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Araştırma Makalesi

EXPOSING THE LACK OF GENDER IN CLIMATE CHANGE CAMPAIGNS: EVIDENCE FROM THE UK AND TURKEY¹

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Abstract

While the implications of climate change on women have been documented in the Global South, gender differentiated impacts of climate change in the Global North and in Turkey are relatively ignored on the political agenda. Here it is argued that this is partly due to invisibility of gender in Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOS) and their failure to acknowledge the importance of gender sensitivity in their policies. ENGOS' role in shaping environmental policies have been recognised. This article reports on the research conducted on ENGOS in the United Kingdom and Turkey. Comparative case study research, applying qualitative methods were adopted to collect information. This paper aims to explore the gendered nature of ENGOS' campaigns and discuss the reasons of the invisibility of differential impacts of climate change on women and men by the ENGOS.

Keywords: Climate Change, Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOS), Feminist Research, UK, Turkey, Gender.

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İKLİM DEĞİŞİKLİĞİ KAMPANYALARINDA TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET BOŞLUĞU: BİRLEŞİK KRALLIK VE TÜRKİYE BULGULARI²

Öz

İklim değişikliğinin cinsiyet bağlamındaki farklı etkileri az gelişmiş ülkeler (Küresel Güney) için yeterince araştırılmıştır, fakat bu konu, Türkiye ve gelişmiş ülkelerdeki siyasi gündemde büyük ölçüde gözardı edilmiştir. Bu çalışmada, bu durumun nedenleri arasında, çevre alanında faaliyet gösteren sivil toplum kuruluşlarının (ÇSTK) çevre politikalarında, cinsiyet faktörünün önemini gözardı etmelerinden kaynaklandığı savunulmaktadır. ÇSTKlar, siyasi ajandayı etkileyen baskı grupları arasındadır. Bu nedenle de toplumları etkilemede önemli görevleri bulunmaktadır. Bu makale İngiltere ve Türkiye’de ÇSTKlar üzerine karşılaştırmalı kalitatif araştırma yöntemi kullanılarak yapılan bir araştırmaya dayanmaktadır. Makale, ÇSTKların iklim değişikliği ile ilgili çevre kampanyalarını inceleyerek, iklim değişikliğinin kadınlar ve erkekler üzerindeki farklı etkilerinin ÇSTKlarca gözardı edilmesinin nedenleri üzerinde düşünmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İklim Değişikliği, Çevre Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları (ÇSTK), Feminist Araştırma, İngiltere, Türkiye, Toplumsal Cinsiyet.

INTRODUCTION

Cross-national research suggests that Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOS) contribute significantly to the improvement of environmental situations (Shandra, Shor and London, 2008; UNDP, 2016). They can build and increase awareness, mobilise public action, and inform, influence, monitor and evaluate policies as their success in the adoption of the UNECE Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters (Aarhus Convention) demonstrates. ENGOS’ influence on climate negotiations has also been recognised (Climate Policy, 2018; Rietig, 2016). Given the influence of ENGOS and their claims, it is important to examine and question how ENGOS address gender within their climate change programmes and campaigns, as well as more broadly in their organisations.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the gendered nature of campaigns of British and Turkish ENGOS when it comes to selecting and lobbying issues and to explore why they might have neglected gender in their climate change campaigning. We argue that the deficit of understanding of the role gender plays in the construction, production and resolution of environmental issues by ENGOS may be one of the factors behind the neglect of the gender differentiated impacts of climate change in these countries. By revealing the failure of ENGOS to understand and

² Bu makale, Brunel Üniversitesi’nde yapılan doktora tezi araştırmasına dayanmaktadır: Külcür, R. (2013). *Environmental injustice? An analysis of gender in environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOS) in the United Kingdom and Turkey*. Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi. London: Brunel University

integrate women's perspectives in environmental campaigns, we aim to contribute to a greater understanding of environmental lobbying and gender-informed climate justice. To this end, comparative case study research, applying qualitative methods (semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observation) were adopted to collect information that lead to gendered practices.

