

CIVIC AGENCY AT WORK – SENSE MAKING AND
LABOUR PROCESS OF PROFESSIONALS IN ISSUE
BASED NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN
TURKEY

ALİ ALPER AKYÜZ
103801008

İSTANBUL BİLGİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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Civic agency at work – sense making and labour process
of professionals in issue based non-governmental
organizations in Turkey

İş ortamında toplumsal özne – Türkiye'de konu temelli Sivil
Toplum Kuruluşlarında profesyonel çalışanların
anlamlandırma ve emek süreci

ALİ ALPER AKYÜZ
103801008

Yrd.Doç.Dr.Kenan Çayır :

Prof.Dr.Beyza Oba :

Prof.Dr.E.Fuat Keyman :

Prof.Dr.Nurhan Yentürk :

Doç.Dr.Ferhat Kentel :

Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih :

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Thesis Summary

Issue-based non-governmental organisations (NGOs) claim that they act on behalf of a social or environmental issue or vulnerable groups affected from problems in these cases. They are essentially voluntary initiatives (part of a bigger social movement) and they don't work for material profit shared by individual shareholders. On the other hand, professionalisation has been a significant trend among these organisations in Turkey together with other developing countries as well as developed ones. With the increasing number of NGO professionals working in the field, work place feature of the organisations (including management control practices) overlap and create a number of tensions with the voluntary and political background of these organisations, reflected in power relations among organisational members and construction of meaning as sense making. This study deals with the dynamics of these relations and efforts of sense making within work organisations of issue based NGOs in the special case of Turkey from a labour process frame. The study uses a qualitative method: starting from a initial survey to derive key issues to be deepened during a modified process of 'provoked and accompanied self-analysis' developed by Pierre Bourdieu and 'sociological intervention method' by Alain Touraine, where a conversion of interviewee towards sociological knowledge/objectifying

takes place during the process. Each individual process is composed of a series of semi-structured in-depth interviews constructed together with the interviewee. The research question is 'whether increased tendency for hiring paid staff as 'professionals', therefore introduction of labour process in a formerly voluntary way of work in issue-based non-governmental organisations of Turkey undermine the search of a 'meaningful work' as civic/democratic agencies of those employees', who usually bear strong individual commitment and an identity aspect by identifying themselves with the issue or affected target group even before being recruited to the job. The study revealed a complex labour process and a dynamic process of professional identity construction, which lead to new grounds for resistance and self-organising around 'employee status', and the reconstruction of self as agency. The interactive and interventionist methodology used is also promising to reveal rich information by establishing a dialogue of reflection between the researcher and the interviewee, which contributes to empowerment of both sides.

Özet

Konu temelli çalışan sivil toplum kuruluşları (STKlar) toplumsal veya çevresel bir konu veya bu konularla ilgili sorunlardan etkilenen zarar görebilir gruplar adına hareket ettiklerini ileri sürerler. Özünde (daha büyük bir sosyal hareketin parçası olan) gönüllü girişimlerdir ve hissedarlarca paylaşılan maddi karlar için çalışmazlar. Öte yandan, gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkelerle birlikte Türkiye'de de bu örgütlerin profesyonelleşmesi önemli bir eğilim haline gelmiştir. Alanda çalışan STK profesyonellerinin sayısının artmasıyla örgütlerin (işletme kontrol uygulamaları dahil) iş yeri özelliği gönüllü ve politik arka planlarıyla üst üste gelmekte ve bir dizi gerilime yol açarak örgütsel aktörler arasındaki güç ilişkilerine ve anlam üretimine yansımaktadır. Bu çalışma, Türkiye özelinde konu temelli STKların iş organizasyonlarında bu ilişkilerin dinamiklerine ve anlamlandırma çabalarına emek süreci çerçevesinden yaklaşmaktadır. Çalışmada niteliksel bir yöntem kullanılmıştır: görüşülen çalışanlarla düzenlenen bir ilk anket üzerinden başlayarak üzerinde yoğunlaşılacak temel konular ortaya çıkartılmış ve her bir bireyle Pierre Bourdieu'nün 'etkilenen ve eşlik edilen özeleştirel analiz' ile Alain Touraine'in 'sosyolojik müdahale yönteminin' uyarlanmış bir versiyonu uygulanmış, süreç sırasında görüşülen bireyin sosyolojik bilgiye/nesnelleştirmeye erişimi amaçlanmıştır. Her bir bireysel süreç, görüşülen kişiyle birlikte oluşturulan yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmelerden oluşmaktadır. Araştırma sorusu

'daha önce gönüllü ağırlıklı çalışmakta olan konu temelli STKlarda artan 'profesyonel' çalışanları işe alma eğiliminin, ve böylece emek sürecinin devreye girmesinin, çoğu güçlü bireysel adanmışlık ve kendilerini konuyla veya etkilenen hedef grupla daha işe girmeden önce kurulan özdeşlik nedeniyle kimlik boyutuna da sahip aynı çalışanların 'yurttaşlık/demokratik öznesi' olarak anlam arayışının önüne geçip geçmediğidir. Çalışma, çalışan statüsü çevresinde yeni direniş ve öz-örgütlenme ve öznenin yeniden kurgulanmasına olanak veren karmaşık bir emek süreci ile dinamik bir profesyonel kimlik oluşumu sürecini ortaya koymuştur. Kullanılan etkileşimli ve müdahaleci metodoloji araştırmacı ile görüşülen arasında her iki tarafın da güçlenmesine katkıda bulunan düşünömsel bir diyalog kurulması sayesinde zengin bir bilgi ortaya çıkarmak açısından umut vericidir.

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This study uses life narratives of NGO professionals and tries to build up a methodology of dialogue and empowerment for both sides. Therefore it should also include the life narrative of the researcher as an active part of the dialogue.

I was 8 years old when the 1980 coup d'etat took place in Turkey, and the military regime caused a deep trauma over my family by the execution of my uncle in 1983. Originally social democrats, my parents kept advising me not to be involved in politics as many families did to protect their children then. During those times, with environmentalism rising as a fad in the media and also as a social movement, I was attracted in green politics with its search of social justice with non-violence and ecology emphasis as well as 'bürgerinitiativen' (citizen initiatives) as the origins of Green Party in Germany (Bora 1988). However, being an engineering student, I was neither interested nor courageous enough to be an official member of a political party or an association (and also it was forbidden for students to be members by law then) while student movements were not attractive as they used the strict language of violence and slogans of cliché, and they were occasionally involved in violent struggles with either their rivals or police. The beginning of 1990's therefore was a period of boredom and non-politics. Only after joining the establishment period of a European student

organisation, I found an organisational platform for non-violent civic action and became actively involved in associational life, policy influencing activity and all the debates over civil society.

Voluntary work within this Europe-wide student organisation helped me to overcome borders, literally the borders of Turkey, and also virtually the borders of my occupation of engineering, and borders of activity field by contact with NGOs and movements from all over the world (particularly in Europe and Balkans) and many specific fields. Due to my experience in European matters, interest in human rights and environmental matters and my achievements of European level policy making lead to my first job in TEMA Foundation as international relations assistant while I was pursuing my Masters degree in engineering. During the second half of 1990's and the beginning of 2000's, I was involved in many case specific coalitions of NGOs and also the organisation of the Civil Society Organisations Symposia mentioned above, being able to participate both in the kitchen and the debate. Therefore, my third job was in History Foundation of Turkey as project coordinator in the human rights field when I decided to leave engineering to pursue a NGO career then.

At the same time, I was involved in 'youth trainings' as a trainer both voluntarily and as a free-lance paid basis, where I was introduced in non-formal educational methods. The essence of non-formal methodology (and

the philosophy behind best formulated by Paolo Freire in 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed') is education as a dialogue basically among the learners, not treated as objects but active agents shaping the learning process collectively.

My career in NGOs as an employee was far from being satisfactory and I had opportunity to reflect on it during my work in Istanbul Bilgi University NGO Training and Research Centre and decided to turn this experience into academic work, by an active and empowerment seeking research methodology and in a critical field work from which the perspective of employees is lacking. What you are holding in your hands is the preliminary outcome of this story.

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I. Introduction: context, problem and methodological question as intervention

This study explores the emergence of 'NGO professionals' and dynamics of power relations and efforts of sense making of these employees within work organisations of issue based NGOs in Turkey. The study uses a combination of labour process and organisational sensemaking and interpretation as a tool of framing for the analysis of daily work experiences of 'NGO professionals'. 'NGO professionals' are those paid employees of issue-based NGOs who fulfil tasks directly related to the issue of concern for the respective NGO, within their work relations and reconstruction of self and professional identity. The study combines frames of 'labour process' and 'subjectivity' to explore tensions and interplay between professional and civic statuses of individuals, workplace (inner gaze) and democratic participation tool (outwards aim) features of the organisation, and search for meaning/agency through work and management control practices of the organisation. The research question is “whether increased tendency for hiring paid staff as 'professionals', therefore introduction of labour process in an essentially voluntary way of work in issue-based non-governmental organisations of Turkey, undermine the search of a 'meaningful work' as civic/democratic agencies of those employees, who usually bear strong individual commitment and an identity aspect by identifying themselves with the issue or affected target group even before being recruited to the

job.”

Issue-based non-governmental organisations (NGOs) claim that they act on behalf of a social or environmental problem or vulnerable groups. They are outcomes of the late/reflexive/second modernity as a response to unintended consequences of modernity and increasingly complex societies (Beck 2000, Giddens 1990). They are essentially voluntary initiatives (and usually part of a bigger social movement) and they don't work for material profit shared by individual shareholders. However, despite their voluntary characteristic, professionalisation of this so-called third sector (beneath public and private sectors) has become a significant and dominant trend among these organisations in Turkey together with other developing countries as well as developed ones. With professionalisation and emergence of third sector as a career option besides public and private sectors, NGOs have become a point of attraction not only for membership and activism (besides political parties and trade unions), but also as a workplace for civil society activists and volunteers, who could earn their lives while doing a 'meaningful work' of 'change'.

With the increasing number of NGO professionals, work place feature of the organisations (including management control practices) overlap and create a number of tensions with the voluntary and political background of these organisations, reflected in power relations among organisational members

and construction of meaning as sense making. This phenomenon of 'NGO professionalism' and work experience of 'NGO professionals' have not been investigated so far from the perspective of these 'professional activists' in academic literature of organisational science or sociology of work. Therefore such an analysis bears a wide promise for understanding of transformation of citizenship, work and civil society as well as prospects for sociology of work and non-profit management, and perspectives for civil society capacity building and understanding of citizenship. The analysis of tensions between different statuses and features of individuals and organisations from a combined labour process and subjectivity perspective is timely -as they are recent phenomena with a clear link with the global developments in policy and modernity-. It is also necessary to gaze into relations between supposedly different individual statuses (of employee and active responsible citizen) and organisational features (of workplace and democratic participation platform) for a number of reasons:

1) These are reflected in multiple baselines of accountabilities (holistic accountability felt towards a wider community vs. narrow/hierarchic accountability of functionalities and finances, or top-down and lateral accountability towards target groups, volunteers and colleagues vs. bottom-up accountability towards managers, board and donors).

2) Introduction of a workplace feature of wage relationship into a social and political platform like NGOs brings in transfer, infusion and diffusion of management control practices between private, public and third sector, with

unexplored consequences within non-profit organisational context.

3) Above mentioned tensions surface as a discursive tension between 'volunteering/amateurism' and 'professionalism/organisational development', both within organisational level and throughout civil society.

This analysis of tensions can reveal construction, reproduction and concentration/redistribution of power relations in organisational and macro/societal scale as well as its reflection on efforts of becoming a civic/political agency and reconstruction of self and professional identity of 'NGO professionals'.

The study uses a qualitative method and an iterative process where each phase is reviewed and reshaped according to the previous step. Starting from an initial survey helps in deriving key issues to be deepened throughout the study. The survey was conducted with 76 anonymous respondents from NGOs, who filled in the questionnaire over internet and outcomes of this survey was used as a brainstorming and review of initial theoretical framework and assumptions. Backbone of the study is established on a modified process of 'provoked and accompanied self-analysis' developed by Pierre Bourdieu and 'sociological intervention method' by Alain Touraine, where a conversion of interviewees towards sociological knowledge/objectifying takes place during the process. The interview processes were conducted by 5 interviewees, each of them working as professionals in different NGOs from environment (2

organisations), education, youth participation and human rights. Their respective NGOs were established organisations in national and/or international level, with 10 to 100 employees each (in national level), a wide membership, volunteering and/or donor base, and a professional management system. Each individual process is composed of a series of semi-structured in-depth interviews constructed together with the interviewee and each process holds an integrity within itself. Each process lasted 3-4 interviews (45 minutes to more than 2 hours per interview, 3:15 to 6:35 hours in total per interviewee) distributed over two-three months. The interview processes were conducted as a dialogue with cautious-but-challenging intervention of researcher to induce self-analysis, rich and in-depth information and mutual empowerment.

The progress of the study follows a narrowing and expanding course, from global and macro level to meso and micro local and organisational one and then re-generalising in the conclusion part. As presented above, the ambiguity of borders of definition is characteristic to the problematic that caused this thesis to appear. This is the reason for a detailed elaboration in this introductory chapter on the terminology of NGOs and civil society, as they are used in literature and the field and the ambiguities in use. Later I deal with the context that lead to global emergence and spread of NGOs and transformations in organisational structures and work styles, with a special emphasis on professionalisation. The special case of Turkey constitutes a

good opportunity both in parallel developments to global context and its own specificities, particularly during the period from the beginning of 1990s till today. Finally, in this chapter I will discuss and explain the methodology chosen for this study in detail. In Chapter 2, I try to take this effort further to build up a theoretical basis by trying to settle 'work' and 'agency' within historical course of modernity by a periodisation approach, in order to understand how these notions have changed throughout the history to end up in 'paid work' taking a central place in modern society and distinguished from other portions of life, including civic/political activities. Third chapter presents the interviewees and their life narratives as reflected in their sense making and identity processes, which reveals the search for meaning and agency within work. This is linked to their individual professionalisation process with job satisfaction aspects. Fourth chapter introduces the organisational/work life with a special focus on labour process and relations of the NGO professionals with management. I have allocated a whole section for each case to present them in their integrity and the titles of these sections (from IV.2.1.1. To IV.2.1.5) are taken from the interviews as well. As the final section of this chapter, I present highlights based on forms of control, from direct and technical to soft, consent and legitimisation based ones. The study is concluded with resistance and self-organising and unionisation perspectives and experiences, together with general conclusions on both the content and the methodology. The final section introduces further research suggestions and a discussion on alternative

conceptions on work and citizenship within wider civil society.

The study revealed a complex labour process where discourses of 'volunteering/amateurism/being an NGO' and 'professionalism' are used in contrast with each other, causing a mutual interplay between management -who tries to build consent for cost minimisation and acceptance of power structures-, and professionals -trying to preserve self identity as agents in policy field and personal life. This dynamic process of professional identity construction lead to new grounds for resistance and self-organising around 'employee status', and the reconstruction of self as agency. Professionalisation has both the potential to undermine 'active responsible citizenship' search of 'NGO professionals', but this is not necessarily the case, and professional status bears the additional potential to re-establish and reconstruct the civic agency identity as long as an enabling environment of self-organisation and free communication of employees are established within the organisation and wider civil society, reflected in capacity building programs and policies. A continuous exchange of practices and experiences between civil society and labour movement/unions is also promising for development of both sides.

I.1 NGO's: on search of a definition

There are various definitions of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

and a consensus on one definition is not likely to be achieved in the near future. First, there are different terms for the same group of organisations and dominant use of each varies from region to region and even country to country. While the term 'NGOs' is used in an international and intergovernmental context with an emphasis on independence from the government -and therefore a more political axis of definition-, within American context the term "Non-Profit Organisations" (NPOs) is preferred as a distinction from the for-profit organisations, or Third Sector Organisations (TSOs) as a distinction from public and private sectors -and therefore a more economy based or sectoral definition. The term Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) has been used in a less intensive way by the UN agencies, and the use of the term intends to cover a wider range of organisations like universities, chambers and even local governments. The conceptual framework and methodology of widest empirical research on civil society, Civil Society Index Project of CIVICUS platform (Heinrich 2004) distinguishes NGOs and CSOs with the concern of being inclusive of informal gatherings as well. However, this project also refrains from providing a definition for any of these terms, except implying that latter covers also the former ones. Relevant parts of the research methodology is built on the term CSOs in a concern of being inclusive. A similar concern has been followed by the UN Handbook on Non-profit Institutions in the System of National Accounts project (United Nations 2003) carried on in cooperation with Johns Hopkins University Center For Civil Society

Studies, where NGOs are mentioned as a subgroup of non-profit institutions, particularly the group of organisations “promoting economic development or poverty reduction in less developed areas”; this work takes NGOs in a separate category than 'advocacy groups' and 'community-based' or 'grassroots associations'. Historically, the term 'NGOs' has begun to be used only after the Second World War; before then, under the framework of League of Nations, International Associations were mentioned.

In political science literature, the emphasis is on the term 'NGOs' due to political aspects of the organisations it recalls, such as their origins or functions within the political system like advocacy, cooperation with state or service delivery to the needy in the respective working field of the organisation. On the other hand, vast majority of works within management literature (and particularly USA-based ones) puts emphasis on 'NPOs' implying more service organisations like hospitals and private universities which do not distribute profits to shareholders, and advocacy, community, grassroots or lobbying organisations are usually not investigated from a management perspective, even though some of them employ individuals as experts, professionals or support and logistic personnel, and many of them implement a management structure with employed managers. This is even more valid about the work and work-life of the employees within these organisations. Economics based literature seems to prefer either NPOs or TSOs, in need of distinguishing among sectors. Literature in each field

reflects the dominant understandings and concerns of the academic community in respective fields, therefore they have different understandings of what a NGO, NPO or TSO is, though many organisations fall into both categories and many others are claimed to be not fitting into one or the other.

A single definition for the term 'NGO' doesn't exist (Butler 2008). One can only talk about some common points in the definitions (Ryfman 2006). In compliance with the surge of development work in global South fulfilled by Northern non-governmental bodies, the term 'NGOs' have also been used identical to 'non-governmental development organisations', as reflected above in UN Non-profit Handbook, or Lewis' description (Lewis 2000) despite acknowledging that the “narrow definitions of development” remain limited to cover activities, structures and forms of NGOs. Clarke (Clarke 1998:36) defines NGOs as “private, non-profit, professional organisations, with a distinctive legal character, concerned with public welfare goals”, excluding, therefore, organisations that are completely composed of volunteers and do not employ any professional experts, such as “local, non-profit membership-based associations” which he names as Peoples organisations (POs). While recognizing the difficulties and differences of suggesting any single definition, he later mentions POs to be regarded as “a sub-category of NGO.”

Ryfman provides an extensive and critical account on various definitions around the world starting from the French context. He presents an overview of terms used a) according to different perspectives found in disciplines of law, political science, sociology and economics; b) contracting/limiting or grouping according to working fields approach (including development and humanitarian assistance, but also human rights and environment as well as peace, cultural heritage, sustainable development, fighting corruption, HIV/AIDS and others as emerging fields), and finally c) identifying minimal common elements method. In this latest attempt, he proposes five distinct characteristics for the definition:

- 1) an organisation, or a gathering of individuals by free will in order to accomplish a non-commercial aim or pursuing an ideal or belief,
- 2) a legally private status like “association” or “non-profit organisation” as defined in national law,
- 3) establishment of relationships with public or private entities while preserving independence of the organisation from these,
- 4) a citizenship base built on freely accepted values of the individual and a democratic framework of activity (regarding internal operation, actions and links with the political actors) embedded in civil society,
- 5) transnational feature of activities (i.e. holding activities in another country, or establishing relations with actors abroad).

However, this last characteristic has been overcome by simply adding the title of 'national' or 'local', while many others simply add the term

'International' if they want to emphasize this feature of a group of organisations, this time neglecting the international activity, communication and interaction capacities and opportunities of national or local NGOs in an increasingly global world.

Any formal or legislative attempt for recognition of non-state and non-profit groupings to accommodate them in the legal or administrative system, via drawing boundaries of this recognition as such, has ended up in the exclusion of some groups. On the other hand, legal definition (or even the fact that such a definition exists or not) varies in legal systems of different countries or statutes of intergovernmental organisations. Some NGOs are made up of members as real citizens or legal persons (including companies), while some are simply foundations of purposive gathering of capital with a Board of Trustees (but without a membership status), or even non-profit companies or cooperatives in legal status. Whether trade unions, chambers, professional or occupational organisations, religious organisations, clubs, alumni associations etc. fit within the definition is a continuous part of debate. According to Srinivas, studies on NGOs after late 1990's are more based on assumptions rather than actual studies on organisational characteristics, leading to generalisations ignoring heterogeneity of organisations (Srinivas 2009), therefore blurring distinctions within the field, but solidifying actually liquid borders of the organisational field. Apart from the distinction between NGOs, NPOs, CSOs and TSOs, any

definition made about NGOs has to be operational or a working definition, reflecting the purpose of those who brings forward the definition, which are often political institutions or scholars, therefore with political and/or academic purposes. Therefore, in order to evaluate any definition, the context of its formulation and the meaning attributed to it within this context has to be kept in mind.

This study does not attempt to propose another definition valid for all organisations mentioned above, but I will limit the scope of the research universe by defining minimal common elements of 'issue based NGOs'. This universe will be relevant to the research questions related to identity and work relations of employees within a sense making approach, and the working definition of issue based NGO and conclusions will be valid only for this context and for this study, though outcomes might be inspirational for a wider range of organisations in a wider range of contexts.

I.2.Global context and case of Turkey

The last quarter and particularly the last decade of twentieth century has witnessed a tremendous change in the numbers and attributed roles of NGOs in society (Edwards 2009:21). Though a reliable global account that covers all national figures is not existing, number of international NGOs have reached a figure of approximately 50,000 in 2003 and 90% of these have

been established after 1970 (Edwards 2009:23). This increase is in compliance with national figures as well. Despite the apparent increase in the numbers of registered associations everywhere with few exceptions (like Myanmar and Libya, where authoritarian governments are against the idea of independent civic organisations), the degree of truth under this 'associational revolution' claim and reasons proposed are debatable. Various numbers mentioned in international or national contexts are not reliable because of the difficulty or impossibility to define (scientifically) the span of 'what an NGO is' as well as the inherent ambiguity of the concept brought in by the "freedom of association" as a negative right. Even the objectives mentioned in the statutes of the organisations might not be enough to have an idea, as they might simply be made up to cover other irrelevant commercial activities such as running tax free cafés. On the other hand, NGOs might be contributing to disempowering and de-politicizing processes for their "clients", or they might be providing opportunities for creating spaces of resistance and alternatives; it is claimed that they might lead to both of these effects at the same time (Dolhinow 2005; Laurie, Andolina & Radcliffe 2005).

Main function of NGOs is widely acknowledged to be 'participation' of citizens or interest groups in formulation, improvement/amendment and implementation of programs and policies in their own respectful field and/or political and geographical activity level. This participation act can take the

form of field work (sometimes even in the form of direct aid or service delivery to one target group) and/or advocacy and policy influencing in a protest/antagonist, control agent or positive/alternative proposal building manner. The attributed role and importance towards civil society and civil society organisations in political discourse and its reflections in policies, particularly in the international level led to increased funding directed towards strengthening and support of these organisations. Particularly with the increase in conditional funding by international donors, NGOs have become a popular career option in 1990's, also leading them to more efficiency and donor accountability driven, professionalised work styles rather than fully voluntary and amateur organisation patterns. Critics in the field also claim that this surge of paid work pushes the voluntary base of these organisations aside. However, it's the same period that volunteering has gained popularity particularly among youth, not only with altruistic or political concerns, but also with personal expectations (of status, personal development, career based expectations etc.) becoming more and more apparent as well. This double sided development can not be thought separate from current phase of modernity and a wider framework of evolving notion of work among different phases of modernity. Work and its counterparts within civil society organisations are special cases of interdependence with the citizenship aspect.

I.2.1. Civil society, development and neo-liberal tendency

As will be discussed extensively in the second chapter, current phase of modernity is the product of a continuous struggle within societies of the world to shape social system and the notion of citizenship, with rights and responsibilities attributed to the understanding of a “virtuous citizen” (Marshall 1992; Kymlicka & Norman 2000). The drift in the notion of citizenship and role of the state has taken place from the political discourse and structure of social welfare state towards a neo-liberal globalisation, and together with this drift functions of NGOs within social order (and the resource allocated to them) as well as organisation of work and the meaning attributed to it in the social order have also changed. In Western (or Northern) contexts, this shift appeared as a drift from a social welfare state and political participation through party politics (both for active membership and voting practices) and membership in labour unions towards a drawback of state to a monitoring and auditing role, privatization of social services and surge of volunteering, which also shifted notions of active citizenship from a 'rights' discourse towards a 'responsibility' one. Reactionary social movements, on the other hand, also led to widespread protest activism in a variety of issues other than conventional labour-related social movements (Chesters 2004).

The enthusiasm about NGOs in this period comes in parallel with the civil

society discourse gaining popularity. Though civil society debate is not the focus in this study, the reasons behind this process is among the concerns as increased activity levels of NGOs and recognition of their work and political legitimacy in the global stage, particularly in the work of intergovernmental institutions, is mentioned both among the reasons behind and consequences of the popularity of civil society concept. According to Edwards, the other reasons behind civil society taking a central stage in the international scene are “fall of communism and democratic openings that followed, disenchantment with the economic and political models of the past and a yearning for togetherness in a world that seems ever-more insecure” (Edwards 2009:2). What he does not say in the more general picture has been what is called the “crisis of Fordism”, or introduction of new issues of mostly unintended and unpredicted social and ecological problems caused by the Fordist era as well as sexual politics into the political agenda by new social movements, accompanied by a phase out or drawback of state from delivery of social services, or at least the intention of it.

Civil society is used as a positive reference by people from all political genre, from left to right, conservative to liberal, government to opposition, though each of these groups attribute different meanings and expectations to it. Though radical followers of Marx criticise its wide use to define the society and its struggles in general, as a kind of deviation from class struggle and an instrument of capitalist domination, views of Gramsci on

hegemony and its reflection and opportunities for resistance in civil society was influential among left politics after the second world war, causing them to view civil society as the potential nursing bed of the movement, a view brought further recently by Negri and Hardt through concepts of 'Empire' and 'Multitude' (Hardt and Negri 2001). On the liberal side, recent interpretations of Alexis de Tocqueville, which treats civil society as the free (in the sense of intervention from state) space of interaction and organisation of citizens was influential particularly in USA.

Edwards categorises above approaches to civil society and citizen groupings in three different groups: civil society as *the good society*, civil society as the *public sphere* and civil society as an *associational life* (Edwards 2009). The increasing importance attributed to 'civil society' as a distinct field other than formal governance mechanisms is a vague concept as such, therefore the need to translate the multiple realities of this vague formation brought forward the existence and attributed role of organisations acting within. Civil society as *associational life*, therefore, is the definition for the part of society that is distinct from market, family and state, and encompasses all (formal or informal) associations in which membership is "voluntary", i.e. not forced by laws and giving up this membership shouldn't result in a loss of legal status or right. It is usually this dimension that is referred when talking about the 'associational revolution' (Salomon 1993) or expanding numbers of registered non-profit organisations all over the world.

Civil society as the '*good society*' comprises visions of society where the users of the concept would like to live in; though it is as diverse as point of views, common elements would be the institutionalization of "civility" norms, tolerance for differences, non-violence, non-discrimination and trust. Finally civil society as *public sphere* is where citizens as "civic agencies", individually or through these organisations, seek to express themselves and influence the society, and organisations claim to represent and act on behalf of the interests of those related to them somehow, be it in the form of direct membership, trust and support, expertise or beneficiary/target group in service delivery/empowerment activity. Therefore, it is an arena where debate about the community matters and differences take place, allowing participation being not limited to election, but more importantly in between elections, leading to a more direct democracy within the participation scale. This vision is the basis for a deliberative and/or participative democracy as a complement to representative one.

