GENDEREDNESS IN ENGOs: A COMPARATIVE
INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM AND TURKEY[*]

ÇSTK'LARDA CİNSİYETÇİLİK: İNGİLTERE VE
TÜRKİYE BAZINDA KURUMSAL KARŞILAŞTIRMA

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the gendered organisational practices of Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOs) in the United Kingdom (UK) and Turkey and the possible outcomes of these practices on gender compositions in senior roles. Since gender is an important element in organisations, it is expected to have implications for policies of ENGOs. The research on which this paper is based was undertaken as part of a Ph.D. which examined the gendered nature of ENGOs in Turkey and the UK. The research revealed how and why ENGOs are gendered especially in positions of power and influence. This is an important question because of pressure groups' influence on environmental decision-making, and yet it has largely been neglected until now. This research revealed that while the ENGO sector is dominated by young single middle-class female employees, white, middle class men are in charge of the decision-making. It showed that the ENGOs reflect the rest of the society and its dominant patriarchal values. The research concluded that gender-biased working

practices such as culture of long working hours, lack of formal recruitment and promotion procedures and short-term contract work relations limit career progression of women. This is due to the gendered roles and the traditional division of work in society (the gender division of labour), where triple workload of women remains invisible as a result of patriarchal and capitalist relations existing in both societies.

Keywords: Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOs), Gender, Senior Managers; United Kingdom, Turkey.

ÖZ

Bu makale, İngiltere ve Türkiye'de çevre alanında faaliyet gösteren sivil toplum kuruluşlarının (ÇSTK) çalışma şartlarının ve bu uygulamaların sonuçlarının üst düzey yönetim yapısının oluşmasına etkisini analiz etmektedir. Toplumsal cinsiyet, işletmelerde önemli bir etken olarak kabul edildiğinden bunun ÇSTK'ların politikalarına etki etmesi beklenmelidir. Bu araştırma Türkiye ve İngiltere'de bulunan ÇSTK'ları toplumsal cinsiyet açısından inceleyen doktora tezine dayanmaktadır ki ÇSTK'larda güçlü pozisyonların erkek egemen olduğunu ve bunun nedenlerini ortaya çıkarmıştır. ÇSTK'lar, çevre ile ilgili baskı grubu olarak karar verme mekanizmaları üzerinde önemli etkiye sahip olmalarından dolayı önem taşımaktadırlar. Fakat, çalışma koşullarının ÇSTK'larda üst düzey karar alma organlarının oluşmasına etkisi, şimdiye kadar göz ardı edilmiştir. Bu araştırma, ÇSTK'larda çoğunlukla genç ve bekar kadın çalışanların olmasına rağmen, erkeklerin karar alma mekanizmalarında egemen olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu da ÇSTK'larda toplumda egemen olan patriarşik değerlerin varlığını göstermektedir. Bu araştırma, özellikle kadınların çok sayıda olduğu işlerde, uzun çalışma kültürü, formel işe alma ve terfi sistemlerinin olmaması ve kısa zamanlı iş sözleşmelerinin, kadınların kariyerine olumsuz etki ettiğini göstermektedir. Bu sorunun kaynağında, toplumdaki patriarşik ve kapitalist ilişkiler sonucu yerleşmiş değerler ve toplumda oluşmuş cinsiyet rolleri ve işbölümü bulunur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çevre Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları (ÇSTK), Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Üstdüzey Yöneticiler, İngiltere, Türkiye.

1. RETHINKING GENDER IN ENGOs

It has been acknowledged that the underrepresentation of women in organisations causes gender blindness and bias in policies since women's perspectives and needs are not taken into account and reflected (Reed and Mitchell, 2003). 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, gender is an important element in environmental policies because impacts of environmental degradation are not gender neutral (Sida, 2016; McGregor, 2017). Since gender is an important factor when considering environmental injustices (Buckingham and Kulcur, 2009), I argue that there is a need to examine the gender structures and policies of ENGOS.

