the Turkish Parliament. The Law had not been passed by Parliament for 38 years. Similarly, the Law on Conservation of Soil and Land Management was adopted by Parliament with the lobbying of the organisation (TEMA, 2011).

[98] 'Örgütün on beş yıldaki çalışmalarındaki en büyük fark devlet neslinde ciddi anlama kabul görmüş bir vakıf. Ihm hatta iki tane yasanın hazırlanmasına ve çıkarılmasına sağladı. Birisi toprak yasası, biriside mera yasası. Yani yasa çıkartabilen başka ıhm kolay bir STK olabileceğini zannetmiyorum. Çünkü gönüllü bir kuruluş biz üsselikte bizzat bu yasalar yazılmasında da yer alındı'.

Moreover, having gender-balanced decision-making would improve mitigation strategies since women have contributions to make (UNDP, 2007).

> ‘I think if there were more women involved in the early days when the climate science was coming to be an issue, [it could have helped our] understanding of how to get people on board, how to link the impacts on people in developing countries, how to link the impacts on families in the North who are going to lose their land when it gets flooded out. I think if we had done more about that far earlier on and engaged women, I think we could have been a little further. But it's been dominated by men, the top science, and you know, the corporate lobby, would argue about that and it is disconnecting rather than actually engaging people’ (UK 9, ex-manager-F).

For all these reasons, I argue that it is important to explore the links between the gender compositions of the ENGOs and their campaigns.

7.2.1. How are the campaigns decided?

The most important factors when deciding campaigns in the ENGOs were reported to be that the campaigns should be within the scope of the working areas of the ENGOs. Thus, the historical development of the organisations and priority issues as well as the research interests of the organisations were reported to be important. In some ENGOs it was stated that the campaigns were decided according to (environmental and other) needs (TR 2 and 10, UK 6 and 8). However, it appears that, except for Turkish ENGO 2 whose activities included environmental justice issues, as argued by Bryant and Bailey (1997) and Agyeman and Angus (2003), the organisations have mainly concentrated on conservation and natural resources protection and only ‘the needs’ around environmental protection were prioritised.

Therefore, the ENGOs' working priorities were limited to conservation of natural resources within the scope of the ENGOs' objectives.

> 'There are number of factors…the first factor is....the need for it, you know, we act on things that have got huge impact problems affecting major conservation, so we only do things when there is a big problem, we don't do things just for the sake of doing things or to maintain our existence. We try to solve problems. Whenever there is a problem, whenever there is a natural resource being destroyed in a place, we act' (UK 5, policy officer-M).

Thus, the main strategic objectives and priority working areas of the organisations were among the crucial elements when choosing campaigns for most of the ENGOs. For only very few ENGOs such as Turkish ENGO 2, could any environmental threat lead to the initiation of a campaign.

> 'If it is harmful for life, this is an impulsive force for us to take a decision'[99] (TR 2, spokesperson-M).

Moreover, in addition to the priority areas and the possibility of success of the campaign, the capacity of the organisation, including staff and financial resources, was argued to be an important issue when launching campaigns.

> 'The other things that we have to consider are: capacity, if we have capacity to do it, because we may not have capacity, time, expertise to deal with it, and in that case we cannot do it. And the third thing is funding, if we have money to do it or if we think there is a good possibility for us to find funding for it' (UK 5, policy officer-M).

[99] 'Eğer yaşam için zararlıysa bu bizim karar almada yeterli olan itici bir güçtür'.

The director of fundraising of a large British ENGO (UK 8) summarised the main criteria when deciding campaigns as follows: strategic fit, urgency, ease of fundraising and capacity to deliver the outcomes, indicating that it can respond to certain immediate issues in a short delivery time. Moreover, it also appears to be important for some ENGOs whether they actually make a difference, in addition to other factors including whether the campaign has already been done by another ENGO, and the costs for not doing it.

However, as discussed in section 6.4.3 of chapter 6, funding appears to be a limitation for most of the ENGOs. The majority of the British and Turkish ENGOs reported that funding is one of the most important issues when deciding campaigns since they did not have the capacity to run a campaign without funds.

> ‘One of the key things is whether or not we can find funding for it, because if we cannot find any money for it, more or less, there is no campaign. Although we do have some things on a kind of ad hoc basis, but we try not to do that, because that tends to stretch too much’ (UK 2, CEO-F).

Especially during economic recessions, long term funding sources were reported to be limited. It was also indicated that depending on the working area of the organisation, certain ENGOs and topics are supported more easily as they receive more donations than others. This raises the question over the role of donors when determining priority areas and campaigns of the ENGOs, which will be examined later in this section.

> ‘It's actually been quite stressful in securing relatively long, sort of three, four years for a number of projects where many other charities have seen a drop in their donations…[donations] are much more likely to go down when there are

> economic problems generally. I think while [the organisation] has been lucky because [the priority area of work of the organisation] seems to be important within the public agenda so there is more funding out there for [these] projects, so [the organisation] has been able to benefit from that' (UK 3, campaigner-F).

As a result of lack of funding, it appears that some ENGOs felt obliged to chase any project funding in order to get some money. In the in-depth British ENGO (UK 1) it was reported that some project work had been done that followed funding rather than deciding first for a project and seeking funding sources for the campaign.

> 'We tend to chase funding a bit....There is a pot of money for ponds... for pond restoration [laughing] and it is not necessarily something we would have done, because this money is there we do it. It would be nice to have the time and the people to find the time to find a list of projects that we want funding for with reasons for it and specific strategic reasons why you want to do it for conservation reasons, people reasons, whatever the reason is, actually work them out and look this funding opportunity fits in this bit, rather than just saying ohh some money there let's chase that. That is the history of the [organisation] is not having enough time to do that, last minute researching for people who have got funding bits...in a week and then want a lot of information about it very quickly...' (UK 1, policy officer-F).

Moreover, it appears that some campaigns were chosen or modified in order to make them attractive to donors.

> 'We need to think about fundraising, and how are we going to make the campaign attractive to the funders' (UK 6, senior campaigner-F).

The role of capital appears to be important for the ENGOs in order to survive. To this end, corporate manager positions were created in some ENGOs to increase funding from the sector. Only very few ENGOs claimed that they do not accept any funding from the corporate sector. It was reported that efforts have been made increasingly in the in-depth British ENGO (UK 1) to plan what funding the organisation needs to get in order to deliver new projects that the organisation wants to be involved in instead of 'oh there is some funding, let's try, let's do a pilot (project), do you want to do things with us more long term?' (UK 1, policy manager-F). However, it appears that because of the limited income sources as well as the financial crisis during the fieldwork period, there was little room for the ENGO to be selective. Thus, it seems that, in the ENGOs, donors[100] play an important role in shaping environmental campaigns and therefore policies of the ENGOs (Tokar, 1997; Mercer, 2002). 'Donors are increasingly telling the organisations where their specific contribution lies….and they encourage NGOs to be active in priority sectors…through financial incentives or theme-based financing' (Nijs and Renard, 2009: 14). This implies that, in addition to other factors such as the capacity of the organisations, funding is one of the important factors when launching projects and campaigns. As a result of this, ENGOs seem to be involved in some project work where funding was available, rather than campaigns that could be seen as more relevant and urgent by the organisations. This may provide one of the explanations as to the neglect of gender in campaigns as will be discussed in section 7.2.4, where the campaigns of the ENGOs are examined.

[100] Donors here mean funding sources from corporate world and other establishments rather than individual donors or members of ENGOs.

Despite the other factors that influence campaigns, one of the most important factors when deciding upon which campaigns to run was reported to be that they fit within the priority work areas of the organisations. As suggested by Bryant and Bailey, (1997) and Taylor (2002), the ENGOs in both countries appear to mainly focus on conservation and protection of environmental resources including 'wilderness preservation, wildlife and habitat protection, and outdoor recreation issues' (Taylor, 2002: 1) and environmental justice issues seem to be neglected. Thus, they appear to have relatively restricted working areas, which was also acknowledged by one of the senior managers when I asked about his experience of the environmental movement.

> 'The main concern that I've had for many years is that many organisations tend to work too narrowly, whereas what's needed is the environment, the development and the faith groups and other groups coming together for... to help change the world. So it's not that I am not very impressed by the environmental movement, but sometimes they think too narrowly' (UK 2, CEO-M).

In addition, although there appear to be different procedures in the ENGOs when preparing campaigns, the boards of the ENGOs in both countries were reported to be the final decision-making body when launching campaigns.

> 'Projects are first written and prepared. Approval is sought from the board'[101] (TR 10, members and volunteers' responsible-F).

In many ENGOs in both countries, although the staff could provide some input or suggest campaigns, there was often one committee consisting of the senior

[101] 'Projeler önce yazılıyor sonra hazırlanıyor. Yönetim kurulundan onay alınıyor'.

management team that decided and initiated campaigns. Thus, senior management teams mostly seem to be the relevant body that decides campaigns in relation to the organisations' strategy and aims. In some ENGOs employees and volunteers appeared to be more empowered, preparing and suggesting projects to senior management. However, the degree of staff participation when designing campaigns does not appear to be directly linked to the size of the organisation. In some small sized ENGOs like Turkish ENGO 10, where there were few hierarchical levels, staff seemed to be more empowered than some large Turkish ENGOs (TR 5). On the other hand some large ENGOs (UK 6) in the UK appear to provide more input possibilities for staff than some smaller sized British ENGOs (UK 1), where employees were more consulted when deciding and launching campaigns. Moreover, in some ENGOs certain departments including communications and campaigns teams were reported to be responsible for deciding and initiating the campaigns. In the case of ENGOs with global links, the campaigns were formed at the global level by a committee, which meets twice a year, consisting of the CEOs and campaign directors of the national branches.

'The engagement in mainstream politics and public service delivery has increased ENGOs' resources as a result of which several ENGOs have transformed themselves into organisations with international reach and influence' (Jepson, 2005: 516). Thus, the democracy in international ENGOs should be of increasing importance since Nomura (2007: 495) argued that 'democracy provides significant (if not necessary) political conditions for the existence and activities of NGOs'. Based on the data collected it appears that some global ENGOs are not democratic, which supports the existing findings of the literature that ENGOs are not always as democratic and transparent as is thought (Taylor, 2004; Carter, 2007). The lack of

democratic nature of certain ENGOs with global links emerged during the research process when I was exploring the research question related to campaigns and the reasons for invisibility of gender in environmental campaigns.

Although the CEO of one Turkish national organisation with international links believed they had an equal share of the decision-making when deciding and implementing the global campaigns, some power issues were reported by the British organisation. This is particularly interesting since it shows that global power issues and financial contributions play a significant role even in ENGOs, which are expected to be different from other international organisations, because they are based on principled ideas and values (Edwards and Sen, 2000; Jepson and Canney, 2001). It shows that global ENGOs often do not differ from multi-national organisations, as argued by Dahl (1989 quoted in Zweifel, 2006: 14), which 'are not and not likely to be democratic'. Moreover, it appears that the campaigns of global organisations are set for long periods, which appears to leave the national organisations little room to act on urgent developments and introduce any issues that are more relevant to national interests where the organisations are established.

> (If you wanted, can you make [the global organisation] initiate a campaign?) 'Well, ok you got to remember that these are long term goals I mean they are decided by the organisation. A lot of these midterm goals are agreed with giving ourselves 10 year targets ...so then we draw upon that and you go down to the specifics and how does a campaign run where the leverage point starts, if [the organisation] can actually have an impact and ours is quite influential on that process. We have some good skilled people here. Whereas for some of the smaller offices, that's more difficult. So the power relationship is an issue in

> terms of there are rich and powerful offices and there are poor and weaker offices and that is really just a reflection of the real world. The US government is powerful, [organisation] USA is powerful...and you go to a poor country [laughs]... the country is not powerful and [organisation] is not powerful' (UK 4, CEO-M).

When I expressed surprise at this last statement, the CEO added that the voting system of the organisation would offer some kind of balance since every country had the same number of votes regardless of their population. However, he added that this would not work properly due to language barriers. English is the main language within the organisation and therefore those that do not speak English as their native language would be at a severe disadvantage as they would not be able to understand complex technical reports in global meetings as well as the people coming from the English speaking countries. This implies that certain colonialist and imperialist attitudes are still held by global and British ENGOs (for colonial past of Europe, Ponzanesi and Blaagaard, 2011), where non-English speaking countries are automatically seen as inferior. It was reported that there is distribution of wealth within the organisation, which appears to cause power issues since power structures were reported to be shaped according to the financial contribution that country offices make towards the organisation.

> 'But there are some checks and balances in that in the sense that everyone, each country has one vote so you know, China has 1/5 of the world's population but the CEO who turns up from China will have the same vote as the CEO who turns up from Argentina. So...and then... a lot of money comes from the rich countries... so 40% of our income, goes to the global organisations and that

goes help to finance poorer countries. So there is a distribution of wealth and there is an equalisation of power. But!!! [emphasises]...that doesn't work 100%, you know, and then there are cultural issues like language, you know the international language for business is English. So any English speaking country has an advantage… for a lot of people who participate and not just at the executive level but when staff participates, they have got to read these long documents in English, lots of complicated language, lots of acronyms you know what it is like... it just means that the level of language and all the kind of cultural things that come around that...there is an advantage for those people whose first language is English' (UK 4, CEO-M).

Moreover, campaigns were reported to be launched within hours or months depending on how urgent they appear to the decision-making bodies of the ENGOs and how complicated they are. The size of the ENGO seems not to be relevant to the period of deciding and launching a campaign. It was stated by some ENGOs that a campaign can be launched within a short time if an immediate call to action is believed to be necessary by the senior management.

In summary, the most important factors when launching campaigns and policies were reported to be the working priorities and objectives of the organisations, which were mainly based on environmental conservation issues. In addition, funding and capacity of the ENGOs played an important role, which indicates the role of external donors in the ENGO sector. As a result of this it was reported that some campaigns were launched that followed funding. Therefore, as will be discussed in section 7.2.2 the findings of the research support Seager (1993) and the socialist environmental movement (Carter, 2007) that argue that the mainstream ENGOs primarily

concentrate on middle class issues. Moreover, in all the ENGOs the board seems to be the main decision-making body which approves the campaigns to be launched. In addition, in many ENGOs, although the staff appear to be able to give input or prepare some campaigns/projects, the final decision was taken at senior management level. This indicates the importance of gender-balanced management compositions as discussed in Chapter 6 since policies are shaped by these. The degree of the input of the staff varied from one ENGO to another. Moreover, global power issues as well as issues around democracy appear to be valid in the international ENGOs. As a result campaigns have been chosen by a committee where the national representatives seem to have unequal access to decision-making due to power issues. Therefore, campaigns that were set up by the committee do not always seem to reflect national needs and priorities. Since the campaigns are decided for relatively long terms in the ENGOs with global links, it can be argued that there appears to be little room for these ENGOs to launch campaigns when needed. Moreover, it was also reported that if senior management believes that an immediate action is required, campaigns can be launched within a short period time. Therefore, it is found that a number of factors including ENGOs' priorities, funding sources, democracy and participation, role of senior managers as well as awareness of gender relations play an important role and these must be taken into account when exploring the research question on the gender aspects of campaigns of the ENGOs.