Current rise of civil society discourse bringing NGOs forward for a number of societal roles and expectations have been in parallel with the neo-liberal tendency and renewed notion of citizenship. NGOs (particularly Northern development NGOs) have either been heavily criticised for implementing programs fostering post-colonialist development practice, or they have been praised to offer resistance opportunities against this hegemony. Current academic literature deals with non-governmental organisational ecology

mainly from a 'development', thus a North-South relations perspective, bearing within the implied determining hegemony of 'non-governmental development organisations' (NGDOs) about every issue related to NGOs in general. Studies in management (mainstream or critical), economy, political science, sociology or even philosophy bear the biases of this perspective. A similar kind of bias comes out in front when critical studies approach the issue from a neo-liberalism or post-colonialist perspective. In an effort of contextualisation, common point in the critical literature about NGO role in their relevant community work appears as neo-liberalism, regardless of country or geographical region. Common assumptions about neo-liberalism throughout such work are draw back of social welfare state in a post-fordist condition and privilege for market forces to organize social, political and economic life (Nightingale 2005). Therefore, organisations or organisational groups focused are mostly charity and social and educational service delivery organisations, which tend to fill up the vacuum left by the state with humanitarian purposes and they usually receive the name of 'development' organisations when originating from 'global North' to be operating in the 'global South' where such 'modern' services does not exist at all or exist in an inadequate level. While it's true that the widespread term 'NGOs' is used to imply these institutionalized private form of organisations, this approach is short of explaining the surge of organisations included in the wider definition as explained above. Holding a significant truth particularly regarding the history of introduction of discourses and practices

in the field, a development perspective becomes limited and less reliable when focusing on other contexts than development work in Latin America, South Asia (particularly India and neighbouring countries) and sub-Saharan Africa. Even vast majority of studies held on Central and Eastern Europe during the rapid transition economy period of 1990's and early 2000's remain particular for that time and place.

Beyond a slogan as such, literature on 'neo-liberalism' tend to perceive it either as a policy framework, an ideological perspective or a form of governmentality (Larner 2000) while the latter stream which seeks to use Foucauldian terms within the explanation of hegemony receives much attention for the studies on NGOs and transformations they go through (e.g. professionalisation), particularly in development and social work. Dealing with macro-, meso- or micro- level issues related to NGOs within specific contexts (of organisational level, working field, geography and time) has to touch upon issues beyond 'development' or 'neo-liberalism' discourses, though getting use of them and taking them into account as well, in order to present the phenomenon in its entire complexity.

I.2.2. Surge of NGO's and New Social Movements, rise of volunteering and activism: battle over "active responsible citizenship" and a new role for state and non-state actors

According to Ryfman (2006), three reasons for the recent surge of NGOs are: a) failed notion of “absolute state” (not only formerly communist states of eastern Europe, but also protectionist states of West and failed states of the least developed or war ridden countries) which leaves a vacuum to be filled by private and humanitarian initiatives, b) development of international life in the form of exchange of material and human resources, which in turn diversify and bloom up perspectives and actors contributing to globalisation in the end, and c) spread of global communication channels such as telecommunications and internet (one might add up cheapened overseas travel). Despite impossibility of a scientific figure of increase because of ambiguities in definitions, all authors agree about the increase of numbers in organisations worldwide and in all levels from global/international to regional/continental, national and local. However, increasing numbers of organisations are not sufficient for us to be able to talk about development of a civil society as 'an associational revolution'. We also have to deal with their defined mission and their approaches to working styles and own perceived function within society.

In order to be able to analyse NGOs within their context, one framework

encompassing various factors has been proposed by a study published by Centre Tricontinental – Louvain-le-Neuve (WALD 2001). According to this study, levels of analysis to be able to perceive NGOs are a) objectives, b) collective conscience (in a given society), c) social function (of reproduction of status quo, palliative or preventive measures or empowerment (Estivill 2003)), d) organisational (survival or continuity) logic. The last three levels might not be always in harmony or in line with the first one (objectives of organisations), and any analysis about organisations has to take into account probable tensions and conflicting levels as well.

Philanthropic (faith-based or secular) organisations build their organisational mission on the discourse of “aid” and virtues and feeling good of giving. Activities of such charity organisations takes place on needy sites, mostly on the periphery of metropolitan areas or disaster areas. This act of giving might be inevitable particularly in cases of emergency, such as of famine or other disastrous situations. These acts of solidarity, however, has been criticised to establish a fact and disempowering relationship of dependence with the target group if sustained for a long time or implemented in non-emergency situations, reproducing and institutionalising inequality which makes aid necessary. Neo-liberal constituency brings forward such acts of giving or volunteering as showcases of “active responsible citizenship”, although it refrains from a rights-based approach towards poverty by this indirect privatization of

social policy.

A similar situation can be observed in the field of social service delivery and social work. With the tendency to outsource these roles within 'NPM' [New Public Management] (Larner 2000), a draw back of state from social field have been reported in several countries that was used to be known as social welfare states. The notion of 'active responsible citizenship', therefore form of participation, is being altered from political action to “helping” disadvantaged people (minority, immigrant, victim of social exclusion, or living in poverty), overtaking the former governmental role (while government still being able to govern these services at a distance and shaping the forms of actions and structures of NGOs), and being trained and instrumentalised by the new liberal regime in privatisation of social (and sometimes environmental) service (Ilcan & Basok 2004). According to the study of Ilcan and Basok, in advanced liberal regimes like Canada, state approach towards the role of voluntary agencies have been transformed substantially compared to 1970's as a reflection of transformation from welfare state. Formerly even radical opposition movements were receiving government support for their advocacy activities, while with the changing funding schemes and cut-backs on funds, formalised structures which gives service to disadvantaged groups in the society were increasingly favoured. Jessop (2002) summarises the feature of these policy implementations as neo-statism (state funding for market conforming economic and social

restructuring), neo-corporatism (negotiation based approach towards restructuring by public, private and third sector) and neo-communitarianism (role of third sector in social cohesion as a non-market and non-state area). In UK, this neo-communitarianism aspect was tried to be implemented by the “New Labour” government in the end of 1990's, but finding its roots in the preceding Conservative era who preferred “third sector as an antidote to an unresponsive, bureaucratic welfare state that stifles choice and community initiative” (Fyfe 2005).

A parallel process can be observed for the funding of development agencies and NGOs they work with in developing countries. Parallel to the emergence of the term “NGO” in the framework of intergovernmental organisations, development activities of these agencies had also started after 2nd World War. Non-governmental development work as modernization process aims inclusion of vulnerable groups of people, who are predicted to be negatively effected or potentially excluded by the expectedly increased competitive economy. 'Inclusion' here is meant to be included in the market system as producers, employees or customers, as the country is integrated into market economy and global economical system. Most of the financial resources are provided by external aid programs, and more complicated, comprehensive and participatory preparation, implementation and evaluation processes are required for the work of which boundaries of time, geography and target group are determined and kept narrow for resource

effectiveness purposes.

Charitable and/or service delivery organisations (including development organisations of either types or a combination of them) are subject to criticism of being instrumental for the privatisation and commodification of “public” services and processes, including processes of policy and politics themselves. Faced with this criticism, many such organisations and particularly best known ones reconsider and justify their programs and methodologies (as could be witnessed in the rising discourse of “empowerment” borrowed from social movements) and also voice their concerns via their consultative statuses in intergovernmental institutions such as UN, Council of Europe and European Union.

The other foot of the NGOs phenomenon is in new social movements, as a critical and political approach to this process, which is part of the period of reflexive modernity (Giddens 2008:20), a reaction to the unintended radical consequences of modernity (Giddens 1990) and resulting mood of injustice and insecurity, in the fields of human rights, democratization, anti-discrimination and anti-racism, social rights and social inclusion, cultural rights, ecology/environment and natural and cultural conservation, sustainable and human development, intercultural communication, peace, women, children, disabled, LGBT¹ and other rights-related specific or cross-cutting issues. According to Edwards, a social movement can be named as

¹ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender.

such only when all kinds of informal and formal organisations get organised around and idea or policy field, sustain communication within themselves, join forces strongly and over a long-enough span of time to achieve a constituency and significant support to the issue within public (Edwards 2009: 31). However, 'joining forces' shouldn't be understood as acting in perfect harmony and homogeneity, but gathering around the same issue; in contrary, various organisational groups are usually in continuous tension and conflict with each other for a variety of political, social, methodological or material (such as competition for funds) reasons. These issue-based organisations, their founders and other organisational members are embedded in their social movements, which can also be seen as organisational ecosystems with all these tensions, conflicts, alliances and other forms of relationships. Last but not least, interest organisations established, not by citizens as real persons, but by business organisations and profit companies themselves, governments and government agencies also take the stage and, using the advantage of readily allocated resources, act like NGOs in the policy-making process in a more effective way while a distinction in status with the real citizen initiatives is not always easy to make.

A major source of tension and distinction between established organisations and informal gatherings has been the issue of professionalisation (Lune & Oberstein 2001; Lebon 1997). Emergence of full-time work done by social

movement activists, NGO volunteers and paid staff is also part of this context and another factor of the push towards professionalisation of NGOs and their staff together with the resource availability from state and other donors on one side, and the search of full-time meaningful work on the side of volunteers and activists. While observing the change might be useful for a historical analysis in the northern and western hemispheres of the world, international aid agencies and public donors have another special role to disseminate these approaches to developing ones (Lebon 1997).

I.2.3. Professionalisation dilemma and paid employment practice in NGOs

Introduction of paid work within formerly fully voluntary based NGOs is usually referred to as 'professionalisation' both in academic literature and daily use. The term 'profession' and its derivatives 'professional' and 'professionalisation' in their narrow meaning describe a different phenomenon, but the choice of these terms for the process carry within itself both positive and negative connotations.

According to Brandsen, various definitions of “professional” include following common elements:

“A professional has specific knowledge and expertise, based on the

application of systematic theoretical principles; belongs to a closed community of people with similar knowledge and expertise(...), shared norms and values, institutions for socialization, and regulation” and “The closed nature of the community is considered legitimate by the wider society within which it operates; and both at the individual level and at the level of their community, professionals are allowed a broad measure of discretionary autonomy to manage their own affairs.”(Brandsen 2009:63) 'professionalisation' thus may be defined as the process of occupations gaining this status, with own norms, values, rituals and self-managing and recognised professional organisation.

On the other hand, talking about professionals in and professionalisation of NGOs implies neither professionals from existing professions employed in NGOs as a new phenomenon, nor the emergence of a new profession of 'NGO professionals'. professionalisation of NGOs means adopting a technical, somehow formal and bureaucratic structure where managerial applications are implemented by the hands of (mostly paid) managers (Ryfman 2006; Cumming 2008). This is indeed a reference to increasingly widespread practice of employing paid staff for jobs that used to be fulfilled by volunteers or activists, and/or managers and project or program coordinators, neither of which need to be 'professionals' in above mentioned meanings. This notion and following debate of professionals and professionalisation is not a neutral one, but reflects the meanings attributed

to these concepts and/or opinions on their existence in NGOs or wider social movements. While volunteering or activism for a 'moral or political' cause is usually seen as a higher form of activity of conscience, professionalism in this context is equivalent to expertise, but also a 'distant, insensitive, bureaucratic' way of doing things usually 'in exchange of something else than inner satisfaction, like money or status'.

professionalisation of NGO's, in all fields and geographies, has been either evaluated to be a result of push by governments or international donors (Fyfe 2005; Cumming 2008; Ryfman 2006) (in search of accountability and (cost) effectiveness of spent money or resources provided), or a dilemma where some portion of positive (but highly volatile) motivation and energy of activists or volunteers and clear demands are lost to bureaucratic administration work, managerialist chase of funds, mainstream public relations and media visibility efforts, formality and preference of technical aspects over social and political ones, all resulting in de-politicisation or minimalisation of political work. The ultimate material reason of NGO professionalisation is wider availability of international public and private funds for development and democratization work, together with their requirements of a formal structure with legal personality, that implements efficient and accountable projects and programs with measurable and demonstrable results. Apart from the global South, target of these funding programs have also been former socialist countries of Central, Eastern and

South-eastern Europe, which were in a transition phase during 1990's before finally getting into European Union; this transition process (and wide availability of funds) still goes on particularly in countries that are in the accession process or neighbourhood policy of the EU.

This professionalising drive of 'civil society building' or 'civil society development' efforts adopted by foreign aid or international donors in developing or less developed countries (where funding base is not indigenous or diverse) was criticised to be a “crude attempt to manipulate associational life in line with Western liberal-democratic templates” (Edwards 2009:117) which pre-selects “organisations by donors' self-agenda” (according to working field or geography, such as advocacy organisations or other vehicles for elites, in capital cities), “ignore(s) domestic organisations or more radical social movements, cause(s) competition and rivalry among organisations undermining trust, backlash(es) in society from those identified with the foreign aid, ignore(s) creation of public sphere and focus(es) on creation of new associations (easy and measurable) or physical infrastructure rather than facilitating organic patterns of associational life. Funds were also provided for specified projects with “demonstrable results” rather than administrative costs of the organisations, empowerment projects of which results can only be seen in the long-term (if any at all) or advocacy work of which results are difficult to report, therefore limiting their scope and even manipulating their

direction of action. They underestimate Edwards' claim that it is the associational ecosystem that matters for civil society building, not single organisations!

Impact of professionalisation of NGOs has been reflected in civil society, not only in the way social and educational services are delivered and rights are enjoyed and practised, but also in the forms and structures of organisations, and power relations within organisations themselves. Skocpol reports a shift from membership associations (including trade unions) to professional advocacy groups and social service providers, which do not have members in its true sense but supporters, donors or clients in USA (Skocpol 2003). Elsewhere, financing by government contracts, foreign aid or philanthropy rather than membership fees has diverted accountability of organisations from members as a social base towards elites claiming to act on their behalf, taking away the opportunity of leadership of low-income people and reducing citizen involvement to check or letter writing and attendance at occasional rallies. NGO's are civic or political corporations (Blood 2004) composed of a board, managers, expert paid staff, and volunteers -whose roles are limited to "help" by service delivery rather than political action for change, and bureaucratization of the structure and functions comes hand in hand with professionalisation. Also part of critics of privatisation of social services in neo-liberal search of cost minimisation, volunteers form a cheap and committed work force as a complement to and

sometimes replacement of professional or paid staff; volunteers were used as complementary social service providers who take place in order to “help” rather than as activists aiming political change towards social justice. However, in some cases even this is avoided as volunteers are not “professional” enough to deliver services (Fyfe 2005). Projects-based work financed by donors and preferred/promoted has a special role as a systematic and highly technical way of work in order to deal with the complex nature of issues: by the reporting requirements, participation of those concerned is overlooked or reduced to a technical procedural activity run by the professional while volunteers and target groups conform or participate in forms they are expected to. Management of volunteers, project management, financial management and other forms of management are run in an intervention-direction-monitoring-evaluation sequence by paid staff.

National or international public political institutions attribute a number of societal missions or representational claims to NGO’s as inherently positive agents of democracy and social justice; this is particularly true for advocacy organisations (or those organisations which has a significant advocacy dimension) which actively try to influence policies. These issue-based organisations are not devoid of all those processes and even they haven’t been exempt from criticism of professionalism when they evolve into lobbying and “professionalised activism” in search of a more effective work (Edwards 2009); the dilemma is indeed a bit more clear as mostly external

funding for advocacy is not provided by private sponsors or public funding, therefore professionalisation is not always pushed by public agencies in such a direct way (with the exception of funds favouring specific campaigns or aiming democratisation and 'civil society development'). Berry puts this dilemma for citizens' lobbying groups as "thin citizens vs. full-bodied activists" concluding that "the nation needs more of [these latter]" (Berry 1999:389), neglecting that, among independent citizen groups, only those most famous organisations (like Amnesty International or Greenpeace), or bigger bureaucratic organisations, who can get the message communicated to the public and therefore access to big amounts of donations (for which other fundraising professionals are employed) have the luxury to employ advocacy professionals, contributing to a distinction between these NGOs and "grassroots organisations". In any case, NGOs are also organisations with inside power relations and hegemonic structures, not necessarily bearing inclusive and empowering attitude for all and a democratic internal structure; and professionalisation tends to complicate and harshen these power games within the organisation for all organisational members from board to managers, staff and volunteers. Therefore, attributed neo-Tocquevillean role of organisations as sites of a culture of democracy and active citizenship seems to be an ideal-type or reductionist point of view, which is not necessarily fulfilled or reflected within NGO's.

On the other hand, the professionalisation critique neglects the identity

dimension on the side of the 'professional', with individual life and career histories. The 'NGO professionals' are usually those looking for a 'meaningful work' serving a public good rather than profit of some boss, or getting lost in the state bureaucracy. This search for a 'meaningful work' is shaped by one's notion of doing good within society, a search for becoming an agency within work life. This level of life segment analysis of individual professionals can complement the professionalisation critique, by looking into appearances of power relations within daily work-life of professionals in NGOs. While general increase in numbers of organisations, interest in activism and volunteering in social movements and single case studies of organisations from political effectiveness perspective form the vast majority of studies, qualitative aspects of associational life, and particularly work life of paid professional staff within issue-based organisations have not been dealt with in an in depth way. This study aims at exploring how these power relations are lived within the organisation and work context from the 'NGO professionals' perspective, and how these are reflected in their sense making and identity, within the specific context of Turkey.

I.2.4. Context and the case of Turkey

Global context of surge of NGOs and transformations of these organisations like professionalisation also encompasses Turkey, and Turkish society lives through similar passages, but in its own specific way. Most original and

case-specific feature for Turkey as a case is the “combination” of contrasting mentalities and rapid transition (Edwards 2009: 44). Traditional agricultural, industrial and post-industrial society values and culture can be found together, overlapping each other, equally influential in society and in a tension with each other (Keyman & İçduygu 2003). Within civil society, traditional/Islamist and secular organisations exist together and tension between paternalistic/authoritarian and libertarian political and cultural patterns is a cross-cutting issue for all. Furthermore, forms of existence within civil society and treatment to civil society actors by state and society at large are reflections of challenges to the understanding of citizenship. Civil society in Turkey is therefore a contestation area which is full of tensions and perceptions and anxiousness of uncertainty. EU candidacy and accession process has been an acceleration factor for transition, but also another field of tension in many ways. Reforms in laws adopted within the framework of EU accession process have clearly contributed to democratization of state-society relationships, fairly increased visibility and intervention of European political actors, and increased funding in total available for NGOs as well as public and private bodies.

The term 'civil society' has been widely used starting from the second half of 1980's by an effort of the democracy movement which has been searching for new ways out of the oppressive medium established by the military regime of 12th September 1980 coup d'etat. After the coup d'etat,

associations, trade unions and political parties were banned and organising was extensively discouraged by filing cases against democracy activists and renewed anti-democratic laws on organisations. As a result, membership of trade unions has fallen drastically and all association activities of a political nature has been depressed. Many former activists and politicians were banned from political party and association memberships as well as opportunities of becoming civil servant. Second half of 1980's saw a revival of democracy, human rights, women's and environmental movements as well as a new activism of trade unions. A turning point was the establishment of Human Rights Association of Turkey (IHD – İnsan Hakları Derneği) in 1986 by leftist political activists. Together with the liberalisation of economy and joining the global economy by removing protectionist regulations, communication channels were also beginning to be established by permission for private TV channels first, and internet and private radio stations later in the beginning of 1990's. In an attempt to revive the European membership process, Turkey applied for full membership in EU and recognised the individual petition rights for European Court of Human Rights in 1987. During the same period of time, many local environmental associations were established and environmental activism (as a preferred apolitical sort of activism over human rights) became politicised against planned polluting facilities by the pro-investment government of Turgut Özal.

I.2.4.1. Recent History of Attempts of Definition and Gaining Ground

Beginning of 1990's saw both an increase in the number of new organisations and also diversification both in the working fields and organising forms. Establishment of many of the most prominent, active and institutional organisations of civil society being founded as Foundations (e.g. TEMA (Turkish Foundation for Struggling Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and Protection of Natural Habitats) in 1992, History Foundation of Turkey (Tarih Vakfı) in 1992, Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey (TEGV – Türkiye Eğitim Gönüllüleri Vakfı) in 1995, Mother-Child Education Foundation (AÇEV – Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı) in 1993) as well as several other associations with international links (e.g. Helsinki Citizens' Assembly in 1992) is particularly notable for the introduction of paid staff as a potential career option. In 1994, first of the 16 Civil Society Organisations Symposia² were held; these symposia were organised twice-a-year until December 2004 by a group of NGOs, where title and main theme of each symposium was determined by the organising committee among proposals of concluding workshop of the preceding one, therefore represent the historical significance of issues for those active organisations which also tried to build a common sphere of dialogue in civil society.

² Almost all talks and discussions of the symposia were documented and published by Tarih Vakfı publications.

The choice of the title (*Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları* - Civil Society Organisations) for the symposia was not a coincidence, but an attempt of adoption of (and struggle over) the term. “Non-Profit Organisation” or “Third Sector Organisation” were not adopted by the organising group of NGOs, because of the reference to economic space in the terms while the struggle of civil society in Turkey was perceived more of a political nature³. Translation of “Non-Governmental Organisation” into Turkish *-Hükümet-dışı Kuruluş-* wouldn't be a direct match as *hükümet* has a narrower definition than “government” in Western languages. Translation of “civil society entity/organisation” – *Sivil Toplum Kuruluşu* or *Sivil Toplum Örgütü-* (with the abbreviation of “STK” or “STÖ”) as a positive terminology has been considered as a good choice complying with all the positive meanings and expectations attributed to 'civil society'. Among these two, STÖ was less preferred because of concerns that use of the word *örgüt* (simply organisation) could cause suspicion among state establishment as the word was used also for illegal organisation(s) identified with violence or any organisation that is seen as a “threat to order and peace” (Tunçay 1998). However, ambiguities similar for the term “NGOs” were introduced as a

³ See Orhan Silier's opening speech of the first symposium in (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı 1998:4). Symposia were organised by a progressive, independent and secular group of organisations in a period when the first organisational membership based umbrella organisation for NGOs, founded by leading businessmen and corporate foundations in 1993, adopted the name *TÜSEV – Türkiye Üçüncü Sektör Vakfı*, Third Sector Foundation of Turkey, and a more Islamist, conservative and nationalist group of individuals and organisations started their own umbrella organisation, *TGTV - Türkiye Gönüllü Teşekküller Vakfı*, Voluntary Organisations Foundation of Turkey, in 1994.

common scientific (i.e. suitable for categorisation and measurable) definition is impossible to agree upon. Furthermore, because of all the positive connotations attributed to the term, those organisations like chambers (of commerce and industry) and trade union confederations, which wouldn't be called as an “NGO” elsewhere, announced themselves as *STK*. On the other hand, a more leftist group of organisations retreated back to the term “*Demokratik Kitle Örgütleri*” (Democratic Mass Organisations), used for socialist people's organisations, trade unions or professional organisations and putting the emphasis on “Mass”, trying to put a distance with new forms of organisational attitude of trying to find common ground or consensus (sometimes with the probability of compromise) until the last possible opportunity rather than confrontation. Therefore, symposium organisers have invited several scholars and activists in the search of a 'preferred' definition. A widely accepted 'operational' definition (similar to Ryfman's) was given by İlhan Tekeli (2000) with distinctive features of *STK*: voluntary (non-forced) participation (and leave), working for a public good (not self or member benefit) without imposing this opinion upon others, being issue-specific, and establishing non-hierarchic relations with other organisations as well as being open for new memberships. With this or other such definitions, the term *STK* wouldn't encompass all registered associations and foundations on one hand; and a definition based only on associations and foundations would leave out other forms of organisations which would fit within this definition anyway (like those unregistered

occasional coalitions, cooperatives, non-profit companies etc.).

Despite the impossibility of a solid definition, looking at the pace in the number of associations and foundations could give an idea about the associational life anyway. 1984-1988 period witnessed an association boom (with annual increase rates of 5.8-7.1% in Istanbul compared to 0.6-3.6% in the preceding four years) while 1989-1995 saw a stable growth (8-11.1% in Istanbul) with social solidarity associations and new Foundations as a special case (Turan 1998). Considering the political restrictions in Law of Associations and associations controlled by police, foundation status was preferred by organisations with political aims as a solid and less restrictive status, despite the heavy procedures and need for collection of a minimum amount of capital for the establishment of a foundation. Foundation status was also preferred by businessmen who also shifted their charity work towards more thematic cases.

As an important part of the series of world summits started in 1992 by United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Earth Summit) in Rio de Janeiro, 1996 Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlement (HABITAT-II) brought a new impetus to Turkish civil society by a new way of working in a dialogue with partners from all fields and of decision-making on a consensus basis during the local preparation process of NGO Forum, by introducing new terms of 'governance', by

opportunities of contact with global participation from NGOs and expressing themselves freely in an alternative space for NGOs, and organising of a more radical alternative forum in parallel.

These were attempts of gaining ground and legitimation in a harsh political environment. According to Keyman and İçduygu (2003), four inter-related processes are the causes for strengthening of civil society in Turkey: 1) “the changing meaning of modernity”, or emergence of alternative modernities in the Turkish context; 2) legitimacy crisis of strong-state tradition; 3) process of European integration; and 4) process of globalisation. All these processes lead to conflicts within politics, economics and the society. During the 1990s, legal and political constraints over civil rights including freedom of association and expression were not removed, however these constraints were no more effective and sustainable due to improved channels and opportunities of communication worldwide, and restrictive state bureaucracy have failed to respond since then. Integration of Turkey within global network of liberal free-market economies brought forward these opening up of information and communication channels, but also negative consequences on worsening social justice and deteriorating environment. Kurdish conflict and violent response of the state have continued reflected in problems continued in the field of freedom of association and cultural rights. Rise of the Islamist movements were tried to be stopped by the counter-measures implemented after 28th February 1997

decisions of National Security Council (also named as post-modern intervention of the armed forces), and restrictive and punitive measures for freedom of association were extended towards foundations, which used to be preferred over associations also by the Islamic charities for aid and religious education activities. While 'civil society' and NGOs discourse were praised, disseminated and used by both civil society activists and later by politicians and state officials, highly restrictive legal and political framework remained during the 1990's with only minor improvements.

A significant case and turning point where all these processes seem to overlap each other was the social after-shock period of 17th August 1999 earthquake, when: a) civil groups and individuals were the first to intervene in search-and-rescue and humanitarian assistance while state institutions were paralysed, boosting trust level towards NGOs' (symbolised by AKUT-Search and Rescue Team) in society, b) NGOs and official search and rescue teams as well as a big amount of aid and donations from many countries rushed for help in a very short time, c) an attempt by the government to take the monopoly of control over distribution of all external aid (even if it was sent for the use of a particular NGO) caused a wide public reaction and a common declaration by NGOs forcing the government to step back, d) just months after, Turkey was confirmed as a candidate country for EU, e) both the earthquake and candidacy for EU caused a significant increase in funding for NGOs. Both earthquake (Kubicek 2002)

and EU candidacy (Arabacı 2008; Göksel and Güneş 2005; Toros 2007) are seen as critical junctures for democratization and civil society in general and development and transformation of NGOs in particular.

Major reforms for improving human rights in general and in the fields of freedom of expression and freedom of association and peaceful assembly were made within the period between confirmation of Turkey's EU candidacy (in December 1999) and the EU Council decision of December 2004 to start Accession Negotiations for Turkey's membership in EU in October 2005. As a requirement of Copenhagen Political Criteria, which candidate country had to “sufficiently” fulfil in order to be able to start the Accession Negotiations, 'development of a civil society' is both a negative rights field where state has to retreat by expanding the freedoms, and also a positive field of intervention by specific funding and programs of capacity building. Within a few years, restrictions over membership, international relations and donations were loosened, authority of registration and audit of associations were transferred from police to a new governmental agency, and finally highly restrictive Law of Associations (no. 3908 dated 4.1.1983) were totally replaced (with the Law of Associations no.5253 dated 23.11.2004)⁴. On the other hand, new Regulation of Associations introducing new procedures that are not mentioned in the new Law, restrictive interpretation of laws and arbitrary restrictive behaviour of civil servants in local offices of the agency still cause complaints.