Under Article 71 of the Charter of the UN (UN, 2016), NGOs have a consultative status. Similarly, Agenda 21 and the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development of 1992, underline the importance of NGOs in shaping and implementing policies. Because of the increasingly influential role of Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOs) on environmental policies (UNDP, 2016), as well as forming and mobilising mass public action, I argue that there is a need to examine gender compositions of ENGOs at the level of positions of power and influence such as senior management including Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) and board members in order to examine gendered organisational practices. While existing literature has identified that profit making organisations are gendered in many ways (Halford et al., 1997, Mills, 2017), ENGOs remain largely unexamined (for rare exceptions, Seager, 1993; Taylor, 2002 and 2014).

This paper examines how and why the ENGOs in the UK and Turkey are structured as they are. More specifically, it explores ENGOs' gender composition in senior management roles and working practices in order to examine gendered practices in the sector. Comparative institutional analysis has played an important role in the social sciences (Morgan et al., 2010) since international cross-cultural comparative research has the capacity to inform practice, shape policy and develop theory (Adiyia and Ashton, 2017) by exploring and revealing patterns. The comparative nature of this study permits us to identify patterns of gender relations in employment and society between these countries. I am are aware that the 'form" and "degree" of patriarchy differs in societies as well as that there are 'public (such as state imposed)' and 'private (domestic gender relations)' patriarchies (Walby, 1996), which influence each other.

While liberal feminist theory has been important and seeking equal opportunities for women, in practice it has neither challenged nor altered the fundamental gender relations in organisational settings. One reason for this may be the argument liberal feminists use that women are similar to men and therefore that women must compete on equal terms to get to the top positions ('fix the women' approach), without taking into account patriarchal relations and their impacts on women's careers. Since it conceptualises the subordination of women, the concept of patriarchy has been argued to be necessary. Following Hartman, I argue that capitalist relations alone do not explain women's oppression in work and patriarchy need to be included in gender analysis (Hartmann 1979). Patriarchy and capitalist concept (dual systems theory), which is developed by socialist-feminists, informs the research since organisational culture, values and expectations are masculine and capitalist, where they act together to maintain the subordination of women. I argue that one of the main causes of women's disadvantages in career is due to the role of the family and domestic labour in society. The argument that 'women's lives are dominated by their role in the family' (Holmstrom, 1981: 186) is still valid. As a result of the hegemonic patriarchal assumptions as well as capitalist mode of production that is 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. Therefore, the invisibility of triple workload as a result of unpaid domestic labour and related disadvantages that women face in the workplace contribute to unequal career chances for women.

Transnational feminist analysis may help us to see patterns of gendered practices and assumptions. 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 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. In Turkey, while gender equality legislation exists, policies of the conservative religious governments have fortified the traditional family values stereotyping of men as the breadwinners and women as the homemakers. However, despite differences including the women's labour force participation rate (Turkey 31.1% , the UK 68.8%), part-time employment of women (19% in Turkey and 37.7% in the UK) and the share of female employed who are managers (2.3% in Turkey and 8.1% in the UK) (OECD, 2018), this paper shows that the lack of women in senior roles in the ENGOs is not just an issue for Turkey, but also in the UK, which suggests that there are barriers that hinder women's career progression regardless of the country they live in.

Therefore, this paper contributes to feminist research into the environmental movement by a comparative analysis which suggests factors that contribute to the under-representation of women in top management roles in the ENGOs studied in both countries. A recent analysis of the ENGOs websites reveals that top decision-making positions in these organisations are still a male domain (Table 2), which shows that the research on ENGOs (Kulcur, 2013) is still valuable and novel.

According to their websites and annual reports, the ENGO sector in both countries claims to be transformative, attain high levels of accountability and transparency and act for the public good. Public trust in NGOs is important for them to get donations and other sources of income (Charity Commission, 2016). Since it is also required by law, as other employers, ENGOs are required to adopt equal opportunity policies. In the UK, the Equality Act provides a single legal framework and brings together the existing equality legislation including gender. Similarly, in Turkey, several laws including the Labour Law and Law No. 6701 establish the principle of equal treatment and prohibits sex discrimination on the based of gender and age. Taking into account all these factors, it may be expected that ENGOs would be more likely to have gender-balanced management structures and policies than the private sector where profit-making is the main aim (Vázquez, 2011), as was argued by one of the CEOs interviewed:

> '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' (UK1, CEO-M[1]).