7.2.2. Campaigns targeting gender

In Chapter 2 on gender and environment, it was discussed that environmental justice issues as well as gender seem to be ignored by most of the mainstream ENGOs. The ENGOs have been examined to see whether they have had any campaigns

linked to gender. ‘Environmental policies used to be considered gender-neutral. Women's needs and interests were perceived to be identical to those of men. However, recent empirical research has asserted that policies that were thought to be gender-neutral were actually gender blind and, therefore, either inadequate or inappropriate to capture the impacts upon women of environmental and development policies’ (Baruah, 2011: 430). Thus, it has been recognized widely that the integration of gender issues in environmental policies and actions as well as natural disasters are important and is a determinant for the implementation of gender mainstreaming (UNEP, 2005). The UN urges all institutions including policy makers and NGOs to incorporate a gender perspective in all their programmes and policies to take into account ‘contributions, potentials, priorities and needs of women and men and girls and boys’ (Hannan, 2002: 1). As was discussed in Chapter 2 on gender and environment, gender mainstreaming implies that a gender perspective should be incorporated into all policies and programmes before a decision is taken and gender analysis should be made to take into account the effects of the policies and programmes on women and men (United Nations, 1995). The role of ENGOs as important agents in influencing environmental policies was discussed in Chapter 2. Thus, ENGOs should be expected to carry out gender impact analyses when launching their policies and campaigns. Moreover, it has been acknowledged that gender sensitive environmental campaigns are needed in order to take into account the differential effects of environmental issues on women and men (gender impact assessment, Rubery and Rake, 2000; Walker et al., 2005). Thus, gender mainstreaming implies the empowerment[102] of women (Gender Mainstreaming by NGOs, George, 2007).

[102] Empowerment is defined as ‘the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate

In the following sections, it will be explored whether gender is taken into account when launching campaigns and whether the ENGOs have had any gender sensitive campaigns.

7.2.2.1. Do the ENGOs take gender into account when designing campaigns?

The data collected from the ENGOs in both countries suggests that when deciding campaigns gender is not taken into account. In many cases gender does not seem to be important for the research participants. In only one ENGO (UK 2) did the CEO say that they did not take gender into account well enough when designing campaigns. Almost all the participant ENGOs saw no relevance of campaigns targeting women. Most of the interviewees wondered how it would be relevant. For example, the CEO of British ENGO (UK 7) answered 'no, how would it be, what does it mean?' Some of the answers provided by the CEOs and senior managers in the British ENGOs to the question of 'whether there was any campaign targeting women' include the following:

> 'Not specifically or directly, no' (UK 3, CEO-F).
>
> 'I don't think we have designed campaigns to specifically target different groups of people' (UK 7, senior policy campaigner-F).
>
> 'No. In what sense? 'I don't know what you mean by that... what do you mean targeting women?' (UK 4, CEO-M).

Therefore, in many cases the research participants expected me to justify and provide examples of campaigns that may take gender into account. In one British case (UK 1), one of the senior managers, who was on the steering committee to design and initiate campaigns argued that targeting certain groups may be effective.

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in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives' (Narayan, 2005: 5).

However, she admitted that they do not do it and on the whole the organisations that work around conservation issues traditionally do not analyse the possibility of including gender into their scope of work. As discussed in section 7.2.1, most of the ENGOs, which represent a very good proportion of the ENGOs in both countries, choose to work in the area of conservation. Gender analysis as a part of gender mainstreaming is required as part of all programmes and policies especially those on natural resources conservation and management (UN-ESCAP, 2004), where the ENGOs argued that no gender analysis is needed. It has been recognized that 'environmental organisations have a particularly significant role to play in implementing gender mainstreaming into environmental policy' (Wolf, 2004: 3). However, as was admitted by one of the senior managers and confirmed by the data collected for this thesis, none of the ENGOs in the UK or Turkey had done any gender analysis when deciding their policies.

> (Do you take gender into account when designing campaigns?) '.....I don't think so. No, campaigns specifically no. We haven't been focused on looking at particular sub-society you know, men or women or different sort of ethnic backgrounds whatever. We are becoming more conscious about it now…No, I don't think so. No, not in campaigning anyway' (UK 1, senior policy manager-F).

However, no such consciousness was identified during the in-depth interviews with the senior managers or during the participant observation in the organisation. As the response below shows, the organisation's policy was argued to be based on the premise that no discrimination should be made around campaigning issues. It was

understood by many research participants in both countries that taking into account gender for campaigns would imply positive discrimination which is not needed.

> 'Maybe there are some good reasons for doing that. I don't know, but I think, I mean [the organisation] has always been on the basis that there should be no discrimination and I think it is quite tricky when you want to positively discriminate sometimes whether you want to, just you know sort of promote ... but it is actually I mean it is more effective sometimes just pick certain groups of people' (UK 1, senior policy manager-F).

Similarly, many research participants in Turkey misunderstood the question 'do you take gender into account when designing campaigns?' and responded that they did not have any discriminatory practices on gender.

> (Do you take gender into account when designing campaigns?) 'We don't have such a thing. We don't have any gender discriminatory practices'[103] (TR 10, members and volunteers' responsible-F).

> 'We definitely don't see gender. Never seen'[104] (TR 2, spokesperson-M).

As was explored in Chapter 3, gender-denial theory may provide one of the important explanations when exploring why gender inequalities and discrimination are not recognized. As argued by Swim et al. (1995) and Martinez et al. (2010), gender denial especially in the Turkish ENGOs may also be explained as the research participants wanted to distance themselves from gender discriminatory practices and to highlight that discrimination against women is not an issue in the ENGOs (although

[103] 'Bir şeyimiz yok. Yani bizim kadın erkek ayrımcılığı öyle şeyler yok'.
[104] 'biz cinsiyeti kesinlikle hiç görmüyoruz. Hiç görmedik'.

Chapter 6 suggested there are gendered practices including recruitment and working practices).

It is known that women are more involved in volunteering and women constitute the majority of volunteers where there is no career and pay involved (Seager, 1993; Evans and Saxton, 2005) and where the 'volunteer work remains invisible in the economic accounts' (Colman, 1998: 1). The research supports the findings that women account for more than the half of the volunteers in both countries (Evans and Saxton, 2005; Hockenos, 2011). Some of the research participants also thought that the ENGOs should try to find ways of attracting men as volunteers, since most of the volunteers in the organisation were women.

> 'No, of course not. Indeed, I try to include more men. Gender discrimination, I never think it is a different gender. I believe in human rights, women rights and men rights. As I said before I feel a bit hopeless for men. I try to attract them to the activities of the organisation'[105] (TR 4, volunteers' manager-F).

It was also pointed out in both countries that environmental problems would concern everyone. However, it has been long recognized that environmental experiences and responses to environmental occurrences differ and gender is one of the significant factors in determining this (in addition to social class and race) (Taylor, 2002). The responses show that the ENGOs were unaware of the differential impacts of environmental issues on gender and there was no indication that a gender analysis would be included into their policies in the near future.

[105] 'Yok tabiki değil. Hatta daha fazla erkeleri katmak istiyorum bu işe. Cinsiyet ayrımcılığı ben yani hiç bir zaman farklı cinsiyet olmasını düşünmüyorum. İnsan hakları var kadın hakları var erkek hakları yok diye düşünen birisiyimdir ben. Biraz önce de söylediğim gibi erkekler içinde umutsuzum birazcık.Onları tabiki çekmeye çalışıyorum. Onları katmaya çalışıyorum biraz daha çalışmalarımıza'.

> ‘No, we definitely target all groups of society, because environment is a bundle of problems which can be solved with all the groups in society. These include children, women, youth, adults. They all need to work and join’[106] (TR 5, sponsorship manager-F).

In only one Turkish ENGO (TR 7) was it indicated that when obtaining finance from international funds, there is normally a condition to include a gender component in projects, because it is believed that women’s empowerment benefits not just themselves or their families, but also communities (IFAD, 2011). According to the UN, empowerment of women is important to achieve gender equality and equity (UNDP, 2007). However, these projects were mainly related to rural development and not environmental issues. The research participant in question was aware that a gender component was very important in international projects in order to empower women. She was one of the few research participants that argued that there is a need to target women especially in projects, because she argued that in Turkey there was a discrepancy between women in urban and rural areas. According to her, as discussed in Chapter 4, women in rural areas did not benefit as much as some other women from the positive effects of the Ataturk reforms after the Turkish Republic was established.

In summary, none of the ENGOs had taken gender into account when designing their campaigns. The reasons were reported to be either because there was no need to have any gender anti-discriminatory practices, or gender was invisible. It appears that for most of the research participants gender was not a relevant factor, which needed to be taken into account when planning their campaigning strategies. One

[106] ‘Hayır genellikle toplumun tüm kesimlerini hedef alıyoruz. Çünkü çevre tüm kesimlerin ortak iş birliğiyle çözülebilecek bir sorunlar yumağı. Bunun içersinde çocuk da var, kadın da var, genç de var, ıhm yetişkinde var dolayısıyla hepsinin ortak olarak çalışması ve katılması gerekiyor’.

research participant admitted that organisations working on conservation issues traditionally do not analyse gender for their scope of work. In none of the ENGOs was it suggested that gender may be included into their policies. In section 7.5 the reasons for this gender-neglect will be discussed. In the following section the campaigns of the ENGOs will be examined.

7.2.2.2. Have there been any gender sensitive campaigns?

No gender sensitive campaigns

I sensed a resistance during most of the interviews when I asked about gender in campaigns. Thus, I further examined this resistance by asking the question whether the research participants think that gender should be included into their campaigns, which will be looked into in section 7.2.3.

Although women's contribution to volunteer work was acknowledged by the research participants, gender did not appear to be a significant issue to consider and take into account in campaigns.

> 'No, I have not targeted a campaign at women. I am conscious that more donors to our cause are female than male, and more legacies come from single ladies than couples or gentlemen. But there is no specific targeting I do' (UK 8, director of fundraising-F).

In many cases both in the UK and Turkey other organisations were referred to which were argued to be more relevant for issues including gender, while gender was not seen as within the scope of the ENGOs' work. This will be explored in the section below. Often issues related to gender were seen linked to gender stereotypes, which will also be explored in the following section.

'.....no...no...It is not like, you know, things like Women's Environmental Network WEN, which is looking at cosmetics, sanitary products, but no we don't have anything specifically targeting women' (UK 1, volunteers' officer-F).

Campaigns with gender stereotyped roles

The campaigns that had a gender component in the Turkish ENGOs were either linked to rural development issues where improvement of the employment prospects of the population was the main aim (TR 7 and 10), or they were water saving campaigns where gendered roles and stereotypes appeared to be supported by the campaigns (TR 4, 5 and 8) as will be explored below. In a few ENGOs, campaigns were designed to draw attention to the adverse effects of chemicals on children and, as a result of biological and social roles, women were within the scope of the campaigns. However, no conscious decision was made to design and initiate environmental campaigns for women since gender appears to be invisible and not relevant for most of the research participants. This suggests that ENGOs did not see the relevance of gender in environmental policies and gender-mainstreaming appears to be unknown among ENGOs in both countries.

In the case of the rural development projects the ENGOs did not target women, but during the project execution women were at the forefront and they were more involved in the project. However, this particular project was not related to environmental issues, but to rural and sustainable development. Nevertheless, due to the positive externalities of the project on women and their families, the research participant in the Turkish ENGO 10 reported that the ENGO considered initiating a project which is linked to gender and environment. However, no such project has been initiated during the time of writing up this thesis.

In Turkey, water saving campaigns were initiated because Turkey experienced drinking water shortages, particularly in the major cities, shortly before the fieldwork was conducted. As a result, several ENGOs had started campaigns with the collaboration of the local public authorities to raise awareness and increase domestic water saving measures. However, when the research participants explained the design stage of the campaigns it appears that the campaigns had certain gender stereotyped images, with women seen as responsible for the running of domestic households.

> 'The campaign that was prepared by [name] last year, the water saving campaign put the responsibility a bit towards women, because it directed water savings at homes such as do not wash your dishes and clothes when the machine is not full, have short showers. Everybody should do it, but at home women as in the mother position have more control of these. It did not directly target women, but women were more interested in'[107] (TR 5, public and media relations-F).

In one Turkish ENGO (TR 8), as a part of the water saving campaign young mothers were targeted. As discussed in Chapter 2 ecofeminism addressed differential environmental concerns and behaviours between women and men. Moreover, there is a growing body of literature that suggests that women are more conscious about recycling (Haig and Vallely, 2010) and there are differences between women and men in environmental behaviours (Zelezny et al., 2000; Kollmuss and Agyeman,

[107] 'Ama mesela Y hanımın geçen yıl hazırladığı bir su [kampanyası] var. Su tasarrufuna yönelik aslında sorumluluğu biraz kadınlara yükleyen bir kampanya değil mi. Çünkü direk olarak çünkü evde su kullanımı mesela su tasarraufuna yönelikti. İşte ne bileyim bulaşıklarınızı çamaşırlarınızı makineniz tam dolu olmadan çalıştırmayın kısa süreli duş yapın gibi. Herkesin yapması gereken ama belki evde hani anne konumunda kadın olduğu için biraz daha onun kontrolünde olabilecek kampanyaydı. Hedefi direk onlar değil ama onların daha yoğun ilgi gösterdiği bir kampanyaydı'.

2002). It was reported by the research participants that the campaign targeted women because of the pro-environmental behaviour of mothers. ‘Pro-environmental behaviour is defined as an environmentally conscious behaviour such as green buying, recycling and car-pooling’ (Lizuka, 2000: 7). As discussed in Chapter 2, according to cultural ecofeminists this behaviour was argued to be due to the linkages between nature and the nurturing characteristics of women as mothers (Daly, 1978; Spretnak, 1990; Mies and Shiva, 1993 and Merchant, 1996), while under materialist ecofeminist theory it is due to gender roles and socialisation of women (for women’s environmental behaviour, Zelezny et al., 2000). Moreover, it has been argued that ‘increased concern for environmental practices at the household level has resulted in the feminisation of environmental responsibility, because it represents extra work for women’ (Reed and Mitchell, 2003: 325, also MacGregor, 2006).

Similarly, images and arguments around pregnancy and motherhood had been used to achieve successful campaigns in other Turkish ENGOs. It was reported by the research participants that the concept of motherhood was important when getting public attention in Turkey for both men and women. As a result of which certain stereotypes were used to increase public attention in several cases such as when pointing out the adverse effects of chemicals on humans which will be explored below.

> ‘We use, for example especially in Turkey I can say that motherhood concept is very evocative for both men and women. We have a campaign on fish stock and [name of a fish] and [the fish] normally swim very fast, but when they are spawning they are highly vulnerable to commercial fishing. When I explain it to

people I always mention that they are caught with eggs inside. People get upset and you feel it. Their reaction can change from just [name of the fish] when they learn they are hunted when they spawn. Therefore the term motherhood is very important for men and women'[108] (TR, volunteers' coordinator-F).

The senior campaigner in British ENGO 6 reported that gender had not been taken into account when designing and implementing campaigns. They had one campaign with another NGO to draw attention to the adverse effects of chemicals on children. The campaign was mainly designed for families and children, but the target group automatically became mothers due to the childcare responsibilities of women.