⁴ Adoption of Law of Foundations (no.5737 dated 20.2.2008) was possible only in 2008.

The same period also have been a term of gradual increase of EU funding in the form of grants and loans, not only for public authority but also civil society organisations (including NGOs working for rights and local development). These funds have not only lead to establishment of new NGOs (some of which are formally or informally linked to governmental agencies, local administrative authorities or municipalities), but the implementation procedures of these funds have created a new technocratic culture and expertise among NGO community over EU rules and procedures. Following the Central and Eastern European Countries model, capacity building projects of some NGOs in capital cities during 1990s have evolved into capacity building programs and organisations with specific and sole purpose of 'civil society development' in national, local or regional level. One major initiative was Civil Society Development Program of the European Commission, that included a tender for a Technical Assistance Team, which started functioning in 2003 and eventually evolved into Civil Society Development Centre registered as an association and funded by European Commission since then. Another initiative was NGO Training and Research Centre established in Istanbul Bilgi University in 2003 and initiated and funded by Open Society Institute Foundation, ACT-Netherlands and the university itself for the first two years. Finally, Regional Environmental Centre started a country office in 2004 for the capacity building of environmental NGOs alongside business for sustainable

development. Responding to the demand by both donors and NGOs, these programs and trainings gave specific importance and initial emphasis to project management and project proposal preparation as the main component of organisational management, which contributed to professionalisation of NGOs via project-based functioning and fund raising. This tendency within NGO community is criticised by the term *projecilik*⁵ in Turkish. Despite being an acceleration factor, this attitude had already been a major issue before these programs⁶.

Loosening of state control and restrictions, increasing availability of funding and “capacity building” programs (also financed mainly by EU and other foreign funding) provided a positive medium for quantitative and qualitative improvement for freedom of association. This was reflected in the numbers of active associations, only possible statistical data for this quantitative aspect. While there was 60931 registered associations in 2000, in 2009 this figure was more than 83000 as a result of a stable linear increase (Dernekler Dairesi Başkanlığı 2009). Between 2004 and 2008, total number of members in associations have seen a more dramatic increase of 64%, reaching 8,595,176. According to Arabacı (2008), this development can be explained both by historical institutionalism and a path dependency (where change in institutions are consequences of the period and the context), and

⁵ The term can be translated as project vendorism

⁶ The title of 12th Civil Society Organisations Symposium organised in 2002 was determined as “Projects, Projectism and Civil Society Organisations”. Feminist three-monthly magazine Amargi dedicated a special case with the title “Do you have a project?” in its Winter 2006 issue.

also by rational choice institutionalism (where organisational members act with self interest, such as getting use of EU funds in this case) reflected in the quantitative and qualitative developments of *STKs*. Recent years have witnessed gradually increasing numbers of applications from NGOs for increasing amounts of EU (and other) funds available for NGOs (Akyüz 2007), geographical diversification of NGOs and an encouragement for getting organised as an association. Another relevant change can be observed in the activity fields of associations. Share of solidarity, charity and religious services associations among new associations registered each year are decreasing while local 'development' and other forms of associations (including rights based organisations) are gaining ground. On the other hand, no academic work has been done about impact or level of effectiveness of this change in associational life on providing or forcing solutions to the problems addressed.

I.2.4.2. State of Civil Society Organisations in Turkey

As of October 2009, 83000 associations (Dernekler Dairesi Başkanlığı 2009) and 4515 (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü 2008) 'new foundations'⁷ are registered in Turkey. According to Turkish part of Civil Society Index Project held by CIVICUS in global level and TÜSEV in national level

⁷ New foundations are foundations that are established according to the new Civil Code adopted after the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923. Other foundations that have been established throughout history and particularly during Seldjuk and Ottoman periods are subject to different procedures that bound them with their basic statutes that can not be amended anymore.

(Bikmen & Meydanoğlu 2006), civil society in Turkey is still considered a new phenomenon with the structural dimension (civic participation, capacities and resources of NGOs and relationships among NGOs) appearing as the weakest part, compared to 'environment' (political environment, basic rights and freedoms, socio-economic and socio-cultural context, legal environment, state-civil society relations, and private sector-civil society relations), 'values' (democracy, transparency, tolerance, non-violence, gender equity, poverty eradication, environmental sustainability) and 'impact' (influencing public policy, holding the state and private corporations accountable, responding to social interests, empowering citizens, meeting societal needs) dimensions. There is a restrictive medium (regarding lack of rule of law, over-centralised state structure, corruption and lack of relations between state and NGOs), but in a dynamic reform process (with NGOs perceiving and appreciating the effects of reform processes). NGOs are considered as weak in internalising the values of tolerance, democracy and good governance and responding to poverty, but relatively successful in gender equality, environmental sustainability and non-violence. Lack of internal democracy and a culture of participation as well as gender inequality and youth participation within NGOs has been a concern and seen as the reproduction of the leader cult and authoritarian state-centricism. Finally their impact in influencing policies and empowerment of citizens are also limited, but expected to increase with the reform processes. Many NGOs report insufficient financial resources to

pursue their aims, because of lack of capacity for fundraising, lack of donation culture for charity and especially advocacy purposes in the society, and limited public, private or international funding available; limited increase in EU and other international funding usually privilege a limited number of organisations that have the capacity and expertise to submit adequate proposals and implement the project with minimum problems.

Most NGOs in Turkey are registered as associations or foundations, being subject to respective laws of their own (Law of Associations no 5253 and Law of Foundations no. 5737) and specific governmental agencies (Department of Associations in Ministry of Interior and General Directorate of Foundations) responsible for registration, information and auditing with their local and regional offices. Registration of foundations are made by the courts as the result of a lengthy and expensive process. When associations or foundations (or their commercial branches) employ someone, they're treated the same with private sector regarding the Law of Labour (no. 4857) and employees are bound by the same income tax and social security applications. There are no distinguished figures about paid staff in NGOs as the sectoral breakdown of employment statistics of Turkish Institute of Statistics do not include non-profit organisations; reaching a figure for the interest area of this study is even harder due to difficulties in definition and identification of such organisations. Work in non-profit organisations has been recognised within industrial branch no.17 (Commerce, office,

education and fine arts) with authorised⁸ trade unions Koop-İş and Tez-Koop-İş (under Türk-İş confederation), and Sosyal-İş (under DİSK confederation).

Literature on NGOs in Turkey has been developed mainly from a political science perspective and focused more on their place in 'civil society', organisational ecosystem (in numbers and working fields), political stance and discourses of some particular organisations, and impact of globalisation, reform processes and disasters like 1999 earthquake on these parameters. Apart from these, STKs has formed their own written history by the organisation of several symposia, which haven't been utilised significantly for scholarly work till now. There has been no research in the literature focusing on paid work in non-profit organisations in Turkey, particularly those known as *STKs*. However, paid work and professionalisation has been a common point of discussion in the last decade, as a source of tension between forms of voluntary work (volunteers and/or political activists) and forms of paid work. It has become a common practice for *STKs* to employ paid staff, either for the main work or administration assistance and logistics (Bikmen & Meydanoglu 2006). EU funded projects, which contribute to expansion of the phenomenon, bears also the problem of job security as these projects (and the guaranteed financial resource for employment) are time-limited and lack of resource continuity might lead to end of the job

⁸ Authorisation for collective bargaining and contracts has been regulated within Law of Colective Bargaining, Strikes and Lockout No.2822. A union who manages to organise 10% of total workers in its industrial branch and 50% in one work place receives authorization for collective bargaining.

with the end of the funded project. This not only leads to a rights violation for the respective staff, but also causes a significant loss in continuity and human capital. Other discussions on paid work phenomenon in NGOs usually take those who are fulfilling the main work as a subject, and apart from the 'professionalism' debate covered above, the work load, high expectations, low pay and qualifications of paid staff is point of discussion. Finally, all these aspects can be unified in the bigger picture of management practices and power relations within organisational members.

I.3. Organisation and movement research on NGOs as work organisations: a specific case in Turkey

Increasing emphasis on the role of non-governmental organisations (NGO's) and activities of voluntary grassroots movements have put these organisations under the spotlight of various political agents and opinion leaders, particularly international/intergovernmental organisations, as instruments of active participation of citizens or stakeholders in governance. As a result, scholarly work on these organisations have been published more in the political science field, less so in mainstream sociology and management, but even less in the field of critical management and sociology of work dealing with work relations within the organisation. This study intends to take a step forward into the unexplored area of work life in issue-based NGOs in Turkey by an interactive research methodology based on

dialogue and the perspectives of employees.

In this study, I investigate work life and work relations within issue-based Non-Governmental Organisations in Turkey through the viewpoint of 'NGO professionals'. I explore management and control practices through a labour process frame together with individual identity questions related to efforts and attempts of sense making and becoming an agency within and/or through the organisational framework. These efforts and attempts are exhibited by the interpretations and actions of professional paid staff within their organisational environment and relationships with various organisational actors such as board members, members, volunteers, managers and other colleagues. I use the working definition of issue-based Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) proposed by Tekeli (2000) as the form of non-profit private organisations

“[allowing] voluntary (non-forced) participation (and leave) [as members], working for a public good (not self or member benefit) without imposing this opinion upon others, being issue-specific (such as human rights, youth participation and empowerment, environment and nature conservation, education, women, children's rights) and establishing non-hierarchic relations with other organisations as well as being open for new memberships”.

Existence of NGO's with this working definition doesn't exclude other forms of organisations established by the aim of political participation of its members without a claim of government, but a formal structure defined by a written document and a legal status registered in the governmental

institutions is also important for the employment relations.

The main research question of this study is **"whether introduction of labour process in issue based non-governmental organisations as voluntary initiatives by extensive use of paid professionals undermine the search of a 'meaningful work' of 'NGO professionals' concerned"**.

The starting assumption in this question is that these 'NGO professionals' choose their careers for a 'meaningful work' useful for the public good as civic agencies within society, so a relevant narrative will be sought during the interview processes. Respondents interviewed in this study are employed as field workers or project/program staff, whose work is directly relevant to the aims or mission of the organisation, therefore thematic 'professionals' of the organisation, rather than administrative work or logistics.

In the exploration of labour process within non-profit context, one of the starting questions is **"whether control is more internalised in NGO work due to often already present identification with the issue or target group of the organisation"**, an internalisation that had to be manufactured in a profit organisation by the management to hide alienation of the employee from work (and self) and motivate to achieve higher levels of productivity.

The frame of analysis for the exploration of the research topics is

constituted of **“the characteristics of power relations between paid professional staff and other actors”** and **“levels of accountability such as donors, managers or boards on one side and volunteers, target group and/or the general public on the other”**. Research topics include differences in interpretation of the organisation’s “case” reinforced by different forms of identification and approaches to work styles, forms of authority and control including coercive (direct or technical) and soft (consent, legitimacy and motivation-based) versions. Work place feature of the non-governmental organisation with its management control practices takes a central position, though tensions appear with the other aspects of the organisation as an organisational public space and platform for democratic participation. The research focuses on work life and its impact on perceptions of self-realisation, job satisfaction, sense making, resistance and consequent processes of identification of professional paid staff with different aspects of the organisation. Testimonies on these are expected to reveal patterns of power relations and adaptation through individual's point of view.

The patterns of identification of professional paid staff with the organisation (and/or the problem addressed, activities and other organisational members or target groups), and its effect to labour process and work organisation are the main focus in the research. The differences and similarities with those in a profit organisation and reproductions of profit sector discourses and trends

within non-profit sector holds a distinctive place. Work styles and sense and experience of accountability are investigated from the perspective of paid staff as these are subject to funding as the main material reason of a new professional elite within NGO's. Human resources of the non-governmental organisation is put under question in the form of personal narratives on life histories as well as the effect of professionalisation on initial motivation and identification pattern. The relevance of these identifications with the 'active, responsible citizenship' discourse is critically investigated within the frame of "citizenship work as a performance".

I.3.1. An Organisational Framework of Analysis for the Investigation of Work-Life in NGOs

As instruments of democratic participation, issue-based civic organisations define themselves an outward directed objective/mission starting from a self-defined problem situation in the society. Therefore they are mostly attributed a positive role for the solution of related social and/or environmental problems by the contemporary/democratic political institutions, while this discourse is reproduced via internal agents within societies such as media and academy. Policy measures including direct support for NGO's or project funding are implemented starting from this assumption and discourse. These programs and funding schemes contribute to shape the structure and functioning of the organisations as well as their

preference of action and role within the public and political sphere. A significant example was Brazilian women's movement; formation of NGO's with permanent, paid staff, due to expansion of international cooperation around such issues and creation of jobs, privatisation of social services and the economic crisis prevented middle class activists from engaging in activism while holding one or even two jobs. This process did not facilitate inclusion of new activists/volunteers in the movement (Lebon 1997). The circle of expertise formed within NGO's due to professionalised way of work preferred trainings and lobbying rather than participative mass actions like demonstrations or campaigns (Ilcan & Basok 2004; Lebon 1997; Gümüş 2002). Organisations are drawn into a dilemma of becoming professional paid staff-centred *service delivery organisations*, or refraining from this to adopt an *activist* line. Former choice can ensure survival by focusing more on material exchange based activities with efficient and effective management, but professionalism and expert base usually end up in exclusion or distancing of groups they claim to represent or serve. Latter choice might voice the interest of the grassroots groups, but usually lives in a constant lack of material resource. For *intermediate (advocacy) organisations*, relations, information content of multiple networks and expertise are the most critical resources which both ensures existence and maximised effect.

NGOs are formed by individual persons with their own intentions, values,

and work/action styles, be them formal or informal (having a legal status or not), and regardless of to what extent their organisational culture and structure vary from networks to tall hierarchies. When interpreted as *'public spheres'* as such, the basic unit of civil society and organisations within are citizens; in its conceptual meaning of analogy, if we leave aside the legal definition of the 'citizen' (Keyman 2002). Despite the externally directed aim or mission being considered the main feature (or cause of existence) of the organisation for individuals to identify themselves with, this is not the only or sufficient (and sometimes not even the necessary) condition; individuals also tend to identify themselves with different aspects of the organisation and sometimes even just the fact that it is an organisation that they have put some effort in. In the end, these organisations are composed of human individuals and claim to be voluntary gatherings or initiatives of these individuals as 'active and responsible citizens' for addressing a self-defined problem in the society, becoming a political part of the *'associational/organisational life'*. Therefore, these organisations themselves tend to become spaces of interaction, performance and identity, one that can be identified with and expressed through, via interaction with others taking place within or outside of the organisation. With the developed habits and patterns of behaviour within or towards outside of the organisation, these attitudes are adopted as organisational culture in the form of narratives. The attitude adopted by the individuals towards others within the organisation or among other organisations sharing the political

arena reflects this culture and due to the characteristic of the patterns of behaviour, choices of practice of power and politics and discourse reflected in words or attitude, they might take a hegemonic or excluding form as well as a democratic or including one. These patterns of attitudes might even differ towards inside or outside of the organisation; while adopting a democratic attitude towards outside, they might exhibit a hegemonic attitude inside the organisation, or vice versa (Lebon 1997).

Inspired from Edwards' scheme on civil society as associational life, public sphere and the good society, a modification for a reduced scheme, or non-governmental organisation as a microcosm can be helpful in order to propose a framework of analysis of different aspects: organisation as a work place⁹, a space of identity (organisational public sphere) and a medium of participation. The relations of these three aspects are shown in Figure 1.

⁹ Work is not necessarily only paid work in this definition and all sorts of voluntary (non-paid) work and their organisation are included, though the difference and its impact on labour process is the main problem in this study and will be mentioned extensively later.

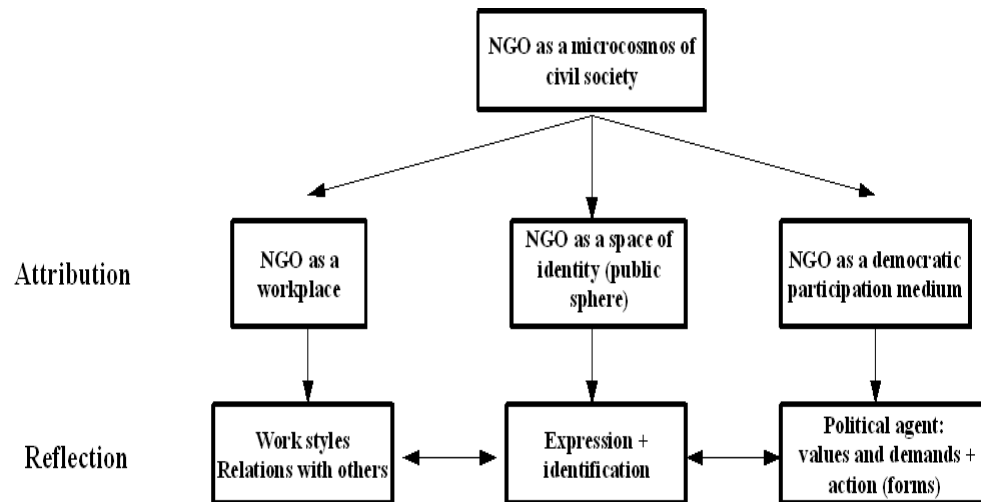


Figure 1. NGO as an organisation according to attributed meanings by organisational actors

The essence of the figure is on the distinctions between a work place, a space of identity and a democratic participation medium, and on the relations and continuous interactions of these three aspects with each other. A work place in this sense is a platform where different organisational members practice their own work styles which is reflected in power relations in the organisation as management control practices, resistance, participation, group dynamics and resulting production of concrete or abstract work (such as ideas and opinions). On the other hand, a medium of democratic participation is expected to empower the actors as a political agent with own values and demands as well as action forms and styles to realise these. Finally, organisation as a space of identity is constructed within relations with others and involves expressions and identification with the organisation, activities or the people, which is the reflection of both

adopted work styles and political values, demands and action forms.

These three aspects and their interaction with each other bring in tensions in practice. Issue-based NGOs are usually part of a greater social movement and organisational life as subject to a greater authority and fewer rights might be challenged by the political and civic features of activism (Scully and Creed 2005). Organisation might become a medium that master members, but according to mobilization theory it can also be seen and used as a resource for activists (Clemens 2005). What seems common (and even inevitable) in such 'strong identity' and 'emotional bond' organisations is that they eventually fall into some sort of crisis situation with enduring and avalanching conflicts among organisational members, resulting in resignations and even divisions at some point, maybe even with strong negative feelings against each other, but usually they keep complementing each other or cooperating in core issues.

I.3.2. Methodology and different schools

Effects of professional/paid work on non-governmental organisation can be studied using different sociological or organisational theories and consequently using different methodologies. Many economics-based organisation theorists build their theories about organisations around economic transactions and the assumption of rational choice of self interest,

while concerns of collectivity has lead class or group oriented or organisational approaches. Another group of sociological or political science theorists focus on relations of communicative and exchange types, including both interpersonal or intergroup ones and extended to the political field, not only based on economic concerns (Clegg & Hardy 1999). Organisation theory has not been associated with NGO research and interest by NGO researchers is recent, but organisation theory can be useful as a frame for elaboration on issues related to NGOs in different levels (Lewis 2001: 86).

Reed (1999) gives an historical account of different streams of organization theory from scientific management to influences of critical theory and postmodernism. He identifies four dilemmæ or extreme ends in various narrative frames of organisational studies: 1) between 'Agency' and 'Structure' (or 'creativity' and 'constraint'), 2) between constructivist/relativist and positivist/objectivist approaches towards organisations, 3) between local/micro and global/macro levels of analysis, and 4) between individualism and collectivism. Lewis refers Hatch's rougher categorisation of 'modernist', 'symbolic-interpretative' and 'post-modern' research traditions with examples on their possible application to NGO research (Lewis 2001:87). At the macro level, organisational ecology approach (Baum 1999) would provide a general view on the historical status of different organisational communities (professional and other

organisations, organisations working on different fields, etc.) and the variances of organisational survival patterns in a given organisational domain. Institutional theory could give another view and explanation on NGO's and professional type of work in the wider context, including temporal and spatial aspects; Gramscian studies on NGO roles on hegemony and neoliberalism use the institutional approach within political science frame (Blomley 2005; Demirovic 2003; Fyfe 2005). Adaptation based structural contingency theory (Donaldson 1999) and action-and-adaptation balance based resource dependency and strategic management perspectives places the organisation and survival strategy/strategies in the centre and in relation with this context (Lewis 2001). These and other macro level theories, can include the individual level of professional paid staff only to a limited extent, if any at all, as their focus are survival of organisation or the organisational community in the bigger scale, rather than what goes on in the organisation.

To understand work as a 'meaning' in NGO's, and resulting identity, power and control relations, we would need a micro-level or organisational approach. Principal-agent (or agency) theory could be useful to understand the intra-organisational relations between different actors acting by rational motivations and individuals treated as intentional agents themselves (Barney and Hesterly 1999); but when we talk about non-profit type organisations and organisational identification, this approach might be of limited help to

uncover the form of interests of NGO actors as the relations are not mainly of material exchange type, and identification may not be essentially on a material base. Indeed, a deep and highly personal process like identification with work or organisation (in relation with satisfaction and perception of self-realisation) can be dealt with either other quantitative methods like surveys or statistical data processing or traditional qualitative methods of one-off interviews or focus groups, but neither would be able to elaborate the phenomenon sufficiently. Sociological studies on social movements and identification can be helpful to design a research process to analyse labour process in non-profit work with social and political aspects as these organisations also take place within social movements.

Therefore, a basically qualitative methodology is selected to be a sequence of an initial survey and a series of in-depth interviews per interviewee, designed as an iterative process starting from a theoretical initial point. Works and methodologies of French sociologists Alain Touraine and Pierre Bourdieu which constitute research as a collective empowerment process actively involving the researcher as well are particularly promising. Backbone of the process is a modified combination of 'sociological intervention' method of Alain Touraine (Touraine 1981) and 'induced and accompanied self-analysis' of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1999) with caution on researcher's role and style of intervention. Both methods continue to be promising for the analysis of social field with the role of identity,

relationships of conflict or cooperation and the context as totality. These methodologies bear the potential of offering a new perspective on the nature of work within non-governmental organisations with a political aspect, as they are also taking part in the social field of or derived from the social movements.

As a testing of the starting theoretical framework, I conducted an open survey distributed online among NGO community in Turkey. The survey was open for response for 2 months during March and April 2008 and it included questions about the profile and past of the respondent as well as their approach to their job and daily realities about their relations with management, volunteers, target groups and others. Survey was not intended to be interpreted as a quantitative representation, but as a brainstorming and feed back for identifying key words and key issues reflected in respondents' daily work realities and the Turkish context leading to a revision of the initial theoretical framework and the language used for the rest of the research forming the real backbone of the study. The survey also included a space to identify potential participants of the research and to ensure a theoretical representation of the social reality of NGO staff. Of 76 respondents¹⁰, 45 were current or former NGO professionals and 31 were volunteers. The survey can be found in Appendix I. The summary of results of the survey can be found in Chapter I.3.3.3 and whenever relevant within

¹⁰ This figure reflects those I decided to be adequate to include in the evaluation of the survey as there were many incomplete or fake responses due to anonymity of the process.

the study.

The main part of the research is a modified version of 'induced and accompanied self-analysis' of Bourdieu to include the "intervention in a designed process" methodology of Touraine in order to be able to design the process of interviews similar to the method of sociological intervention: first meeting with the interviewee constituted a common ground used for confidence building between interviewer and the interviewee through sharing of personal histories relevant to the issue of research. This first interview was held using an open discussion following the survey questions to reveal potential focus points to be used in the following interviews. Following interviews were iteratively planned according to the outcomes of the first and previous meetings to reveal certain aspects of the research issue and all the interview process is recorded. The interviewees were confronted with quotes, critical questions, challenging scenarios and suggestions and sometimes simplified versions of different (and sometimes conflicting) theories and models on work and management to enrich the dialogue. An empowerment of the interviewee to be able to deliver their own generalised understanding of their actions and social position within work was one of the purposes at the end of the process. Within each interview process, I met each respondent 4 or 5 times in a two to three months span and each interview lasted 90 minutes to 140 minutes. Interview processes were conducted in parallel, each used for another aspect of "working in an NGO".

I expected to fulfil the condition of 'familiarity' of the researcher by my experience in NGO's as volunteer, paid project coordinator and lately trainer as well as a historical witness mentioned in the acknowledgement chapter of this study.

The participants of the research are 5 'NGO professionals' working on a salary basis in different issue-based NGO's in Turkey, doing service/project work in the field and/or political/advocacy work for a social/political change. Administrative assistance and logistics staff and boards of organisations are left out as they are assumed to bear less relevance for the research issues. Information about the participants of the qualitative in-depth interview series part of the research are listed in Appendix I. Names and organisations of the participants are changed in order to establish a safe medium for the participant and ensure an open dialogue. Background reasons for the selection of methodology are explained in details below.

I.3.3. Praxis/activism and theorizing: on intervention and the role of the researcher

Activism and participation in social movements are results of perceived problems in the society and social order, an attempt to change (or resist to change) constitution of the society. Academic research also contributes to either preservation and refinement of status quo and existing power

relations, or giving a voice to acts of resistance and empowerment, even when they claim objectivity and sometimes independent from the intention of the researcher. Researcher is a figure of authority for the interacted individual or group, effecting the outcome of the research itself directly particularly for ethnographic methodologies which involves direct interaction. Therefore, intentions of the researcher (or assumptions about them by interacted) are directly relevant for the outcome and the process. Touraine's and Bourdieu's research methodologies were directly formed by their intentions, not only as researchers but also as political figures and activists. In Bourdieu's words, his intention was not to create a methodological difference between a science that affects a construction and one that does not, but between one that does this without knowing it and other, being aware of work of construction, strives to discover as completely as possible the nature of its inevitable acts of construction and its inevitable effects. Concern about this research relationship leads to efforts of controlling these inevitable effects, rather than claiming to eliminate them, reducing the symbolic violence between researcher and investigated by active and methodical listening, total availability to the person interviewed and evaluating the singularity of particular life history.

I.3.3.1 Alain Touraine and Sociological Intervention Methodology

In his work on new social movements (such as anti-nuclear movement of France, Solidarnosi movement in Poland and others), Touraine developed a new methodology similar to action research. In this methodology, where research is designed as a process of mutual interaction, sociologist tries to lead the actors from challenges and struggles carried out by the actors themselves towards an analysis of their own actions. In the methodology explained in detail in his work *The Voice and The Eye* (1981), he described sociological intervention's aim as empowerment of social movements as collective actors to take over values, therefore constituting influential actors in the cultural struggle which Touraine suggests as the new feature of struggle shifting from arena of production within increasingly complex and global information society. Therefore, research is not a one-sided process where researcher is an observer, but also includes a pedagogical intervention in its 'historicity'. Such a process through group building and conflicts, challenges and confrontation, identity, reflection and conceptualisation requires a series of meetings with the same focus group to realise their historical role in relation to social change. Intervention method used in civil society is very similar to critical type of action research used in the sphere of labour (Eden & Huxham 1999), therefore promising as a method to investigate the intersection as well.

The participant group is not representative quantitatively, but a reduced scale of the collective struggle, or the image of it by the sociologist, representing the quality conferred on them by the theory of social movements. The assumption is that a collective struggle can be reduced to a group whose participants possess the theoretical qualities necessary for its analysis. Also it is assumed by the theorist that the actors have a practical consciousness because of their immediate experience and only a limited consciousness of the sense of their actions; dimensions of social system or conditions of action escape the consciousness of the actors.

Research team includes a moderator to conduct the meetings and a secretary taking notes and prepares the hypothesis; these roles can be replaced by the team members when there's a need.