However, as it will be discussed in the following sections, contrary to these arguments and claims, the ENGOs researched do not seem to be at all progressive. They seem to project a gender-balanced image (PACS, 2006) to dress their window, as was indicated by the CEO of a large ENGO in the UK:

> '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

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[1] Quotes are attributed to the country and the ENGO of the research participant, the interviewee's position and gender.

man's organisation, whereas if we have, you know, 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' (UK4, CEO-M).

Moreover, feminist standpoint theory provides a valuable contribution to this research. It has been argued that 'subjectivity of the oppressed is less distorted than that deriving from the dominant group' (Lennon and Whitford, 1994: 3). Feminist standpoint theory enables the least advantaged to understand oppression (Harding, 2004) due to their own experiences. The theory suggests that 'women occupy a social location that affords them a privileged access to social phenomena' (Longino, 1993: 201). 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. She became conscious of her social situation with respect to women's lives and gender power relations and needed to give a voice to this regard on her own lived experiences and those in ENGOs by exploring and critically analysing the causes and conditions of gender inequalities in organisations.

The following section reviews the methodology and the data used in the study while Section 3 presents the analysis of the findings, while Section 4 provides the conclusion reached by the study.

2. METHODS

This paper is based on cross-national research undertaken in the UK and Turkey to examine gender relations in ENGOs (Kulcur, 2013). The research was designed to reveal similarities and differences between the ENGOs within and between the countries. In order to illuminate gender aspects in organisational settings between the two countries, comparative case study research (multiple-case study), applying qualitative methods, was adopted. This enabled us to gain access to everyday experiences and perceptions of women as well as men on organisational practices. I am originally from Turkey and lived and studied in the UK, which gave me the advantages of accessibility, language, context related to these two countries. 'Doing a case study research is important when addressing questions like what is happening and how/why it is happening' (Yin, 2012: 5). Adopting comparative research offers the potential for 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.

Since I aimed to reveal and understand gender inequalities and gendered practices in organisational settings, qualitative methods were used to collect the

information needed to develop insights related to organisational settings. Hence, two data collection techniques were selected: semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observation. Incorporating participant observation into the research enabled us to have a better insight into the in-depth ENGOs in both countries. 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, the ENGOs were selected on the basis of their size (number of staff and budget) and reputation. Although the aim was to directly select the research participant ENGOs and the interviewees a snowball approach in the UK had to be adopted. Because gaining access to most of the British ENGOs was extremely difficult and time consuming and the snowball approach was used to ensure access to the organisations (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2016). 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. Furthermore, an ENGO was chosen in each country in order to conduct participant observation, to observe daily organisational practices directly so that interview data could be triangulated. In addition, secondary data on gender compositions and the campaigns of the ENGOs from annual reports, staff charts, publications and the websites of the organisations was analysed.

As a part of a broader cross-country research, in the UK, 38 semi-structured in-depth interviews and one focus group interview were undertaken in 9 ENGOs between January 2008 to December 2009; and 40 interviews in 10 ENGOs were undertaken in Turkey from May 2008 to July 2008. These represented small, medium and large ENGOs (Table 1). The names of the ENGOs have been anonymised as requested by the research participants. The average length of interviews was 45-50 minutes.

The number of interviews in the selected ENGOs depended on the time, mobility, access and availability of the research participants. This provided a range of opinions and experiences in each and all ENGOs and also ensured that women's and men's voices were collected. Interviews with senior managers, employees and volunteers enabled data to be collected from junior staff as well as dominant groups.

3. GENDER COMPOSITIONS AND HIERARCHIES IN ENGOs

Within organisations, gendered power inequalities occur as a result of female under-representation in the most powerful occupational positions (Acker, 2009). The ENGOs' employment structures are established by first examining senior management positions (board, CEO and other senior management). Secondly, the organisational hierarchies of the ENGOs are examined since they

are important in decision-making influencing organisational policies (Alvesson and Billing, 1997; Pettigrew, 2001).

Contrary to the initial expectations before starting the research, I found that senior management posts in the ENGOs were mainly occupied by men (Table 1). This reflects the profit-oriented business sector in both countries since top managerial positions are still mostly occupied by men. In publicly listed companies registered in the European Union (EU), 76,7% of non-executive board members and 83% of executive board members are men (EU, 2016). According to the OECD (2017), women are less likely, on average, than men to be in a management position. This was also the case in the ENGOs, since the majority of ENGO board members in the UK and Turkey were male.