'We did a campaign on chemicals and we worked with the [NGO] in the UK, which is predominantly an organisation for mothers. That campaign was diverted specifically to try and reach young children and by extension especially mothers with children and that was about...5-6 years ago and that was specifically designed for mainly females, we talked about parents, but in the reality it was mainly a female audience that we tried to get' (UK 6, senior campaigner-F).

The ENGOs in both countries did not think gender was important to take into account for any campaigns related to environmental issues. It is known that differential exposure to pollutants and health effects of toxins and pollutants on people of different socio-economic status occur (Veenstra and Kelly, 2007). Moreover, there are differential exposure levels as well as different resulting impacts of chemicals on

[108] 'şeyi kullanıyoruz örneğin özelikle Türkiye de ben şunu söyleyebilirim ki. annelik kavramı hem erkekler hem kadınlar açısından çok etkileyici bir kavram. bizim örneğin [balık] bir çalışmamız var. [Bunlar] yok olmasın ve çok hızlı bir hayvan bu normalde. sadece bu hamile olduğu dönemde yavaşlıyor ve hamile olduğu dönemde avlanıyor. Bu yüzden ben örneğin insanlara anlatırken mutlaka bunu belirtiyorum. İşte içinde yumurtaları ile avlanıyor dediğim zaman insanların bir tüyleri diken diken oluyor bunu hissediyorsunuz. yani bir an aman [balık] derken hamile olarak avlandığını öğrenince hani değişebiliyor tepkisi. Yani annelik kavramı hani hem kadın hem erkekler açısından çok önemli'.

women and men due to social and biological factors (Carvalho and van der Veen, 2011). In addition, due to the research on gender biased exposure to chemicals of men and women, since chemical risk assessments are mainly based on white young males, the long term consequences of toxic substances on women are widely unknown (Krupp, 2000; Bradshaw et al., 2003; Del Rio Gomez and Lynn, 2007; Holdcroft, 2007). As mentioned above, in one of the Turkish ENGOs with international links, as part of a campaign that was set up at the global level, images of pregnant women and motherhood were used to draw attention to the adverse affects of chemicals particularly on children. It was also indicated in the ENGOs that there was greater public reaction if an environmental issue is demonstrated on the next generation. Although images of pregnant women and slogans were used during the campaigning period to raise awareness of adverse affects of chemicals to put pressure on public policy makers and industrial chemical companies, it was reported that the campaign was not designed to focus attention on differential exposure to chemicals between women and men or any other issue directly affecting gender. This raises the question whether women and images of pregnancy had been used mainly to attract public attention and thereby exploiting women's bodies and the concept of motherhood (Lazar, 2000).

> 'We had a chemicals campaign. Chemicals go to babies through breastfeeding. We used this figure and a slogan: I don't want poison in production, my baby and my food'[109] (TR, volunteers' coordinator-F).

[109] 'Bizim [kimyasallar] kampanyamız vardı. Toksik zehirler bir şekilde işte en sonunda anne sütüne geliyor. Anne sütünden de bebeğe geçiyor. Biz bu figürü kullanıyorduk. Örneğin üretimde, yemeğimde, bebeğimde zehir istemiyorum diye bizim bir sloganımız vardı. (Ne zaman bu? RK) Bu bizim kampanya iki sene önce bitti. İki sene öncesine kadar kullandığımız bir slogandı. Üretimde, bebeğim de, yemeğim de zehir istemiyorum'.

One of the campaigners who worked on the campaign gave contradictory answers indicating that 'the campaign was not only directed at women, but one of the target groups was women, especially pregnant women'[110]. This may indicate that there was no awareness of gender differential exposure of chemicals and women's images were mainly included to draw attention to the adverse effects of toxic substances.

In the UK, the senior manager of a British ENGO that has an international link argued that the campaign linked to chemical substances was not a priority issue for the organisation. The CEO also argued that the priority issues for the organisation, including climate change were not gender related either. MacGregor (2009: 124) argued that 'any attempt to tackle climate change that excludes a gender analysis is insufficient, unjust and unsustainable'. The effects of climate change have been widely documented in the Global South. However there is also growing literature on the differential effects of climate change on women and men in the North, which will be examined in the following section (7.2.4.3). The response of the top senior manager of a large British ENGO provides clues as to why gender is absent from environmental campaigns in the British ENGOs. In addition to ignorance and unawareness of the gender related effects of environmental issues, the participants were mostly unwilling to understand why they would need a gender analysis in their policies. Moreover, similar to the other research participants, the CEO referred to the Women's Environmental Network to take up gender issues, because it would be more relevant for them. However, the UN indicates that gender should be a concern of all, and particularly ENGOs that are increasingly setting environmental agenda and significant lobbyers of environmental policies at governmental level. It should be also

[110] Ama o direk kadınlara yönelik bir kampanya değildi. Yani onun hedef kitlesinden bir tanesi kadınlardı, hamile kadınlardı özellikle' (TR 6, policy officer-F).

noted that women-specific organisations are always less well resourced and marginalised (Reeves and Baden, 2000), and feminist research on the gender dimensions of climate change is underdeveloped (MacGregor, 2009).

> '.....toxic campaign is not priority for us, so I think in the areas where we have priorities which are around climate, deforestation,....it is not really a male or female issue, yes it might come to toxics, endorphin disruptors, impact on...and maybe there are issues, but it is not really a priority campaign for us. (Why not? RK) It is just in terms of a global threat. If we look at the world threat, the number one priority for us is climate change, so we are just looking at; you know we are a global organisation, looking at the global threats, looking at what we can do, within that how to respond to it. There is an organisation, called the Women's Environmental Network. They do a lot of work in this area' (UK, CEO-M).

Reflecting the literature, in some ENGOs, there seems to be a resistance to launch campaigns concerning environmental justice issues (Stein, 2004) and gender. Thus, the research contributes to the EJ debate on how the ENGOs neglect and are unwilling to include EJ issues that affect people differentially on an everyday basis. ENGOs have been criticized for neglecting EJ issues that affect mostly low income communities and having little interest in issues affecting these people in their local environment (Rudel, 2005). In one British ENGO, it was reported that one of the former middle managers had tried to initiate campaigns including gender and safety in parks, but the senior management team resisted.

> (Do you think that gender has been taken into account when designing campaigns?) '.....hmmmm...no, I don't think that is a question...

> no not particularly, I think when [name] was here, he was really running things like women and safety in parks..., [name] was putting it very much on gender' (UK 1, volunteers' officer-F).

Issues related to class may be one of the explanations for this neglect as was argued by some of the research participants, which will be discussed in section 7.4. It also appears that the support from one senior manager in the organisation (UK 1), even though it was the CEO, was not enough to initiate campaigns and a number of people in the senior management team also had to be convinced to initiate new campaigning areas including environmental justice. This again underlines the importance of critical mass of women in management since the example demonstrates that one person cannot change organisational policies.

> '.... So I think other aspects like the environmental justice, just won't be really on the agenda. It is enough to do things about conservation now... and it seemed [former manager] had quite a different agenda... maybe...from the conservation team I think [former manager] did not get.... I don't know much got supported, but I know now, where I wanted to follow the things [the former manager] got in place. I had support from the CEO on that. I haven't had support from the conservation team' (UK 1, volunteers' officer-F).

In addition, in some ENGOs the campaigns which were linked to gender were invisible to some research participants in the same organisation. Issues related to the invisibility of gender, which is linked to power and dominant group norms in organisational settings (as also argued by radical feminist theory) were discussed in Chapters 3 and 6. While the head of fundraising in UK 1 was conscious about the fact that one of the campaigns of the organisation, which was not related to

environmental issues, had a gender component, the only top female senior manager in the organisation argued that the organisation did not have a campaign taking into account gender. When I highlighted that it was interesting how one senior female manager had argued that the ENGO had not run any gender-orientated campaigns, the respondent said:

> 'Yeah, I think it depends where you are coming from, I am and you know, I am coming from a background where I worked in the Women's Environmental Network. I am very aware of how gender is often made invisible' (UK 1, head of fundraising and communication-F).

Although certain images and slogans related to gender-specific attributes including pregnancy and motherhood had been used to increase public attention and achieve successful campaigns in a few ENGOs in the UK and Turkey, gender appears to be mostly (at-best) invisible and otherwise considered irrelevant within their scope of working areas. Therefore gender had not been seen as a factor to take into account when designing and launching campaigns. Moreover, there seems to be resistance at senior management level to include gender and/or environmental justice issues in many organisations, because of the narrow working areas defined by the ENGOs, where conservation is a priority rather than issues affecting people more directly. As Taylor (2008), argued, there is a need to integrate environmental issues with social issues to include the concerns of local communities and women. In addition, the data revealed that the whole senior management team had to be convinced to include environmental justice issues within the scope of the policies of the organisations.

7.2.3. Are environmental campaigns with gender component needed?

It has been documented that it is crucial to involve women in decision-making and develop mitigation and adaptation strategies that take into account gender perspectives when dealing with environmental problems (Hemmati, 2005). When exploring the campaigns the indication was that the research participants did not see gender as relevant when they set up their campaigns. In order to explore their justification for this neglect, I probed the ENGOs further as to 'whether there should be any environmental campaign including gender considerations'. It should be noted that this has two dimensions: first of all making sure campaigns which both relate appropriately to women and men. Secondly, identifying campaigns which women and men believe are important. The responses show that in most of the ENGOs the research participants did not see how gender would be relevant and questioned why they should take into account gender when setting up campaigns. Many ENGOs also appear to ignore the growing evidence on the link between gender and certain emerging environmental issues such as climate change and disproportionate impacts of environmental pollution. Gender-specific characteristics of climate change appear because women are affected differently[111] due to gender specific roles as well as poverty (Manata and Papazu, 2009; Rømer Christensen, 2009) as ecofeminists argued. Women are under-represented in decision-making and there are also gender biases in carbon emissions, as women's carbon foot prints are lower than men's due to lifestyles and consumption patterns, such as men's 'greater mobility and more extensive travel in both rich and poor countries' (Johnsson-Latham, 2007: 5; also Parikh, 2009). However, this does not seem to be acknowledged by the research

[111] I also acknowledge that age, disability and race are other important factors which need to be taken into account when deciding climate change policies.

participants. A senior manager of a British ENGO argued that there was no need to include any gender component into campaigns and there was no rational argument to launch a campaign that includes gender.

> ‘What do we need target to women for?.....women are consumers, men are consumers, women have carbon prints, men have carbon footprints. I don’t see the point targeting women on earth. I don’t I don’t see any particular value to the type of work that we do like in terms of the campaigns to target any particular gender’ (UK 1, CEO-M).

When asked if the ENGO would consider launching such a campaign in the future he replied:

> ’Maybe, if there is good way to do it, I don't see any reason to do it just because it is women, I can’t, I can’t rationalise that way, it doesn't make any sense to me, is that if it achieves a valuable environmental objective, yeah we may target, but there is no valuable argument for that’ (UK 1, CEO-M).

According to many research participants, campaigns linked to gender could be covered by other topics including human rights and development issues, but not within the topic of the ENGOs since these would need to interest everyone. Thus, although there is growing evidence that there is a strong link between women and environmental protection and degradation (Wickramasinghe, 2003), the most common argument that was used to justify not having gender sensitive campaigns was that the ENGOs’ working areas, which mainly focus on conservation and natural resources protection, would affect everyone equally and there was no need to include gender into the policies. This shows that the ENGOs are also unwilling to ‘break out of their rigid environmental categories’ (Di-Chiro, 2008: 278).

> ‘It can be a campaign that women would be interested in more, but our topic is a basic problem and concerns everyone, it is better to target everyone’[112] (TR 5, public and media relations-F).

As a result of the lack of gender-awareness in environmental policy making in many ENGOs there was a tendency to point out other organisations for being responsible for gender issues, although the organisations referred to were not always involved in specifically environmental campaigns and therefore would not take up environmental issues affecting gender. In the UK there are only a few organisations, the Women’s Environmental Network and Women’s Institute, which aim to work on specifically women and environmental and health issues. In Turkey there is no such organisation.

> ‘No no no no....we are not in the women business, we are an NGO, a national conservation NGO, of course there are a number of NGOs out there, which are working specifically, environmental social NGOs, …on women issues...obviously projects on women's issues, but in our case,… you know, again it is not our business. We are in the business of nature conservation. Irrespective of gender’ (UK 5, senior policy officer-M).

The coordinator of a campaign at British ENGO 8 was not sure whether there should be a campaign targeting women. She said that if they could see that women have got different environmental interests than men, maybe. But she could not think of any campaign that could be targeting women. Similarly, ENGO 7 argued that their criteria and the organisation was not particularly about gender. Moreover, it appears that

[112] ‘Kadınların daha çok ilgi gösterdiği bir kampanya olabilir. Ama bizim genellikle söz konumuz temel bir sorun herkesi ilgilendiren bir sorun olduğu için hani hedef kitlemiz ne kadar geniş tutulursa o kadar iyi’.

certain policies are not adopted because there is a desire not to alienate men. The policy officer argued that if gender was included into their campaigns, this would cause negative impacts on male volunteers.

> 'It would also damage the campaign I think, you know, you would lose other guys who felt like oh, these are women things, I am not gonna deal with it' (UK 7, policy officer-M).

This research found that while there was no awareness of the link between gender and climate change in the Turkish ENGOs, the British ENGOs ignored the link between gender and climate change in Global North[113]. Given the scale of the potential externalities of climate change, many of the ENGOs in both countries had a climate change campaign which differed according to the aims and objectives of the ENGOs. It is well documented how climate change affects women in the Global South, but as previously mentioned, its consequences on women in the Global North have received less attention (Brody et.al, 2008). The link between poverty and climate change has been well documented. Women face poverty worldwide more than men, because of longer life expectancy, gender pay gaps as well as unequal opportunities for education and careers (Alcock, 1993; Kabeer, 2003; UNa, 2011). According to the first report of the Roundtable on Climate Change and Poverty (Murphy, 2009: 2) which was prepared by a number of environmental and development NGOs in the UK, 'one in five people live in poverty in the UK and the poorest people in the country will be most affected by the effects of global warming, and this will be worsened by measures to combat climate change such as higher taxation on fossil fuels because of which there would be less money for house

[113] The term 'Global North' is used to refer to the industrially advanced countries.

heating' (for poverty and women in the UK, Bradshaw et al., 2003). As women constitute the poorest of the poor (UNIFEM UK, 2006) and also 'women can be key agents of adaptation and mitigation to climate change' (Parikh, 2009: 6), there is a good argument that policies are needed to be adopted to address the social and economic inequalities of climate change.

The data collected from the British ENGOs suggests that, as indicated in the previous sections, there is a trend where the relevance of the issue of gender in ENGOs' campaigns had not been acknowledged and it is rather linked to development NGOs. I argue that this undermines the ENGOs' role as challengers of the status quo. In none of the British ENGOs was the link between climate change and gender in the UK (Global North) recognised. Rather they linked the adverse consequences of climate change on women with the Global South. In response to my assertion that women are more affected by climate change than men (in order to explain why I thought that gender should be taken into account) the CEO of one of the largest ENGOs in the UK commented that

> 'I think again it is not what [the organisation] is ...right?