Just as MacGregor (2009: 124) argues that 'any attempt to tackle climate change that excludes a gender analysis is insufficient, unjust and unsustainable', we explore the role of ENGOs in challenging, or reinforcing, hegemonic white middle class masculinity to reveal how this shapes environmental policies. We use the term hegemonic masculinity here to refer to a practice embedded in social environments, including organisations, to enable collective dominance of men over women (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). There has been little research on how hegemonic masculinities impact environmental policies (although see Hultman & Anshelm, 2017) particularly in ENGOs that have been at the forefront of raising climate change as a prominent political issue.

ENGOs claim on their websites and in their strategy documents that they are transformative, attain high levels of accountability and transparency, and act for public good. We might therefore expect that they would act differently to the corporate world, striving for gender equality and having gender sensitive campaigns. However, our research conducted in ENGOs in the United Kingdom (UK) and Turkey challenges this. We revealed that gender differentiated impacts of climate change and climate related vulnerabilities of women in the Global North are poorly understood by ENGOs in the UK, while the Turkish ENGOs were blind to the issue. Moreover, ENGOs displayed resistance to integrate gender related perspectives when deciding environmental campaigns.

THE POLITICS OF PRESENCE AND INTERSECTIONALITY AS LENSES ONTO GENDER RELATIONS IN ENGOs

While aware of the complexity of the debate on gender and environment, where claims to speak for all women have been criticised for being authoritarian and undemocratic (Sandilands, 1999), we argue that it is vital to analyse gender since the effects of climate change are not gender neutral (UNFCCC, 2017). This paper draws on the insights of the feminist theory of the politics of presence - also known as self-representation (Phillips, 2000) along with the concept of intersectionality to understand the representation of women in decision making. Moreover, intersectionality analysis is valuable when addressing vulnerability and response to climate change since climate change policies can have impacts on power patterns (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014).

Despite differences between them, many women have common interests and experiences including violence, unpaid caring roles and unequal pay and job

opportunities, which cross cultural and ethnic boundaries. Women can best represent women's interests, because such shared experiences provide insights into the lives of other women. Self-representation (women representing women) is especially important where women are historically underrepresented and disadvantaged in decision-making, as it can shape policies and decisions that may affect them (Fritsch, 2014; Mansbridge 1999). Since the 'subjectivity of the oppressed is less distorted than that deriving from the dominant group' (Lennon & Whitford, 1994: 3), a view shared with feminist standpoint theory, 'gender sensitivity in consultation and decision-making is essential for effective mitigation and adaptation responses to climate change' (Brody, Demetriades & Esplen, 2008: 2). It can be argued that gender balanced decision-making is more likely to address women's interests than gender unbalanced structures. For instance, women's presence in senior party positions was found to be an important factor leading to the adoption of gender equality measures in political representation (Caul, 2001) and gender balanced decision-making in local governments seems to increase the likelihood of pro-environmental policies (Buckingham, Reeves and Batchelor, 2005). However, in some cases having more women present seem not to make a difference. Magnusdottir & Kronsell (2014) in Sweden found in climate change planning departments, even where a 'critical mass' of staff were women, the masculinist structures of planning offices had a strong grip on attitudes of both women and men. In such environments, men as the dominant group determine the group culture and policies (Simpson & Lewis, 2007) and masculine behaviours and values are accepted as the norm.