Table.1: Size and Gender Structures of the British and Turkish 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
TR 1	Medium	Male	85	Male
TR 2	Small	Male	77	No CEO
TR 3	Small	Male	60	No CEO
TR 4	Small	Male	100	Male
TR 5	Large	Male	64	Male
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 (2008-2011) and the ENGOs' websites

Similarly, a recent examination of ENGOs' websites and annual reports shows that the ENGO sectors in both countries are still very similar in terms of male domination in senior management roles (Table 2).

Table.2: Current Gender Compositions of ENGOs[2] in the UK and Turkey (2018)

Organisation	Chair of governing board	% Board male	Chief executive officer
UK1	Male	75	Male
UK4	Female	42	Male
UK5	Male	87.5	Male
UK7	Female	61	Male
TR 1	Male	85	Male
TR4	Male	100	Male
TR5	Male	63	Male
TR7	Male	80	Male

Source: Annual reports (2016-2017) and the ENGOs' websites

The reasons for the factors that contribute to underrepresentation of women in decision-making are explored in the following section.

Many of the research participants in the UK including senior managers were aware of patriarchy in ENGOs and thought that the management of the environmental sector especially at the top is masculinised.

> *'I think it's still....I think it's female dominated at........well more female dominated at low level. 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....'* (UK2, CEO-M).

> *'I think, environmental NGOs are very male, I think... if you go through them.......It is very very male'* (UK2, CEO-M).

I also found that ENGOs, particularly large ones, tend to have hierarchical organisational structures, similar to large business organisations. All the ENGOs in the UK, except for one small organisation, had many levels in a hierarchical structure including the board, CEO, senior management team, line managers (middle managers) and/or coordinators. The number of levels was found to increase with the size of the organisation and its number of employees. However, even the medium sized ENGOs had hierarchies. The Turkish organisations were 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.

Martin's assertion for businesses, that 'the formal hierarchical authority structure of bureaucracies endows some positions with more power than others

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[2] These ENGOs are chosen because their current gender compositions were available online.

and work tasks and relations are organised accordingly' (1996: 267), appears to be true for ENGOs, despite their avowed commitment to social change. Moreover, formal hierarchies are mostly gendered, because senior (powerful) positions are occupied mostly by men, even in ENGOs where women employees outnumber men overall, as this research shows.

> *'The people I worked with are quite a lot senior, in the external affairs team, the majority of them are 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 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]' (UK8, senior external affairs officer-F).

While some profit-oriented organisations have been aiming to be less hierarchical by removing some management levels (Acker, 2006), the NGO sector seems to be slow in adopting this approach. One respondent (UK–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. Similarly, another research participant commented:

> *'…. 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 are more trustees, volunteers etc. to get things done in an ENGO than in the commercial sector'* (UK1, corporate manager-M).

In Turkey, leadership seems to be important in the environmental sector and those who established the organisations play(s) a very significant role.

> *'It (the ENGO) is hierarchical. NGOs have a vertical hierarchy, but in the private sector especially lately we were managed and managing with horizontal 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'* (TR 5, sponsorship manager -F).

Moreover, a clear gendered division of labour in the ENGOs could be observed both in Turkish and British ENGOs. On the basis of the observation made in the ENGOs, including interviews and observation, there was evidence that women were represented in stereotypically female occupations including as secretarial and administrative staff, and CEOs' assistants, as well as in job segments such as human resources, marketing, communication, fundraising and

supporter services. Conversely, 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 where these have higher status and payment and where job security is higher. This suggests that the 'Patriarchal system' noticed by Walby, which 'excludes women from the better forms of work which cause segregation of women in less skilled jobs' (Walby, 1997: 21) is still intact in ENGOs.

Explaining the Gender Compositions

The ENGO sector was numerically dominated by female employees, which corroborates the literature that suggests that women constitute a significant proportion of the employees in the NGO sector (Clark and Michuki, 2009). In order to explain this, many research participants thought that women tend to have more social responsibility and environmental awareness. They argued that women prefer working for ethical reasons.