The flow of the process is as follows¹¹:

- The pre-requisite of the process as willingness to participate is not sufficient for an open dialogue, therefore personal histories of participants' struggles are shared in the group to build trust, group feeling and a realised need for analysis.
- Throughout the process direct confrontations with interlocutors who oppose or support their actions and aims are arranged by the sociologist

¹¹ Summarised from (Touraine 2000) and (Brincker and Gundelach 2005)

to highlight the action with its ins and outs and neutralise ideological pressures and political gambits. In this process, participants might also get into conflict with each other and with this break up of group identity feeling, facts about their self perceptions are revealed for the observer/secretary within the research team.

- Hypothesis of the secretary is presented to the participants and discussed.

The critical 'conversion' from the practical consciousness to sociological knowledge (therefore empowerment of the group by realizing true capacities and positions in a social struggle) is expected as a result of self-analysis at this step. If the sense of the hypothesis is endorsed by the actors, theory is validated for the pertinence in explaining the action. Also the group had gone beyond practical consciousness to understand the social dimension via self-analysis in an enriching group process.

- The group translates the knowledge into action via self-interpretation.

Critics highlight various problems related to theory and methodology. Theoretical critics mention lack of taking into account the structural impacts in a theory/action which aims a transformation within (civil) society. Bourdieu, in his early critics of the method points to a lack of empirical foundation and a metaphysical construct of one historical actor despite existence of several social movements. Brincker and Gundelach (2005) also suggests that three factors of a collective actor defined by Touraine, identity,

opponent and totality, which form a social relation field, should be taken as variables rather than entities. Therefore, the collectivity of the actors might be characterised to give a more complete picture of the social field.

Methodologically, there are no rules or procedures and the research can not be replicated, but this must be accepted from the beginning as the process itself is unique and can not be replicated even when held with the same group at another time. However, this makes the criticism about the necessary cautiousness of the researcher about his/her role and responsibility even more important. First of all, the presumption of lacking understanding of the social dimension of actors is criticised by Hamel stating that practical consciousness also bears historical, psychological and social dimensions, therefore it's not limited as such but sociology tries to limit it to researcher's own standpoint (Hamel 1997). Sociologist, in this image, necessarily has a broader view bringing in the problem of acting as the ultimate authority though trying to democratize the research process by participating. Critics of participation concept might be reminded again; those who design the participation context are also those who hold the ultimate power (Cooke & Kothari 2000). Similar problems are met in education and training (Freire 2003) or field work of empowerment or community development as well (Ledwith 2001).

Second, critical phase of conversion (endorsement of the hypothesis) may

be illusory and even caused by friendly or respectful feelings towards researcher, as a result of a positive mood within the group, or simply because of the wish to end and leave a long and tiring process.

Third, as taking place in social movements requires a strong commitment, action is also a performance and the group process is another tribune for this performance. This performance can be revealed only by provocation and challenges brought in by other participants and the researcher.

Fourth, there are no suggestions of what to do about an enduring conflict, resistance or dissent between the group and researcher, which is very likely to occur, especially regarding the group identity developed among participants and researcher still being another party and an authority of some kind within the process. Three possible outcomes of the research are a sort of compliance with the researcher's aims, conversion of the group without a compliance in, or even completely against researcher's 'project', and a negative result where researcher is completely unable to reach or influence the group towards action.

Finally, the process as a whole is daring due to the fact that, if successful, practical consciousness is weakened in favour of social movements theory (Hamel 1997); is theory more valuable than practical consciousness? In the end, also the theory is an interpretation (in Bourdieu's terms, a 'knowledge

of knowledge' or 'point of view of a point of view') as repetition of actors' discourse expressed in other terms. Therefore the process requires very competent researcher(s) from 'inside' or 'familiar' to the issue having a practical knowledge as well.

I.3.3.2. Pierre Bourdieu and Induced and Accompanied Self-Analysis

In his later periods, Pierre Bourdieu (who formerly criticised Touraine) also directed his methodology towards a qualitative one involving direct participation of social actors and the researcher as well. First used in his research on suffering presented in his book titled *The Weight of the World* (1998), the method is composed of interviews as self-analysis "induced" and "accompanied" by sociologists according to the sense conveyed by his remarks. He does not find discussion on methodology and opposition between quantitative and qualitative methodologies useful, as they both start with the same paradigms and distortions are embedded within the structure of the research relationship, old methodological principles, standardised procedures, etc. So he sought to reflect on reflexivity, perceive and monitor the social structure on the spot, as the interview is taking place. Sense on the side of the sociologist is sought to be parallel to the objectification of dispositions and social positions on the side of interviewee. If participant's disposition and social positions are reflected in the interviewer, they are

easily recognised. Thus, similar to Touraine's method, a 'familiar' researcher (but not equal or same that could lead total overlapping; there wouldn't be anything to tell in the natural flow of the conversation as the interviewer would either know already what would be said, or understand without the need of a reflection) is a big advantage if not a pre-requisite for the success of the method. Social proximity helps the dialogue by e.g. avoiding perceptions of being threatened even when most brutally objectifying questions are brought forward. The other extreme would be total divergence by deeming understanding and trust impossible. Within this boundaries of trust and familiarity, interview not only makes sense for the respondent as well, considered as an exceptional opportunity to testify, make themselves heard, carry their experience from private to public sphere. Bourdieu conducted these interviews by the help of a group of interviewers usually close to the social status or class of the interviewee after providing them a training on interview techniques.

Bourdieu's focus is on configuration of capital and social space/field. Similar to Touraine's presumption, social agents/actors do not have innate knowledge of what they are and what they do. They do not necessarily have access to the reason for their discontent or their distress, therefore most spontaneous declarations can express something quite different from what they are apparently saying. Sense commonly conveyed is not false consciousness, but routines of knowledge reflected on doings of individual

or group. Interviewer has to provide all necessary elements to analyse interviewee's positions objectively and understand their point of view, without setting up the objectifying distance that reduces the individual to a specimen in a display case. Also s/he has to adopt a perspective as close as possible to individual's own, without identifying with the alter ego. Again similar to the notion of conversion in Touraine's method, transformation of the actor's viewpoint into an explanation or theory throughout the interview can be reflected as "democratization of the hermeneutic posture". By this way, interviewees construct their own point of view about themselves and their life world, take over the interview themselves with "a joy of expression". In a non-successful process, on the other hand, interviewees might conduct self-censorship (because of the effect of tape recorder, for example), or false objectification as in the case of Touraine's.

According to Bourdieu, each case or testimony is representative of a specific aspect of the theory, so whoever comes is the right person! Interviews are constructed as self-sufficient wholes. Theoretical representation becomes important in the order of the presentation of cases, which is the choice of the researcher, therefore his story/narrative or image of the interviews about the issue. They are representative to the extent they each form an observation/interpretation point for a specific aspect of the issue. This is a theoretical/sociological representativeness based on qualities of testimonies of individuals as agents of dispositions and social positions.

According to Bourdieu, “a single well-constructed case ceases to be particular”, therefore this is a method for “well constructing” (Hamel 1997). In order to well-construct, these cases shouldn't be pinpointing individuals or present them as clinical cases with researcher's diagnosis.

Critics similar to those of Touraine have been mentioned for Bourdieu's method as well, especially regarding his choice of intervention style and daring assumptions, which is reflected in his style of intervening in interviewees testimonies. The lack of rules and procedures are even more apparent and some opponents of this method called this study more of a 'journalism' than scholarly work. Success of the method is too much dependant on researcher's qualities, therefore the contradiction between “objectification” and “point of view on a point of view” is under question. “Familiarity” of the researcher thought together with the lack of rules and procedures also puts the method under question as explanations seeming to be conveyed out of interviewee are based on prior knowledge and political values of interviewer (one should note that both Touraine and Bourdieu are strong political figures as well). Therefore, familiarity and prior knowledge should be based on theoretical representation of the issue in order to use for “well-constructing” the cases to explore methodological imagination for the case to be an ideal observation point by highlighting the objective relationship. Familiarity and “first-comer” concepts are also contradicting for well-construction as well. Finally, the shift of social actor's point of

view into “sociological point of view” needs to be explained; in the end it is triggered by sociologist’s intervention and interpretation based on actor’s knowledge of a practical/life experience nature.

Despite all critics, with necessary modifications, both methodologies bear the potential of offering a new perspective on the nature of work with a political aspect, as they are also taking part in the social field of or derived from the social movements.

I.3.3.3. Reflections on methodology for this study

The methodology used in this study is inspired by both of the methodologies and underlying intentions and concerns together with criticism for both.

a) Selection of participants: Regarding the concern of authority relation between interviewer and interviewee, a careful choice has been made before approaching each interviewee. Interviewees who were already working in an NGO at an eligible position and already had concerns (therefore a degree of awareness) about the topic, that is paid work in NGO as a problematic, has been asked to participate. It was not assumed that the participants do not have innate knowledge, but they were assumed to be in search of an explanation to be constructed in a dialogue with the researcher together. Due to all above reasons, this methodology might not have been the best

choice with another profile of participants and/or another topic; it relies heavily on both the researcher's and interviewees' personal background and the form of relation they build among each other.

b) Intervention Process: A well-balanced form of intervention included both opinions, models and interpretations of other authors, and also interpretations, provoking questions, reminding of contradictory quotes from the interviewee and alternative explanations by the interviewer. Current challenges (including “current and potential impact of the economic crisis” and “possible responses of the management for employee organising, particularly trade union membership” as a standard for all interviews) were brought in front of the interviewee as an intervention. Careful selection has also been conducted in order not to end up in a presumed hierarchical authority relationship, which might have caused forced, illusionary, respectful or friendly endorsement for interventions. The process has been designed as semi-structured flexible interviews for each interview after the initial interview based on the survey used. Potential issues and flow of the interview series (which lasted for 5 meetings with each interviewee, except one that was concluded in 4 meetings) was presented to each interviewee and received approval, though in some cases this flow was altered due to natural course of the conversation. Throughout these interview process, a life segment was tried to be point of conversation with the interviewee.

c) Empowerment of the interviewee: At the end of the interview series, both the researcher and the interviewee were expected to have their own conclusions in the form of collectively well-constructed critical explanations; artificial 'conversion' or 'objectification' have not been checked to have formed or not, but each process and its outcomes were expected to have an integrity and meant to be more than a particular case.

d) Outcomes of the research: As all the process was designed on perceptions (or “points of view”), interpretations of the researcher also take them into account as perceptions and narratives (a “knowledge of knowledge” or “point of view on points of view”), not absolute and solid realities about respective organisations or the wider social reality encompassing them.

In this introduction chapter, I have presented the context that allowed the phenomenon of professionalisation of issue based NGOs and formation of an alternative career option together with theoretical and methodological framework of the study. In next chapter, the merger of paid work and civic agency individually and organisationally are tried to be understood to arrive at management issues within NGOs as a basis for third and fourth chapters where excerpts from interview processes are used to reveal experiences of and sensemaking about tensions and power relations within organisation and self.

II. Work in issue based NGOs

In this chapter, I will try to lay a theoretical basis on paid work in issue-based NGOs as the intersection area, where meaning is constructed by a variety of power relations including discourse and sense-making. In this effort, I will first deal with changing meanings and attributions of “activities of life” including paid work and citizenship activities throughout the course of modernity, trying to exhibit how hierarchical positioning of one activity over others have changed together with a shift from a political contract based understanding towards first an exchange type economic mentality and then reflexivity and identity based re-politicisation of production and consumption. Later I'll try to analyse the concept of agency/subject and contextualise the search for becoming an agency in a civic/political manner, leading to work in issue-based NGOs as a contested ground between this civic/political agency quest and urge of managing the organisation for an ultimate survival of the organisation. This chapter, therefore follows the contextual introduction chapter and tries to draw the theoretical framework for the fieldwork presented in the following chapters.

II.1. Work as the basic activity of modern society

Work has a central place for an individual's life. It is taken for granted that one has to 'work' to earn a living. Spatial and temporal social order is

structured around work and most of the economic and social rights of citizens are linked to one's status of being employed or not. It looks natural that major part of the week is considered “work days” (while remaining days are called “week-end”) and half of non-sleeping time of these days for individuals is spent at work (while remaining hours is divided between family and domestic care, relaxation or entertainment, and community or political work if any). Different perceptions of individual or collective self-realisation varies according to which portion of life is the one that identity is built around: work/occupation, family, leisure or social-political action.

Despite the tendency to believe that above mentioned organisation of society is a 'natural order', social organisation of time and space and forms and centrality of work have changed throughout history. In the pre-modern or agricultural societies, work was seasonal and cyclic and performed at home or in the vicinity. Labour force consisted of slaves, serfs, farmers and craftsmen, and division of labour varied little according to sex and age. Without a determining capitalist value production, main purpose of work was survival of the family. Transition towards (and progression in) modern or industrial society and city life brought in concerns and concepts of efficiency, mass production, division of labour and specialisation, wage relation with the employer and separation of home and factory or workplace (Watson 2003:53-56). Main purpose of work is now capital accumulation via profit maximisation and cost minimisation for the employer, and earning

a decent wage or fee in exchange of her/his labour for the survival of the employee. This early period of modernity (or industrial capitalism) imagines a full-employment society where work as such has been put into the centre of social organisation and even politics. Scientific disciplines such as 'management', 'psychology' and 'sociology' and notions such as 'organisation' are established and used as legitimisation of modern practices within work. Citizenship and rights were linked to being employed while occupations and professions determined the social status of the individual. Politics is also structured around the axis of economic/materialistic or redistribution struggles, between right and left, liberty and egalitarianism, capital and labour. Individuality is also this period's concern with the figure of individual as holder of rights and responsibilities on its own account. This individual rights discourse also paved the way for critical approaches and movements of emancipation, particularly for working class and women accessed by the modernisation process. These processes have diffused into organisational forms, cultures and dominant power relations as bureaucracies, hierarchies, 'scientific' control practices and participation through representative democracy (also in the workplace).

In the transition period towards the next period, assumptions of the early modern period are criticised, de-constructed and gradually replaced with the new ones, though institutions and cultures around work are still formally organised according to the full employment society assumptions of the old

period (Beck 2000). In the service and consumer economy, work is not only a distinct time period of production and a separate place, but also an identity bearing a meaning customised for the individual within itself, dispersed throughout life and more independent from place. Solid boundaries of the first modernity (Bauman 2005) have become porous. Flexibility is a new motto and a preferred work style for the employee if it means flexibility in work time and place, and for the employer if it means flexibility in work regimes and job insecurity. All these are encompassed and encouraged by the global economy with costs of transportation and communication reduced and technologies improved to enable capital and investments move from country to country rapidly in search of cost minimisation or externalisation. Flexibility and ability for rapid adaptation is also a motto for organisational structures, forms and cultures, where individual's search for identity and meaning is fulfilled in flat hierarchies and networks (Sennett 1998) and 'meaning' is manufactured at the workplace in search of consent and participatory democracy. Identity aspect is also reflected in the politics with post-materialistic and recognition based social and political movements gaining ground and challenging materialistic redistribution based party politics.

Within this shift of paradigms, a transformation of civic agency and conception of citizenship are faced and new social movements emerge. Dominant form of social movement organisations within industrial society

were occupation or class-based mass organisations and universalistic political parties with representative democracy and bureaucracy within organisational functioning as well. New social movements of current era (Çayır 1999) are either issue-specific or identity-based, thus particularistic, not aiming to take over the government ultimately, but seeking influence and recognition. 'Hierarchy' and 'bureaucracy' are words of condemnation for the organisational form and culture, and consensus is a magical word for the organisational decision making. Forms of agency and urge for being an agent have changed accordingly, as meaning of agency is directly related to self-perception which is constructed within the dominant discourse.

However, despite the dominant discourse of new phase of modernity, cultures and institutional and organisational forms of first modernity are still in place and confusion is a widespread feeling triggered by this state of being stuck in between. As mentioned in previous chapter, apart from aid, charity and disaster-relief organisations, wide spread, effective and influential issue specific NGOs are recent phenomena of second modernity (mostly in reaction to 'unintended (or radical) consequences of first modernity' as Giddens put it (Giddens 1990)); they are part of new social movements formed in search of being active in specific issues, representing a new way of becoming individual and collective agents. With emerging job opportunities, they also offer possibilities of 'meaningful (paid) work' for some activists and volunteers, who wouldn't prefer to work for private

sector or bureaucratic state organisations with this option available to perform both as social or political agents and earn their living at the same time. An employment relationship with any political organisation provides a complex medium for power relations and above mentioned double face of modernity and specific contexts of transition add even more complexity to the problematic.

Therefore we need to follow the change over modernity related to the development of work and time divide, organisations and civic agency in order to identify the tensions that emerged out of this context. A “periodisation” method to build up the narrative may be helpful to analyse the tensions that affect the social, political and economical aspects of work lives of individuals at question in its complexity.

II.1.1. Periodisation of modernity and evolving of the notion and organisation of work, economy and citizenship

"Periodisation" method of historical analysis relies on classification and interpretation of events and/or processes according to their internal affinities and external differences, therefore successive periods with similarities in themselves (and different appearances among different ones) and transitions from one to another become the subject of historical narrative (Jessop 2003). Presumption of the method is existence of continuity within each

period, transitions from one to another and discontinuities among different periods. Different from chronological analysis, which represents a linear perception leading to simple narratives, multiple (and overlapping) time scales and explanatory frameworks about the phenomena and conditions gain importance to produce complex narratives. Transitions are the processes when former period's relations, institutions and discourses are resolved and reformed, consequently being re-functionalised (conserved) or dissolved into elements that are used to form new relations, institutions or discourses. Successive periods are both causes and consequences of each other, and also they represent a partial rupture where conflicts, paradoxes, dilemma and crises in the transition weaken the former period to form a discontinuity.

The analysis of modernity's evolvement also led many authors to use the periodisation method to build a narrative in its complexity. Therefore, different authors used different terms to name successive periods: globalisation, post-modernism, post-fordism, post-industrialism, information society, etc. All these efforts of naming the change point to similar transformations, however they also originate from and focus mainly on Western or developed countries; their effects and influences, on the other hand, are spread beyond those. These effects and influences are felt both on the political debates and lives of individuals, as well as changing economy and working life most rapidly. Increasing emphasis on civil society and non-

governmental organisations within the so-called new period forms an intersection where changes in both political background and personal and work lives can be observed and affiliated with.

The use of "post-" terminology as a discourse can be confusing for a number of reasons. First, it might lead to an illusion that the features, habits and life and work styles specific for the "previous" period had completely transformed. At the same time, it might also awaken the perception that change has similar impact at global level and all regions. Despite the determining and even manipulating effect of the "following" period by diffusing this discourse to all levels of daily life and leading social, economic and political change, a more detailed analysis of particular periods and cases in different spaces reveal similarities in trends and causes, but also differentiation of geographical or thematic "local features". Therefore, I prefer a more cautious naming which treat periods as different, but still continuous phases of modernity, such as *First and Second Modernity* of Ulrich Beck (Beck 2000), *Early and Late Modernity* of Anthony Giddens, *Early, Mid- and Late Modernity* of Touraine (Touraine 2008), *Solid and Liquid Modernity* of Zygmunt Bauman (Bauman 2005).

“Work” or “labour” has been defined in various ways and all definitions rely on time and location. In our current times dominant discourse defines only paid employment as work and many of our citizenship rights are

conditional to registered type of this form of work (Beck 2000; Gorz 2001; Meda 2004). However, there are other forms of work like domestic work, community work or social service, public service, volunteering, political action, parenting or other forms of domestic care, etc. In the end, all these forms have their distinctive purpose and, independent from the value of production, service or exchange and getting paid or not for these, each involves an intervention towards one's environment¹². A recent but similar situation can be observed in the transition of tasks formerly done by volunteers towards a paid professional nature in non-governmental organisations; many activities that used to be held voluntarily and deemed relevant to citizenship rights and responsibilities now has a remuneration or salary. Paid work in NGO's as voluntary initiatives forms a very special intersection between work/labour, citizenship and political activity fields.

"Work" or "employment" has had a positive meaning in the modern political and economic discourse, even presumed to be a basic condition for the utilisation of a wide area of social and economic rights. In different contexts, however, it had a negative meaning as such. According to Meda

¹²As an example, without domestic unpaid work of women, modernity might not have been settled as such. Getting paid for (other people's) house care or cleaning is a recently new phenomenon which is a consequence of urban middle class women working outside home for their own occupation. Though division of gender roles at home continues to put these women under the responsibility to fulfil their duties of house work and motherhood, at least the organisation of it, other women from lower socio-economic status are hired for at least part of this task and this has other implications for power relations between working men and women, among women as employer and employee, and consequently for new forms of gender roles.

Another example would be domestic care for disabled or elderly. By the development of welfare state and social rights, budget allocations and provision of public institutions as well as specialised private institutions for care services of elderly and disabled has developed into another sector which used to be held domestically.

(2004), in ancient Greece, all philosophers unite in one opinion: work is an humiliating activity for slaves and animals, not suitable for property owning male and free citizens. Valuable activities was free-time activities, which were classified as ethical/philosophical activity and political activity; activities which are parallel to divine activities and done only for their own sakes, not because they're necessary or instrumental to sustain individual and social life, or in exchange of some price/earning. Apart from agriculture, which held in itself a divine dimension, even artisanship or trade were not respected forms of activity (and according to Aristoteles, artisans should not be considered as free citizens) as it was not done for individual's or activity's own worth, but for someone and something else, for an exchange. "Free citizens" in this society meant free from humiliating or exchange activities, as these enslave thought. Ancient Greece, therefore, exhibits a completely different but interest worthy picture than our current image envisioned about them as the birth place of democracy and citizenship. The clear distinction (even in human form) of work and artisanship on one side, and ethical and political activity on the other was also reflected on recognition of individuals as citizens or not. Citizenship was a status only for free and non-working men. And the political activity here meant defining the aims of coexistence collectively, and utilising the superior (human) skills of thought and talk as such. Such a society and life style, where citizens could realise themselves as humans by their superior skills and activities, was of course made only possible by the abundance of

slaves and artisans (and women as wives and mothers), the non-humanly work of them, and supporting production only for self consumption. A similar dislike towards work (and even getting paid for it) was sustained throughout the period of Roman Empire as well.

In early Christianity, partially because it relies on the interpretation of Greek texts, that mind and soul (and activities of those) are superior to (and master of) body, work was qualified as a curse, the consequence of the fundamental sin of Adam, and a way to avoid it. Only towards the end of Medieval Ages, at the time of St. Augustine, a change about the perception of work, as the only natural means to produce (individually or collectively) basic needs of the community of monks themselves, was realised (Meda 2004), but still it was more important in order to avoid laziness and to make room for thinking about god, the superior activity of mind; work frees soul by capturing the body. Similarly in Islamic mysticism, "*çile*", the suffering and isolation period of the dervish included serving by heavy work accompanying isolation and abstinence from earthly needs and pleasures. Work here was worthy because of the difficulty and pain it contains, therefore it was not surprising that in the advancing centuries, work was used also as punishment in prisons or work camps. Work was worthy also because of being the basis of charity and giving for the poor, as long as it does not produce more than needed. Similar to Greek understanding, work or trade in exchange of money was still a disrespectful activity, as it

diverted one from thinking about God, and also using God's time for unworthy aims. What's different, on the other hand, is giving back the pride to artisanship as a similar activity to God in creation of something totally new out of natural material, therefore taking it from the nature.

Though carrying its roots within above mentioned evolvement of understanding of work, institutionalisation of modern way of work that still characterises our lives and society would only be possible by capital accumulation and a total change in the understanding of wealth and structuralisation of society and economy accordingly.

II.1.2. “Former”: Organisation of Work and Life in the First Phases of Modernity

Explained in its most famous and detailed relation in Weber's *Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism*, transformations within Christianity and European societies were to pave the way for a positive conception of work and the discourse of “working citizen”. The first transformation was from the understanding expressed by Pavlus -that society is a natural community and all governments (and the hierarchy in the society) are God's will (therefore to be accepted and obeyed)-, towards the separation of natural and social states, where reason and human will is the basis of the social. This view takes its roots from the works of Descartes, Bacon and Hobbes. In

the absence of the divine authority, Hobbes proposes a giant machine, Leviathan (as in the original title of his book published originally in 1651) as the state to counterbalance the probability of chaos and disorder; however, this machine-state is also composed of all the individuals and the bonding between them, where each and every individual has been settled in a role and place in the integrity of the society, and rights and duties are defined. The whole social body is a contract, where the search for and joy of freedom and individual achievement is balanced by the concern of order and good of the whole. But this body needs an aim, a social bonding in order to overcome the arbitrariness of the social. 18th century is the period where the feature of this bonding are sought simultaneously, politically and economically. Politically crowned by the works of Rousseau ('Social Contract' was published in 1762) and followers which led to French Revolution and the notion of citizenship and nations, 18th century also advances towards another economical breakthrough, industry and wealth as first described and tried to be put on its pillars by Adam Smith in his "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations" published in 1776. Whence the aim of the society in the political contract is keeping the integrity and order while recognising certain rights of the individual, its counterpart in economic basis of the society is wealth accumulation of the 'nation'. For Touraine (2000), this 'early modernity' period puts emphasis on 'order', therefore the political dimension of the society with its contract approach; 'mid-modernity' replaced these with the emphasis on development

and economical dimension, setting up an industrial society.

References of economy for the start of this mid-modern period point to Adam Smith's "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations" published first in 1776, in which he founded and proposed the basis of the market economy, consequently evolving into (or parallel with) industrial society and a total transformation of the notion of work with labour as a production factor and a commodity that could be sold. The book reflects the change in the dominant understanding in society then by putting "Wealth" and therefore accumulation with a positive emphasis, thereby symbolising a fundamental rupture from the traditional thought. But he places productive labour -and division and organisation of it, to form the roots of Taylorism- at the core of this accumulation. Invention of labour by economists, as a commodity that can be priced and sold or rented, was presented by Smith as revolutionary as it was the recognition of individual autonomy and presented an opportunity for everyone to sustain a free life even without owning anything, contrary to slavery and serfdom. However, his approach to labour is instrumental, as a power to create value and wealth. This approach is so direct that he doesn't consider many forms of labour as productive, unless labour is put in the production of an object in order to form the basis of exchange; maids, soldiers, administrators, lawyers, priests, musicians, medical doctors etc all are excluded, not to mention any other form of care, house or charity work, paid or unpaid.

The underlying reason for this approach was most obvious in his followers' works, particularly in Thomas Malthus' and Jean-Baptiste Say's political economy books (published in 1820 and 1803 respectively); to build political economy as a positive science. In order to be able to achieve this aim, a measurable basis unit for exchange is needed. Therefore, in search of functionality and experimentation, and thus certainty and clear definitions, material needs to be distinguished from non-material, which could simply be called "service" according to Malthus (1821). In the introduction of "A Treatise on Political Economy" (2001), Say classifies sciences in two categories: descriptive ones (such as botany and natural history), and experimental ones which explain cause and effect relations and connections, (such as chemistry and natural philosophy); and places political economy in the latter, "showing the manner in which events take place in relation to wealth, it forms a part of experimental science." (Say 2001:10) It is also a functionalist approach, in order to be able to measure the increase or decrease of wealth within the border of one nation and compare different nations as such, as well as providing means for the merchant, manufacturer and the agriculturalist to be able to analyse the commodities they deal with. Therefore, "[the science of] political economy (...) makes known to us the *nature* of wealth" (Say 2001:11), (emphasis added), under which lies the assumption that exchange, and productive labour which produces commodities that are the basis of exchange, form the fundamentals of the

society.

This view is in contradiction with the political contract point of view where legitimate authority is the basis of social order, which keeps society together as a body by the help of the notion of citizenship. While political contract is a search within itself for trust between state and the individuals, economic contract is base for exchange in a search for equivalence founded on lack of trust. Political contract is single for each society in the social state while economic contracts are plural, defined for each exchange and in the natural state, governed by the natural laws of the economy. However, despite these disagreements on the basis of society, both dimensions unite on individual's duty of work for the good of society or wealth accumulation in the nation. Economic way of understanding the society started to construct the dominant discourse with rational individualism, wealth and exchange and work, and its paid form, as a way to achieve these, taking their place as the foundation and the bonding of the society.