Although it has been used little in the area of gender and climate change, the concept of intersectionality can be a useful tool when addressing vulnerability and adaptive capacity to climate-associated disaster risks. Intersectionality aims to address how certain interlinkages such as gender, class, race, nationality, parental status, place and age cause inequalities and unbalanced power relations that play a crucial role in response and adaptation to climate change (Djoudi, Brockhaus & Locatelli, 2013). Persons who are most exposed and vulnerable to the consequences of environmental problems and injustices are people who have less political, economic and organisational capacity to adapt. Gender is one of the key elements in this respect. While consequences of climate change for women living in the Global South have been recognised (Goh, 2012; UN, 2014), those for women in the Global North have received relatively little attention both in public policy analysis and literature (Cohen, 2017). On the other hand, Turkey is highly vulnerable to climate change since the Mediterranean region is identified as one of the primary climate change hotspots (Turco, Palazzi & von Hardenberg, 2015). Despite the fact, gendered implications of climate change absent in policy discussions in Turkey. Impacts of climate change in relation to gender is only briefly mentioned in context with agricultural drought in the Turkish National Adaptation Strategy and Action Plan (TNCCASAP, 2011).

We argue this lack of attention in public policy analysis, which is also repeated in ENGOs' policies and expressed by their staff, may be caused in the UK by the assumption that there is greater equality in the Global North than in the South, and the idea that the wealth can solve climate change related risks in the UK. In Turkey, it may be due to the conservative policies. Moreover, the lack of attention to gender may also be contributed by privileged white middle-class domination in key roles and decision-making in ENGOs. Different characteristics intersect to place different groups into more or less disadvantaged relations, in the Global North as well as the Global South. Hence, introducing intersectionality into discussions of climate change can help to explore differentiated vulnerability to climate change and contribute to the inclusion of gender analyses in both countries. Taking into account different factors including place, socio-economic and parental status, nationality and race in addition to gender, could make it easier to identify vulnerabilities as well as power structures shaping the decision-making of women as well as men compared to focusing on individual variables such as gender or place (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014).

The following section will present the methodology, and examine the invisibility of gender in ENGOs, possible reasons for this neglect and how ENGOs' neglect of this dimension contributes to a wider failure to engage in gender/environmental injustice, along with why ENGOs and their policies are an important focus for research.

METHODS

Nine ENGOs operating in the UK and ten ENGOs based in Turkey were examined for how they were gendered both in terms of their staffing and organisational practices, and in their campaigns (Kulcur, 2013). Since we aim to explore the gendering of ENGOs, and reveal and challenge male dominated structures and gender inequalities, qualitative methods, including semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observation, were applied. This allowed us to gain in-depth understanding of people's life experiences, and the reasons behind gender inequalities as well as empower and give voice to research participants.

The ENGOs that were contacted to participate in the research were selected on the basis of their size (number of staff, membership and budget). Since it is important to obtain information related to the research from various sources (Merkens, 1997), our aim was to include a range of ENGOs to explore whether any differences exist between them in terms of gender structures in senior management level and their practices. In the UK, 38 semi-structured in-depth interviews and one focus group interview were undertaken senior managers and employees in the ENGOs. The research included nine large, middle and smaller sized ENGOs in the UK (Table 1).

Table 1. British ENGOS interviewed

ENGO No. & Size ³	Type	Activity
UK1 - Medium	National	Conservation
UK2 - 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

Source: Annual reports of the ENGOS and interview data

In Turkey, 40 interviews were conducted in 10 ENGOS (Table 2) with senior managers and employees.

Table 2. Turkish ENGOS interviewed

ENGO No. & Size ⁴	Type	Activity
TR 1 Medium	Representative of a national ENGO	Conservation
TR 2 Small	Local	Mainly conservation, non-professional
TR 3 Small	Local	Mainly conservation, non-professional
TR 4 Small	Local	Conservation
TR 5 Large	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

Source: Annual reports of the ENGOS and interview data

Parallel with the interviews, participant observation was undertaken in a British and a Turkish ENGOS for five months for one or two days per week. This was done to gain access to everyday experiences and perceptions of women as well as of men as a dominant group, on organisational practices ‘to give insights into gendered social existence that would otherwise not exist’ (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2004: 147). This provided a detailed understanding of how everyday work practices and decision making were gendered, and how the ENGO determined the organisation’s campaigning strategies. In this research ‘triangulation’, which involved making observations, interviewing (formal and informal) and using other information sources such as ENGOS’ websites, publications and strategy documents, was designed to get as full a picture as possible.