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

It was also argued by some 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 gender 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). For example, one male manager claimed that

> *'......it is not necessarily about being activist...it's just who is naturally pre-disposed to care and probably women...................I think'* (UK1, conservation manager-M).

However, it is known that low paid jobs and sectors are occupied mainly by women (European Commission, 2017), which was also highlighted by many research participants. Patriarchal traditions shape women and men in many ways. 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.

> *'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'* (TR 7, CEO-F).

The domination of educated young single females in employee positions and the underrepresentation of women in decision making, as well as job segregation by sex, in the ENGO sector should raise questions. It is not easy to interpret the gendered practices and the underrepresentation of women in senior roles in the ENGOs. During the research process a number of interlinked reasons for gender inequalities became apparent which are arguably due to universal issues in society as well as gendered practices at an organisational level. At the macro-level there seem to be universal barriers that hinder women's advancement to senior positions. Horizontal and vertical gendered 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. These gendered practices seem to be reflected in the working practices in the ENGOs which contribute to the low representation of women in senior management positions and masculine policies.

Gendered Organisational Practices

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 and also with their principle values. However, as this research revealed it appears that this is not always the case as the ENGOs are also organised in ways that are gendered. Some of these gendered practices that lead to male domination in senior decision roles are examined in the following section:

The Role of Recruitment and Promotion Practices

Recruitment and promotion practices are one of the major areas where discrimination and prejudice towards women can occur (Stamarski and Son Hing, 2015). In some of the organisations studied in the UK and Turkey, no formal recruitment procedures were identified. 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. Although it was also argued that there was no difference in terms of career progress between the environmental sector and private sector by some interviewees, one female research participant argued that there are no formal performance criteria established in the Turkish 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' (TR 5, officer-F)

In both countries, most of the female employees were young and with no childcare responsibilities. The recruitment and promotion practices in some of the ENGOs indicate that although they, as any employers, are bound by law not to discriminate on the basis of gender, marital status and other protected factors, in reality they do so. It was argued by some senior managers in both countries that young women can cope in this working environment when they have no family and childcare responsibilities.

In one of the small ENGOs in Turkey, the female volunteer manager stated that when recruiting people, preference was given to those who were young and single since childcare responsibilities would not let women to work in the NGO sector.

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 in the UK. 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. During the research, this was particularly clearly demonstrated when a male chief executive of a large British ENGO advised me not to have any children because it would ruin my career.

> *'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? (interviewer: I have one) There you go, it is too late, you've ruined your career* [laughs]' (UK4, CEO-M).

Based on the interviews and observations in both countries, the relatively young age group at officer level, especially for many Turkish ENGOs, appears to be a result of management decisions.

> *'…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 working hours'* (TR4, volunteers' manager-F).

Moreover, 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. Although ENGOs do not aim at short-term profit making, they need to survive in a system organised around raising money and securing external funding appears to be increasingly important for NGOs (Kopnina, 2017).

> *'The common problem is money. Because it is short term funding for all our projects'* (UK3, 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'* (TR4, officer-M).

Resonating with Taylor's (2011a) findings in the USA, the ENGO sector can be described in both countries as a low pay sector[3], with short-term contractual employment for certain jobs (2-3 years) that are heavily dependent on external funding.

> *'Circulation [staff turnover] is very high, 2, 2.5 years'* (TR7, officer-F).

> *'I would say at least 50% of the staff work less than two years here'* (UK1, CEO-M).

The participant observation of an ENGO in the UK also confirmed this. During the participant observation period, many employees including some senior managers left the organisation. When one takes into account that the majority of these limited term contract positions are held by females, the career advancement chances of women are likely to be affected since frequent changes and short-term jobs are often seen as a disadvantage in career progress (Metz, 2011). 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 career progression:

> *'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'* (UK7, head of campaigns-M).

The flatter structures in the Turkish ENGOs provide fewer possibilities for career progression within the organisations than in the UK. 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. In 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 factors are incompatible with triple roles of many women.

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[3] However, senior management positions including CEO particularly in some British large ENGOs appear to be well paid (see FAME database, 2017).