Further advancement to the establishment of work based society came from the critique of this economist view, first from Hegel and then from Marx. Hegel has transformed or expanded the concept of labour once again by distinguishing *Geist* (mind or spirit) as subjective, objective and absolute, where industrial work belonged to the objective mind/spirit, and true creative work of art, philosophy and religion belongs to the absolute.

Despite his clear distaste for commodified labour of masses with no other choice, as "a labour that is totally stupefying, unhealthy and unsafe – in workshops, factories, mines, etc. – shrinking their skills " (Rauch 1983), Hegel re-included all activities (political, daily and creative work) that helped transform the natural into culture as labour, and went beyond, by defining an ideal form of work that led to the understanding of 'man's essence' in parallel to divine activity. Marx brought the materialist criticism by telling that it's human (not the spirit or the idea) that made history, but still by labour. Now, everything is work or labour, but the true work is not the existing realities of work, which is physical and out of need, but that is emancipated from the need. Marx's Homo Faber (working man) is one which discovers himself while working/creating, thus finds self-expression in the object he transforms, and finds socialisation through the use of it by others as the intermediary agent for others to be socialised as well. Work is (or should be) the social bonding, but not because of forming the basis of unwilling interdependence as in Adam Smith, but for voluntary and equal exchange for the other, as a means of transforming the world and put something from self, either economic value or symbolic imagination, in this new world.

Together with the industrial revolution and step by step institutionalisation of capitalism, dominant and even competing thought schools like Christian, humanist and Marxist ones are united in the value, virtue and legitimation of

work, employment and/or labour (while slavery was condemned only after 19th century, and totally banned by law in 20th century) (Meda 2004). All three understandings presume work as the essence of human, the only way one can realize "himself" as a free and autonomous being. Political and economic contract schools also unite in the understanding that work is also a duty, the basis of social bonding because of "being a useful member of the society". In several countries, the only legal alternative to compulsory military service is working for community/public service for longer periods. While workplace is the venue of real socialisation and formation of social and collective identity, adult individuals usually define themselves with their job and/or occupation. This was the legitimating precondition of full-time employment mentality, and social and economic rights linked to the condition of being an employee, a precondition that has been accepted as a natural state by all economic and political actors. Marx's understanding of alienation, which is formed by deviations from this vision, will be dealt upon in detail in following chapters. However, it's important for our study to estimate the definition of work according to the form of activity and division of time accordingly, to mention that he recognizes the contrast between work and free time, and demands the reduction of working time on behalf of the latter, until there is no more a meaningful distinction between the two, that is work regains its meaning as self expression.

Together with Marx's influence on working class activism, rest of the

modernity progresses as a continuous struggle on work and working conditions. While 19th century struggle focused on recognition of work as a right (to be able to live for those not possessing any other means but their own body power), the end of the century saw a realist turn by the progressing social democracy, from the ideal search for the essence of work/labour towards the struggle for a bearable workplace and tolerable working conditions as well as wage negotiations. The realist consensus didn't try to resolve the conflicts within: harsh working conditions leading to grudge against work, therefore a struggle for liberation by reduction of working time on one side, discourse and belief of providing true value of labour leading to a just society by working, therefore emancipation within work on the other side. In the name of realism, this view not only limits the notion of work within waged labour again (by a clear separation of time as work and non-work), but also paves the way for recognition of social rights being conditional to employment. Welfare states of the western societies in 20th century becomes the model for organisation of work within dominant progressive discourse of full employment industrial societies by the help of social democracy.

The end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century witnessed also foundations of functionalist forms of social sciences like psychology, sociology and management, which were used for rationalisation of wealth accumulation of nations by maximisation of labour productivity as well as

nation building. Max Weber's definition of bureaucracy (published in 1922) on the other hand, is among the most quoted and definitely most influential in the study of organisations. He has defined the bureaucracy as starting from the state organisation, but expanding to the economic and management field, in the search of "rationalisation" of operations as well as legitimation of stepping up of persons in hierarchies and levels of authority. Though this framework definition of Weber is not a universally applicable model of reality, its outlines defines the basics of public and private sector organisation, education and training system which raises specialised work force needed for these tasks, and representative mass democracy which relies on legitimation of the government. Thus, functioning of the organisations are independent of personalised authorities, and the concerns of "equity" and "rationality" in upgrading, division of authority and tasks are realised. However, it's almost pure structure and lacks human factor, power relations among equal levels and uncertainty of human relations. This way of organising has diffused in some level to every form of formal organisation as a way of achieving modernity as the rupture from traditional.

Taylor's (1967) scientific management, which is first published in 1911 and constitutes a perfect example of Weber's bureaucracy in private settings, has influenced a whole domain of industry in capitalist and socialist countries alike (and even best applied in socialist block) as the only single option of

management and administration then. The principles of scientific management were quite simple:

1. Tasks should rely on scientific studies.
2. Management should select and train workers according to the task.
3. Detailed instructions and supervision for each task/worker should be provided.
4. Managers should plan and implement tasks and division of work process according to the principles while workers perform accordingly (Watson 2003:23).

It wouldn't be an exaggeration that this system shaped not only economic and political structures, but attitudes as well, leading to a specific work and governance culture which was considered to be natural. Routinisation of work, always trying to be accountable towards superiors, abstaining from self-realisation in the name of society or community at large and accepted alienation from work and self have been reflected not only in organisation of work, but also in division of life as work and non-work, production and consumption times and politically passive understanding apart from voting during elections. Given reality of the early modernity (or natural state) for any sort of functioning organisation (company, state institution, university, non-governmental organisation, political party etc.) has been vertical hierarchical structure, control and bureaucracy via monitoring, measuring

and evaluation. Within this system, position, power and authority one individual holds is related to the experience and longevity of that person within that organisation. Organisational members and staff are responsible to the highest in the hierarchical ladder and usually they're controlled as much as possible in order to maximise their value creation by those "administrator". Every loss is assumed to be result of an abuse and tried to be prevented. For this reason, working hours are strictly controlled, measures are taken during the work to prevent laziness and pauses are identified in details.

Marxist analysis of "management" concept tells that the purpose of managing act is to transform the "labour potential" to "maximum productivity possible". Early modernity's management understanding, coercion-discipline-control-task division, doesn't allow any personal meaning attributed to work, leading to alienation and job dissatisfaction, therefore performance reduction and productivity loss. Emerging management schools like "Human Relations" movement and "Human Resources Management" tried to overcome these problems by introducing human needs and perceptions. Foucault's approach towards the history of institutions (including the factory and its resemblances with prison) and conception of power was inspired by Weber's 'iron cage' and Nietzsche's nihilism and it contained another new promise for the study of work and labour (including the late Human Resource Management practices) as

confinement and a disciplinary process (or 'dressage' (Jackson & Carter 1998)) as well as of power and politics within organisations.

This industrial age, modern phase or first or early (and mid-) modernity bears within itself some basic features affecting working life as well:

- Economic system is based on nation-states as the geographic and legal foundations, with firms established and registered in and production fixed on national level, therefore leading to the assumption that labour/capital struggle appears in and negotiated and regulated on local/national arena.
- Long term and full time employment is the general assumption as well as work-time based wages and defined social securities.
- Work is seen as the foundation of the society and society acts as the substitute reserve of labour (struggle of trade unions on wage negotiations and legal work security against the pressure of sustained existence of unemployed on wages).
- Various forms of bureaucratic and scientific hierarchies are used for work organisation in the quest of maximisation of labour efficiency and productivity by continuous monitoring and control mechanisms, resulting in standardised mass production and consumption.

- Experts' hierarchical positions are felt in every institution and these positions are professionally formed and monitored by knowledge monopolies.
- Spatial separation of home and work, leading to a gender based division of roles, assumes women to adopt a domestic role while being excluded from or discouraged from participating in labour market. In the ideal nucleus family, man is the "working" member and therefore ultimate authority as 'chief of family' while woman is responsible for motherhood and domestic work. However, women's rights movements challenge these gender roles.
- For the working men, life is simply composed of work and non-work free time.
- Class based spatial separation of life is also apparent and relatively closed as a prerequisite of social status.
- Economy is based on unlimited human needs with the assumption of nature as an infinite resource.
- Representative democracy operates by work life and class based political party inclinations.

The general feature of this period is solid definitions and boundaries for nations, concepts, gender roles, tasks, processes and procedures, etc. in the search of full control, efficiency and minimization of uncertainties and elimination of risks. This is why Zygmunt Bauman calls this period "Solid Modernity"(Bauman 2005). Categories and attributions formed by established definitions are usually accepted as part of the 'natural order' of society or single rational truth, rather than social constructs, such as differentiated gender roles in the industrial society, nations "built" for wealth accumulation and exchange within or internationally, "nature" as an infinite resource to be transformed into "economic value"; these categories and divisions are so internalised that challenges are usually perceived as a threat for oneself.

Fordism, which refined the application of scientific management principles in a band production, was developed as a response to crisis of mass production by increasing the purchase power of workers in order to be able to sell the manufactured goods to the same people who produced them. By this way, despite contributing to time divide between work and non-work times (and putting work in a higher status in hierarchy), provided a suitable platform for the development of consumer society and thus the later phase of modernity.

It was in this post-World War II period that Hannah Arendt brought her criticism towards (early) modernity, of being a mass society, a society of job holders, favouring economy over politics (or *oikos* over *polis*), *labour* over *work* and *action*¹³ (thus *animal laborans* over *homo faber* and *zoon politikon*), bureaucratic forms of government (reduced to administration as a 'national housekeeping') over participation and deliberation, and everything becoming an object of production and consumption (therefore exchange). Due to loss or reduction of this public sphere where one can express him/herself in presence of others, policy framework is constructed by this fear of getting out of this regime, fears such as increase of crimes or boredom when work is no longer the central activity of society (Arendt 1958). Despite critics towards her solid dichotomies of economy and politics, public and private, etc. (that these can not be separated easily as, say, within economic or social, there's the political), she paved the way of thought for participatory democracy (as in Greek *polis* as a model) and civic/political agency, concepts relevant to late modernity, citizenship, civil society, social movements and NGO activities as we know them today.

¹³ For Arendt, three human conditions were life, worldliness and plurality, with corresponding activities of *labour* (all activities necessary for natural survival), *work* (activities that constructs a human environment, made for humanly use and enjoyment, including artisanship and art works) and *action* (praxis, political activity with reflection and speech). While work and action are connected with identity, labour is not. On the other hand, while labour and work can be conducted in private settings, action can take place only within a public space, in presence of others (Passerin d'Entrèves 1994).

II.1.3. “Latter”: Organisation of work and life in late modernity

Critical approaches to the early modern world view started to spring up from economic and social rights and ecological perspectives, within the advanced phase of modernity, a phase of reflexivity against the radical consequences of modernity (Giddens 1990). This so-called universal system, in which every individual has his/her defined place, has been questioned for some while and it's being de-constructed and changed. Change is not limited to economic, legal and political system, but individuals' career and life plans and attitudes related to work are also different. Rising individualisation goes hand in hand with new collective identities and belonging patterns, such as religious conservatism and ethnic and other narrow cultural identities. Globalisation brings a transnational dimension to economy and multinational capital is in need of continuous expansion of markets throughout the world. In the global competition medium, labour cost minimisation efforts utilise every opportunity to go beyond conventional monitoring and control mechanisms, do the most and fastest by less employee, overcome and get rid of trade unions and regulations which might prevent these, bring forward flexible working hours and temporary contract workers, encourage working at home and overtime, and transform the features of work totally. While a life-time career in a single company and retirement from the same place where this career started

was a natural case, this uni-dimensional linear life is simply "boring" if not "unsuitable for personal development" for new generation of employees. Employment in a single work place is shorter, each job is lived as another experience or 'project' and life line is formed of divided segments. Weak ties makes one stronger while trust, commitment and mutual responsibility change form. (Sennett 1998). One job need not be similar to former one, nor should one work in his/her own occupation in case he/she has the necessary qualifications and experience. However, this is valid only for those educated and with opportunities, not for socially excluded. Societies are more and more fractured as qualified work force and those who doesn't even hope to access these opportunities.

Roles also change across the society, such as in gender or age roles. On one side, it's not only normal, but also necessary to earn enough for a household, that women also work, but still usually in a gendered manner. For some occupations in service sector, including some fields of non-profits, we can even talk about a feminisation of work. It's also possible that women is the working member of the family when man is long-term unemployed, but even then most of the domestic and care work is fulfilled or organised by her. On the other hand, in mass unemployment and crisis situations it's still women that are dismissed first. Gender relations are transferred to workplace while power shift at home causes also anxiety. Also in compliance with the rising admiration towards being dynamic, seniority is

less favourable as it's considered together with the notion of being 'inflexible'. This causes another power shift towards being young and fresh as being over-experienced can be seen as a disadvantage.

As a challenge to Fordist production and consumption patterns, consumption is also a personalised experience, where consumer prefers customised products and pays not only for the use value, but also for the "meaning" contained within. Touraine (2000) identifies this late (or low) modernity with the emphasis on cultural aspects of individual and society. In such a customised and individualised world, it's not surprising that all definitions are relative and boundaries are less solid, accompanied with the sense of being borderless brought together with the globalisation of capital and information and communication technologies. Certain, definite and mechanic world of early modernity is increasingly complex and unpredictable, and boundaries of communities, life styles and living territories are vague, presenting new identification patterns and therefore new puzzles for humanities and social sciences. Response of sciences is emerging of new sub-disciplines and interdisciplinary fields, customisation of research methods with qualitative methods gaining importance, and production of new narratives rather than grand universal conclusions by the use of texts, stories and cases such as in oral history or discourse and text analysis.

This late or second modernity has been deemed "reflexive" by Anthony Giddens (1990). This naming implied confrontation of modernisation process with unexpected consequences of its interventions in society and nature in the name of wealth accumulation and rupture from traditional ways, therefore forcing of the very boundaries it defined and vanishing or transforming of social and environmental conditions that framed the first or early modernity. Some major features of this new period have been listed as follows:

- As a result of globalisation, which may be defined as release of production and labour/capital tension from its fixed local and national ties, formal frames of work, full employment and social welfare state are forced and challenged.
- Control of labour for the maximisation of products and services are achieved not only by hierarchic structures and mechanisms, but by internalisation of control by consent, self discipline, identity and motivation methods; work is lived as an experience or life project, and flat hierarchies and network style organisation of work including team work and worker initiative becomes new and dominant discourse for productivity.
- By the failure of planning-based institutional modernity against its own side effects and unexpected consequences, experts, expertise and

technocratic democracy schemes are questioned and struggles for new social rights arise.

- By customised production and consumption, local information and service sectors gain ground.

- Contract based, free lance, flexible and part-time works are more frequent in parallel with the trend of individualisation of social (and work) security as a choice rather than a right.

- "Private sphere" once separated from the public is increasingly politicised by identity politics and women's movements, invaded by the public by media or work reinserted in homes, while differentiation in gender and generation roles are changing shape, resulting in a power shift in households and private lives.

- Rising inequalities within societies and between regions of countries are triggered by intellectual skill and personal qualification basis of decent and high salary works (which are scarce anyway), leading to chronic long-term unemployment, poverty and exclusion and emerging of a sub-class.

- Urban fractures are caused by complete segregation of living environments between social classes and communities, especially by increasing security

concerns of privileged sections of the society.

- Ecological crisis is more apparent both on global and local levels, by the exploitation of resources once thought to be infinite by the anthropocentric development and growth driven system.

- Post-materialistic demands and concerns like recognition of identities leads to diversification and complexity of political actors while participatory democracy or good governance becomes the dominant political discourse, encouraging the formation and participation of issue-based non-governmental organisations and identity and communitarian politics.

Various authors list "ambiguity", "uncertainty", "liquid" or "disorientated" as general characteristic of this period. This complexity, flexibility, state of being open-ended, drift and indeterminate future named as Risk Society by Beck (2000) leads to both an anxiety of an uncertain future and a new sense of freedom by relief from authority and modern ties as well as traditional ones, opportunities for new beginnings and restructuring as well as a hope not necessarily time relevant. Life is a career within itself, a performance and a narrative written by the individual him/herself.

This new period requires a new definition of social and political with its reflections on patterns of belonging, forms of citizenship and the ways of

organising around work or action. This leads to flat hierarchies, professionalised management/organisation approaches or network organisations where authority is dispersed, hidden or informalised. Contrary to solid and bureaucratic "rational" organisations of the early modernity which are unable to respond to dynamic and increasingly complex environments, these forms of organisations have been presented as "best practices" regarding their ability to adapt to changes. Flat hierarchies and team work requires individual initiatives, creativity and experimentation, which is a challenge to former type power organisations, even within the organisation sometimes.

This new work organisation understanding brings forward following features as trends and tendencies:

- flexibility and continuous specialisation,
- customised production according to different customer profiles and continuous effort to define or form own niche in the market,
- contingency forced by continuous development of technological infrastructure,
- new integral approach towards tasks within teams, therefore tasks not

finely divided as in the band production, but team as a whole is responsible for the fulfilment of tasks requiring multiple skills (in other words, contrary to consequent series of workers doing their specialised tasks in front of the moving band, teams act both as the band and the worker in customised production and adapt rapidly for the new demand),

- small scale organisations with fractured chain of production,
- continuous negotiation and consensus preferred and sometimes forced rather than conflicts,
- emphasis on participatory decision mechanisms and work place democracy,
- network type production and workplace, where collaboration and competition are found together with a calculative trust, part of the work (especially those not requiring any skills) is outsourced and exported from the organisational body, and core labour is separated from unskilled peripheral one which can easily be disposed in need.

As a response to current period, "human resource management" has been very influential in the current business organisations and this department is not only responsible for recruitment, performance evaluation and upgrading

or dismissal, but also continuous development or "empowerment" of personnel, achieving efficiency by in or extra work activities, and even further career planning in case of ending of contract. This is the result of skilled human being one of the two major factors together with technology in order to be able to adapt. A decent high salary job expectation imposes continuous and multidimensional training and personal development going beyond school and university, and also social skills by extra curricular activities in a careerist way.

II.1.4. An uneasy co-existence of "Former" and "Latter"

Above periodisation and dominant discourses about work and citizenship within different periods provide possibilities for us to analyse the tensions appearing within daily lives, as later period do not simply overhaul the former, but represents the search for a rupture from some basic features while preserving others. Furthermore, change is not immediate or determinate, but outcome of long and complex struggles and contingent, creating a lag between assumptions reflected in the norms and new ways or tendencies of doing things. Finally, modernity is lived as different experiences in different geographies. Despite the claim of early modernity's rational form, there's a diversity of modernisations, varying among countries or societies.

For work organisations, terms like flexibility, initiative, participation, continuous personal development, life long learning, full tasks, team work, realisation of self have been very popular as well as low hierarchy symbolised in quality chambers. Reflected in organisational structure and norms, this change also imposes itself as dominant organisational culture also by media, and is in a continuous conflict with the older ways of organisational culture and work styles. In these new ways of work, initiatives given to employees and teams, freedom in styles, work times and places as long as goals are achieved, or working in one's own small businesses within social networks might awake the perception of freedom and self control. However, as work is continuously reshaped according to the demands of clients (boss, employer, outsourcer or customers), a feeling of drift is also possible (Sennett 1998). On the other hand, efforts of the management to produce a meaning for work or organisation in order to create employee identification and commitment might lead to positive feelings towards work, or attribution of a social medium and team spirit shared by other colleagues; while bearing a share of truth, real purpose of the management here is "effective and efficient" work, and minimisation of costs of control, formerly achieved by supervisors applying direct forms of control, by amorphous and indirect forms of control and consent, internalisation of control by employees themselves. Flattened hierarchies are possible mainly by self discipline of the employees and by manipulation of emotions for efficiency and productivity purposes. One step further, usually

met in service sector, is use or control of emotions against customer to be transferred into profit (Hochschild 1983). Any form of arguing or conflict of employees with the paying customer, even show of feelings of discontent is undesirable; on the contrary, they have to act as if in a positive mood in order to be able to achieve their task. Also for the boss or manager, it's not always easy to delegate power to the employees, and whatever the organisational scheme is, the attitude may end up in old way of bureaucratic or direct control despite prevailing discourse of new management.

Furthermore, above discussion is valid only for service work or professional or managerial positions while scientific management is applied towards low skilled or trained-only-for-the-task workers of mass production or de-skilled McJobs with all its coercive direct control measures combined with use of information technologies and a toolbox of other soft control measures addressing the emotions or attempting to create a meaning as well. Lack of job security and discouragement of trade union organisation at the work place is another feature of these jobs; the difference is these productions are now less visible as they're transferred to overseas countries where legal infrastructure and level of organisation among workers allow these “cost minimisation” of labour efforts. In exchange, full employment society is also becoming less of a reality or future prospect for the Western societies simply because of lack of jobs while assumptions of full employment society behind labour laws and social security schemes remain, and many

citizenship rights are still linked to be a 'working citizen'.

Challenges brought forward towards citizenship in this period have been reflected in the rise of 'citizenship studies' in political and social sciences in the beginning of 1990's (Kadioğlu 2007) and citizenship as only a matter of status or registration has increasingly been questioned. Marshall's classical study (Marshall 1992) had already dealt with rights linked to status of citizenship as civil, political and social and economical rights, observing that without social and economical rights guaranteed, there would be no equality basis among citizens as assumed by the very notion of citizenship. Kymlicka and Norman (2000) propose 'identity/belonging' and 'virtue/activity' dimensions near 'status' to analyse perceptions of citizenship by different actors via tensions and contradictions between these dimensions, and also to investigate the challenges brought in by globalisation towards each of these dimensions within national citizenship concept. 'Status' dimension of citizenship, which assumed equality among citizens in rights and responsibilities laid out in constitutions and legal framework as a 'contract', has never been implemented by itself during the first modernity. Perceived identity dimension of citizenship (defining who 'really' belongs to the nation according to their ethnic origin, language, religion, etc., and therefore is privileged or not) has contradicted the 'equality in rights' assumption of the 'status' component of the modern nation-state. Finally, virtue/activity dimension of citizenship has defined the

level and form of citizenship activity in order to be a responsible citizen.

All these dimensions varies from country to country, but they are all being challenged substantially by the processes and consequences of globalisation and the new phase of modernity, some of which have been discussed in the previous section. Status dimension is challenged by both international migration and recognition demands of diverse communities within countries (Keyman & İçduygu 2003) leading to transnational dimensions of citizenship. According to Kadioğlu, nation-state as “the entity that once created the conditions for the entry of people into the political realm (...) has become an obstacle to political participation” as recognition demands of minority communities challenged identity dimension from a denationalization perspective as well as established conceptions of 'activity' dimension (Kadioğlu 2007:283). Also European citizenship has brought another post-national challenge to national citizenship status within Europe by recognizing voting rights of non-citizen residents from other member countries; we should add social and economic rights not affected by mobility as well.

Apart from these, 'working citizen' concept as a citizenship virtue/activity is challenged by the loss of a full employment society perspective. Erosion of social rights perspective and social welfare state challenges the status and equality assumption by the break of 'contract' between state and citizen.

Finally, globalisation and complex nature of global problems (of ecology, human rights beyond citizenship rights, and social and natural disasters) challenge the very base of politics by the urge of upgrading of platform of policy making to an international and global level. These challenges to citizenship concept of the former phase of modernity doesn't mean that the former notion is easily dissolved, but resistance and nationalistic reactions are built up mainly starting from identity dimension, but also reflected in status and virtue/activity dimensions. Challenges to citizenship and resistance of the former view on citizenship coexist in an uneasy tension and struggle, reflected in the exercise of and struggle over power relations.

Tensions between features of different periods of modernity and consequent challenges about work, society and politics also surface in the context of Turkey, as a country located in between periods of modernity, levels of economic and human development and cultural geographies. A wider account about the development of civil society discourse and surge of NGOs have been given in Chapter 1, but it's important here to deal with the relevance of these developments to wider periodisation of modernity. According to Keyman and İçduygu “the legitimacy crisis of the strong-state tradition, the process of European integration and the process of globalization” are determining processes and different interpretations of modernity by different cultures co-exist with a continuous tension (Keyman & İçduygu 2003). Some other authors, particularly researchers from

American and European institutions, have analysed the relationship of Islam, modernity and civil society in the context of Turkey and the views differ widely; while authors like Ernest Gellner presents Islam as a rival to civil society, others criticise this view for ignoring the multiplicities within Islam, different contexts of Islamic countries and societies and finally power relations within each society (for a detailed account see (Özdalga & Persson 1998) and (Kadıoğlu 2005)). As mentioned in Chapter 1, there's an additional and conclusive material resource factor of funding, ignored by many authors of political science, which shapes the forms of organisation and attitudes within organisations in civil society.

Recent years have witnessed a democratic reform process expanding the space of freedoms in favour of citizens against a highly centralised and powerful state mechanism. Dominant understanding of status and virtue dimensions of citizenship by the state has been challenged redefining the boundaries of the civil society as a consequence. Level of organisation in civil society have soared and citizenship is becoming “denationalized” from its Sunni-Turkish identity despite a rejuvenation of nationalist movements as a reaction (Kadıoğlu 2007). Status dimension of Turkish citizenship, which historically used to put emphasis on duties rather than rights, is balanced by rights claims and virtue/activity dimension, which used to praise an “active responsible citizen” in protecting the state, but “passive” in participating for own (or community) rights and using freedom of

expression, is also challenged by this expansion of civil society.

Dominant organisational culture in political or work organisations used to be a bureaucratic hierarchy replicated from the state mechanism and mostly accompanied with the monopolization of power in the figure of authority, but this culture is also being challenged mainly by younger generation within organisations, global policy and management experts or their native counterparts disseminating a new governance and management discourse via trainings, publications or consultancy, or organisational activists voicing the dissent.

Civic-political and organisational cultures are intertwined and embedded within each other, directly affecting each other, with changes in one space finding its reflection in the other. Though these changes and emerging actors and cultures are not always and necessarily democratic and might bear authoritarian or solitary communitarian trends, it's certain that they contribute to plurality and complexity of the field by challenging the conventional. In order to understand the tension between the conventional establishment and urge for change in either space, we can look at the specific case of issue based NGO's and the place of agency within organisations.

II.2 Prospects for NGOs and NGO work

The meaning attributed to work and citizenship and social organisation forms of work and citizenship activity reflect the fundamental power relations in a society; very existence of NGO's, social or political activities of them and their preferred organisational forms are not independent of these relations. Authors critical of the discourse of 'NGOs' treat them as part of hegemony in its Gramscian meaning, placed in relationship to the other players in processes of politics (Demirovic 2003). Combined with Larner's (2000) and Nightingale's (2005) suggestions of 'neo-liberalism as a form of governmentality', this critique of hegemony towards resource rich and particularly international NGOs and their networks, and also global civil society as infrastructure of counter-hegemonic resistance bears the promise of providing a more comprehensive picture (Katz 2006) about the “institutional terrain” and expression of power in both policy processes with a social transformation point of view (Görg & Brand 2003), and also within the organisations as part of professional and managerial power games.

Barnett (2005) however, warns about “amalgam” of Marxist theories of neo-liberal hegemony and Foucauldian approaches of governmentality as efforts of “filling up the holes in both conceptions” and point to the perception of concepts around governmentality as “instrumental mechanisms by which clearly defined actors, possessed with clearly articulated interests, pursue

their clearly articulated programmes” by the Marxist hegemony theorists, while there were no such intention at the other because of the preferred scale of analysis of whole networks of institutions, bureaucracies and states. Furthermore, he suggests to give up the “narratives of neo-liberalism”, as the use of this narrative does not pay much attention to socio-cultural processes and therefore doesn't help to understand social relations, but reduce them into “residual effects of hegemonic projects”. This approach might be helpful to bring in a consistent explanation for the wider macro level context, however to understand emergent forms of resistance, activism and action for change, and the dynamic processes that these are lived in needs to explore this relational “social” aspect of power.