³ ‘Large ENGO’ 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.

⁴ ‘Large’ means part of an international organisation and/or it had relatively more employees in comparison to the other ENGOS (since one of the significant ENGOS in Turkey has fewer than 30 employees). ‘Medium’: organisations with 10-20 employees. Small: local organisations with 10 or fewer employees, including non-professional ENGOS (organisations with no paid employees).

Interviews were conducted face to face and all were transcribed verbatim. The names of the ENGOs have been anonymised throughout this research as it was requested by the participants. The interview material was thematically coded to identify similarities and differences as well as emerging trends and themes. The field notes and research diary kept during the interviews and participant observation process to verify the data gathered were also coded and analysed in the same way.

GENDERED CLIMATE CHANGE CAMPAIGNS

NGOs are mostly involved in values-driven activities (Lewis, 2003). Moreover, ENGOs underline in their policy documents that impacts of climate change are not gender neutral (FoE 2011, Greenpeace 2016). Therefore, ENGOs might be expected to carry out gender impact analyses before launching their policies and campaigns. However, many ENGOs appear to ignore the growing evidence on the link between gender and climate change and gendered impacts of environmental pollution. A recent examination of ENGOs' websites shows that the lack of attention to gender in environmental campaigns continues (as at June 2019).

Although a senior manager (UK1), who sat on the steering committee which designed and initiated campaigns, argued that targeting certain groups may be effective, in many cases the research participants expected the interviewer to justify and provide examples of campaigns that may take gender into account. In addition to unawareness of the gender related effects of environmental issues, the research participants were mostly unwilling to understand why they would need a gender analysis in their policies. Most of the interviewees wondered how it would be relevant. This lack of attention to gender was highlighted in the research diary of the interviewer. For example, the male CEO of UK7 answered '*no, how would it be, what does it mean?*' However, this negative response was not confined to male respondents, with the female CEO of UK4 stating '*No. In what sense? I don't know what you mean by that... what do you mean?*' (UK4, CEO-M), and a senior female policy campaigner at UK7 did not '*think we have designed campaigns to specifically target different groups of people*'.

Similarly, many research participants in Turkey misunderstood the question 'do you take gender into account when designing campaigns?' and responded that

'We don't have such a thing. We don't have any gender discriminatory practices' (TR10, members and volunteers' responsible-F).

'We definitely don't see gender. Never seen' (TR2, spokesperson-M).

Most of time, the ENGOs' policies were argued to be based on the premise that no discrimination should be made concerning campaigning issues as is also pointed out in their policy documents. It was understood by many research participants that taking into account gender for campaigns would imply positive

discrimination which they did not think was needed. However, some ENGOs used certain gender-stereotyped images in their campaigns, with women seen as responsible for the running of households and childcare including gender-specific attributes including pregnancy and motherhood to increase public attention and achieve successful campaigns. Although many interviewees stated that environmental problems would concern everyone indiscriminately, the differential impacts of environmental degradation on women were not acknowledged by the research participants. The male CEO of a large British branch of an international ENGO (UK4) argued that the priority issues for the organisation, including climate change, were not gender related. A senior manager of UK1 argued that there was no rational argument to launch a campaign with gender component:

'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. I don't I don't [sic] see any particular value to the type of work that we do like in terms of the campaigns to target any particular gender' (UK1, CEO-M).

Women in the global North can also be seen as unavoidably implicated in causing climate change simply due to the consumption patterns and lifestyle choices in an industrialised country. However, it is known that women's carbon footprints are lower than men's due to income, lifestyles and consumption and economic production patterns (Räty & Carlsson-Kanyama, 2010; WECF, 2018).

Moreover, it appears that certain policies are not adopted because there is a desire not to alienate men. The male policy officer for example, commented that if the organisation had a campaign targeting gender:

'It would also damage the campaign I think, you know, you would lose other guys who felt like oh, this is women things, I am not gonna deal with it' (UK7).