Working Arrangements (Working Hours / Flexi Work)

The gendered working arrangements that were found in the ENGOs may provide some explanations why mostly single young people are occupied in employee positions and women who have children tend to leave. Patriarchal and capitalist forms of waged work were found to be present in the ENGO sector that excludes women from better forms of work and career.

i) Long and Irregular Working Hours

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 unpaid 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 as was highlighted by many of the interviewees:

> *'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'* (UK4, CEO-M).

> *'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'* (TR6, PA to the CEO).

Moreover, frequent travelling was reported to be required for some employees in both countries, particularly in certain departments including Campaigns, Policy, Communication and Volunteers' units one of the employment conditions seems to be readiness to travel at any time to anywhere. As was indicated by one senior policy manager: '*Half of my staff are travelling, so a lot of them are travelling [overseas] 30, 40, 50 trips a year'* (UK5, M). 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. This may provide one of the explanations for why mostly single young people are occupied in these jobs and women who have children tend to leave.

ii) Flexible Working

Although it was also argued that family-friendly practices in their current form would offer limited career progression (Charles and Grusky, 2004), flexi-

work arrangements[4] are argued to provide 'benefits to both individuals and their organisations' (Labour Relations Agency, 2006: 2) and in the UK all employees have the legal right to request flexible working (Government, 2018). 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 (EurWork, 2015) due to unequal gender relations in private sphere.

One of the important contributions of this research is that it shows that overall the working practices of the ENGOs did not appear to be more flexible than the corporate world. In fact, some ENGOs appear to be less flexible, which can be argued to be due to the financial pressures that they face, and the limited number of staff they can afford to hire. At the director level, in several UK ENGOs of different sizes, flexi-work practices including part-time work and working from home was not favoured for several reasons. These include the fact that people would not work as much at home; not everyone would have an 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 since some employees would have flatmates. 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.

> *'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'* (UK5, senior policy manager-M).

Even in some large 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. Thus, the data indicate that personal relationships appear to be important to be allowed to work flexibly.

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[4] 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).

> *'If the boss is very hostile for some reason, then you end up in a bad position. If you have a great boss, you can be flexible* [independent of the number of employees]' (UK1, coordinator-F).

In the Turkish ENGOs flexible working was understood either as long working hours or only as flexi-time (choosing start and finish times), or as just being able to ring the relevant manager when an urgent issue came up and giving a short brief about the issue. When asked whether there were any flexi-work practices in the organisation, a Turkish participant responded: *'No, there aren't. Everyone works in high tempo'* (TR8, PA to the CEO-F).

Therefore, it can be argued that the working arrangements in the Turkish ENGOs in general are not as flexible as in the UK which 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, 2016). 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.

On the other hand, this research also confirmed that a woman's possibility of advancement is reduced when she is working part-time (Abbott and Wallace, 2011) since I found that the people working in part-time/job sharing arrangements had no managerial responsibilities. Only in the participant observation ENGO in the UK has a female employee promoted as a middle manager after her return from maternity leave, despite 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 felt that in order to be promoted to a managerial position, full-time-office based work is required. It seems that low-grade jobs are more likely to be offered as part-time (Hakim, 2006). When asked whether there were any obstacles to achieving managerial positions, a women campaigner responded:

> *'It depends on the context, so if you happily live in London and work full-time then 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'* (UK6, part-time senior campaigner-F).

The limited protection of part-time employment was demonstrated when shortly after being interviewed, as a result of the restructuring of one of the British ENGOs, the part-time senior campaigner was among one of the first people to lose her job.

iii) The Role of Childcare

Women, regardless of the country, are found to 'spend more time on care work (time spent to care for a child or another adult) as a primary activity than men' (OECD, 2010: 15). In the UK, in 2017, mothers with their youngest dependent child between 1 and 12 years old are more likely to be in part-time employment than full-time employment than fathers (ONS, 2017). As in the UK, childcare responsibilities limit women's access to the labour market in Turkey. 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, 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, 2016).

Drawing on my experience in the in-depth research ENGOs in both countries as well as the accounts of the research participants, the number of female staff with children was very small. The gendered working practices including low wages, short-term employment prospects, and long working hours in both countries provide explanations for this. None of the ENGOs had any childcare facilities. 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.