Then he added

> 'if you were a development organisation, like Oxfam, or Action Aid, ...and you'll look at grassroot organisations in the South, you'll look into who is impacted by climate change more, you would find that women are particularly disadvantaged, because women will do lots of things more like collecting water, they would have to walk longer distances, than they used to before, ...if I was working for a development organisation, I could quite clearly see how I would aim campaigns, very focused on women, because it was directly impacting on

their lives… , it wouldn't make any difference if it refers to men or women. It is not a rights issue, whereas for a development organisation it would be totally different' (UK 4, CEO-M).

Some research participants gave contradictory answers. Although one CEO (UK 4) acknowledged that there was a need to have more female chief executives, he did not acknowledge that gender analysis in campaigns was needed.

On the other hand, when examining the other NGOs that were referred to by the research participants, such as Oxfam and Action Aid, it can be seen that these NGOs focus mainly on the Global South including the issues such as poverty reduction, development, violence against women, and facilitation of women's empowerment (Oxfam, 2011; Action Aid, 2011). Although climate change action was first initiated by development NGOs in the UK, it appears that only Oxfam addresses poverty in the UK and the link between poverty and women, while some ENGOs include climate change and poverty issues, but are concentrated in the Global South and do not seem to have any campaigns in the UK. In addition, the National Federation of Women's Institutes (NFWI) in the UK has some women and environmental campaigns including water saving, and protection of certain species. In the case of Turkey, women's and human rights organisations are mainly limited to violence against women and women's representation in business and politics (IHD, 2011; KADER, 2011; Türk Kadınları Birliği 2011, KAGIDER, 2011). Therefore, environmental issues linked to gender appear to be totally unaddressed both in the British and Turkish mainstream ENGOs as a result of which gender concerns remain invisible in environmental policies.

The senior external affairs officer of British ENGO 8, whose main responsibility is 'in the area of managing climate change issues and keeping the organisation up-to-date with relevant external policy development and leading the organisation to lobbying on energy and climate change related policy'[114], argued similarly to me. According to her, there was no need to take gender into account, and women in the UK were not differently affected to men by climate change.

> 'Probably in developing countries, they [women] are [affected]' (UK 8, senior external affairs officer-F).

She answered my question on why women are more affected than men by saying:

> 'from my understanding, it is partly just livings, sometimes women's role in developing countries, they sometimes do a lot of the work and the kind of work they have to do is gonna be made more difficult if it is having to gather water or things like that. I cannot remember, I have just read something about it. So, that may not be correct' (UK 8, senior external affairs officer-F).

This response shows two important things, first of all a senior officer who was responsible for climate change policy and lobbying the issue was unaware that women in the UK can be differently affected than men by the consequences of climate change. This ignorance, due to male dominated values and assumptions in society where women's needs and perspectives are invisible and devalued, may be one of the explanations why many of the ENGOs are blind to gender implications of climate change in the UK. Secondly, even regarding the impacts on women in developing countries she was not really confident. The head of campaigns at British

[114] This is how she described her responsibilities.

ENGO 7 provided similar answers regarding climate change campaigns. He indicated

> ‘I think a lot of issues affecting women like climate change are international issues in the developing world, so we just wouldn’t be really dealing with that’ (UK 7, head of campaigns-M).

The focus group that I conducted in British ENGO 7 also agreed that women who live in the UK were not affected by the consequences of climate change differently from men and it was due to wealth in the UK and also the fact that aid could be provided when necessary. The policy officer argued that

> ‘that is the wealth thing, we can just get a bottle of water from the fridge... and whatever, crazy environmental things we do, I don’t think it is a gender thing’ (UK 7, policy officer-M).

These statements show how uninformed the ENGOs can be when it comes to emerging issues. There were similar responses in the Turkish ENGOs who rather argued that gender is not within the scope of their work and that other organisations including those focusing on human rights were responsible for women issues. When I asked if they thought it may be possible to have a campaign related to gender in the future, the responses provided reflect that gender was not regarded as within the scope of the ENGOs’ working areas.

> ‘No, maybe organisations that are involved in human rights have gender campaigns such as the Amnesty International, but it is a very different topic certainly than environment’[115] (TR 6, PA to the CEO and HR-F).

In Turkey, no consciousness was identified in the ENGOs on the differential impacts of climate change on women and men either. Moreover, there is growing evidence that there is a link between poverty and environmental injustices as well as disproportionate consequences of poverty on women (Donohoe, 2003). ‘Across all OECD countries, including Turkey, women are more likely to be poor than men’ (OECD, 2010b: 14). Moreover, while a link was made between poverty and gender in the Global South by a global ENGO, at the national level in the UK and Turkey this link was neglected and none of the organisations with global links had any campaigns taking into account the relationship between poverty and women.

These examples show that the issue of gender in campaigning policies was not acknowledged as a key factor for the ENGOs. Furthermore, almost none of the ENGOs believed that there should be a campaign targeting women. Therefore, the ENGOs appear to neglect environmental justice as well as the disproportionate impacts of environmental issues on women, and more importantly appear to be unwilling to do so. The ENGOs argued that other organisations including women’s, development or human rights organisations should address the issues including gender. Regarding the links between climate change and gender, in the UK the issue was seen simply as a problem in the Global South and despite the increasing evidence and literature on women in the Global North, women were not recognised as differently affected than men in any of the British ENGOs. In Turkey there was no

[115] ‘Hayır, hani belki insan hakları ile uğraşan derneklerin bu anlamda kadınlara yönelik kampanyaları vardır, örneğin Amnesty International’ın kadın kampanyası var Türkiye’de, ama o çok farklı bir konu, tabiki çevreden’.

consciousness in the ENGOs on how women can be more vulnerable than men to the consequences of climate change. Similarly, while in the UK the link between poverty and gender seems to be unnoticed and rather attributed to Global South, in Turkey it was totally invisible in the ENGOs' policies. Therefore, the research illuminates one of the reasons why the links between gender and climate change in Global North may have been widely unaddressed as ENGOs, one of the important actors in environmental lobbying, seem to neglect the issue in the UK. In Turkey it was found that the ENGOs are totally unaware of the links between gender and climate change, although the impacts of climate change in Turkey may be significant since amongst others the agriculture sector is still important in Turkey, where many women are employed as family members (OECD, 2011b). Therefore, the research contributes to the greater understanding of the current practices of the British and Turkish ENGOs related to climate change debates and this short-coming of failing to integrate gender in their policies.

To conclude, on the basis of the responses, it can be argued that underlying assumptions of gender biased reductionist western science, which were explored in chapter 2 as ecofeminist critiques, are seen in the opinions of the research participants and the campaigns of the ENGOs, because the research participants dismissed any relevance of gender in decision-making as well as in environmental campaigns and devalued women's relations to the environment. None of the research participants was aware of the disproportionate effects of environmental degradation on women and, overall, gender was invisible for the participants. Moreover, as explored in Chapter 6, the ENGOs' working practices are similar, possibly less women friendly in some cases, than the corporate world and a capitalist way of thinking seems to shape policies of the ENGOs. One of the factors may be

limited funding possibilities and an increasing dependency on external resources since it was found that campaigns that are likely to get external funding are promoted in most of the ENGOs. As also criticized by the socialist environmental movement, the ENGOs rather seem to concentrate on issues that concern the middle class such as access to countryside and natural resource protection rather than concentrating on issues that affect the lower classes (Hughes, 2000; Carter, 2007) including environmental justice issues such as poverty. Enzensberger (1974 cited in Hughes, 2000: 10) argued 40 years ago that 'the problems to which twentieth-century environmental movements address themselves are essentially no different from the effects of nineteenth century industrialization… and [today] environmental problems [caused by capitalist way of living] are qualitatively different from (other) social problems in such a way as to create the need for a new political ideology'. This appeal still appears to be valid today and ENGOs seem not to be adapting the needs of society sufficiently.

As discussed in Chapter 2, material ecofeminism influenced by socialist theory, also offers a valuable contribution as it points out the low value jointly accorded to nature and women under the present capitalist patriarchal structures. Short-term profits and capital accumulation as the main motives for activities and male oriented economic relations have caused environmental problems and contributed to domination of women as well as altering women's relations to nature (Salleh, 1995; Hughes, 2000; Mellor, 2006). Thus, the neglect of gender in the environmental campaigns of the ENGOs may be an indication of the 'low value accorded to women' as was argued by ecofeminism (Salleh, 1995: 21) in the mainstream ENGOs, which appear to reflect the rest of society and male-oriented organisational and economic relations and therefore dominant patriarchal values, as was found by this research. Thus, the

research illuminates the policies and ways of thinking of the mainstream ENGOs in the UK and Turkey. It contributes to an under researched area, namely the role of gender in ENGOs' policies and environmental decision making and by showing the neglect of gender in environmental campaigns in the ENGO sector in the UK and Turkey. Therefore, it can be concluded that environmental decision making in most of the ENGOs does not include feminist concerns and they fail to integrate gender in their policies. Additional factors that may also contribute to the neglect of gender in ENGOs' campaigns will be discussed in section 7.4 in order explore other aspects of this neglect.

7.3. Is there a link between gender balanced senior management compositions and campaigns?

Since the final decision on campaigns was reported to be taken by senior managers in the ENGOs, it can be argued that gender compositions at senior management level may influence the type and priority of issues that are chosen by the ENGOs. In the UK the ENGO that had a relatively gender balanced composition at senior management level (UK 1), but with a male dominated board (75%), male chair and male CEO, had no gender-sensitive campaigns. In this ENGO, except for one former middle manager who was interested in environmental justice issues and gender, most of the research participants, including the senior management team, were unaware of and resistant to why and how gender could/should be integrated into the campaigns of the organisation. It was also reported that the senior management team was resistant when the former middle managers suggested a campaign linking environmental justice and gender. A British organisation (UK 2) with a female chair and 65% of board members women had one campaign, which included gender,

although this was not related to the environment. The male CEO of UK 2 did comment that they did not take gender into account enough in their campaigns. The British ENGOs with female CEOs (UK 3 and 8), but with male dominated boards, did not include gender in their campaigns and did not see any relevance in doing so. On the other hand the British ENGO 6 with a male chair and CEO, but a relatively gender balanced board, had a campaign that included environmental justice issues including adverse affects of chemicals on children.

In the Turkish ENGOs, except for ENGO 2, none of the ENGOs had any campaign on environmental justice. However, ENGO 2 (with a majority male board) did not have any specific campaign taking gender into account and the research participant[116] who was one of the founders of the organisation did not see the relevance of gender for campaigns. The campaigns that were linked to gender were rather as a result of specific gendered roles such as motherhood and domestic responsibilities of women (chemicals and water saving campaigns) (TR 4, 5, 6 and 8). On the other hand, in the Turkish ENGOs (TR 7 and 8) with female CEOs, there were no environmental justice campaigns designed to address gender issues.

The data suggests that it is difficult to make a link between the gender composition and campaigns of the ENGOs. Overall, it appears that the ENGOs that had female CEOs/chairs or relatively gender-balanced boards did not differ from the other organisations in terms of campaigns in either country as was argued by one of the research participants who believed that no radical changes there would be if more women were represented in senior roles:

[116] Male

(Would it make a difference to have more female managers at directors' level?) 'Uhm.....yes I think it would be a bit different, I think.... it's quite, it is tough being one woman on the management team, where [the majority of them are male], and I would love it to be different, to be a wider, different balance, yes... would it be radically different? Probably not radically different, because the people of the management team don't conform to those gender stereotypes, possibly there is one exception. So it wouldn't be radically different, but it would be definitely beneficial, it would be good' (UK 2, CEO-M).

However, it should be taken into account that none of the ENGOs had gender-balanced management at all levels, including the senior management team, CEO and board. It has been argued that women can change their behaviour according to the social context and become more 'masculine' when necessary (Jones and Gallois, 1989). Therefore, it could be argued that, as suggested by the Davies report (2011), to increase women to 25% in corporate boards, in order to see a significant change in policies of the ENGOs a critical mass of females in decision-making may be required to be reached to make a difference (UN, 2005). Since the literature suggests that when 'the relative percentage of women in organisations reaches the critical mass, women begin to have a stronger voice and influence the work culture and organisation' (Merrill-Sands and Scherr, 2001: 6).

'Margaret Thatcher was in a cabinet of men, there was no women there, or very few, so what tends to happen on the board room is that women come into a very male dominated society or male dominated group... so they are their boss, but they are still surrounded by ten men, I think that you know is quite a powerful influence, it has quite an impact upon them, because there is no

gender balance there. So I think that you do find a tendency for that to happen' (UK 4, CEO-M).

7.4. Possible explanations for neglect of gender in campaigns

Baruah (2011: 431) argued that 'it is not necessary anymore to justify the need to integrate women's concerns and perspectives into environmental planning, policies and programmes, because it is now well understood that it is as futile to attempt to solve national development problems without integrating women's needs as it is to attempt to improve women's social and economic status without addressing environmental concerns'. However, this research demonstrates that the ENGOs, shaping environmental policies, still need to be convinced that gender is an important factor to consider when developing environmental policies instead of pointing out non-environmental NGOs who include gender in their policies. This section explores the possible reasons for this neglect.

As opposed to cultural ecofeminist arguments that women are closer to nature and women have specific relationship to the nature, the research indicates that there is no significant difference between female and male research participants when it comes to their views on whether gender should be taken into account in campaigns. Although there is sufficient evidence that women have a specific relationship to nature at the ground level in terms of exposure (due to biological and physical differences as well as gendered roles), but also in terms of environmental protection (since women constitute the majority of volunteers at grassroots level), in the ENGOs this relationship is neglected by both women and men. As argued in Chapter 6 when the links between gender compositions and environmental decision-making were explored, this neglect and denial of gender in environmental campaigns may be due

to the masculine organisational objectives, practices and assumptions as well as women's low value in society, as argued in the previous sections. As radical feminism suggested, underlying assumptions including gender roles, stereotypes of women and men and other inequalities should be changed in organisational settings. Moreover, the lack of a critical mass of women may also provide an explanation since a minimum number of women are thought to be required to change organisational policies (UN, 1995). The question is 'if more women were involved in campaigning strategies' would there be any difference and would different campaigns be taken up? Buckingham-Hatfield (1999: 130) argued that 'women's environmental concerns are in general doubly linked to their social role, because they are both more involved in reproductive issues and more likely to be poor'. This is confirmed when we examine the campaigns of the few women's organisations such as Women's Environmental Network (WEN) and Women's Institute (WI) since these organisations have environmental campaigns linked to gender (WEN, 2011; WI, 2011).

This research found that none of the ENGOs had done any gender analysis when planning and launching their campaigns in the UK and Turkey. Moreover, the research reiterates Seager's finding (1993) from almost 20 years ago in the USA that mainstream ENGOs do not take up environmental justice issues and they are reluctant to take up issues affecting especially low-income communities. The research indicates that in general environmental justice issues were invisible for the ENGOs in Turkey and, except for Turkish ENGO 2, no environmental justice campaigns had been taken up by the ENGOs in the UK and Turkey. Gender sensitive campaigns may be expected to be linked to environmental justice issues, as was discussed in Chapter 2 on gender and environment and in the previous sections. Women are more likely to bear environmental injustices, because of social

roles; biological and physical differences between women and men (Resurreccion and Elmhirst, 2008). Moreover, women are more likely to face poverty and 'relative poverty has been acknowledged as a dimension of environmental injustice' (Buckingham and Kulcur, 2009: 660). As a result, it may not be surprising that women's involvement in the environmental justice movement is greater than men's (Rocheleau 1991; Rocheleau et al., 1996; Campbell, 1996; Di Chiro, 1998). Thus, it can be argued that because the ENGOs seem to be unwilling to take up environmental justice campaigns and gender sensitive campaigns, gender inequality as a structural feature of environmental injustice (Nightingale, 2001; Wickramasinghe, 2003) also tends to be neglected by the organisations.