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 it was 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' (TR6, PA to the CEO and HR-F).

In only one Turkish ENGO (TR7) it was 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 (ICRW, 2016). 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 including gender component. Therefore, the ENGOs appear to neglect the disproportionate impacts of environmental issues on women, and more importantly appear to be unwilling to do so.

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. However, we found that while there was no awareness of the linkages between gender and climate change in the Turkish ENGOs, the ENGOs in the UK overlooked the link between gender and climate change in the Global North. We argue that this undermines the ENGOs' role as challengers of the status quo. While gender was understood by UK ENGOs only in relation to women in the Global South, as the response of a female senior external affairs officer of a large ENGO, who described her main responsibility as being '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', shows. She argued that there was no need to take gender into account, and women in the UK were not differently affected to men by climate change:

'From my understanding, it is partly 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' (UK8, senior external affairs officer-F).

In the Turkish ENGOs, no consciousness on the differential impacts of climate change on women and men was identified. During the participant observation and interviews, a resistance, even among women, to understand why gender should be taken into account and why campaigns should be gender sensitive, could be perceived.

This research established that although ENGOs had a climate change campaign they absolutely ignored the gendered impacts of climate change when launching and implementing their campaigns. As a result of the impacts of climate change including flooding and coastal change, higher temperatures, shortage of drinking water risk, risks related to food security and climate-change induced disasters (IPCC, 2018), women face increased health consequences including stress-related illnesses, an increased vulnerability to infectious diseases, and risk of malnutrition (WHO, 2014).

It has been recognized that 'environmental organisations have a particularly significant role to play in implementing gender mainstreaming into environmental policy' (Wolf, 2004, p. 3). However, none of the ENGOs based their policies and

decisions on a gender analysis, and gender had not been taken into account when designing and launching their campaigns. Therefore, environmental issues linked to gender appear to be totally unaddressed both in the British and Turkish mainstream ENGOs. This may contribute to the persistent invisibility of gender concerns in environmental policies in particular in relation to climate change.

Explaining Gender Invisibility in ENGOs' Campaigns

White middle class and men dominated decision-making

The United Nations has recognised that it is crucial to involve women in decision-making so that mitigation and adaptation strategies take gender perspectives into account (United Nations, 2017). However, simply increasing the numbers of women is not enough: a diversity of women (and of men) need to be involved, representing an 'intersectionality' of characteristics whereby a range of gendered experiences can inform decision making (Buckingham and Kulcür, 2017). Although many governments and international organisations committed themselves to the United Nations' gender mainstreaming strategy, women are still under-represented in decision-making both in the UK and Turkey which renders them less able to influence policies, decisions and programmes that impact them directly.

Climate change policy has not been gender sensitive over the years, and is arguably masculinised' (MacGregor, 2010: 128) if measured by the domination of men occupying senior roles in the institutions responsible for climate change policy making, and the absence of women in related scientific roles. The UN has committed itself to gender mainstreaming in all policies and programmes, but it was not until the UNFCCC's eighteenth Conference of the Parties (COP 18) in 2012 that a process was formally initiated to ensure gender balanced decision making in climate change negotiations. However, the average percentage of women in constituted bodies established under the Convention and its Kyoto Protocol is still 27% (UNFCCC, 2017a).

Similar male dominated decision making was also found to be present in ENGOs in both countries. It is these post holders who tend to have the final say in which campaigns are activated. In the UK, the majority of the board members were male. Only two of the nine ENGOs had female CEOs (UK3 and 8). In Turkey, gender structures at senior management level were also male dominated. Apart from one ENGO (TR9) the boards of the ENGOs were dominated by men and, in terms of CEOs there were only two female CEOs in medium and large ENGOs (TR7 and 8). A recent analysis of the ENGOs websites in both countries reveals that top decision-making positions in these organisations are still a male domain (Kulcür, 2018).