Indeed, issue based NGO's as defined in Chapter 1 and paid work within these organisations constitute a unique medium of intersection and overlapping, therefore tension and conflict between economic and the political spheres, public space and private space (of the organisation), labour and action, identities of worker/employee and “active responsible citizen”, and agency and established structure. As a whole, I have proposed in Chapter 1 that these tensions and conflicts originate from the multiple characteristic of the organisation as a 'work place', a 'public space' where one expresses and lives his/her identity, and also a platform of democratic action. These tensions and conflicts also holds a promise of unveiling of exercises of power and power relations, therefore emergence of new ways

of work, action and organising.

In order to get into details of how these tensions and conflicts are lived within issue based NGO's, we first need to deal with the notion of civic/political agency with its aspect of individual's search for meaning and becoming a subject, and implications on perceptions of citizenship. Later we'll deal with NGO as a managed work place and the consequent tensions between these different features of NGOs.

II.2.1. Civic agency problem revisited in the second modernity: agency, power, empowerment

The non-material choice of taking part in any role (founder, member, volunteer or employee) in an issue-based NGO has a strong political dimension, an explicit or implicit criticism about the way things are in world or society. This dimension is reflected in individual's choice of NGO as a potential of self-realisation, according to its central issues, public image and reputation, ways of organising, treatment towards various stakeholders around this issue, ways of fundraising, etc. NGO's provide an alternative way of participating into politics, which is stuck in the vicious circle of representative democracy, between hierarchical political party bureaucracies and national governments. Political party bureaucracy is oriented around posts which are not easy to get through. Parties claim to represent voters in

parliaments and aims to get the government by zero-sum elections, usually leading to harsh competition and a language of cynicism and hypocrisy, which repels ordinary citizen from them. Also a national framework of government is now inadequate for responding to complexity of the problems, and added regional or intergovernmental institutions are also bureaucratic. On the other hand, NGO's focus on a specific problem, build up relationships and cooperate with other actors rather than compete, adopt flexible methods and ways to reach the target, and seem to be open for the contribution of anybody in their own self-designated time and way. This is a positive image to attract those with the matching concern, and thus they open up themselves a space of intervention between local and national levels, national and international levels, government and citizens, and so on. Together with new social movements, this promise of providing a platform of influence and pressure, where results of one's contribution is easy to observe, introduced a new way of becoming an agency in policy matters and promote a new way of active citizenship.

Arendt's theory of action (as explained in *The Human Condition* (Arendt 1958)) is derived from the human condition of plurality, which bears both equality with and distinction from others with whom they share the same public sphere. Every individual in this sense is unique with own biography and perspective on the world, and to take action means to step forward from private life to create a public space where freedom could appear. Action

entails speech and vice versa, which is impossible without freedom, and freedom here is identical to natality, i.e. capacity to initiate something new. Arendt's notion of action is therefore communicative, only possible in presence of others and directly related to identity, with articulation of aims, intentions and meanings by speech. By action, one becomes an actor towards an audience that shares the same space, as in Greek *polis*, a potential space of actions and speech, that provides capacity to act, 'power'.

Here power is different from strength as it doesn't belong to the individual, but constituted by a plurality of actors. It is different from force as it is not natural, but a collective human achievement. It is not achievable by violence, as it is not based on coercion, but on consent and deliberation; therefore it is a communicative and legitimate potential that can not be sustained by economic, bureaucratic or military means.

Because of freedom and plurality outset, action is unpredictable and no actor can control final outcome, but only sets off processes and enters into web of actions and events to which all actors contribute. Therefore nobody is author or producer of his or her own life story, but an agent. Action is also irreversible and can not be undone.

According to critiques of Arendt, her view of action and power is quite isolated from norms and cultural, economic and social dimensions, ignoring

action and politics as such is embedded in an environment built up by these (D'Entreves 1994). However, we could take her criticism as a 'step forward' from constructed reality of early modernity where economic and social spaces had expanded towards the political to suppress identity aspect. Habermas combined Arendt's views on action with critical theory to take another step forward in his theory of communicative action (Alvesson and Deetz 1999), while Foucault did the same for the conception of power as the capacity collectively formed and used whenever needed, with different techniques and technologies, and also forming resistance whenever exercised.

Arendt's contribution to concept of action and her critiques are particularly important for this study as critiques reveal a basic contradiction between expressive and communicative models of action. Expressive action is performed, heroic and agonal, requires already gained capacity, therefore elitist. Communicative action on the other hand is accommodation, based on persuasion, participatory and therefore democratic. While equality aspect of plurality is related to communicative action, distinction aspect is related to expressive one. Actually, for a public space where legitimate power is built, these two can not be separated, and each agent or actor finds him/herself in one situation or the other I different times; communicative modes lets expressive ones perform and expressive ones can not exist without the accomodational and communicative audience. Issue based NGO's, as (civic)

initiatives to influence policy around the issue they get organised, claim to be agents in the stage of politics as such and provide a platform or leverage for the actors to adopt expressive and/or communicative modes of action in their specific fields. They are also treated as actors with the voice of all that contribute to them. Finally, they constitute an expressive and communicative space within themselves as a microcosm of a public sphere.

Starting from these views, Arendt has been trying to revive the experience of citizenship which relies on virtue rather than goodness, respect vs. love, solidarity vs. compassion and pity, all political principles rather than absolute moralities. This citizenship was built on civic/political agency, something constructed rather than a body of 'volk' or natural belonging of ethnic, religious or racial identity. 'We' of this public space is the constant negotiation and collective identity is constituted by action and discourse; participation is personally fulfilling, but concern about the common world (*amor mundi*) is the substance of political action.

Foucault's departure point on his analysis of 'Agency and Power'¹⁴ in a disciplinary society presents a dark and pessimistic picture, but he claims that it was interpreted as such without his intention (Foucault 2005:72).

'Disciplinary society' shouldn't be understood as individuals had become

¹⁴ French scholars that inform and inspire the theoretical part of this study use the term '*sujet*' [subject] instead of 'agency', particularly when talking about the individual. In this study 'agency' is preferred whenever these two terms can be used for each other. On the other hand, specific mentioning of the term 'subject' is preserved, eg. when double meaning of the term (subject as actor of own life and subject as obedient to a monarch) is used.

more obedient or confined in institutions, but as a society where a more effectively controlled, rational and economic manipulation process is tried to be realised in between activities of production, networks of communication and power relationships. 'Power relations' of coercion, inequality, domination and action over others can be found together with 'communication relations' of reciprocity and production and meaning as well as 'objective capacities' of purposeful work. These forms of actions are not independent, but overlapping, supporting and using each other.

Power and agency are mutually constitutive in a complex relationship; wherever there's power, there's also resistance or the opportunity for resistance (Foucault 2005:76-77). Power relations presuppose that the other (on whom power is exercised) is recognised as an action subject and exercise of power opens up a whole range of responses, reactions, consequences and new departures. Power here is a resource for all, used not only (and not always) for domination, but also for a more positive conception of freedom and resistance. Freedom is not a negative concept of absence of obstructions for our actions, but ability to use our capacities to overcome these obstructions. Power can be exercised only on free subjects, and as long as they are free. Consent and/or violence are instruments or consequences of power, not inherent in the nature of power, though without at least one of them we can not talk about power relations. However, Foucault's 'technologies and techniques of power' provides a frame for

different ways a subject experiences him/herself and thus becomes able to construct his/herself via action. Power relations are contingent, therefore not necessary or fate as we experience it. Power is embedded in discourse and language used. How ethical a subject uses power then becomes a choice.

Freire's concept of empowerment via an alternative pedagogy of the oppressed (Freire 2003), which he calls 'problem-posing pedagogy' can be interpreted and re-read to cover field work of issue based NGO's (Barroso 2002), particularly those working on rights and social issues. Aim of intervention (by the educator) is empowerment of the oppressed through intervention/education of the educator, structured as a dialogue rather than one-sided transfer of knowledge. This framework of intervention/education involves analysis of the situation of being oppressed as a critical inquiry in order to start a self-analysis (critical consciousness) and empowerment (regaining of control of one's own life). Therefore, classroom or educational venue is used as a micro public space where dialogue takes place and this dialogue and critical inquiry is used for collective empowerment. Many progressive NGO's claim to have adopted a combination of Freire's educational philosophy and methodology with Gramsci's conception of civil society (Barroso 2002; Ledwith 2001).

Bourdieu's approach to the structure-agency debate is founded on the mutual constitution and dynamic interdependence of structure and agency, similar

to structuration model of Giddens and power-agency approach of Foucault, however his analysis of power held by the agency covers both economical and non-economical aspects. His proposed analytical tool of *capital* can be defined as “capacity to exercise control of one's own future and that of others” (Ebrahim 2003: 17), which is parallel to power in Freire's approach. *Capital* is consisted of not only economic capital, but also symbolic (such as prestige, status) and cultural capital, a more holistic approach towards agency than Arendt's. Similar to Foucault's approach on construction of agency/subject by self-realisation, Bourdieu draws attention to the phenomenon that structures that guide action are reproduced and new ones are produced by discourse within everyday practices. In order to investigate structure and action, we have to observe daily practices and events of actors.

Touraine's intention of building a sociology of subject has lead him to a voyage of defining the subject. Agency/subject can not be considered separate from critical consciousness, which resists established power by distinguishing itself from all social mechanisms (and from social actor), including citizenship or labour. Agency/subject can be defined only with his/her relationship with self and self-legitimation. Subject is the will to become a subject (Tourine 2008: 180). As such, it is the effort to construct self, rather than becoming a historical actor in the society. Touraine's subject is a 'reflexive' one, as Giddens proposed the term; added to recognising others as subjects (the communicative aspect) and weaving a

historical web of collective struggles as social movements, he/she reflects on self as well as speaking out (expressive aspect). In his lifetime works on modernity, new social movements and agency, his recent works (Touraine 2007) brings women's movements and ecological movements to front as examples to new social movements as consequences that allows construction of new social actors/actresses with new aims and concerns as subjects in new modernity. Similarity between these two movements are construction of a new unification between rivals; while political ecology tries to build cohesion of *nature* and *culture*, women's movements overcome hierarchic positioning of genders. Finally, cultural movements of late modernity is seen as an effort to promote diversity of cultures within universal (and single) idea of modernity, of human rights. Subject as freedom is here again the process and a positive notion of freedom as in Foucault, the capacity to overrun obstructions for freedom, motivation and right to become a social actor/actress. "Civil society" revived in voluntary organisations contains the promise of being the cradle of new descriptions of a political life within new modernity and a new notion of citizenship.

Functional approach of early modernity used to assume that all possible choices of an individual or organisation are made by rational benefit claims and behaviours are almost always calculative, aim-oriented and therefore justifiable. Therefore all decisions and behaviours should have been rational, sometimes even more than possible. However, a big portion of

social and organisational life relies on unpredictable factors, coincidences and exceptions, most of the decisions are made under a level of uncertainty, sub-systems are usually linked by looser ties than it seems, therefore foreseen social control systems (or efforts for it) can easily be inadequate. Human beings who form these organisations can only process limited information, therefore individuals and organisations are only "bounded rational" and real rational choice would be adapting oneself according to this fact and respond to uncertainty. Still during our times, we can observe that work organisation and regulation of work life is mostly compatible to the underlying assumptions of the early phase of modernity, or taking this as a starting point; but also struggles for change mostly target this understanding¹⁵ and social movements form out of these struggles. However, mass organisations or democratic movements like trade unions or many NGOs also replicate this form of organisation regarding their own internal organisation and attitudes of members, by delegation of authority to elected representatives with minimal participation of members in decisions in between election periods. Members are often reduced to annual fee payers and instrumentalised as numbers to be claimed representing when there's a need for political pressure. Participation of members remains limited to general assembly and this is also implicitly accepted by members as well.

Additional to this paradox, another real challenge for emerging urge of

¹⁵ An exception would be workers' movements, which continue their struggle of not losing job security and trade union organisation rights gained during this phase, in favour of flexibility and cost minimisation search of employers.

participatory democracy, deliberation or governance that brought forward the concept of civic agency and social movements and allowed NGOs to surge their activities is about division of one's time and attribution of valuable and non-valuable parts of this division. The hierarchical superiority and the emphasis have shifted from 'free time', which included time for work of arts and political activities, towards 'paid work/employment' during early modernity by the expansion of economy to cover or limit others. Though backlash from full employment society, globalisation and inadequacy of representative democracy in national frameworks are features of second modernity, superior position and centrality of paid work and employment discourse over 'free time', which has to be shared between private sphere and social/political activity, haven't changed for the 'active responsible citizen' of our times.

Emergence of paid positions and professionalisation of NGOs as formerly voluntary initiatives has been a response to this challenge using the opportunities of resources introduced by funding schemes of public resources, as mentioned earlier in Chapter 1. Introduction of a need for management by professionalisation and paid employees has brought in challenges and tensions of adaptation to environmental conditions for sustaining of organisation by securing the resource flow against urge of becoming an actor for change.

II.2.2. Managing NGOs: organisational survival vs. agency for change

Contextual reasons for introduction of management in NGOs have been dealt with in Chapter 1, and tensions between social movement activism and professionalisation and managerialism have been mentioned. This tension and developmentalism is reflected in academic literature about management of NGOs and vast majority of studies on NGO management are either on non-profit service institutions like hospitals, schools and universities, or non-governmental development organisations, many of which exclusively work as service institutions including trainings for local people receiving the development aid, usually from Western or international origin. This is a reflection of shift of attention as well, from grassroots based representational activity to professionalized organisations, from politics to administration, advocacy to service delivery (Srinivas 2009). Even among the studies covering the latter branch of development organisations, a branch whose broader description including 'access to rights' and 'environmental sustainability' (Lewis 2003) falls in the interest area of this study, those analysing employee perspectives towards work and management practices critically from an empowerment aspect are limited in number and scope.

This lack of interest is also consistent with this shift of attention towards

depoliticisation. Management literature on NGOs has a serious problem of lack of critical approach and preference for developmentalist and technicist perspective over emancipatory ones. Even critical literature linking professionalisation of NGOs to neo-liberal hegemony fails to recognize not only the diversity of organisations within the field by focusing only on development organisations, but also power relations and resistance within these organisations by considering them as a monolithic body of capitalist agents free from intentions of various actors within them.

Against the well developed fields of management and public administration/management, NGO management remains immature. Discussion in mainstream branch continues around the question of whether transfer or adaptation from practices in private and/or public sectors can be a response, or the field requires its specific models and practices (Anheier 2000). Lewis recalls Etzioni's organisational difference model between public, private and 'third sector' by the help of 'compliance' concept (Lewis 2005). According to this concept, people get integrated into organisations through exercise of power towards three different kinds of compliance: coercive (by way of sanctions), remunerative (by control of material resources and rewards) and normative (based on symbolic rewards, power of persuasion and shared values and idealism). While all forms exist in all organisations, one form dominate each organisation, usually public sector suggested to be dominated by coercion and legitimate authority, private

sector by remuneration and material rewards and third sector by normative form and symbolic rewards. Therefore, unlike private and public sector work, value driven third sector has been assumed to build commitment among members, volunteers and staff alike around these values and normative content. However, by the blurring of these boundaries, exchanges of these compliances are reflected in managerial techniques in each sectors. Organisational commitment and culture building has been a major issue of human resource management in private sector settings as a tool of manufacturing or attributing a (otherwise absent) meaning and importance at work and work place, a space where 'citizenship' is practised via production or fulfilling of other societal roles (Meda 2004:188). On the other hand, private sector managerial techniques like Total Quality Management or performance appraisal have been adopted by public and third sector organisations in search of 'efficiency' and 'productivity', terms of profitability. Despite management scepticism on the side of NGOs (Lewis 2003), formal management practices of for-profit sector has been imported in NGOs mainly by transfer of professionals, requirements by donors and funders, advice of consultants, capacity building trainings or by self decision of boards or founders. Management becomes a tool for sustaining the organisation taking its relationship with organisational environment into account. This is a resource dependency or 'adaptation' strategy when it leads to compromises or deviations from original mission of becoming (a platform of) an agency for change (an expressive subject) in relevant field.

Though a balanced strategy is always possible, organisational actors usually find themselves in between original mission with its surrounding ethical principles and guaranteeing the resources (both material and non-material) necessary for survival of organisation.

This medium of exchanges leaves us with two questions: 1) If we are to accept the assumption that normative compliance is dominant for third sector in general, and for issue based NGOs as our focus, how do use of coercive and remunerative compliances for third sector organisations fit as these are specific management techniques developed for respective fields of organisations from public and private? 2) How does the transfer of these compliances and consequent management practices change the way power is exercised in organisations and what reaction is received by different organisational actors?

These are questions brought forward as a result of overlapping features of issue-based NGOs, as a platform for democratic action and a (managed) work place. This multiple feature leads to conflicts between organisational actors (particularly employees and board or managers), and confusions and overlapping identities for individuals (as activists and employees at the same time). These tensions can be analysed as conceptual and identity related ones as well, between labour and action, worker/employee and citizen. A labour process framework and its interactions with individual and

organisational sense making processes would be helpful to analyse these power relations with a non-profit value driven perspective, particularly because these interactions bears a potential to inform us about both reproduction of existing structures and power relations, and production or creation of new ones within daily practice of organisations. Both Foucault (2005) and Bourdieu (quoted in Ebrahim (2003)) agree that power can be analysed by focusing on daily practices within institutions whose borders are carefully defined. These practices provide us with the diversity of acts, conducts and techniques of power as well as points of intensification of power and potentials of resistance. As Humphreys and Brown mentioned, “By allowing for individual and organisational narratives to over-lap, inter-weave, distance and dissociate, we are better able to characterise the complexity inherent in distinct and specific associations that highly individuated people enter into with the organisations in which they participate.” (Humphreys and Brown 2002: 440) Meaning attributed to work in personal narratives varies according to political and social background of the individual as well as dominant culture of the society. In contemporary societies, it would be helpful to deal with the intertwined concepts of alienation and job satisfaction to be able to analyse work as a meaning. Together with power relations and control patterns, these concepts lead to discussions on labour process, which was seldom thought together with the civil society concept and more specifically non-profit work.

Within next two chapters, these practices will be analysed from the perspective of employees in the relationship of agency and power. Chapter 3 will be dealing with how individual sense making (as a search for becoming an agency) is constructed and reconstructed as reflected in choices of career in NGOs and responses towards interactions and exercise of power embedded in organisational acts. Chapter 4 will be dealing with labour process introduced in non-profit settings by wage relationship and management (as an exercise of power) together with reflections in job satisfaction and alienation as well as acts of resistance and organising by employees.

III. Work and Identity: Meaning In Issue-Based NGOs

This chapter focuses on analysis of meaning attributed to work by paid 'professional' employees in issue based NGOs. Regarding the limits of this study and work fields and styles of the chosen group of interviewees, I prefer the term 'NGO professionals', despite the features they do and do not share with the conventional meaning of the term 'professional'. In this study, I will follow a life course and labour process analysis, from work in NGO as a career option and experiences in lived reality of work place. In the previous chapter and the proposed framework of analysis, I have suggested that NGOs can be considered as a work place, a public sphere and a platform (or leverage) for civic/democratic agency and participation, and looking at the tensions emerging out of these different features contain valuable potential of understanding the meaning and sense making efforts that shape and are used by power relations within organisations. This chapter therefore focuses on shift, conflict and/or transfer of identities within the organisation as part of individual's sense making and search for a meaningful work.

Focus on individuals in organisations have been usually limited to the disciplines of Organizational Behaviour, Human Resource Management and Industrial Psychology, usually with a functionalist approach of building a

knowledge base for the manager on how to manage individuals better and in a more efficient and productive way. Critical literature on NGOs on the other hand focuses more on organisations as a whole, with their roles and functions in politics and political economy. However, a meso-level study dealing with the experiences of NGO professionals within their complex (social, political and economic) environment is rare. Goldthorpe's 'orientation to work' perspective starts from employee's definition and description of the situation as a start to analyse the meaning attributed to work, which leads to certain ways of acting and thinking (Watson 2003: 41). Goldthorpe's approach of orientation to work has been later criticised by Daniel (both quoted in Watson 2003: 188) to ignore the dynamic and changing nature of orientations, introducing the distinction between the 'bargaining context' (before recruitment) and 'work context'. According to this dynamic approach, priority of individual within 'bargaining context' is more material reward centred while 'work context' brings forward quality concerns such as work content, social rewards and relations with colleagues. Though important to fill up an additional contextual gap, Daniel's conclusions assume a free labour market and a homogeneous profile for job seekers. So orientation to work perspective has to be expanded to involve life narratives and differences in worlds of meanings of individuals beyond 'rational choice' assumptions of economic reason.

Framework of cognitive 'sense making' approach developed by Weick

(Weick et al. 2005) provides an opportunity as such in complexity, leading to place of identity within this meaning construction process. Sense making has been defined as a search for order (without any assurance that there is an order) and a decision of how to represent that order, in another saying “converting a world of experience into an intelligible world comprehensible to ourselves in the best way we can”. This effort is similar to the act of cartography (Weick 2001:9), an act of representation of the terrain according to cartographer's choices and intentions. There may be several different maps (and no one best map) for one terrain according to intended uses, choices of what to represent, and differing points of view. Similar to the act of cartography, sense making as representations of individuals for their situation within their context and relationships with others vary, and they are shaped and reshaped with time as the terrain continuously changes. As such, sense making is a social activity, during which people produce and acquire a sense of order that guides their row of actions in a mutual relationship with both their ever changing (interpretation of) past and multiple and conflicting interpretations of others in a communicative interaction. Identity is continuously constructed via sense making process. Attempts to create order involves both justifications and identifications, and multiple and conflicting interpretations about same situation also creates an opportunity for these forming contents of sense making process, so organisations and work situations are ideal sites as contexts. Weick lists seven basic features of a description of sense making: a) sense making treats

reality as an ongoing flow with varying choices, interpretations, visibility and resulting intensity of behavioural commitments; b) it is about people attempting to create order through comparisons, expectations and action, ending up with momentarily stabilised pictures, and; c) these images represent also wider reality; d) it is a retrospective process and continuous looking back is the primary source of meaning; e) it involves attempts of justifications to make situations rationally acceptable, and; f) images created are used to rationalise actions; g) sense making mainly uses symbolic processes as a central method (Weick 2001:11). Sense making is a “committed interpretation” of the organisation or organising as sites where action leads sense making process. Social structure in the wider picture is realised by this social activity leading to 'structuration' within organisations and also within individuals.

Open-ended, iterative and semi-structured methodology used for processes of interviews in this study have provided a somehow holistic picture for each of the interviewee to reveal ways of sense making during different stages of their relations with the organisation and their work. Each interview process holds an integrity within itself, however in an effort of composition I will use excerpts from interviews in relevant sections below. I will try to analyse the outcomes of the interviews within dynamic 'orientation to work', job satisfaction and sense making frames in order to arrive at construction of meaning about work and work situations that employees go through.

The 5 respondents interviewed in this study and basic information about their work and organisations are as follows (names of organisations are not mentioned and code names (selected by the interviewees themselves) are used to protect anonymity):

Ekin is a 35 years old woman working in the national branch of an international human rights organisation for 7 years. She was graduated from an engineering department and has practised engineering for a while before getting enrolled for the current organisation. Her current position is Director of Administration and Finance, but she was the first employee of the organisation and for a long time the only one. She has been involved in activism and protest movements since the beginning of her university education, and continues to take place in volunteer activist organisations. The organisation has a secretariat in Istanbul and few local offices in different cities of Turkey. There are around 10 paid employee in the secretariat, many of them working directly as coordinators of campaigns.

Şükufe is a 29 years old woman working as advocacy activities responsible in a nationally organised environmental foundation. This is her first job after being graduated in political science in Istanbul and receiving a Masters degree abroad in sustainable development, a conscious choice shaped during her undergraduate studies. She has been volunteering in environmental

NGOs in Turkey and abroad. The number of employees in the foundation mounts to 100 including personnel of logistics, but turnover rate has been quite high. The foundation has experienced a turbulent series of board and administration change in the last three years.

Zeynep is also a 29 years old woman working in the national office of an international nature conservation foundation and within the core department of nature conservation. This is her second job, first one also in the same organisation with one year interval volunteering abroad. She's a graduate of landscape architecture, and she was recruited by the recommendation of her professor which has been working with the foundation as an expert. She was volunteer for nature conservation NGOs in Turkey and abroad. Foundation runs a number of site projects with small local offices, and a headquarters in Istanbul with a staff of 25-30. The General Director which appeared as the central figure of organisation during the interviews has been replaced recently.

Bedri is a 31 years old man working in a nationally organised youth and voluntary service foundation as training responsible. He's graduated from engineering, but never practised his job because he was offered this position. His volunteer and training background comes from his involvement in an international youth organisation he joined during university education. The foundation works mainly with university students

organising community work all over Turkey, with headquarters in İstanbul and employing a staff of 30-40 in total.

Esra is a 28 years old woman working in a foundation specialised in early childhood development, with educational programs run with disadvantaged portions of society in various regions. This is her first job after graduating from educational sciences and psychological consultancy departments and she was offered this job by her professor who is also a board member of the foundation. The foundation has a staff of more than 50, including those recruited in the field offices, and a vast number of volunteer and temporary teacher and trainers.

All the organisations fall within the definition of issue-based NGOs as provided in Chapter 1, with advocacy and policy influencing aspect even when major activity of the NGO is service delivery. Respectively, all the professionals are employed in the core fields of the organisation. In the following sections, I will try to present meaning of their work within their life course by the excerpts from interview processes.

III.1. Meaning and Work in Issue based NGOs as a career choice

Opportunities of paid employment within issue based NGOs has gained

significance only recently and it has become visible as an alternative career option for job seeking young graduates or volunteers, for mid-career professionals and even recently retired high level managers. Underlying contextual reasons for this development have been dealt with in Chapter 1. Despite its increasing visibility, specific characteristics of issue based NGO jobs lies not in quantitative potential of employment, but rising of an alternative sector of employment and the content of the work with meaning attributed to it by the employee and other organisational members, even the wider society.

By the way, recently the sister of my room mate told me that people see me as: 'she's resisting, [working] in an NGO, woow, she's got a purpose, she does not let material concerns over doing good things, and prefers an NGO despite another sector that she can earn money, that's not an ordinary thing to do, we appreciate her'. So I was seen as such, had decided to work in an NGO rather than in market, therefore committed, defining purposes external to me as my priorities rather than conditions of my own life. When she told this to me, I questioned myself if it is so, and I couldn't find the answer to be frank. (Zeynep)

Working in the field of environment meant for me to serve a knowledge and working in a moral issue, working about a public benefit, a higher public benefit, and this is an issue which is both prestigious and important, that I find important about life. So I always see myself different, I do not work for a company but in the field of environment. I find it as a plus for earth and for our own lives, I always motivate myself and find it important.. (Şükufe)

To comprehend the meaning attributed to their work by the employee, analysis of work-related life narrative as presented by the interviewees are enlightening. The course I follow below starts from pre-recruitment understanding about the job, its change after being enrolled as a paid

employee and during the interview process, as an accompanied self-analysis. Concept of 'orientation to work' and cognitive process based 'sense making' approach of Weick (Weick 2001) provide a useful frame of analysis that these life narratives fit in.

One basic feature of sense making is retrospective; looking back to past (as perceived then) is used as the primary source of meaning.. Perception of job in NGOs as an instrument of a higher cause finds its background in personal narratives about one's past which begin already from childhood. For Zeynep, working in a nature conservation NGO was a choice developed since childhood:

Perhaps, because I always wish to find my dreams perfectly, and always mix them up with the reality, when I was a child I wanted to help the injured in the war fields rather than working in a hospital if I were to be a doctor, report from wars if I were to be a journalist, run after animals if a biologist, but never a normal life that I earn a lot. I guess because of that, this is the single most opportunity that I can find in Turkey's conditions with the education I've got in my department in university. I could not be a journalist, doctor, could not go there, but fulfilling part of my dream in NGOs as a landscape architect.