Intersectionality is important to consider since 'people are subjected by race, ethnicity, class, gender and other forms of social difference' (Nightingale, 2011: 153). Thus, race and class, especially in the UK, could provide alternative explanations of this neglect. As was discussed in Chapter 2 on gender and environment, based on my own observations and interviewees' accounts, it can be argued that the neglect of environmental injustice issues may be an outcome of the middle class white male dominated management and staff compositions in the ENGOs.

> 'I think some of these also go back to the UK class system..., you are a senior manager, ...so you have to take class into consideration, I don't know how many people I know from Eton[117] 0.02% of the population goes to Eton, but I know a lot of men from Eton, right? So they have also been cultivating that old boys school clubby way of working which is unique to the UK. So that's why, I don't know how much you thought of class…but that is one of the key issues is to me,

[117] A public school where a high number of elite in the UK attend.

as well, it is also 'we do, we don't do, we did' [imitating the clubby way of talking] [laughs]. So I say some of this is down to gender, some of this is also class based issues... so that also keeps women out of the, class keeps women out' (UK 9, ex-manager-F).

'I think....my sort of observation with no kind of statistical back up or whatsoever is... let's say there is a upper middle class in this office may be, I don't know, it seems that to me the managers are from higher social class may be' (UK 1, volunteers' officer-F).

'Where we don't do so well is that we have very few ethnic minority staff with being based in London, maybe that is an issue' (UK 7, head of campaigns-M).

Therefore, in keeping with the limited research undertaken on ENGOs many years ago in the USA (Seager, 1993; Taylor, 2002), white male middle class dominated compositions in decision-making roles may provide an explanation of why environmental justice issues are neglected by the ENGOs (for class and environmentalism, Norton, 2003). While the environmental justice movement emerged as a grassroots movement of 'working class people of colour to address, amongst others social inequalities, limited access to natural resources, and disproportionate impacts of environmental hazards, the dominant pathway of environmental movement [which includes ENGOs] is still based on conservation priorities set up primarily by middle class and white males' (Taylor, 2002: 1). The data reveals that similarly to the mainstream environmental movement in the USA (Taylor, 2002), in the UK and Turkey the working priorities of the ENGOs appear to be relatively narrow, because they are mainly based on the conservation of natural

resources and species. As a result of this they seem to be reluctant to take up any environmental justice issues that affect local communities including women.

When I asked one of the Turkish research participants why certain issues are chosen or not (for example the Bergama gold-mining issue, which emerged as an environmental justice issue in Turkey, but has not been taken up by the organisation) it was argued that the capacity of the organisation was the limitation. The research participant underlined that there were many environmental issues that needed attention, but because of the capacity of the organisation, only certain issues could be addressed.

> 'We have a limited number of staff and we try to do as much as we can. You don't feel well because for example of gold mining in Bergama and we cannot do anything there. We are not ignoring it, but in order to send people there, we need to give them travelling costs and additional working hours are required. We are only able to do this [what we have done so far]. We work at weekends, work late night, but the work does not finish, it is not enough, we can only help our country as much as this'[118] (TR 10, members and volunteers' responsible-F).

However, the research found that there was also reluctance by the ENGOs to widen their objectives and priorities to include local community concerns rather than only looking at the protection of environmental resources (Seager, 1993; Taylor, 2002). Bergama Ovacık has been in the public spotlight in Turkey because gold-mining was

[118] '[Bu kadar] çalışanımızla nereye gücümüz yetebiliyorsa ne kadarını yapabiliyorsak onu yapıyoruz. Hani bir taraftan vicdanınız hiç rahat değil işte. Bergama'da altın madeni çıkartılıyor ve oraya birşey yapamıyoruz. Ama yani şey değiliz. Oraya karşı da kayıtsız değiliz. Sadece bizim oraya gidip emek vermek için gene yollayacağımız insanı yol parası ayırmam lazım, onu çalıştırmak için ekstra mesai lazım. 23 çalışan arasında yani, hani bu kadarını kaldırabiliyoruz. Hafta sonu çalışıyoruz, geç saate kadar çalışıyoruz. Ama gene iş bitmiyor. Ihmmm yetmiyor yani memlekete yardımcı yapabildiğimiz bu kadar sadece'.

being undertaken by a profit oriented company using cyanide (for the impacts of the gold-mining in Bergama, Amato Okuyan and Şahin, 2001). There has been a big concern among the villagers that live very close to the goldmine that cyanide would cause environmental pollution and impact them directly. The issue has been an environmental justice issue for the villagers, because of the disproportionate environmental risks they bear. Many protests have been organized where in keeping with the environmental justice literature (Seager, 1993; Brown and Ferguson, 1995; Di Chiro, 1998) female villagers were at the forefront of these protests. However, to date, except for some representative bodies of certain professions and a small ENGO, no Turkish ENGO has taken up the issue and they have totally neglected the consequences of this environmental injustice. It has been confirmed that the capacity and resources of ENGOs, especially Turkish ENGOs, are limited and the ENGOs seem to be increasingly relying on corporate funding. The data collected suggests that the ENGOs in both countries determine the policies and campaigns that are chosen as priority areas on the basis of where they may be able to receive some funding. It may be argued that most of the ENGOs in both countries may be reluctant to be involved in environmental justice issues where certain direct conflicts with interest groups such as industrialists could arise. In particular, it may be because some of the Turkish ENGOs were founded by businessmen.

In addition, the conflict between economic development concerns and environmental protection (Beder, 1994; Pepper, 2005; Guo and Ma, 2008) may provide explanations for why certain issues are not taken up by the ENGOs even though they would fit into their conservation policies. The Turkish ENGO (TR 2), which takes up environmental justice issues, indicated that they advocate ‘the environmental protection is first’ policy which means that the environment cannot be polluted or

sacrificed for any development argument. Therefore, the ENGO accused one Turkish ENGO for not standing against, but also accepting donations from, a company that had destroyed around 280, 000 trees to establish a mine, because the company would create employment and economic development in the area, so favouring the idea of 'human mastery over nature and the commitment to economic expansion' as was criticised by socialist theory (Carter, 2007: 70). On the other hand the ENGO that was accused argued that for them any donation was good, as even if they cannot stop environmental degradation, at least they would be able to use the money to do as much as possible to restore it.

On the other hand, in the case of the ENGOs that have global links, the principles are set by the international head office and therefore 'global' priorities were reported to be important. Therefore, the national organisations especially those with little financial contribution to the international head organisation and thus politically appear to be less powerful than some others, were argued to be marginal in deciding campaigns. Thus, even if, for example, the less resourced ENGOs such as Turkish ENGOs with global links wanted to initiate a gender sensitive campaign, under the current system and mechanism this would be difficult since the main financing sources such as the global organisation and powerful national offices such as the USA and UK, as reported by a research participant, first need to be convinced.

However, it should also be noted that, as discussed in Chapter 2, except for a few writers (Taylor, 1997; Di Chiro 1998; Stein, 2004; Kurtz, 2007 and Nightingale, 2006) gender has also received little attention within the environmental justice literature. As explored in Chapter 2, the concept of scale may provide one of the explanations of this neglect since 'gender is due to the less publicly visible scales at which the

consequences of environmental injustice for women, less geographically concentrated than ethnic minorities or people in poverty' (Buckingham and Kulcur, 2009: 661). Thus, while women are embedded within households and therefore appear to be invisible, in contrast, ethnic minorities tend to live in distinct neighborhoods, which make them more visible. Therefore, I argue that the scales may also provide one of the factors to take into account when exploring the neglect of gender in policies and campaigns of the ENGOs.

Furthermore, if I could re-interview the ENGOs, since the PhD is also a learning process, I would ask different questions to explore this neglect in a different way. I have gained a deep understanding of the linkages between gender analysis, environmental as well as development issues during the research process. Since it is impossible to achieve sustainability without addressing gender issues in environmental campaigns and social issues link to environmental injustices, I would ask about the links between natural resource use and development issues and sustainability to the research participants and I would try to get answers in a way that would engage the research participants more in reflecting about gender and environmental issues. On the other side, as discussed in chapter 5, elite interviewing provides a different dimension than other interviews and power relations are asymmetrical, in general, favouring elites (Kezar, 2003), therefore it is difficult to guess whether I would have been able to gather more information.

7.5. Summary and conclusions

The research participants in Turkey and the UK were interviewed to find out whether the ENGOs take gender into account when designing campaigns; whether there had been any campaigns taking into account gender and whether the research

participants think that there should be campaigns that are gender sensitive. In addition, the ENGOs' campaigns were examined on the official websites of the organisations. Moreover, a link was made between the campaigns and gender compositions of the ENGOs studied. When examining the factors that are important when deciding campaigns, the data collected suggests that campaigns had been set up within the priority working areas of the organisations. Most of the ENGOs prioritised conservation and natural resources protection and, except for a few ENGOs, did not include environmental justice issues. The data revealed that when deciding campaigns, gender was not taken into account, and in many cases the concept of gender did not seem to be relevant for the research participants. In addition, resources of the organisations such as available staff and funding were reported to be important factors for deciding on campaigns. It was identified that campaigns were decided mainly by senior management and the boards of trustees, although in many cases staff contributed to the process. In both countries, depending on the urgency and complexity, campaigns were reported to be launched in days or months. This indicates that if it appears important to the decision-makers a campaign can be launched within a short period of time.

ENGOs are expected to take part in environmental decision making processes by governments, but it may be taken for granted that ENGOs reflect the public interest and are well informed on environmental concerns. However, as the example of climate change campaigns shows, they are not always the best informed and are not always in a position to inform governmental bodies on how to best improve current practices. Even though all of the British ENGOs and the large Turkish ENGOs had climate change campaigns, none of the campaigns recognised gender as a significant factor. The campaigns that had included women such as on water saving

and the adverse effects of chemicals on children were related to stereotypical domestic responsibilities of women and not environmental justice issues affecting women. Moreover, very few of the ENGOs saw or were willing to see the relevance of gender to any particular campaign and argued that other organisations (such as those organised around women, development organisations or human rights organisations), which in general do not take up environmental campaigns, should be doing this. However, it is documented that women-focused organisations such as the Women's Environmental Network (WEN) and the Women's Institute (WI) in the UK often do not have sufficient resources and receive relatively little funding overall (Womens' Resource Centre, 2006). In Turkey there is no such organisation that can take up environmental justice issues relating to gender as a result of which gender seems to be unaddressed in environmental campaigns and policies to be lobbied at the governmental level in Turkey while in the UK WEN and the WI have been taken up some environmental campaigns including climate change and women's exposure to chemicals.

The research investigated the potential relationship between the campaigns of the organisations and gender compositions at senior management level in order to find an explanation of the current gender biased campaigns of the ENGOs. However, it appears that the ENGOs with less gender imbalanced structures did not differ significantly from the rest of the organisations. It should be noted that the compositions of the ENGOs favoured men and none of the ENGOs had gender-balanced compositions at all levels of senior management. The data suggests that a number of people who are in the senior management team must be convinced and even the support of the CEO seems not to be sufficient to add new campaigning priorities to the working scope of the ENGOs. Therefore, it may be argued that,

similarly to suggestion of Davies (2011) for private corporate boards, a critical mass across the full senior management may be required to change the current policies of the organisations.

Moreover, it should also be taken into account that limited funding possibilities may play a role in the absence of gender from campaigns. Although most of the research participants did not believe that gender should be taken into account when launching campaigns, the data suggests that campaigns also follow funding sources, and donors play an increasingly important role in determining campaigns. Thus, further research may be needed to investigate donors' role in the neglect of gender as well as of environmental justice campaigns. However, one of the findings of the research is that in general there is a resistance to include campaigns with a gender component or addressing environmental justice issues. This can also be linked to factors including class and race. While class and race were initially not within the scope of this thesis, during the research process it emerged they also play an important role especially in the British ENGOs. Middle class white male domination of the ENGOs can also suggest explanations, in parallel with the USA, of why the ENGOs' working priorities focus mainly on the protection of environmental resources while environmental injustice issues and lower class initiatives are neglected. Therefore, it can be argued that class and race may play a significant role in relation to the policies of the ENGOs and the neglect of environmental justice and gender issues in the policies and campaigns of the ENGOs.

To conclude, I agree with Seager (1993) that it is not easy to ask 'what would be different if women were in charge?, because [still after 20 years] we do not have many women-led, non-masculinist institutions' (p.7) that shape environmental

policies to compare to. However, there is a need to research gender in the environmental movement and reveal gender inequalities and gendered assumptions as well as the policies of ENGOs, which this research aimed to do. This thesis found that the ENGOs in both countries do not seem to be different in terms of gendered assumptions and both neglect gender issues existing in society and fail to integrate gender in their policies. It can be argued that ENGOs reflect gender inequality patterns existing in society. Therefore, the research contributes to feminist research on gender and environment. It reveals that ENGOs have mostly middle-class oriented policies including conservation of natural resources, countryside and heritage and they neglect environmental justice issues including everyday struggles of people mostly belonging to local communities, the poor and women.

Chapter 8 Conclusions

8.1. Introduction

This chapter draws together the key empirical research findings and discusses them in the light of the research questions. It explains how the research findings contribute to the development of new knowledge in feminist organisational theory and environmental justice. This thesis aimed to explore gender in ENGOs and the implications of gender on their working pritorities (environmental campaigns), which is severely under-researched. Firstly I examined the senior management positions in the ENGOs and analysed the factors that contribute to the underrepresentation of women in these roles. This was important to explore gender in their working practices and to see whether relatively gender balanced ENGOs differ from other ENGOs in terms of their environmental campaigns. I expected that gender compositions at senior management level could affect the type and priority of issues that are chosen by the ENGOs.

In this chapter, a summary of the research findings and the contributions of this research, which is a cross national comparison, are presented (Section 8.2) related to gender compositions (Section 8.2.1.1.) and working practices of the ENGOs (Section 8.2.1.2.), which were identified as factors explaining male domination in senior roles in the ENGOs. The research findings regarding the implications of this gender bias in ENGOs' campaigns are discussed in Section 8.2.2. In addition methodological developments (Section 8.3), limitations and possibilities for further research (Section 8.4) are presented.

8.2. Summary of research findings

This section summarises and discusses the findings of the thesis. The first research question was examined in Chapter 6, namely how gendered the ENGOs in the UK and Turkey are, and why and in what ways are they gendered. The second question explored the implications of this gendering for ENGOs' environmental policies and campaigns that are discussed in Chapter 7: whether the ENGOs which are led by women or have more gender balanced management compositions are more likely to take gender into account when deciding their campaigning strategies and are more responsive to gender issues. The third research question, what theoretical approaches are most appropriate to explore and understand the gendered nature of ENGOs, was addressed in Chapter 3. Finally, Chapters 6 and 7 explore the last research question, namely differences and similarities between the British and Turkish ENGOs in terms of gender compositions and campaigns, which will be integrated within each section below.