While women dominate and often lead environmental grassroots movements and volunteer work (Kulcür, 2013), they are largely absent in decision-making of ENGOs. The proportion of women in influential positions in ENGOs rarely met the rather low ambition of The Davies Report (2015) for the FTSE 350 companies in the

UK to achieve 33% female board members by 2020, and falls well below EU targets of 40% women's representation in non-executive board member positions in publicly listed companies by 2019 (EU 2015). It is argued that when 'the relative percentage of women in organisations reaches the critical mass (30%), women begin to influence the work culture and organisation (Joecks, Pull and Vetter, 2013).

Moreover, intersectional analysis can help to reveal unbalances in power structures on the institutional level, namely in addition to gender, age and parental status could also explain the male domination in decision-making in ENGOs. In this research we also found that the majority of the lower level staff was young single female. Many female employees were anxious about having children because of the culture of long working hours, the limited future prospects due to the project-based funding, low wages in the sector and the expensive cost of childcare in both countries. We found that the number of female staff with children was very small and male senior managers were more likely to have children than their female counterparts.

Viewed through a lens of intersectionality, it seems that gender responsive campaigns are more likely to be linked to environmental justice (EJ) issues where the concerns of other subordinated groups are apparent. The EJ movement emerged as a reaction to environmental injustices resulting from social inequalities and poor and non-white people's lack of access to environmental and political decision-making (see exceptions Di Chiro, 1998; Nightingale, 2006). During the participant observation, the equal opportunity forms completed by the job applicants in the UK ENGOs, were analysed. These showed that, similar to the other ENGOs that were researched, black people and those of non-British nationalities were substantially underrepresented. The lack of acknowledgement of the relevance of gender in ENGOs' campaigns may be the result of the dominance of white middle-class men in senior paid and governance positions and overall white middle-class domination among both genders.

As Magnusdottir & Kronsell (2014) observed, increasing the number of women alone may be not be sufficient to change organisational policies since hegemonic power relations are embedded in organisations. While it is important to have female managers in more strategic positions such as chairs or key committee members, it may be questioned whether only those who adapt to these settings climb up the organisational hierarchy or whether female managers are not able to change organisational structures/practices as they are bound by higher-level management who are predominantly male. The latter was evident during this research, where a female senior manager in one of the large British ENGOs reported that they experienced exclusion and devaluation. Moreover, it appears that those who do not fit into this culture tend to leave. This was particularly noticeable in ENGOs where staff in senior positions were reported as being less than sympathetic to considering gender issues in campaigns. Thus, it can be argued that gender unawareness in

campaigns could be the result of the hegemonic masculine decision-making in ENGOs as was pointed by a former manager in a large ENGO:

'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' (UK9, ex-manager-F).

The explanation for this lack of awareness of the lives of those with low incomes was hinted at by a woman who had worked for two ENGOs:

'You would be surprised at the number of men who have been to private schools, you know the kind of boarding schools background in these organisations and I do feel sometimes that this leaves a big legacy...' (UK2 and 4, head of external affairs-F)

The dominance of privileged white men in management positions in ENGOs in both countries would thus appear to partially explain the lack of priority attached to issues of social justice in general, as well as the specific neglect of gender policy priorities.

Narrow priority areas

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. 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' (TR 2, spokesperson-M).

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 the organisations have mainly concentrated on conservation and natural resources protection and only 'the needs' around environmental protection were prioritised.

'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' (UK5, policy officer-M).

It has been found that mainstream ENGOs tend to neglect issues around environmental justice and mostly concentrate on narrowly focused 'environment first policies' (Agyeman & Angus, 2003; Shandra et al., 2008). For mainstream environmental organisations, the environment is limited to natural resources, plants and animals. Many ENGOs' policies focus on conservation-related goals including wildlife protection and deforestation; environmental justice issues by contrast are mostly related to social justice and public health issues (so called urban issues) (Seager, 1993; Taylor, 2002, 2016), even though 'most environmental issues involve both human and non-human-issues' (Plumwood, 2006: 59). ENGOs' working priorities were self-defined as limited to conservation of natural resources within the scope of the ENGOs' objectives.