Zeynep first started her job in the nature conservation organisation as a field officer in a forest area right after graduation as a temporary consultant. Also triggered by this temporary status, she felt abandoned by the organisation and, after one year's work, she left for a year abroad. She was offered a position in the headquarters when she got back. In Zeynep's 'orientation to work', childhood visions and culture in family appear as strong determinants. For Zeynep, 'nature' was a significant orientation awoken by

TV documentaries:

Biology was my ideal, watching documentaries and wishing I was running after animals in the field, let there be action, out there, it was shaped like that. I really loved biology, during high school I was reading all kinds of bullshit and talking about them all through the class. But I did not study biology. However, I was enrolled in a perfect department without knowing it, life made a wonderful surprise to me. And there I caught an opportunity to improve myself in this field. Maybe, if I had studied biology, I would not work in nature conservation, I would hate it. It was my dream, but if you ask if I realised it, no.

A similar life narrative finds its place in Şükufe, who also preferred a specialisation in environmental issues during her undergraduate and graduate studies in political science and works in an environmental NGO, though not in nature conservation field directly, but in advocacy:

I had this orientation since high school. I was totally naïve inside, to travel, explore, be in nature, I was not too ambitious, but in certain levels. Then during university years I studied political science, I discovered that I was close to environmental policy field both ideologically and personally. As I got to know more about social and environmentalist movements, I realised I was close and I had a personality and knowledge to be able to contribute. My voluntary service in Italy during third year of my undergraduate studies was a turning point; there I happened to discover this field systematically and orient myself as a volunteer on what can I do and how I can contribute. I discovered myself. Then, when I returned back, I worked on environmental policy as undergraduate and sustainable development as graduate studies. After that I applied to Nature Association in order to use this competency. This is something to do with my orientation, ideology, choices. Like environmentalist from childhood. (...) I remember well, during high school there were not any environmentalism or green movement or none that I knew -of course there were-, but my mentality, life style, and relations with consumption, habits of exploration and being in nature guided me towards doing something about threats and social consequences, and when further experience lead me to certain institutions I ended up in this organisation.

Childhood and family narrative also appears in Bedri, who works in a youth organisation as training coordinator, a position which involves continuous contact with a big number of volunteers in the field:

One thing that stems in my early childhood might be this: my father is a mechanical engineer. Therefore I also wanted to be an engineer, but never a design engineer for example. I always wanted to work in the field, to go on site, like his style of work, you get in contact with people and do something with them, etc. My dream work before volunteering was also like this in form. This might also be because I'm lazy and lousy, but I would not be surprised if it changes somehow, though I might be confused a bit during the change. (...) As a person grown up near an engineer, admiring him, looking at his work, spending his summer in construction sites, learning what an engineer does, finally receiving a similar formation and working in relation to analytical thinking, I think engineering education has a big impact on my work.

Bedri has considered working as an engineer and even been to job interviews upon graduation, but having taken part in an international youth organisation during university education, he preferred working with young people when the opportunity popped up during that time.

I felt like I could carry my personal objectives to this institution. So I preferred it, though its salary was lower and work conditions were tighter and busier; I chose this because I thought space to move was wider and I could reflect and realise my personal objectives. (...) Regarding my personal objectives, I should mention that I'm always in an urge to do some sort of brain gymnastics with everybody I get in touch. Could you call it Socratic thought? May be not to that extent, but I like discussing everything we live, from the color of tea to family relationships, by questions. And I think this is important, for one to develop and realise him/herself. I thought I could reach as many young people as possible via the foundation, therefore I could do this much more, this space was provided to me. These were more or less my personal objectives and in this sense I think I realised it.

I did not know what I would do. Actually this is my general

attitude. May be a bad one, but I usually do not put myself anything about what I will do. I simply eliminate the options I would not do at all, one comes up among the rest. I draw the line, frame, whatever fits in. (...) I will manage with whatever comes up. But this does not mean acting without a plan, because those lines change, they change as I live on. You say 'I would never do that', and hoooooop, half of the plan's gone, your options are now less. If this is drawing a career plan, yes I have such an attitude, it's not about what I will do, but about what I won't. Neither engineering nor NGO work are among the list of 'not to do'. And NGO work came up, it also fit in, I went on with that.

Ekin, another engineer who even practised her job for a while, also thinks her engineering formation helps her a lot during her job in the human rights organisation.

Logic is extremely important, I'm still grateful for the engineering education I received. That logical relation appears in quite many things. This is one very relevant reason why I'm a valuable employee for my organisation, my mathematical thinking, or ability to build up logic or cause and effects relations. I can solve problems, I mean.

However, this is not one of the reasons she preferred working in this organisation, but her activist stance in human rights field. She defines herself as (trying to be) a revolutionary in all fields of life including daily practices and work, “within all sorts of behaviours and attitudes, position and stance at work place, views on her family, relations with friends”:

If I was only a volunteer, I would not volunteer for this organisation. But in this system, this organisation should exist, I'd do anything for it to be effective within this system.

Esra did not have a volunteer or activist background before her job in the foundation that develops and provides preschool education programs for underprivileged children in remote regions of the country or cities. She was

offered the job of coordinating these programs by her professor in university, where she studied psychological counselling and education and participated in a research conducted by the foundation, on behalf of her university:

I was enjoying so much during that research, entering the data and receiving the results of questionnaires. (...) Then realising that actually it's the foundation that does the job, I became aware of other programs also during our courses more intensively, I was so touched. When our professor told us about the work done, I remember questioning myself a lot: Will I be a teacher in a private school when I graduate? No, I do not want to do that, I'd like to do this, something like this, taking a bigger benefit for a wider group, I remember thinking myself. Then our professor had written in my yearbook: "Do not forget that there are lots of children whose developments are at risk in Turkey, and give them priority." All these, and maybe my personality, a touch of social responsibility...I wanted to do something like this, and this was the direct connection due to university. (...) I was interested in these programs, appreciating all that's done, and also I witnessed the effects, as I was entering the data I could see the difference with the control group.

All of these excerpts reflect that working in issue based NGOs was more of a choice than need (apart from the need for 'any' kind of work fulfilled for material purposes to earn a living) for the interviewees at the beginning of their career¹⁶. This was an alternative choice made against working in private and public sector; working in public sector was not emphasized as an option (though mentioned) in any of the interviews. I observed this attitude even in Esra, who was most likely to be enrolled in a public school by profession (of guidance and counselling). Throughout the interviews, her only other career option was mentioned as 'private schools' (except only

¹⁶ For all interviewees but Ekin, this is their first job with a salary, and for Ekin this is the first job in NGOs and second one after a short engineering career.

when asked openly if public sector was a career option) and when she left the foundation after interviews, she was enrolled in a private school. Indeed, her first attempt of leaving the foundation for a job in another private school caused her to return back to the foundation:

Here in Diyarbakır, you can observe the effect of what you do with vulnerable children more easily. But there [in the private school she signed a contract] possibility of not seeing any effect at all, or not to be understood is more. There you can shift towards something completely different. They mentioned this and I remained speechless, returned back to the foundation and cried thinking 'why they make me without a choice but leave, I actually love my job'. The principal was accompanying me in a tour of school, and told me that they expel children who are unable to adapt or unsuccessful. This is horrible for me, there I felt like seriously distant and my heart was broken even when I signed the contract.

For Bedri, first alternative to his job would be freelance trainings in the youth field and he is confident that he would manage somehow and still be content with what he does in life in case he decides to quit:

I think I can survive if I quit. Both regarding my network, and the work I do, I think I can work free lance. I do not know if I can live in the same level of welfare, but I guess I can manage myself. So concern of survival is at the bottom level.

Şükufe considers establishing a consultancy firm and working in UN agencies as serious options, while for Zeynep, other NGOs and university career could be desirable (though she's doubtful about both) while she thinks she could work in an organisation company only if she has to.

In a conference last week, I met a woman, a research assistant at a university in my department, doing a Ph.D. in planning, learning GIS, the thing I'd like to. But when I look her, I see her eyes telling 'I'd like to be in your place', and I tell her the same thing, 'I wish I was in your place', mutual. One does not know as long as s/he do not live in it, and nothing s/he lives satisfies

him/her perhaps. (...) I can not say 'I really would like to work in NGOs, I'm here for that, so if I quit here, I'd work in an NGO', because when I ask myself 'what can I do if I do not work in an NGO?', I ca not find any answer. I mean, is this my inevitable, or do I do it because I like it, I do not know the answer. My experience is working in an NGO, starting from my university student times, I have not improved myself in my original occupation, I can not do that. Apart from that I do not have any other job experience or knowledge as such. So I do not know if I do it because I have no other options, or I love this job. (Zeynep)

This point of alternatives to current job has not come up at all with Ekin, who was the first employee of the organisation (and also single one for a long time), despite her clear dissatisfaction with the content of her work in her current position as finance and administration director:

This is the position I would not like to be at all, most stressful, most risky. Maybe only director's position could be comparable to mine. I would have liked to organize campaigns, my real area of interest, I'm essentially a campaign person. But campaigning...actually, you feel a responsibility towards the organisation, because mistakes made in these sorts of works creates serious problems while little mistakes in campaigns are tolerable, they do not return back to organisation, or time line of campaigns are wide enough to intervene. Though I intervene to campaigns as well when I realise something wrong, there's a problem in administration and finance if you do not deal with it and somebody does wrong. Thus I was saddled up with this position because I felt responsible.

All the respondents consider themselves as competent to earn their lives by other ways, particularly as free lance or in private and intergovernmental settings. As a result, all respondents have presented working in an NGO (and particularly working in their particular field of activity) as a choice. This choice holds a significant place within their life narratives (starting from childhood and with family influences), which prioritise individual's active role in society and/or dialogue with others over material gains. This

choice takes us to expectations from work and expected form of job satisfaction.

III.2. Meaning in Work: Job Satisfaction and Meaningful Work

Conventional job satisfaction research indicates a decreasing pace from businessmen and professional executives to officer level workers, qualified workers equipped with certain skills and finally daily unqualified workers; a parallel hierarchy of social class should therefore be an expected consequence. Job satisfaction factors other than material benefits can be categorised as prestige and status of job/occupation within society, degree of autonomy and control at work conditions (hierarchical control, opportunities of upgrading, flexibility to arrange work rhythm and self-time), social security and other social opportunities, extra-work sharing with colleagues, use of creativity and skills, being motivated at work and working with experts (Blauner and Parker quoted in (Watson 2003)). On the other hand, factors on dissatisfaction are repetitive work, partial work, tasks seen to be useless, feelings of insecurity and being monitored too closely.

In two extreme ends, job satisfaction can be classified as internal and external satisfaction.

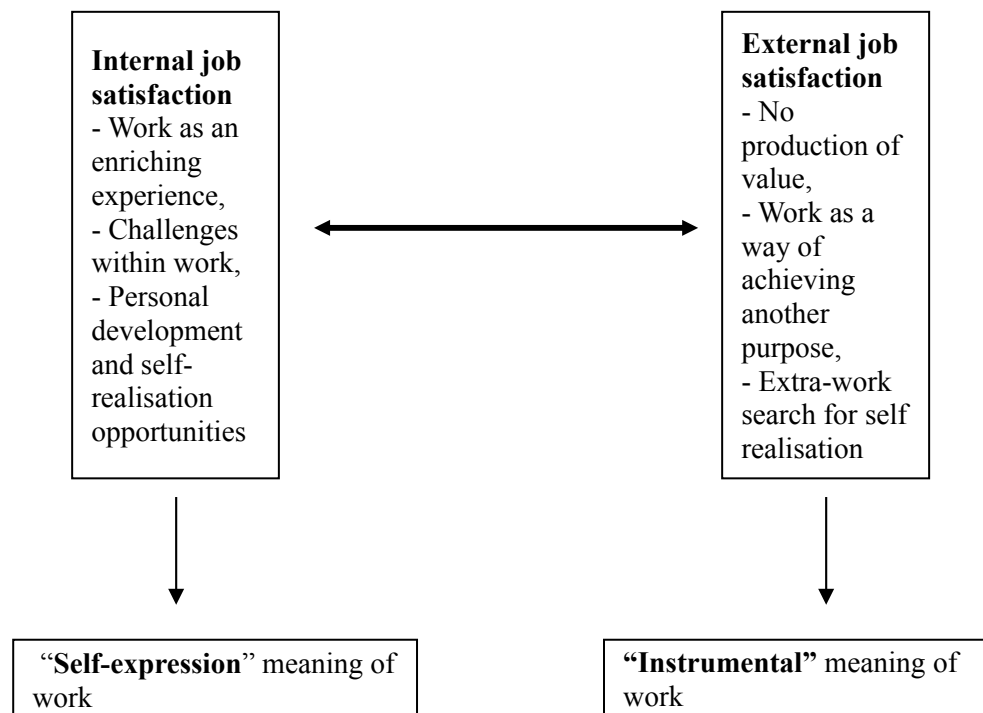


Figure 2. Meaning of work related to job satisfaction (Watson 2003:179)

External satisfaction is related to a distinction of self identity from work and work organisation due to impossibility of a personal value gain apart from material one; therefore work is seen by the employee as a way to achieve a completely different aim and human satisfaction is totally separated from work and sought outside of work environment. External satisfaction attributes an instrumental meaning to work as salary is considered as a compensation for time and labour spent obligatorily at work and emotional investment in work is at minimal level. Internal satisfaction, on the other hand, is related with work as an enriching experience, providing challenges to worker and opportunities for personal development and self-realisation.

Internal satisfaction attributes a self-expression (identity) related meaning to work. This sort of satisfaction which is desirable for high-commitment jobs is sought to be created by management. Job satisfaction in this scale of internal and external satisfaction is related to how central work is in individual's life or whether or not they see their main fields of interest that they identify themselves as (part of) job as well.

In the survey I conducted at the beginning phase of this study, 32 among 45 former or current employees were 'usually' or 'very much' satisfied of their work. However, all respondents of my interviews replied as 'managing somehow' and we elaborated further on this choice of expression. 'Working for change', 'inner satisfaction' and 'working in the field of own interest' were dominant replies (29 out of 45) together with 'in order not to work in private sector' or 'in order not to serve profits/capital' for the question of 'Why did you prefer to work in this organisation/field?'; only 6 presented material or instrumental reasons or 'coincidence'. NGO professionals can be placed among professional executives and officer level workers, with a higher level of expected satisfaction and dominantly internal satisfaction according to this outcome.

III.2.1. Job Satisfaction and Meaning in NGO Work

Sociologically, “work” is often placed in profit-based production and

economic exchanges, both by mainstream/liberal school and Marxist one. The non-profit type of work doesn't ultimately produce profit (to be distributed to shareholders) by production or service, but influence and social change which often can not be measured by economic terms. This type of work and job satisfaction on the side of professional paid staff of NGOs have not been investigated accordingly. For volunteer work within NGO's, a search for internal satisfaction and therefore a self expression type meaning can be assumed, as there's no expectation of direct material gain in exchange of labour provided; it's the challenge of the work organisation for volunteers then to lead to this satisfaction. However, when it comes to paid staff in this context, an impact of introduction of a wage relationship on form of job satisfaction and resulting dynamics of identity can be expected. Some possible negative factors other than the content of the work that might have an impact on job satisfaction can include (but are not limited to) managerial practices of control, autonomy and accountability, such as mimicking and reproduction of private sector practices with purpose of profit maximisation in non-profit work (Theuvsen 2004); neverending need to search for funds sometimes leading to compromises from personal or organisational values and standings; and relations with organisational 'others' (board, volunteers, other staff, target groups and stakeholders) and characteristics of work (being repetitive, emotionally demanding, etc.).

Above mentioned forms of job satisfaction (external and internal

satisfaction) are two extreme ends and this relationship is also a complex one, especially when job and employment has such a central and determining role in the lives of individuals in modern times. Expectations from job and satisfaction can not be reduced to one single category. What happens instead is a combination of material rewards and self expression, though priorities and tendencies towards one end might vary among individuals and might change by experience. Şükufe, while mentioning her priorities in choosing a job, presents an integral picture:

- 1) Opportunities to make a change,
- 2) Field of activity,
- 3) Opportunities to get into contact with decision makers and public opinion leaders.

These three are assumed to be together with a good social medium and a high salary . If you look at normal scale, they all are identical, except NGO sector. In our sector it's not like that, problems are caused from that.

Working in an NGO as a choice of career against private and public sector becomes also a conscious choice of non-material rewards prioritised over material ones. This choice is expressed either through an externalised (creating a change) or internalised (peace with one self or self development) manner:

Actually, I do not have any other sort of satisfaction than internal peace. My own internal peace I got from the organisation and the salary, but the salary, which could be a lot higher if I were to continue engineering, can cover only my rent and a moderate, very moderate, not above standards at all, life style; well, I do take that and I have to take that, money for tea and soup. And personal satisfaction, nothing else. (Ekin)

My motivations were finding solutions to problems via things I do at work, being useful for something, seeing that it's useful for

something used to make me happy. Not receiving an appraisal from my manager or getting a double raise for my salary, but realising I'm fulfilling myself, seeing that this 'advocacy' works. (Şükufe)

To work in an NGO, one has to believe in what s/he does. Because the aim is change, and in order to make a change you have to believe in something. Yes, main purpose of those who apply to job advertisements is earning their lives. Yes, I also have to earn my life besides, but parallel to this I think there is a spirit. (Zeynep)

For Şükufe, the foundation and its reputation in the wider society also contributes to the feeling of being important:

Working in a well known organisation in Turkey. For example when I go to meetings, workshops, conferences, widespread, grassroots and well known among many individuals living in Turkey, from a high school student to a farmer, they are aware of the organisation. This situation, recognition, being known, people saying 'ah you work there?', makes me feel that I do an important job somehow. (...) So when you say ... Foundation, working in a somehow publicly well-known and appreciated place and recognition that comes together with that awake the feeling that you do an important job and makes you feel satisfied from work in that level.

However, with all the negative experiences within the foundation, the organisation becomes instrumental besides the cause it works for:

[Being] really fully committed to this work, continuing to develop themselves, having resigned from other sectors, from public, to work here, developing themselves in this field, enrolled in Ph.D., have done masters, just think about it, why would they work in an NGO for these salaries? Of course because they are idealists I think, and beyond thinking, I see it everyday.

Similarly, the foundation itself (also one with a high reputation in society) has lost its significance for Esra after an experience of five years, which is reflected in the language she use as 'they' when talking about the

management:

A cotton thread, I have no bonding [with the foundation]. Your observation is very true, I do not feel I belong there. On the other hand, the essence of the work, we all stay because we love the essence of the work. You have asked if my priority is being useful at that moment, being useful for general public or for myself; I guess first myself. (...) Selfishness may be, but it's so.

Q: Would you describe it as selfishness?

T: No, actually not, I do not actually think it's selfish, but that inner satisfaction is necessary for human I guess. When you describe it, it sounds like selfish, when you say it, express it. But on the other hand, it's not.

A material shyness (or sometimes a conscious abstention as in the case of Ekin) can be found explicitly or implicitly in all interviewees, supported by the reaction among social movements or literature on professionalisation of NGOs on one side, and the discourse of 'limited resources because of being non-profit' used by the boards and managers on the other. In the case of Zeynep, this becomes a reactionary comparison with other colleagues whom she identifies as recruited with the vacancy notices.

That colleague, who has not ever been a volunteer in an NGO and recruited via a job ad looked [at the list we prepared for being a Green Office] and said: "How about submitting this to [...] fund as a project proposal?". And I said "woow". Why? Because I do not see that when I look at that list. But I see what is the organisation's status now, to what extent we can realise the suggestions, how realistic it is or not...and another colleague in a similar position looks from this perspective and this makes me uncomfortable. (...) When you discuss, you look from different perspectives. There's a difference between him/her seeing a project there, and me seeing question mark of whether it can be realised or not. And none of my proposals at that meeting...I told if we intend to do such a thing, if it is to be implemented, then let's give up all domestic air travel regardless of the distance, let's use only bus or train. The response "we

already minimised our air travel, sometimes we have to go for a one day meeting only, or have to return same day”, and yes, when they tell you, they are very logical. But if you really want to make that change, you have to make such radical decisions for them to be effective. There I'm not understood, and it goes to the point that “she's living in a cave”. Or let's not use white paper, but blueprint paper. Then it turns to “let's use blueprint paper in the office, but for outgoing ones we should retain white paper”. I say it does not matter if we also use blueprint paper for outgoing as well, it would not harm the organisation's image, indeed they would think we care for nature conservation. But for that international relations graduate man, brand image is more important and he still looks from that perspective.

Zeynep's self-legitimation of her standing as part of NGO professional identity (with an outward concern than self or organisation) in comparison with other colleagues (who were not former volunteers in NGOs) also reflects the disidentification with attitudes identified with the profit (resource) maximisation concern of private sector. During the interviews, she has also told that organisation should give up its own survival concerns if it's undermining the standing of the foundation, a position usually voiced by activists critical of professionalisation as well. Altruist position of 'sacrificing from self-interests' is a dominant discourse aimed at both on individual and organisational levels. Emphasis on inner satisfaction is also used to reinforce this discourse among employees.

III.2.2. Blurring the boundaries of work and non-work as commitment

Particularly related to the sense of 'self-realisation via doing

altruistic/important work', another significant outcome of the interviews for all respondents were about the blurring of the boundary between work and non-work, both regarding daily time division, and also distinction of personal and organisational representation and expression of political views. Blurring of time division between work and non-work parts of life appears as a choice of life style for Bedri

Actually 12 hours is an optimistic figure. Why is it so? I mean I do not know how to express this as work, but as one friend of mine called it, it's a sort of sociopathy I guess. I mean, the circles I socialise is very close to the circles I work with, if not right in the middle of it. So when I socialise, I socialise about work. When I return back home, for example, a choice, this is purely a personal choice, I do something related with work, because, as I told before, I like doing this job. But if they ask me how much do you work, it seems to me that except sleeping and eating, I'm working.

Q: So private life and work life can not be...

A: I can not separate them.

Q: Apart from you not separating them, is it more likely that such a distinction does not exist? May be such distinction does not exist.

A: May be, I guess this is the case. (...) Maybe there's such a distinction, there are people who separate them.

Q: In your case?

A: Ah yes, not in my case. It does not exist. Though I can not say that it's that strict, but still I'm vague about that, anyway, in the end it mounts up to more than 12 hours. (...)

Q: Would you prefer a job where work and non-work distinction is more clear? To which extent?

A: I do not know, as I do not know any other way, maybe it could be very good, but I guess I like working like this on the other hand. Well, I'm not a donkey, I can not think myself as they would load me and I would carry it till noon without objection, I have some considerations of kicking away, there's a limit. So I also prefer working like this, I like it. But also I say things like this, let me keep the right to complain, as a balance. Would I prefer the other way? I do not know, but it seems like I would not. This is my current opinion.

This choice is a mutual case between his choice of life style and understanding of how to do his job in the best way, and this understanding is not only related to his specific task, but personal role in organisational continuity as well:

In order to fulfil my undefined responsibilities [of knowledge transfer] I use leisure time of that person, including lunch time and going out in the evening, or I force myself to join if people from the office goes out. Can they see it from my eyes, I guess so, but I pay attention to join.

His task requires working as a team during weekends and usually in distant places, which has led to a social bonding among employees as well, contributing to this blurring of boundary between work and non-work:

Apart from that, there's a special bond among all of us, 7 people, working in the same department. I'm not talking about bonds like one kissed the other once, or lover of the other; individually also we hang out together. Because as we use the time space we call week end together at the trainings, when we concentrate the rest time of people for work, both them and myself try to keep the thing about having fun within work, so as a department we really have fun while working. So others are more or less jealous. But trainings themselves are fun because of non-formal methods, peer education etc. When we combine all these, we start spending our free time also together, not fully but as a general tendency. There are flatmates, you can think about it, it's almost impossible.

It is also consolidated with the social network created around the foundation's activities, usually with intentional selection of friends to work with:

On the other hand, within our social circle, everybody's related somehow, heard of the foundation, taken place somewhere somehow, been to a training of it, been a volunteer, shot a movie for it, or photographs, or designed the web site, or have been part of the conversations so much that he knows everybody.

Husband of a friend [who was a trainer at a training session] has simply joined us at the hotel on his own account during an out-of-the-city training, to concentrate writing his thesis, and during lunch hours he started talking about the foundation. In such a medium, it's impossible that the foundation, your work, does not take most of your day. There's something about the field of the foundation even if not about itself as an organisation, and this is not only my trouble, problem or observation; this is a general observation.

He is not disturbed at all by this and he actually allows others to occupy his time out of ordinary work times, either for physical meetings or virtually through use of mobile communication technologies:

But of course, this is one of the reasons, I also allow a volunteer to call me at midnight for example. That might be my fault. Or as I work more comfortable during the night, and I reply a mail immediately at that time over and over, this night relationship is established as such. Because it's impossible to work uninterrupted during the day. In our office it's impossible to get concentrated and write something. Volunteers drop by and others, at the least we work as 4 people at the office and somebody always move around. So it extends towards the night, that meaning work inserted in your free time or non-work times of your life, even if for only one hour, half an hour or 40 minutes. (...) Mobile phone, internet and central location of my apartment. If these three were different, if my phone was switched off at night, if there was no internet connection at home, or if my apartment was not in such a central location, it would be less. (...) People dropping by at apartment, or me suggesting that we meet in a cafe nearby, and this becoming more frequent like at 10 o'clock at night or 7 in the evening, I'm talking about informal tea, coffee and cake type small talks. It could be. But I may not do without internet and mobile phone.

In Bedri's case, he makes clear distinctions between others and himself regarding these work conditions. He presents this work regime of his as a conscious choice, but when talking with the hat of a department head or management, he says “this is another form of exploitation, we ask our employees to commit more of their time to the foundation as they're young

and more active.”

Even when work is not that much identical with life, all respondents present their willingness or unwillingness to work for extra hours or week ends as an indicator of their level of commitment, which usually reduces significantly with experience, and this process of learnt distancing of self from work is named as 'professionalisation' of self. Working overtime usually starts voluntarily, without the forcing of management, as a result of self conception of duty, but either decreases or turns into a forced and unwilling practice by the management:

When I first started, during first three months, I used to leave at 8, get my laptop and continue at home. (...) Then observing the people around me, they shut off and leave at 6, hmmm I said, so this is professionalism. Then I started to leave at 6, but still I used to take my computer with me. Then I realised that, though I bring the computer home, even if I sit for three hours in front of it, I only do work of 10 minutes worth in three hours, zero efficiency. Now, I shut off and go home at 6. I do not want to become professionalised, but I feel like that nowadays. I do this, am I professionalised now, but I do not want this on the other hand. (...) It's up to me. And everyday when I leave, I ask my supervisor if there's anything urgent, maybe to relieve myself, or maybe to give the message that 'I realise that you still work and I also feel sorry for myself, is there anything I can help?' But I do not know, if there were people who do not shut off at 6 and continue working, I would also go on working there. (Zeynep)

Both in Zeynep's and Şükufe's cases, comparison with other colleagues plays a significant part in this behaviour, though in the beginning working overtime was mostly their self decision:

Or when there's a conference of two days during weekends I do not hesitate a moment, not only because of my work here, but also to gain something personally, so that I can link that to my work. I went several times, but nothing happened. Neither I saw

some opportunity, nor it was accepted, on the contrary I was told it's not necessary, asked why I attend and so on. Therefore I act like this, I develop a reaction, professionally, if it is meant to be so. But my professional experience has been a very amateur one. Reactions have accumulated as I have not reacted while I should have. (Şükufe)

This is the case for Zeynep, Şükufe and Esra, but as exhibited above not for Bedri, and also not for Ekin. She works at times for extra hours, but sees this as requirement of her task and position, though not identifies herself with the position as Bedri does.