8.2.1. Gendered ENGOs

ENGOs might be expected to behave differently to commercial/business organisations, because they are based on certain values and their aim is not maximising profit and capital. Therefore in the beginning of the research I expected the ENGOs to have more women in senior roles and be more conscious about gender sensitive campaigns. It was suprising that they were replicating the gendered compositions and working practices of business organisations and that they were resistant to gender sensitive campaigns.

Therefore, the thesis contributes to the feminist organisational literature by revealing that patriarchy in the workplace is more endemic than if it were simply limited to profit

making organisations, and that in potentially overrides other 'values' supposedly held by ENGOs. This supports the radical feminist approach.

The gender compositions of the ENGOs at senior management level including CEOs and board members as well as employee positions were analysed in Chapter 6. Moreover, the working practices of the ENGOs were explored to reveal whether and how the organisations were gendered (Chapter 6). Therefore, first of all the analyses related to the gender compositions of the ENGOs and secondly the working practices are discussed in the following sections.

8.2.1.1. Gendered compositions and gendered division of labour

The research revealed that both the British and Turkish ENGOs are male dominated at senior management level (CEOs and board members). I found that only 2 out of 9 CEOs in the British ENGOs and 2 out of 10[119] CEOs in Turkey were female. Similarly, an analysis of the composition of the boards of these organisations also revealed male dominance. In the UK, the best representation rate for women was 45% of board members of a small ENGO (UK 2), in the worst case only 14% of board members of a large ENGO (UK 7) was female and only 2 out of 8 of the governing bodies were chaired by a woman. In Turkey, there was a similar picture. There was only one woman as a chair of a governing board, and the best female representation on the boards of the Turkish ENGOs was 60% in a small ENGO (TR 9), which was a better representation rate than in the UK, but in another small ENGO (TR 4) there was not a single woman on the board. Therefore the findings do not confirm a link between the size of organisations and the representation of women in top positions,

[119] It should be noted that two Turkish ENGOs were not professional ENGOs (no paid staff) and therefore did not have a CEO.

which is contrary to the findings of Odendahl and Youmans (1994) and Bradshaw et al. (1996).

Moreover, I found that in both countries the majority of the lower level staff was female. The data based on the analysis of equal opportunities forms in the British in-depth research ENGO suggested that the majority of the applicants, especially for employee positions, was female (overall 70%). It was also found that volunteers were more likely to be women in most of the ENGOs. In addition, most of the female research participants argued that women's greater interest in jobs in the ENGO sector compared with men could be due to the differences between men and women in terms of feelings of social responsibility and environmental awareness, in line with the academically criticised cultural ecofeminist position that 'women are closer to nature' argument (Salleh, 1995). On the other hand, it is known that low paid job segments and sectors generally are occupied mainly by women (Ruwanpura, 2004) and that women have lower salary expectations than men (Phelan,1994). In addition, when exploring the reasons for the high number of women in the ENGOs in general, certain stereotypical assumptions concerning gendered roles and the patriarchal divisions of labour in society also emerged in the accounts of the research participants assigning women to traditional care-giving roles and men to career development. Surprisingly, although there are cultural and traditional differences between the UK and Turkey, the research participants' responses were very similar in both countries in terms of assumptions of men's and women's roles in society and career. The similarities (cross country and cross organisational type) that were revealed during the research show that patriarchy is transcending, which again supports radical feminist perspective.The Turkish respondents believed that Turkish society is male dominated. Even though patriarchal assumptions in society were

expressed by a few respondents, mainly by CEOs, this was less obvious in the British ENGOs. Therefore, the thesis contributes to cross-country comparative research revealing the differences between the countries on the awareness of the research participants related to patriarchy impacting occupational relations.

Moreover, a clear gendered division of labour was seen in the British ENGOs. On the basis of the data collected, including interviews and observation, I noted that women were represented in stereotypically female occupations including as secretarial and administrative staff, CEO assistants as well as in job segments such as human resources, marketing, communication, fundraising and supportive services, whereas men dominated the most senior management positions, such as policy decision making, and science related roles such as in conservation departments and job segments such as IT.

There was a tendency in the Turkish ENGOs for women to dominate the officer and supportive administrative roles. However, since the Turkish ENGOs had flatter structures and fewer managerial positions than the British ENGOs, because of their smaller size and budget and two of the non-professional ENGOs did not have any hierarchical management structure, the gendered division of labour was less obvious than in the UK. The gendered division of labour for certain job segments such as the case of IT departments was also explained by a Turkish CEO because of sex differences in occupational choices. Gender denial also appears to play a role in the under-representation of women in senior roles. The data collected indicates that most of the research participants including women argued that gender does not matter in terms of management practices and the differences are due to personality rather than gender.

However the factors contributing to under-representation of women in senior management roles are complex. In addition to the working practices of the ENGOs other factors (at macro level and micro level) have been identified during the research, which contribute to underrepresentation of women in senior roles. In general, I argue that there are universal barriers that cause women to be under-represented in top levels. I think that due to patriarchy, but also capitalist relations that are present in every aspect of life, domestic and reproductive labour (unpaid work) are not included in macro-economic analyses, women's domestic responsibilities including care giving remain invisible and devalued. Therefore, the invisibility of dual workload and related disadvantages that women face in the workplace contribute to unequal career chances for women. Overall, I found that because the ENGOs seem to reflect the rest of the society and the dominant patriarchal values they are gendered.

At an individual level training and education, lack of continuous work experience, being invisible to senior managers and gender stereotypes were found to contribute to the low number of female managers. The organisational (meso) level will be explored in the following section, however, it should be noted that meso-level explanations are interlinked with macro factors since organisations operate and aim to survive in an environment where certain rules and assumptions dominate. As a result the ENGOs reflect these dominant ways of living including patriarchal and capitalist relations that are present in a given society.

8.2.1.2. Gendered practices

i) Limited funding resources and career chances

The ENGO sectors in both countries had high levels of labour circulation, which was found to be caused by a number of factors. These include the limited career advancement chances in the ENGO sector due to size of organisations and limited funding resources, which is particularly pertinent in Turkey. The ENGO sector can be described as a low pay sector[120], with short-term contractual employment for certain jobs (2-3 years) that are heavily dependent on external funding. When one takes into account that the majority of these contract positions are held by females the career advancement chances of women seem to be affected as a result of short-term jobs and infrequent promotion opportunities. This conclusion is based upon the finding that the number of years of experience and the opportunity to prove oneself to senior management were important for climbing the career ladder in the ENGOs. In addition, as a result of the limited funding opportunities and restricted staffing especially in small ENGOs, the workload of staff appears to be high and working hours are long, which conflicts with family responsibilities.

Overall I found that the differential needs of women, as a result of traditional patriarchal assumptions dominating society, are not taken into account in the ENGO sector in either country. The reflections on gender neutral working arrangements that cause disadvantages for women in their career advancement are discussed below.

ii) The role of recruitment and promotion practices

Particularly in Turkey, but also in the British ENGOs, the female employees were young and single with no childcare responsibilities. One of the reasons for this was that recruitment practices, especially in the Turkish ENGOs, appeared to favour this group at the expense of older women who are more likely to have children. This

[120] However, senior management positions including CEO particularly in some British large ENGOs appear to be well paid (see Fame database, 2011).

indirect preference in recruitment policies can also be illustrated by the requirement for long and irregular working hours including weekends, as well as frequent travelling requirements for certain jobs in the ENGOs. It was argued by some senior managers that young women can cope in this working environment when they have no family and childcare responsibilities.

In some instances recruitment and promotion practices were likely to become gender biased since they were influenced by patriarchal gender relations and assumptions reflected in the organisations, as radical feminism argues. Therefore, this thesis contributes to the organisation literature by revealing how recruitment and promotion practices in ENGOs are gendered and how they are perceived by ENGO staff. It is not easy to interpret the gendered practices in the ENGOs and why they do not see gender as relevant for their campaigns. During the research process I became concious that there are many reasons, which are interlinked, for gender inequalities and underrepresentation of women in senior roles and a combination of feminist theoretical approaches were necessary to explore and understand the gendered nature of the ENGOs in both countries. Therefore, it was important to add the research question: what theoretical approaches are most appropriate to explore and understand the gendered nature of ENGOs? By doing this I was able to study the feminist theoretical perspectives to understand how the underlying factors for women's disadvantages in organisational settings may occur. This research made me understand that while liberal feminism has been important for equal opportunity legislation and increased the number of women in the labour market, in practice it did not challenged and altered the fundamental gender relations in organisational settings. On the other hand, by doing this research, I realised and agreed how gender inequalities in organisations emerge as a result of patriarchal and capitalist

gender relations where women's differential needs are ignored, because women's work is undervalued and made invisible as radical and socialist feminist theoretical perspectives suggest.

iii) Working arrangements (working hours/flexi work)

While the recruitment and promotion practices of ENGOs appear to influence their gender compositions and women's career advancement, actual working practices such as long and irregular working hours, frequent travelling and limited flexible working practices were also identified as important factors influencing women's career chances since working practices where work is prioritised over other areas of life, including social reproduction, are not compatible with family life (Hakim, 2006). As a result, it was found that many working women in ENGOs reduce their working hours or leave their jobs once they become mothers. The fact that women tend to spend more time out of the labour market because of caring responsibilities reduces their career progress (Tharenou et al., 1994; Poole and Isaacs, 1997) under the dominant work culture. The ENGOs in both countries mimic corporate organisations, which are motivated by profit-making. In order to rise to managerial positions, long work experience and proving oneself to management were considered to be important (Wallace, 1998; Heidenreich, 2010). This is an important finding because, as opposed to corporate business organisations, ENGOs are established on different values to profit maximisation.

Flexible working practices have been acknowledged as good working practices because they help to accommodate aspects of non-paid working life and caring responsibilities (Labour Relations Agency, 2006). However, it has also been argued that family-friendly work practices in the form of flexible work arrangements do not

redress gender imbalances as they may reinforce the glass-ceiling due to the limited career progression they offer (Hakim, 2004; Jacobs and Gerson, 2004). However, it can be argued that the limited career chances linked to flexible working arrangements occur due to androcentric assumptions in organisational settings which do not accommodate women's differential needs and dual workload.

ENGOs have been reported to have more women-friendly workplaces compared to profit based organisations (Vázquez, 2011). However, my research clearly demonstrates that it is not possible to make such a conclusion. One of the important contributions of this research is that it shows that overall the working practices of the ENGOs in both countries did not appear to be more flexible than the corporate world (even in some large ENGOs as discussed in section 6.4.2. in chapter 6). In fact some ENGOs appear to be less flexible, which can be argued to be due to financial pressures that they face, and the limited number of staff they can afford to hire. However, even in some large ENGOs the most senior executives (CEOs) argued that certain flexible work arrangements including working part-time or home-work would not be a good practice since it would affect the organisation negatively and not match the business needs of some ENGOs. Even in some large British ENGOs there appeared to be no formal procedure regarding flexible working policies and employees were not provided with any precise information on the possibility of these arrangements. The data suggests that flexible working was limited, in some ENGOs, to certain 'valuable' employees negotiated on an individual basis.

In terms of flexibility of working practices, the British ENGOs seem to be more flexible than the Turkish ENGOs since they had more employees due to better financial situations and funding possibilities. In the Turkish ENGOs, part-time work

and working from home was seen as an exception, limited to a few students or to retain valuable employees. This is a reflection of the Turkish labour market where flexi-working, including part-time work arrangements, is less common than in the UK (OECD Family database, 2010). Moreover, the term flexi-work was understood as to mean long working hours in most of the Turkish ENGOs. Some of the Turkish research participants argued that deciding their arrival time would count as flexibility. However, it was found that starting late results in longer working hours and in the evening arriving home late, which is not compatible with family life.

It can be argued that the ENGOs did not differ from the corporate world in terms of working practices and assumptions particularly due to the increasing professionalisation of ENGOs. Since ENGOs appear to replicate working practices of profit oriented companies due to many factors including reflection of patriarchal way of living in society, the necessity to survive with limited funding resources in a capitalist society, led to work related demands appearing to be prioritised and emphasised more than life outside work. Thus, gender inequalities in the organisations are perpetuated because organisational life is privileged over other areas of life in society (Acker, 1992). This may be exacerbated by capitalist relations in the UK and Turkey where the role of capital and capital accumulation is important and women's contribution to society is undervalued.

iv) Organisational culture

I think that it was important to conduct interviews with both women and men working in the ENGOs. This also helped me to reveal and study the organisational culture in the ENGOs because I was able to gather information on stereotypical assumptions of research participants particularly of those occupying senior management roles.

Exploring organisational culture revealed some of the factors responsible for the under-representation of women in senior positions. Stereotypical assumptions and other inequalities that women face in society appear to be reflected in certain ENGOs where men as the dominant group seem to determine the group culture (Simpson and Lewis, 2005) and where there is an absence, or only a few female role models in the top positions. As a result even women in senior positions including in one of the large British ENGOs reported that they experienced exclusion and devaluation and it appears that those who do not fit into this culture tend to leave.

v) Childcare arrangements

None of the ENGOs had any childcare facilities. I found that some of the female employees in both countries were anxious about having children because of the culture of long working hours and the limited future prospects due to the project-based funding and low wages in the sector. This was also reflected in the ENGOs in both countries since the number of female staff with children was very small. More importantly, I found that male senior managers were more likely to have children than their female counterparts. One of the reasons for employees having few children appears to be the young age profile and because most of the female employees who had children tend to leave after their maternity leave or in few cases return on a part-time basis. As discussed in Chapter 3, although the literature suggests that the majority of employees who become mothers are more likely to return to work and apply for reduced working hours, which was an argument put forward by some participants from the UK, this was not confirmed during the fieldwork.

In none of the Turkish ENGOs was there a female employee with young child(ren) and working part-time. In the British in-depth ENGO there was only one female

based at the main office working part-time. I found in the UK that female senior managers either did not have any children or those few who had children were supported by their partners, who were either retired or worked part-time. In addition, in the Turkish ENGOs the managerial positions were likely to be occupied by people who had had a career in another sector and had then moved to the ENGO sector once they retired or wanted to change career path. Therefore, female managers with children had moved to the sector once their children were grown up. The research found that working in the ENGO sector does not seem to make a difference for women's advancement compared to other sectors since female managers argued that it is hard to combine their responsibilities with family life in any sector (French, 1995). Since the ENGOs do not appear to provide career chances for women with childcare responsibilities, the data revealed that women's traditional responsibilities and therefore their contribution to society have been made invisible and are taken for granted (Nelson, 1997). As Plumwood (1993: 21) states 'dominant western culture has systematically inferiorised, backgrounded and denied dependency on the whole sphere of reproduction and subsistence'. The general assumption of 'the ability of nature and the family sphere to take care of itself' (Nelson, 1997: 156) has caused environmental degradation as well as reduced women's career advancement chances because of the invisibility of the dual workload and related disadvantages that women face in society and the workplace. As a result, women are frequently forced to decide between a career or children.