In similar with the findings of Di Chiro (1998) that pointed to the narrowness of the environmental movement's agenda in the USA, 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. 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, women are more likely to be poor than men (OECD, 2017). 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 had any campaigns taking into account the relationship between poverty and women.

Thus, ENGOs appear to have relatively restricted working areas. This was true of both case studies' campaigns which were narrowly focused on 'environment-first policies' and concerned primarily with conservation and the protection of natural resources, habitat and countryside. Mainly, only 'the needs' around environmental protection were prioritized rather than issues that directly affect disadvantaged people and therefore interlink with the environmental justice issues of race, class, nationality and gender.

Funding

Another critical factor determining campaigns was found to be the ability to attract funding: a limitation for most of the ENGOs. The majority of the ENGOs reported that funding was 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' (UK2, CEO-F).

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.

'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).

Some ENGOs admitted that *'We tend to chase the funding a bit...'* (UK1, Policy Officer-F); and that they needed *'to think about fundraising, and how we are going to make the campaign attractive to the funders'* (UK6, senior campaigner, F).

Depending on the working area of the organisation, certain ENGOs and topics such as protection of wildlife and countryside are supported more easily and they receive more donations than others.

'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... 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' (UK3, campaigner-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.

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. Connections and relationships between NGOs and businesses are increasing and civil society organisations are increasingly funded by corporations which extend their influence over the environmental movement (GPF, 2018; Kopnina, 2017). Although most of the research participants did not believe that gender should be taken into account when launching campaigns, the data collected suggests that campaigns also follow funding sources, and donors play an increasingly important role in determining campaigns.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS ON THE GENDER BLINDNESS OF ENGOS

This paper explores the reasons of gender blindness in environmental campaigns in the UK and Turkey. Gender inequalities cause major challenges for women even in advanced industrialised countries since power inequalities also exist in these countries and at the same time women can be powerful agents of change using their knowledge and skills. Considering the importance of ENGOS in environmental policies and mobilising mass public opinion, it is concerning that ENGOS appear to be unaware of, or to ignore, the growing evidence on the linkages between gender and climate change in the Global North and even at times in the Global South.

This research revealed that the ENGO sector is dominated by young female employees with no childcare responsibilities while the senior positions (CEOs, board members) are occupied by white middle-class men, many of whom have children. This clearly demonstrates that it is important to consider intersectionality and examine different factors when questioning power structures and women's positions in organisations. Moreover, the data collected from the ENGOS also suggest that there is a lack of acknowledgement of the relevance of gender for their campaigns, and arguably, this undermines their role as challengers of the status quo and misses an opportunity to pressure government to mainstream gender. We argue that this has impacts on the likelihood that climate change policies will take account of gender in these countries. There may be a number of reasons for this, including the ENGOS' narrow focus on conservation and the protection of natural resources and dominance of white middle-class men in senior paid and governance positions. This lack of gender balance had been noted by a few interviewees, but a further reason for a lack of consideration of gender may be related to ignorance of interrelated factors including gender, race, class, parental status and nationality since research participants were mostly unwilling to understand not only why they would need a gender analysis in their policies, but also they seemed to be resistant towards environmental justice issues that impact mostly poor and marginalised people where gender, race and class play a role. Finally, it can be surmised that the need to follow funding possibilities gives donors an increasingly important role in campaigns, and that a focus on gender is seen as something which might frighten off the funders.

This research clearly demonstrates that the links both between climate change and gender, and poverty and gender were seen exclusively as a problem in the Global South by a significant proportion of UK ENGOS, while Turkish ENGOS were blind to the links. It is this failure to connect with gender as well as other intersectional factors, which lead us to suggest that one of the reasons why gender considerations in the Global North and Turkey may remain widely unaddressed is that most of the key actors in environmental lobbying in these countries seem to neglect the issue.

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