> *'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…'* (TR6, officer-F).

This shows that 'many women cannot see how to balance multiple demands from the domestic sphere with those of career' (French, 1995: 59) since the triple workload of women especially in the form of childcare is a limitation for women (Hartmann, 1987; Pearson et al., 2015). Since in both countries ENGOs' working practices mimic the society in terms of deep-rooted patriarchal and capitalist relations, women working in these ENGOs have to choose between a career or children.

> *'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'* (TR7, officer-F).

Moreover, childcare cost was one of the concerns of the female employees, because of the limited future prospects due to the low wages and project-based funding 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 universally what people end up doing, finding it very difficult.., the maths doesn't really work in a low paid sector'* (UK1, officer-F).

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 not to return after their maternity leave or in few cases return on a part-time basis since particularly in the UK many employees have short term contracts of one or two years.

Although 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 (Testa, 2014), I found that male senior managers are more likely to have children than female senior managers in both countries. Similarly, in response to a question about whether female managers have children, the CEO responded:

> *'Only one [out of five] has children, the others don't. So, maybe 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'* (UK4, CEO-M).

Strong links were found between childcare responsibilities and career progress, where women who are supported by their partners appearing more likely to advance. In the UK, 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. A British female senior manager underlined that she would not be able to continue with her career if her partner did not support her by working part-time. Some senior managers were aware of the gendered division of domestic work, and the negative consequences of the need to combine domestic and caring responsibilities with paid work on women's careers since the majority of unpaid reproductive work is undertaken by women. Female senior managers often find it hard to combine their responsibilities with family life (French, 1995).

> *'She [a female manager] has now gone, but she had come back work after her maternity leave, 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'* (UK7, head of campaigns-M).

This and the following quote demonstrate how employers place the responsibility and 'choice' to leave work to spend time with children on the woman and her 'lifestyle choice' rather than accepting that workplace culture may play a part.

> *'...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…'* (UK4, CEO-M).

Likewise, interviews established that women employees failed to challenge the organisations they worked for, personalising their decisions to leave paid work in order to be able to spend time with their children, which may be interpreted as a form of absorbing the patriarchal nature of the organisation.

Overall, I found that female research participants were aware of the gendered working practices in the ENGOs which employed them, but appeared to go along with these practices due to personal motivations and the restrictions of limited funding sources for the ENGOs. Thus, organisational culture in the ENGO sector does not seem to be very different from the corporate sector in terms of working practices where capitalist and patriarchal relations dominate and the pressure which is put on women due to domestic responsibilities, and may even be worse. 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 due to their size and limited funding sources, which require long working hours.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Although historical and contemporary variations of patriarchy exist, and employment rates of women are different in the UK and Turkey, very similar patterns were evident in the ENGOs in both countries. This research revealed that androcentric organisational working practices characterise the ENGO sector in both countries, which limit women's career advancement chances. I found that the mainstream ENGOs appear to reflect the rest of society, where caring and reproductive activities are devalued and not shared, as the division of labour existing in these ENGOs and male decision-making show and therefore dominant patriarchal values. However, the comparative analysis of gender relations encourages us to propose that there are common barriers that hinder women's advancement to senior positions, which are reflected in ENGOs. The similarities in the ENGOs in terms of the male domination in senior roles and gendered working practices in two very different societies suggest that the under-

representation of women in the ENGO sector is a trans-national and structural issue caused by patriarchal and capitalist gender relations that are evident in organisational practices of the ENGOs in both countries limiting the career chances of women independent of country-specific conditions. Since capitalist relations alone do not explain women's oppression in work, patriarchy needs to be included in gender analysis (dual systems theory). Women's triple workload remains invisible as a result of the hegemonic patriarchal assumptions as well as capitalist mode of production and the working practices of these organisations mirror the ideological and phycological patriarchal relations as well as the material relations in society. As a result, women are underrepresented in decision making in these organisations. The ENGO sector in both countries seems to mimic the corporate world and, in some instances, even appears to be more inflexible. The findings of this research could suggest that some non-environmental NGOs could be expected to have similar gendered working practices since women seems to dominate the low paid employee positions (EurWork 2012) and there are many NGOs with small budgets relying on money from various sources.

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. 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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