As was discussed in Chapter 6, gender roles differ from society to society because different values are ascribed to what determines the division of labour between men and women (Coates, 1999). However, Williams and Best (1990) argued male and female stereotypes can be similar across cultures. This was found to be the case in

my research where no significant difference was found between the accounts of the research participants on the assumptions concerning gender roles in society and domestic responsibilities including childcare either in the British or Turkish ENGOs.

8.2.2. Gender in ENGO campaigns

This section explains the key research findings in relation to the second research question: how gender influences the campaigns of the ENGOs and whether the ENGOs which are led by women or have more gender balanced management compositions are more likely to consider gender when deciding their campaigning strategies and have gender sensitive campaigns. To this end, the campaigns of the ENGOs, the most important factors when deciding campaigns and the decision-making procedure for selecting campaigns were examined.

8.2.2.1. Campaigns

This research confirmed that environmental campaigns of ENGOs are narrowly focused on 'environment-first policies' (Bryant and Bailey, 1997; Agyeman and Angus, 2003; Shandra, et al., 2008) in both countries: namely conservation and the protection of natural resources and habitat and countryside, rather than environmental justice issues. Therefore, the thesis supports the literature, which argues that ENGOs continue to focus on issues concerning mainly the middle class (Seager, 1993; Carter, 2007) rather than the daily struggles of people with lower income which emerge as a result of inequalities and injustices including poverty, exposure to chemicals and environmental pollutants as well as unequal access to resources and decision-making. Although it is known that environmental experiences and responses to environmental occurrences differ, and gender is one of the significant factors in addition to social class and race in determining this (Taylor,

2002), the majority of the research participants in both countries were not only unaware of the differential impacts of environmental issues by gender but also did not see its relevance in their campaigns, arguing that gender would be within the scope of other NGOs including development and women focused organisations.

I found that gender was not taken into account when designing and launching campaigns and it was not considered to be an important factor by the research participants. The responses between male and female research participants in general did not differ significantly and gender appeared to be invisible for most of the research participants, or underplayed, in both countries. More interestingly, there was a resistance to understanding why gender should be taken into account and why campaigns should be gender sensitive despite the UN urging ENGOs to integrate gender issues in all their policies and programmes (gender mainstreaming). Therefore, in terms of the ENGOs there was no indication that a gender analysis would be included in their policies in the near future[121]. The few campaigns that had a gender component such as water-saving and chemicals campaigns, appeared to reinforce stereotypical domestic responsibilities of women rather than environmental justice issues affecting women.

One of the explanations for this neglect of environmental justice issues could be the middle class origins and historical development of the ENGO sectors in both countries as explored in Chapter 4. I also found that, particularly in the British ENGOs, the white middle class men[122] still dominate the ENGO sector.

[121] It should be noted that certain ENGOs such as Friends of the Earth Scotland (non-research ENGO) have environmental justice campaigns in the UK.
[122] Despite the fact that historically women were involved in establishment of some of the ENGOs.

Moreover, the increasing professionalisation and replication of practices of the business world, where material accumulation and profit making have been seen as the main motivation for an activity, may explain why environmental justice issues have been mostly neglected. Although ENGOs do not aim at short-term profit making, they need to survive in a system organised around this goal and external funding appears to be increasingly important for ENGOs (Kendall and Almond, 1999). I found that in many ENGOs in both countries, campaigns were launched in the areas where funding was available and campaigns were designed to make them attractive to funding sources. This may explain, why in general, environmental justice issues were neglected and gender was not taken into account when deciding campaigns. This finding supports Chartier and Deléage (1998: 39) who argued that large ENGOs ‘serve as the co-pilot of capitalism's ecological modernisation, instead of acting for change in the social and economic pattern of development in our societies’. It should be questioned whether the gender dimensions can be adequately addressed in environmental campaigns of ENGOs within current capitalist economic and social structures dominating most societies and most ENGOs.

The tendency in the accounts of the research participants in both countries to underplay the role of gender in decision-making bodies in the ENGOs as well as in environmental campaigns may be as a result of the low value jointly accorded to nature and women under the present capitalist patriarchal structures dominant in society as was argued by materialist ecofeminist theory. I found that the mainstream ENGOs appear to reflect the rest of society and therefore dominant patriarchal values. Although ‘the variation and degree of patriarchy differs between countries’ (Millett, 2000: 26), this was not obvious between the UK and Turkey in the ENGO sector.

In addition, a number of other factors including lack of democracy in some ENGOs may influence the type of campaigns launched. Although I did not intend to research the democratic nature of the ENGOs and its role in campaigns, this issue emerged during the research process. Democracy in ENGOs has been of significant importance (Nomura, 2007). While exploring the implications of gender on one the ENGOs' policies (Chapter 7), I found that democracy in decision-making process is a shortcoming particularly for an ENGO with international links. It appeared that national branches of one international ENGO did not have an equal voice when deciding their campaigns since these were agreed by the international head organisation. The lack of democracy within this global organisation was argued to be due to the unequal share of financial contributions of national ENGOs and importance of being native English speakers. This indicated that capitalist ways of thinking, as well as certain neo-colonialist ways of thinking, are visible even in the ENGO sector. Vázquez (2011: 167) argued that 'NGOs are distinguishable from other organisations in so far as their mission is concerned', therefore they may be expected to differ from profit-oriented business organisations in terms of their working practices, but also with their principle values. However, as this research revealed it appears that it is not always the case. There is a large body of literature on democracy in NGOs and global organisations, however the democratic nature of ENGOs has been relatively less researched. Lack of democracy in decision-making may be one of the important factors when exploring the ENGOs' neglect related to environmental justice issues and gender in their campaigns.

8.2.2.2. The link between gender balanced management and gender sensitive campaigns

When launching campaigns in both countries senior management appear to be the ones that initiate and launch campaigns with the approval of the board of trustees. Since women's under-representation in decision-making has been demonstrated to limit their ability to influence policies (Kettel, 1996), biased gender compositions in senior roles can be expected to have significant impacts on the type and priority of issues that are chosen by the ENGOs.

However, my research did not find a positive correspondence between the more gender balanced ENGOs and presence of gender-sensitive campaigns. The ENGOs that had female CEOs, chairs or relatively gender-balanced boards did not differ from other organisations in terms of campaigns in either country. However, it should be noted that none of the ENGOs had gender-balanced management at all levels, including the senior management team. Therefore, it is more difficult to find any positive link between gender and specific types of campaigns.

In addition, even in smaller size ENGOs, I found that the support from one senior manager, even though it was the CEO, was not enough to initiate campaigns and a number of people in the senior management team also had to be convinced for any environmental justice campaign. This highlights the importance of gender-balanced management compositions since one person is not able to change organisational policies and hegemonic assumptions. For that reason, as urged by the United Nations (2005), a critical mass of women at senior management level may be required to make a significant change in policies of the ENGOs. However, as

opposed to the corporate world (Davies report, 2011)[123], which was discussed in section 7.3 in Chapter 7, no such initiative to increase the number of women on boards has been seen in the ENGO sector.

8.3. Implications of the research/significance of the findings

This thesis on the gendering of ENGOs and their environmental campaigns has been conducted in an under-researched area. As such it contributes to a greater understanding of gender relations in organisations and the role of gender in environmental campaigns. As discussed in Chapter 2, gender and environment were first linked by ecofeminism to introduce feminist analysis into environmental issues. Moreover, the feminist political ecology framework provides valuable insights by highlighting amongst other things the differences in environmental experiences among men and women and gendered natural resource management. However, none of these theories have extended their analysis to the role of gender in the environmental campaigns of ENGOs. Similarly, although the environmental justice framework emerged as a reaction to differential exposure to pollutants and other environmental injustices as a result of social inequalities and lack of access to environmental and political decision-making, the same literature has largely failed to include gender in its analysis.

As will be discussed below, the research also contributes to feminist organisational as well as environmental justice literature. One of the main contributions of the research is in establishing a link between feminist organisational and environmental justice frameworks by exploring whether and how gender compositions in senior

[123] The UK listed companies in the FTSE 100 to aim for a minimum of 25% female board member representation by 2015.

management roles in ENGOs affect environmental campaigns in order to explore the neglect of environmental justice issues in these organisations.

8.3.1. In relation to feminist organisational literature

Existing organisational research has focused on the corporate world (Kanter, 1977; Dalton and Kesner, 1993; Powell, 2010; Ross-Smith and Huppatz, 2010) to reveal the male domination of top managerial positions including boards (Oakley, 2000; Catalyst, 2010). Moreover, reports and media coverage point out the male domination of decision-making in the business and public sectors (Opportunity Now, 2011; UN, 2010). While existing literature has identified that organisations are gendered in many ways which affect the career advancement of women (Cockburn, 1991; Acker, 1990; Halford et al., 1997), the gender compositions of ENGOs in senior management roles remain unquestioned (rare exceptions, Seager, 1993; Taylor, 2002 questioned ENGOs' gender compositions in the USA). On the other hand, while women's involvement in grassroots movements has been documented and women as volunteers have been researched (Di Chiro, 1998), there is little literature on women's career development in the ENGO sector (but for women's career chances in the NGO sector in Jordan, Clark and Michuki, 2009). Moreover, while the role of gender in decision making has been researched in the business sector (Oakley, 2000; Ross-Smith and Huppatz, 2010), no similar research has been done in the ENGO sector to investigate the role of gender in environmental decisions (campaigns).

Therefore, the research contributes to the feminist organisational literature as well as theory by revealing the masculine domination at top management levels in the ENGOs in the UK and Turkey and exploring the underlying factors behind it. I found

that the ENGO sectors in the countries did not appear to differ from profit oriented organisations and in some cases working practices appeared to be worse especially when taking into account the clubby ways of work, the long work-hours culture and lack of compensation for working these long hours, particularly in Turkey, short-term contract oriented working practices for certain positions that are female dominated as well as lack of formal recruitment and promotion procedures. Therefore, the thesis reveals that the ENGOs strive to mimic the corporate world in order to achive greater professionalism, which creates specific gender dynamics. As a result androcentric organisational working practices occur in the ENGO sector, which limit women's career advancement chances in both countries because women's differential needs remain invisible as in profitmaking organisations.

8.3.2. In relation to environmental justice literature

Gender has been acknowledged as an important factor when considering environmental injustices (Seager, 1993; Novotny, 1998; Reed and Mitchell, 2003). Although environmental justice literature has argued that 'environmental protection is a right, not a privilege' (Bullard and Johnson, 2000:558), the same literature has been largely unresponsive to the gender dimensions of environmental issues and has concentrated on the unfair environmental burden on black, ethnic minority and low income communities, and generally fails to acknowledge gender inequality as a structural feature of environmental injustice (Nightingale, 2006; Buckingham and Kulcur, 2009) (exceptions include Taylor, 1997; Di Chiro, 1998; Stein, 2004). As was discussed in Chapters 2 and 7, gender-sensitive campaigns may be expected to be linked to environmental justice issues, because women are more likely to bear injustices, due to their social roles and the biological and physical differences

between women and men (Resurreccion and Elmhirst, 2008). Moreover, women are more likely to face poverty which has been acknowledged as a 'dimension of environmental injustice' (Buckingham and Kulcur, 2009: 660). Moreover, the thesis also revealed the tendency of ENGOs to neglect environmental justice issues both in the UK and Turkey and explored the reasons behind this neglect including the historical development of the ENGO sector as a middle-class movement; the low value accorded to women's work (gendered roles) as a result of patriarchal and capitalist relations as well as increasing reliance on corporate funding and its role when deciding campaigns. Despite environmental justice grassroots activism having become increasingly visible, the environmental justice framework is relatively unknown and environmental justice literature is not well developed in Turkey.

8.3.3. In relation to comparative research

Comparative organisational analysis has been acknowledged as valuable (Morgan et al., 2010) because through comparison we can question and rethink features that appear in some cases, but not in others (Yengoyan, 2006). Existing literature of comparative research between the UK and Turkey mostly includes private business organisations and academia (Özbilgin and Woodward, 2004; Gonenc, 2005; Malach-Pines et al., 2008; Glaister et al, 2009; Birol et al., 2010). However, no comparative research has been done on the ENGO sectors in the UK and Turkey. The thesis makes a valuable contribution to cross-national comparative research on the ENGO sector because it provides a deeper understanding of the underlying factors that limit women's careers. I think that exploring the research question on the most appropriate feminist theoretical perspectives for the gendered practices in the ENGOs help me to identify the causes of these inequalities more clearly. The

research showed me that despite socio-economic and historical differences between the countries, and the UK being one of the well established EU countries, the ENGOs in both countries were very similar in terms of male domination in the senior management roles, androcentric working practices that limit women's careers, and the research participants' patriarchal accounts particularly of women's child rearing responsibilities in society. I believe that including and conducting interviews with elite men dominating senior roles helped me to collect more data on gendered assumptions and practices in these settings. These similarities that emerge beyond country specific circumstances suggest that patriarchal and capitalist relations and the reflections of these relations in organisational settings are important and would not be so apparent if I had not undertaken comparative research.

8.4. Methodological developments

I have adopted a feminist research methodology, which aims to empower research participants. However, I very quickly realised that interviewing elites, especially senior men, was problematic since the power relations are different than in other research settings where non-elite groups are involved (Mullings, 1999). This created asymmetrical power relations favouring the elites because they have authority, prestige and power in their settings (Zuckerman, 1972). In my case in some instances I felt subordinated because the research was dependent on the cooperation of a relatively small number of people in senior positions who mostly set the day, time and duration of the interviews and had power to deny access to employees under their authority. Therefore, this research contributes to methodological developments by showing how interviewing a group of people belonging to high socioeconomic status (elites) can alter researchers' intention to

undertake certain ways of research and therefore the research process. In addition, conducting a feminist research including men elites brought another dimension into the research, through which I was able to access to the most senior roles and reveal amongst others stereotypical assumptions of senior managers in the ENGOs.

The research also contributes to methodological debates on access to and research with ENGOs, particularly British ENGOs, which were difficult to access. While undertaking research on the Turkish ENGOs was easy, fast and efficient, on the other hand, as some other researchers have experienced (Wallace and Chapman, 2003), access to organisations in the UK was very difficult. I had to adopt a number of strategies including the snowball approach and offering telephone interviewing, as discussed in Chapter 5, to be able to conduct the research in the British ENGOs. Although the fieldwork took longer than I expected due to the difficulties accessing and recruiting research participants in the UK, I was eventually able to conduct a similar number of interviews in both countries and collect the data required for the comparative research. The thesis contributes to methodological debates by producing knowledge on difficulties and coping strategies when conducting research with elite respondents particularly in the UK and Turkey and greater understanding of the ways of researching ENGOs and access to the ENGO sectors in both countries.

8.5. Limitations and further research

This research has explored the implications of gendered-staffing for ENGOs' campaigns to see whether gender balanced ENGOs are more likely to include gender perspectives in their campaigns. It did not research the role of gender in decision-taking and whether female managers have different management styles. Therefore, further research would be needed to explore whether and how different

decision-taking procedures may impact campaigns of ENGOs and also whether a more democratic approach encouraging more staff participation in ENGOs may lead to different outcomes related to campaigns and environmental policies.

Setting out to investigate the impacts of gender on both structures and strategies of ENGOs has uncovered a number of other issues which need to be researched. I found that the democratic nature of ENGOs can be important to look into since participatory decision-making can lead to different decision-making and directions (Mills, 1992; De Dreu and West, 2001). This is because opinions of more people are sought and in that way national organisations with international links would be able to design and decide their own campaigns. Therefore, the undemocratic nature of ENGOs and its role in their campaigns should be further researched.

At the beginning of the research I did not expect to find most of the generic ENGOs in both countries to mainly focus on the narrow working priorities of conservation, and the protection of natural resources and habitat and countryside, rather than environmental struggles that impact communities on an everyday basis. Many senior managers argued that when deciding campaigns the working priorities of the ENGOs played an important role (see section 7.2.1. in chapter 7). Therefore, further research should be conducted to explore the factors behind how these priority issues and organisational strategies of ENGOs that lead to this narrow environment first policies have been developed, the role of funders on this and how these policies may be/are altered.

One of the limitations of the research is related to the role of hierarchy in decision-making in ENGOs. While it has been acknowledged that hierarchy is likely to affect decisions because of unequal power relations (Acker, 2006), this thesis did not

explore hierarchy in depth. The research participants' accounts varied on hierarchy at the organisational level depending on their previous jobs and personal experiences, and the organisation. Although, the interviews enabled me to get cross-organisational comparisons between the ENGOs, it is very difficult to reach a conclusion regarding the hierarchies and what role they play in gender imbalances particularly in the British ENGOs. Therefore, future research should examine the role of organisational hierarchies in producing imbalanced gender compositions and gendered practices in the ENGOs.

In addition, an in depth research on the educational backgrounds of people working in the ENGO sector, especially those in management positions, could provide a better picture of the role of science related degrees in career advancement, as was argued by some research participants. Similarly, it could be useful to carry out in-depth research on the career backgrounds of people in senior positions, including CEOs and board members, since this would provide more information on the percentage of the senior managers who come from the ENGO sector and therefore can provide clues on how much the ENGO sector offers career advancement chances for women.

8.6. Final word

I explored gender in the ENGO sector and in environmental campaigns in two very different countries. The findings of this research are rather disheartening from a feminist perspective because they confirm the andocentric nature of the ENGOs at senior management level and working practices as well as the tendency to neglect gender considerations in everyday working life and in campaigns. This has challenged my initial expectation that ENGOs would promote equal opportunities.

Overall I did not find any significant differences between the UK and Turkey in terms of awareness and responsiveness to gender. However, I think that this thesis has fulfilled its aim by pointing out and revealing the gender-biases in the ENGO sector and this helps to develop consciousness on gender injustices in these settings and their campaigns.

Having conducted this research, I am more aware than before that in order to increase the number of women in decision-making bodies, regardless of organisational context or politics, gender equality must be achieved in all aspects of life and gender biases must be eliminated. This however seems to require major changes in ways of thinking and organising in society, including patriarchal assumptions, the linkages between paid and unpaid work and economic and social policies.

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10 – APPENDICES

Appendix 10.1. Consent and Information Form (UK)

Brunel UNIVERSITY WEST LONDON

Centre for Human Geography,

Brunel University, Uxbridge, Middlesex, UB8 3PH, UK

Dear Sir or Madam,

Consent and information form

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research project.

This form explains how the information that you provide to me today will be recorded, used and stored. Please read this information carefully and if you agree with all the points, print your name and sign below.

I am a PhD researcher working on a project entitled **"Environmental Injustice? An analysis of the gender structures of Environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) in the United Kingdom and Turkey"**. The research aims to explore how the ENGOs are gendered, and the implications of gender in the organizations, and on their strategies. As part of this research I would like to ask if you are willing to be interviewed. I am conducting interviews with senior managers, and some staff in environmental NGOs in the UK and Turkey. The interviews will focus on structures, and strategies of the selected ENGOs, and how perceptions of the management impact current policies, activities and campaigns. The insights from this research project will contribute to my PhD thesis.

No payment or compensation can be given for the interview. Please be assured that your participation is voluntary and of course you may decline to answer any or all of the questions. If at any time you feel uncomfortable about the interview you are free to withdraw your participation. Everything you say will be recorded anonymously. Your identity will be protected in the analysis and in any materials (including presentations and publications) produced from the interviews, and your organisation will not be named. The transcribed interviews will be kept electronically on computer with restricted access by me and my supervisors. Written transcripts will be kept in a secure place. A final report will be produced once the PhD research completed and sent to all interested parties.

If you have further questions about the research project please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely,

Rakibe Külçür
PhD Researcher
Rakibe.Kulcur@brunel.ac.uk Phone: (+44) 079 64 09 3470

Brunel
UNIVERSITY
WEST LONDON

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Appendix 10.2. Consent and Information Form (Turkey)

Brunel University, Uxbridge, Middlesex, UB8 3PH, UK

Sayın Yetkili

Rıza ve Bilgi Formu

Bu araştırma projesine katıldığınız için teşekkür ederim.

Bu Form bugün bana vereceğiniz bilginin nasıl kaydedileceğini, kullanılacağını ve saklanacağı hakkında bilgi vermektedir. Lütfen bu Formu dikkatli okuyunuz ve eğer tüm noktalarda mutabıksanız lütfen imzalayınız.

Ben '**Çevresel Adaletsizlik? "İngitere ve Türkiyedeki Çevresel Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Cinsiyet Faktörü Açısından Yapıları"** konusunda araştırma yapmaktayım. Bu araştırma Çevre Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının yapılarının cinsiyet açısından nasıl olduğunu ve bu yapılanmanın kuruluşları ve stratejileri nasıl etkilediğini ortaya çıkarma amacını gütmektedir. Bu araştırma için sizinle röpörtaj yapmak istiyorum. Bu araştırma çerçevesinde İngitere ve Türkiye'deki yöneticiler ve bazı çalışanlarla röpörtaj yapmaktayım. Bu röpörtajlar seçilen Çevre Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının yapıları ve stratejileri ile yönetimin politikalara, faaliyetlere ve kampanyalara olan etkilerini araştırmaktadır.

Röportajlar için ücret yada ödeme yapılamayacaktır. Katılımınız gönüllüdür görüşmeyi red edebilir yada herhangi bir soruya cevap vermeyi reddedebilirsiniz. Söylediğiniz herşey kimliğinizi belirtmeksizin kaydedilecektir. Kimliğiniz analizlerde ve röportajlardan elde edilen bilgilerden oluşan tüm materyallerde (sunum ve yayınlar dahil) gizli tutulacak ve kuruluşunuzun adı kesinlikle verilmeyecektir. Bilgiler elektronik ortamda bilgisayarda güvenli olarak saklanacak ve benim ve danışmanlarım dışında hiç kimse tarafından görülmeyecektir.

Araştırma sonuçları benim Doktora tezimde kullanılacaktır. Doktora tezi bittiğinde bir rapor hazırlanacak ve bu rapor ilgilenen kişilere gönderilecektir.

Eğer araştırma ile ilgili herhangi bir sorunuz olursa lütfen benimle iletişime geçiniz.
Saygılarımla

Rakibe Külçür
Doktora Araştırmacısı
+44 79 64 09 3470
Rakibe.Kulcur@brunel.ac.uk

Brunel
UNIVERSITY
WEST LONDON

Bu Formu okudum ve bu röportaj yapmayı kabul ediyorum.

Araştırma ile ilgili soru sorma imkânım oldu ve soru yada şikâyetim olursa kiminle iletişime geçmem gerektiğini biliyorum.

Araştırmacıya iş ünvanımın kullanılması konusunda izin veriyorum.

_____

İmza ve Tarih

_____

İş ünvanı

Appendix 10.3. Interview questions

Information on the ENGO:

1. What are the ENGOs' aims? (HR)

2. How many managerial positions are there? How many of them occupied by women? What is the number of women on the board and in senior management? What are the positions / responsibilities? (HR)

3. Do you think that there is sufficient number of female managers at the organisation?

4. What do you think that has led to the high number of female managers/male managers in the organisation (where appropriate)?

5. Volunteers structure, male/female more? Is there any specific campaign or area where more female volunteers were/has been active? (HR/Volunteers Manager)

Info on practices:

6. Are there any women (or family*?)* friendly practices (flexible hours/part-time work/working hours/facilities e.g. nursery-childcare facilities)?

7. Is there any benefit given for childcare (vouchers, tax deduction) etc?

8. Approximately how many percentage of job application is female? Is there a gender equality/mainstreaming policy (scheme) in the recruitment process? (HR)

9. How many/ what percentage of women have had children *and come* back to work after maternity leave? Are they working on part-time/fulltime basis? How many

percent of them occupying managerial positions? How long / how many years normally are taken approx. for maternity leave? (HR)

10. Has any male employee had taken any time for paternity leave? (HR)

Specific Question to persons:

11. Could you please tell me about your job/responsibilities?

12. Have you always worked in the environmental movement? What are your personal experiences in the environmental movement e.g. are there any job obstacles, must have/do points to climb up to managerial positions (different than other sector(s))? Is the work atmosphere more or less flexible?

13. If you worked in other sector before, are there any differences in terms of management styles in the environmental movement and other sector? Were you manager before you start working in this organisation? If no, how long has it been taken to become a manager?

14. If you worked in other organisation before, were there more female or male managers present? Was there any difference how the organisation was managed, structured? Could you please tell me what kind of differences were there?

Campaigns:

15. How are the campaigns decided? By whom? How long does it take normally to launch a new campaign? What is the most important thing when deciding for a particular campaign?

16. Do you take gender account when designing campaigns? If yes, how?

17. Is there any campaign taking into account gender into consideration? Did the organisation have one in the past? If there is no, why do you think there isn't/hasn't been any campaign targeting woman? Do you think there may be launch one?

18. Was there any campaign that was thought but has never taken up?

19. Do you think that there should be (a) campaign(s) targeting women? Why? Why not?

Open Questions:

- Do you think that gender makes a difference in terms of running an organisation? How? Why?

(- Have you ever thought about it if gender makes a difference in terms of running the organisation before?)

Appendix 10.4. Focus group interview

An analysis of the gender structures of the Environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) in the United Kingdom and Turkey

Focus group

FINAL TOPIC GUIDE

This topic guide will contribute to the PhD research on gender and environmental organisations in Turkey and the UK.

The topic guide is broken down into a number of themes. In particular, it is aimed at drawing out responses that, through direct questioning, may remain unarticulated.

DESCRIPTION	AIMS	TIME
Introduction • **Thank respondents for coming** • **Introduce self and Brunel University** • **Explain purpose of the project and aim of the focus group session** i.e. to examine gender structures of the ENGOs in the UK and Turkey. As a part of the research interviews have been conducted in the UK and TR. • **Emphasise that the group is confidential** • **Encourage participants to speak openly, freely and honestly** (and explain that the focus groups will be used to get data for the PhD) • **Ask for permission to record** (and emphasise that the tape will only be heard by me and the supervisors, if needed). • **PLS, speak up, only one person should talk at a time. I am taping the session, because I don't want to miss any of your comments. If several are talking at the same time, I won't be able to analyse anything. Please keep in mind that**	To welcome participants and reassure them of confidentiality and encourage them to speak openly about their experiences and opinions.	5 mins
Warm up Ask the group to introduce themselves: • Name • Job title and responsibilities • How long have you been working in the organisation? • Have you always worked in the environmental movement? NGOs or where?	To gain basic information from people working in the organisation.	5 mins

Experience in the environmental movement The group is now going to turn its attention to think about the environmental movement in general. • What are your personal experiences in the environmental movement e.g. are there any job obstacles, must have/do points to climb up to managerial positions (different than other sector(s))? Is the work atmosphere more or less flexible? • If you worked in another sector before, is there any difference in terms of management styles in the environmental movement and other sector? • If you worked in another organization before, were there more female or male managers present? Was there any difference how the organization was managed, structured? Could you please tell me what kind of differences were there?	To get respondents to think about environmental movement	10 mins
Policies of the ENGO • Do you think there are any women (or family?) friendly practices (flexible hours/part-time work/working hours/facilities e.g. nursery-childcare facilities) in the ENGO? Is there any benefit given for childcare (vouchers, tax deduction) etc? • Do you think that the organisation is well balanced in terms of gender? (generally and managerial positions) • Do you think that having child(ren) would be an obstacle to have a career? Why?	To get information on the organisation-	10 mins.

Gender in policies/campaigns • Do you take gender account when designing campaigns? If yes, how? If no, why not? • Is there any campaign targeting women? • Do you that there should be (a) campaign(s) targeting women? Why? Why not?	To explore participants opinions on gender in policies	15 mins
Gender in management Ask the group to reflect upon gender in management: • Do you think that gender makes a difference in terms of running an organization (such as organization style, management style, practices, etc.)? How? Why? Could you please give me some examples? • Have you ever thought that whether gender makes a difference in terms of running an organisation? What caused you to think about this? • Do you think that there is a glass ceiling for women to get senior positions? Or women chose to step down because of family commitments, etc? • What do you think makes a good manager?	To explore participants opinions on female managers and gender in management	15 mins

Appendix 10. 5. The EU legislation related to gender equality (in force in 2012)

Directive 2000/78/EC of 27 November 2000 establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation	It aims to combat direct and indirect discrimination on the grounds of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation as regards employment and occupation to ensure the principle of equal treatment.
Directive 2006/54/EC on the implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation (Recast Directive)	It was adopted to simplify, modernise and merge existing Community legislation on equal treatment for men and women in employment and occupation. It prohibits discrimination on grounds of sex in relation to access to employment, including promotion, and vocational training, working conditions, including pay, and occupational social security schemes.
Directive 2010/41/EU of 7 July 2010 on the application of the principle of equal treatment between men and women engaged in an activity in a self-employed capacity	It aims to provide self-employed women, assisting spouses and life partners of self-employed workers, a maternity allowance and a leave period of at least 14 weeks.
Directive 2010/18/EC of 7 July 2010 on the application of the principle of equal treatment between men and women engaged in an activity in a self-employed capacity	The Directive revised the Framework Agreement on parental leave concluded in 1995. The Framework Agreement sets out the minimum requirements and provisions for parental leave for both men and women, distinct from maternity leave and for time off from work on grounds of 'force majeure' such as urgent family reasons in cases of sickness or accident until a given age up to eight years, but not less than a period of four months. When returning from parental leave, parents may request

	changes to their working hours and/or patterns for a set period of time which must be considered by their employers.
Council Directive 92/85/EEC of 19 October 1992 on the introduction of measures to encourage improvements in the safety and health at work of pregnant workers and workers who have recently given birth or are breastfeeding	It sets out provisions at the workplace to protect pregnant workers and workers who have recently given birth or are breast-feeding, against occupational risks and exposure to certain chemical, physical and biological agents. It also lays down provisions on night work, maternity leave, ante-natal examinations, employment rights and protection against discriminatory dismissal.
Directive 2004/113/EC of 13 December 2004 implementing the principle of equal treatment between men and women in the access to and supply of goods and services	It establishes provisions to combat discrimination based on sex in access to and supply of goods and services to meet the principle of equal treatment between men and women. Under the Directive, all new contracts concluded after 21 December 2007, the use of sex as a factor in the calculation of premiums and benefits for the purposes of insurance and related financial services shall not result in differences in individuals' premiums and benefits.

Source: EU Justice, 2012