On the other hand, when it comes to the adoption of political standing of the organisation, Bedri clearly distinguishes personal and organisational views. This both applies to his work as trainer and this time clearly separated non-work political activism. During the training activities, he adapted to the symbolic and discursive 'envelopes' of the foundation without compromising his own stance by choosing not to stress either of them. This attitude also changed the political attitude of the foundation towards their own field:

Personally, I never used the mottos of the foundation [that I did not like], I accepted them, yes, but I never stressed them. So I do not know if there's a part of me not doing certain things in this transformation [of the foundation]. It also applies to certain [frequently repeated] statements like “There's no politics in our foundation”, but they were statements that should have been heard from a person in my position. May be a few times during my first trainings, but never in a conscious way. Because, I mean, we are all political creatures, and it's impossible to avoid it when we come together, or for political opinions not to influence our work, but actually this discourse exists for politics not becoming an obstruction in front of what we do.

When it comes to personal action, distinction of personal and organisational becomes even clearer and to safeguard the right to political opinion and expression of employees becomes a priority:

Situation as of today for example, this campaign of petition, 'I apologize!¹⁷, what do we do about it? Our employees can not act personally, or in a more correct saying, they can not put it as completely independent than the foundation while acting personally. They do it of course, but the perception among volunteers is, in the end you're an employee of the foundation. And to get rid of this perception comes the bureaucratic and mechanic perception of the job rather than an emotional bond, so as to open up the personal space of the employee. And then the tasks themselves are destroyed [in essence], this is a chaotic situation. If I submit my name to anything personally, it seems that I have submitted as an employee of this foundation. If I attend a demonstration or action, there's this perception that our foundation is present there.

This is also a showcase of the perception on the side of volunteers or public that the foundation is identical to the professional staff. Şükufe and Zeynep establish an identification with the policy issues of their foundations, Şükufe taking this attitude to the extent of defending the foundation against the political criticism from other environmental and ecologist organisations, but both of them also criticise boards' attitude of distancing themselves from other organisations and work styles and methods. Esra also adopts the political stance of the foundation in the particular policy field and switches to 'we' discourse when talking about lobbying and advocacy work of the foundation.

¹⁷ A petition campaign initiated by a group of intellectuals in December 2008, to apologize for the ignorance and denial of sufferings of Anatolian Armenians during 1915 which resulted in an ethnic cleansing of Anatolia from Armenian population. The campaign caused a heated debate and controversy in Turkish public as well as widespread reaction from nationalists.

Ekin's primary motivation is also not the content of her tasks, but content and issue of the organisation, therefore survival of the organisation, as she thinks this is an essential organisation that has to continue existing within "this system":

Whatever I do, I believe it will be useful, so my job satisfaction has not changed at all. Time to time I've been so frustrated, both in the beginning and still, I'm so busy, I feel like I'm not being appreciated. People in NGOs think that they're not appreciated, because professionals are not usually thought of being in need of appreciation. It's always volunteers towards whom people are thankful, and for the staff...well, they think it's their duty. But if the employee does his/her job real good, with devotion, s/he should be praised as well. Thinking about these, there are a lot going on that motivates me in my working life. They were there in the first years, they are here now, maybe their degrees have changed, people around changed, but there's always something. This could be a simple purchase, I've secured that this purchase has been done properly, or if I've purchased it myself I've done the right thing. That, or I've made the suggestion to get into contact with the right people during the start of a campaign. Therefore, whatever I do, I know it's useful. Ekin

Blurring of boundaries between self and organization and between work and non-work portions of life has been presented as the demonstration of commitment and identification by our respondents. Flexible work time is tolerated by only Bedri's foundation, but overtime work has been self adopted as a choice of interviewees (though overtime has never been compensated either in the form of pay or permissions) and continued as long as this motivation is preserved. The attitude of the employees have been adopting the civic/political action part of life as work (rather than work occupying this non-work time), not only by choosing to work in an issue-

based NGO in their area of interest, but also dedicating non-work times for work. However, when working overtime becomes a request of management by a forced 'voluntarism' discourse, retreat to 'professionalism' appears as will be dealt with in the following chapters. Tension between organisational and personal positions on controversial political issues appears as another boundary to be either blurred or drawn more strictly according to the issue or position of the employee within the organisation.

III.2.3. Work in the Field versus Work In The Office

In cases of Esra and Zeynep, the distinction and difference between work in the field and work in the office is determining. In the case of Esra, her enthusiasm about her work in the field (apart from busy schedule and being far from home) has become clearly separable from her unwillingness about her work in headquarters office since her early times in her work:

At the beginning everything was fine, I started by going to Diyarbakır, but facing that [humiliating] attitude [from the managers] you start feeling bad. And the joy of what you do remains there. Also you realise that what you care about are not considered that important; while you try to do something different for the foundation, you see others do not care that much. While you care for the quality, they tell you that they simply would like to increase the number [of children enrolled in the education program], and all your plans are overthrown. All these happened in such a short time, in 6 months or so, I was shocked.

A “personal development” urge (and uneasiness about not being able to do so within busy work schedule) can be seen in all respondents parallel with

Esra's experience:

Or to have stopped at a certain point, doing the same things for years, not being able to benefit from different sources and different trainings, and not receiving any award like that, not being able to feed myself...it all ends up there. (...) What's the reason that I can not simply leave? I guess I'm afraid that I will end up in a vacuum [*sudan çıkmış balığa döneceğim*]. (...) I started here, can I do something else out there, or what can I do? It's just a fear related to not having tried yet. (...) I'm still like a student, in the 'wheel of general success' application, I was in the same place in distinction of daily life and work environment, I guess you have to adapt yourself a bit for the work environment, but I do not want to think about this like work. I could not get out of studentship.

On the other hand, in the cases of Esra and Zeynep, main source of dissatisfaction is attitudes of superior managers combined with the overly professional work environment despite personal development motives by working in the field:

I got the experience of working in the field, this was something I expected and I really liked it. I thought the foundation was a warmer place, where human relations were warmer, closer, more supportive, not objecting everything or putting concrete limitations. (Esra)

And also you see the change if you're there, who tells you the truth or who's actually only a passer by's impression. You collect the information essential for the projects only by staying there. Maybe that's one of the biggest reasons that projects fail, to remain distant from the actual site and to write only what's on your mind. Perhaps if you stay there for one or two weeks and write down your projects after perceiving the real problem, project may be much more successful. It's also valid for the implementation, people adopt you if you' also live there and they listen to you. But if you go there once in a month or year you get nothing, you're only a tourist.(...) One continuously learns during field work, because there you always need someone to survive and stand still, those who know that site are the people living there and they continuously learn. And of course to be in nature. (...) the real point is that. Also my dreams before I got into these matters, watching all those documentaries

and saying 'I will be like those guys, I want to get in muds, fight crocodiles', we came here while dreaming that, spending lives in offices. The one I replaced was also brought to this point, doing only secretariate work and whining all the time. A colleague of mine says: "These types become tenser and tenser, like a rubber, and when they break off...look, she went to [Africa], let's see where this one will go." Really, she's in Africa now, in a project on gorillas. (Zeynep)

However, the reason is not the space for movement or level of responsibility in the field, as in the case of Bedri, but 1) lack of initiative despite holding all the responsibility, and 2) businesslike treatment of management which is contradicting their view at work:

I do not feel it that way, like everything is in my hands. On the contrary, I feel like all the responsibility is on my shoulders, that's how they put it, when they made me education responsible. We were taken to Starbucks for a meeting -all critical meetings are held in Starbucks- we were about to start a hard and challenging season, numbers were very high. When they told that I was upgraded to become 'education responsible', it was like a funeral, both for me and them. Because it was told to me like 'now you have all the responsibility, if something goes bad we will ask you'. Like to scare me. And scared I am, worried about something going wrong, something won't be of desired quality. So you start thinking it always has to be better and better, this anxiousness is also reflected in the teams negatively. (Esra)

Individualisation of work also puts responsibility on individual's shoulders, as Bauman and Sennett have mentioned in their works on work in contemporary society (Bauman 2005; Sennett 1998). However, individualisation is also presented as something to be desired for self-realisation and higher job satisfaction by dominant discourse, contrary to the behaviour of management of the foundation in our case, which chooses to awaken an anxiousness by reminding the responsibility in a distrustful way.

Conflict between quantitative objectives of the organisation (particularly when promised to the donors) and quality or real impact of the work done has been another source of frustration for Esra

To achieve the targets, in numbers, there's this pressure from the foundation [to keep or recruit any teacher]. But this person can not be a teacher, you tell that s/he will even be harmful for the kids, they tell you do whatever you can [to reach the number]. You either find some alternatives, or dismiss that teacher. Once one of the teachers slapped a kid in the face in front of me, I dismissed him/her, but I called one of the board members, not the foundation. If I have called the foundation, they would tell me they can not close that class because they have promised the sponsors about the number of kids.

The foundation of Esra is also another case of business-like organisational conducts like a written dress code (though not applied in a punitive sense, but in a discursive level):

They want to see us dressed like businessmen/women, I received many direct feed back for this, either they gaze at you in a negative way, or anyway I know it's not something they like, 'we all dress casually during the weekend, but it should not be like that here, do not be a child, do not look like a child anymore.' (...) As a point of view, I can not be a business woman they would like to see here, I do not have such a motivation. I do not want to treat it like business. May be I should have continued in academy, but I guess, there also some ambitions are a must. Maybe I'm a Mediterranean type, I do not like to treat work as work.

'Work' clearly is identified with pain, boredom and alienation for Esra (and also identified with the private sector), and she feels disappointed and frustrated facing the same types of work styles and conditions in an essentially voluntary and non-profit (therefore informal) organisational medium she sought refuge from these. Frustration about acting like a business organisation comes up also throughout the interviews with Zeynep,

both of which will be analysed in detail in the next chapter.

Bedri's mood about his work style is exactly the opposite in this manner:

Maybe not as content, but as a life style, yes, I can say this is my dream job. Also regarding the content I could give a positive answer, but looking from that point, those I imagined as my ideal regarding how I would work in the field of work are those I am doing now. Yes, there are still things to retouch, but more or less it's parallel. It includes many things from dress styles to attitudes. As an approach, I'd like a similar approach.

On the other hand, shyness, distancing self or abstention for material concerns usually fades away and also a search for work and non-work time separation start to appear as years pass by and they begin to gain priority, though personal uneasiness remain.

Now that I'm tired, maybe I can rasp this. The work and lifestyle I have imagined then [when I was a volunteer] is identical to my current situation, but now I think that I have to rasp. Because also physically I'm worn out. My back to neck, getting tired quickly to sleeplessness, malnutrition, I have some health problems, so feel the need to rasp...and also for the first time since a very long time, I plan about future.

The tension between targets identified for the organisation (due to donor expectations, budgetary concerns, etc.) and personal objectives is reflected directly in the expression of satisfaction of Bedri, even though organisational targets are mainly identified by him:

If someone outside [of my social circle] comes and asks if I'm satisfied with my job, I would say 'yes'. But in a survey like this I prefer to say that I 'manage somehow'. (...) Actually, I do what I want to do. Not what I dream of, but what I want to do. Why do I 'manage somehow'? I guess because I'm a bit worn out. I mean I'm in a repetition mood right now. So I simply linger on. And the reason behind that is pressure to meet the targets. The pressure to realise something, it's too much....

For Bedri, the routine of work has become a constant pressure to fulfill targets of the foundation:

Well, aren't you the one who identify them? Yes, I set them, but they are not in compliance with my personal ones, I do not have the opportunity to change much of the content of the trainings for incoming volunteers, because 'zero km. volunteers' as we call them has to receive certain trainings and we have to ensure the continuity of those. But on the other side I continually develop myself and would like to do new things. I can do them more or less, or more I can do them less, therefore I reply as I manage somehow. But it's a job I want, therefore I would tell 'I'm satisfied' to that external person.

The work regime and content within the department was developed by himself, but once routinised and converted into a heavy training schedule, it's transformed into an externalised and alienated process. Self-realisation feature of work appears here as well and becomes dissatisfactory when this is not felt by the professional.

III.3. Professionals and professionalisation in NGOs

In modern capitalism, central place of work for material reasons and economy defined as the epicenter of all economic and social policies causes work time to occupy non-work time of the individual for other activities, leisure, family, action. Despite the need and increasing activity of social movements and NGOs, it's not easy for a 'working citizen' to allocate time for civic engagement (Beck 2000:141). Combined with the increasing expectations of donors and expertise requirements of content of the work to be held more effectively and efficiently, creating paid positions to keep the organisation running, and running it efficiently and effectively evolves into

professionalisation of the organisation.

The definitions of 'professional' and 'professionalisation' and debate around the relevance of the terms for issue based NGOs has been dealt with in Chapter 1.2.3. I will continue to use the terms here despite lack of full compliance with the literal meanings of the terms. 'NGO professional' in the case of this study is meant for not all paid staff, but those persons working in specialised tasks directly relevant to the issue and mission of the organization or survival and management of it. The non-compliance with the original definition lies in the fact that:

- a. usually there's no formally recognised professional status as such, and
- b. many of them perform a job different than their original occupation acquired by formal education (except those who perform their original professional occupations such as medical doctors, social workers, teachers, researchers etc.) though they carry on specialised expert tasks or management.

'Professionalisation' here bears two meanings: 1) introduction of paid posts in formerly volunteering based NGOs where these 'NGO professionals' are employed together with a professional management system, and also 2) adopting (and adapting to) a work style which is thought to be 'professional' (due to specialisation, experience and putting a distance between one's own emotions and work situations) by employees. These also lead to efforts of

organizing on the side of these 'NGO professionals' to be recognised and defend their rights.

As professionalisation of some or all departments or activities of NGO's gain pace to include paid staff (the reasons of which were investigated as part of the global context analysis in Chapter 1), the feature of these organisations being voluntary citizen initiatives have been put more and more under question. Two extreme ends of citizen initiative-type, issue-based political and social organisations have become hierarchical and completely professional organisation on one hand (e.g. non-profit company) and horizontal network-type fully voluntary organisation on the other. First one includes various control mechanisms including evaluation for performance and efficiency while the latter might lead to a disorientation from the original aim. "Professionalised" NGO's justify their structure claiming to be working more effectively and efficiently through various control mechanisms, therefore spending the public resources or donor money more accountably while they are criticised to remain within a closed circle of professional paid staff and distancing themselves from (or fail to include) their grassroots¹⁸ base from participating in decisions. professionalisation, like bureaucratisation, is claimed to have the potential to disempower citizens by reproducing the distinction between client and bureaucrat and lead to service users becoming passive recipients of

¹⁸The concept of grassroots here doesn't mean a quantitative notion of mass, but local and issue specific particular features and opportunities of decisions made together with that local.

standardised welfare programmes (Fyfe 2005).

On the other hand, receiving payment has been considered as a full deviation of paid staff from volunteer spirit, ignoring the fact that for many NGO staff their job has been a choice -a choice made despite often higher salary potentials for career opportunities in private sector and job security and holding of public authority in public sector-. This choice is usually expressed to be made as a result of search for a “meaningful” job, therefore an internal satisfaction and escape from alienation of private sector and solid hierarchy of public one. Both internal satisfaction and escape from alienation urges constitute a significant volunteering dimension.

Here, it is interesting to return to the origins of human resources of NGO staff and their personal histories in order to be able to observe the process of conversion if any. It's known (and even natural) that many former volunteers are selectively employed as paid staff and personal motivations of some volunteers also includes this purpose (volunteering as a step to paid work in an NGO). Increasingly so, experience in NGO work is accepted as a profession because of specific skills required related to project management, communication and public (and human) relations and fundraising as well as field specific expertise and international perspective, almost all imposed by development work and donor/funding agency requirements in these fields and rarely addressed by formal education. Professional staff working in

these positions directly related to the issue of the organisation may not fit in the strict definition of a 'professional', but they have developed a professional expertise with direct hands-on experience and informal or non-formal trainings, as in the case of Ekin

My work is administration and finance, it simply ended up on me because it's the most boring work. Actually, when I started my work I was the only paid staff, and I really did not know about these things, but it works with a bundle of logic. There's something remaining from engineering background. Added to that, I now have the experience; we faced lots of problems with the state, usually I take the decisions myself, but the elected accountant of the organisation has a legal responsibility, so s/he has to approve. (...) I'm the oldest [in working years in the organisation] employee, so I know the organisation well, or I know how everything should be done, in the end I know the tradition of the organisation. (Ekin)

A similar autonomy in decision making can be observed for Bedri, whose content of the work being quite different this time, but it's still a field of self developed expertise:

Due to my position, I have to receive approval of General Director or other heads of department. But again due to my position, training, -I wo not call it a field of expertise, but it is not that easy to have an idea about-, I guess it's myself that makes the final decision about whatever training is done in the foundation. (...) I mean, to receive the approval of the General Director happens like this: 'I'm doing this', 'OK, do it!' (Bedri)

These somehow acquired professional and positional autonomy situations are in contrast with the experience of Zeynep, Şükufe and Esra, all of who are denied such a space of autonomy and initiative, bringing change by own (self-developed) expertise and affection towards work, though they were enrolled in their job for their expertise:

But now, I ended up in overly operational matters and even

worse; in other organisations may be people become demotivated because of only operational matters, but here I also found myself in the middle of a very complicated chaos, a bunch of continuous deadlocks. (Şükufe)

I have imagined like I'd be given a project and I would run it. But this has not been the case, though it's not official, I found myself doing the secretariate of Head of Nature Conservation Department, like copying and sending faxes. So now 70% of my weekly work is occupied with such tasks, a very big portion. Added to it, I also have a project on myself, the rest is allocated for the project. (...) My disturbance comes from not being able to learn anything different anymore. I never see 'copying' as a problem, I would not ever. But this has reached such a point that it's only my responsibility in the whole foundation, so it is disturbing. It also affects my relation with the organisation, I'm more negative, recently General Director said as a warning 'hmmm, others who left here also used to ask such questions, do not confuse yourself that much.' (Zeynep)

These excessively operational tasks, which do not involve an enriching experience for professionals like Şükufe and Zeynep are also a result of an organisational preference of outsourcing expert tasks while using in-house work force for coordination of these:

Plus I'm always in a conflict of hierarchy, or in a better saying, a position where always “the professor knows the most important, heads of department decide on the issue, and you execute it”. I can not suit this to myself, my ideals, educational background and though moderate, my experience, and my commitment. When I'm treated as such in response, I'm demotivated. (...) In such a system, I do not feel like realising my self, I plan these, I set these targets, but I see that, in the organisation I work, nobody believes these, conditions required for these ideals are non-existing, or even if they exist, there's a confusion, they're withheld, broken and not repaired. In that sense I do not feel functional, I feel like I'm not of use. (Şükufe)

Our foundation has such a work style, at each step it works with academicians and never claims expertise and competency in any business. Actually we mainly deal with organisational matters in the foundation, we never say that 'I'm a biologist, I can manage that' or 'I'm an enviromental engineer, I can do that, let me do it'.

We always go to experts known in the field, they are paid a fee and things get done. (Zeynep)

This situation reminds the contradiction of white collar workers that Thompson emphasize: in an increasingly competitive labour market, higher qualifications and skills are demanded by the employer while labour process measures like separation of management/decision and execution leads to deskilling of workers (and consequent feeling of obstructed self-realisation).

While we observe an essential urge for professional autonomy and hands-on or thematic expertise tasks, notion of 'professionalism' or 'professionalisation' in its individual meaning is used both in positive and negative connotations. Positive connotations usually refer to power/knowledge as a capacity reproducing hierarchy among organisations of different levels:

In that conference, a colleague from another NGO, while there were other local NGOs present, defined themselves as professionals and local organisations as amateurs. In one of his sentence, he said 'professionals like us can help you' and this disturbed me so much. I think in NGOs there should not be such a thing like professional work. But on the other hand this is the reality, our situation in Turkey is writing projects, holding that know-how, knowing what kind of a language to use when you go to the ministry. When these experiences accumulate, you become professionalised. (Zeynep)

Negative connotations of professionalism imply a certain distancing and definition of boundaries of work as well:

I compare it with another colleague's enthusiasm, recently enrolled as project officer in one of the local offices, everyday he tells me 'I have this idea, what if we do this and this and that?', and I can not feel the same enthusiasm with him. Because

I know that in my first year I was also like that 'I can do this, I can do that, we can do that in local level', but things do not work that way. (...) When I say 'I do not want to become professionalised', I mean acting like doing this considering that I have to do it in order to earn money, leaving the office in thoughts of "I finished my work time today, I have given the exchange of what I earn, at 6 o'clock I'm done with it" (Zeynep)

However, boundaries of professionalism also becomes a safe haven of protection of dignity of self against pressures of forced or over-identification:

For example, I was criticised quite a lot for this. 'M., do not think you will be able to handle all these, and do not personally take over all cases'. Now, slowly, I'm away from that attitude of course, when I realised I can not solve everything. I routinised some issues, because I learned this: I have a certain energy, you can not underestimate my level of energy, and my colleagues are the same kind, we as a team have a very good, tough level of energy compared to others. But if I use this energy by spreading it over deadlocks, I'm also depleted. (...) When I'm depleted, then I can not be of use for anything. So, I do not know if it is called professionalisation, getting to learn the business, knowing the organisation, or adapting to the organisation. (Şükufe)

Professionalism is used in contrast with 'voluntarism' or 'amateurism with volunteer spirit' here. As such, it contradicts the self legitimizing 'half-volunteer' discourse of NGO professionals. As a contradiction, 'amateur spirit' or 'voluntarism' discourse is used to construct the 'NGO professional' identity, which bears within the search for a 'meaningful' work.

III.4. Conclusion: Search for agency within work

Finally, the last question for all interviews was the same: what's your *dert*

(ultimate purpose or concern¹⁹) related to your work? The aim of this question was to close the interviews with a thought provoking question about the whole interviewing process and to establish a mind link to daily sense making efforts about the lived reality, of which work and action take a substantial part.

Within the course of interview, Şükufe responded talking about fulfilment and lack of opportunities in the current organisation, without a generalisation, showing the level of her frustration. Another frustrated interviewee, Esra responded as “equal opportunities”, but her response reflected the general confusion and inner questioning about her work as well.

It will be like the foundation's discourse, but equal opportunities. However, after yesterdays seminar²⁰, this also sounds tricky, which opportunity, equality in what? Should I say more humanist, it also might be wrong, but human. Human dignity is important for me. When I look at things I can not understand many. Human being deserves being treated in dignity just for being human, but not everybody is like that, and children and families I work with...well, this also did not fit, I'm so confused from now on, giving, helping, oh my God. No I do not think we're delivering aid as such, but service, education, opportunities...when you leave 'Deschooling Society' aside, you try to do something for the development of that child, together with him/her, not like 'I will deliver it', this can also be criticized and I'd like to hear about it as well, but I guess finally this is it, equal opportunities.

Ekin's response for this reflected her general stance going beyond equal

¹⁹ The translation of *dert* here can vary according to the response.

²⁰ She followed a seminar series on ecological thought and policy which also dealt with poverty and Ivan Illich's critical work 'Deschooling Society' on education and other social institutions.

opportunities to equality, but with a new vision on time divide and resulting world view:

A world where all human are equal and equally worthy, that's my ultimate concern. Recently, I was relaxing after a very tiring day, I came home from work at I do not know what hour, I ate some snacks, and I can not do anything. I'd like to read a book, but it's only lying down besides me. What if, I asked myself, work day was 3 hours? Then scenarios started to pop up, if work was 3 hours a day, nobody would be unemployed. If everybody worked efficiently for 3 hours, both nobody would be unemployed and surplus value would be sufficient for all, social spaces for all would be constructed, people would get into communication with each other, spend time with their neighbours, there would be free time, after that 3 hours they would allocate time for themselves, and after a while for other people, they could do volunteer work for a better world. I constructed another world starting from this 3 hours work day, this would be like that, and so that will be like that. So this is my concern, working for a world where everybody lives in equal conditions and equal in worth.

Zeynep responded as “leaving a trace and being remembered”:

Well, this is so classical, but in a birthday gift my sister wrote 'people live as long as they are remembered. I guess I want to be remembered. I might not become a Tansu Gürpınar²¹, but while for example wandering around in Black Sea mountains for our volunteer work, we meet a forest worker and tell him our concerns, he does not believe us, but when we meet again in another place and he tells me “I remember you, we have met before and you were right”, this is a great achievement for me, I guess my ultimate concern is something like that. Because I think if I was working in another sector, would I have the same purpose? Maybe I would care for what I do as well, if I produced nails, then I would like to do the best nail. But working in NGO is a more higher form of task, protecting something, changing something, become pioneers for something, or publicizing an unknown issue, making it known, this is a good thing, a joyful thing, there's this energy.

Bedri's response was similar but more complicated, one weaved with the

²¹ a high level figure who established first nature conservation organisation in Turkey

metaphor of 'ways and the road', which ultimately combines the expressive and communicative features of action and agency:

I think we're paving a road. There's a difference between following an already paved road and paving your own road while there are none around. I have an opinion that it's more the latter one I try to do, and I'm pursuing that objective. I'm pursuing [the objective of] paving new roads. (...) When you travel to Ankara from here, you do not follow that road, there's already a road that's known; I'm trying to build a new one. And the thing that I try to keep here is fixing the direction concerning the view on life. Fixing the direction while walking, not like a loose mine, paving a road towards a direction. (...) Since my childhood, maybe again with family influence, I said I will live a decent [*insanca* - humane] life and die like that, may they remember me as a decent person, it's very outward looking, I know, but this also determines how I live. I want to live a humane life, and one way of doing that is showing people new ways, several of them, but it's not pointing to the ways that I pursue, I want to pave new roads. Because following a road, to arrive somewhere, actually I'm pursuing the process itself. You ask what's there at the end of the road, but there are several things at the end of the road, you should pave a road for those several things. This might be parallel to opening up spaces as well. While I pave it up for myself, those accompanying me see the road, those walking after us also see the road, and if they also adopt paving up new roads as an attitude, there will be different options before people to decide. But actually I'm not trying to say something about diversification, more about opening up deadlocks while in the forest, while you do not know your orientation. That's what I pursue. Therefore, you have to leave traces to know where you've been to, clean up the bushes or get rid of unknowns, at the same time you have to be ready to confront what will come up around the corner, paving this road in this variety. And if you ask me why I do it with young people, what the relevance is, those people experience what you would call realising self, settling of personality, they experience different ways and find one suitable for themselves. Existing roads before all of us are so cliché, so determinate, so there has to be new ways for people to open up their minds with new experiences and find their own way.

This very rich answer is a combination of various definitions of agency, expressive and communicative forms, and contains within the uncertain,

irreversible and indeterminate character of action.

All responses to this last question (except Şükufe) clearly bears the willingness to bring change via their job, in a hands-on 'arts and crafts' kind of activity (Sennett 2008), where results of the personal tasks and doings are expected to be seen by their own eyes. Work here is regarded as a self-expression within both organisational and public space, and continuous self-development with the trial of new things and introduction of new aspects is a priority. This has been a choice in line with Meda's assumption that only intellectual occupations and professions are of this category (Meda 2004:143). On the other hand, experiences of interviewees show that even this might not be the case, due to denial of professional autonomy and initiative, routinisation of tasks in organisational work reality and/or being worn out due to heavy work load. Results of these practices are obstruction of self-expression feature of work, distancing of self from the work done (interpreting "work as 'work'") which is named 'professionalisation' by the interviewees and not seen suitable for the spirit of issue based NGOs, and dissatisfaction combined with (perceived) lower material rewards compared to potential in private sector jobs. Professionals' autonomy and control have been estimated to lead to a conflict with management control by Campbell and Mills (Campbell and Mills 2007), and this has been the case when this autonomy has been denied or substantially limited by the management. Also professional identity (though not named as such by the interviewees)

constitutes here the axis line of sense making and provides a ground of conflict between 'active citizen' identity and employee identity, within conflicting features of NGO as a democratic participation medium and a workplace. It is this conflict and ground between identities, and sensemaking attempts while experiencing all these within work medium, that forms and reforms the system and organisation.

Considering these phenomena together and within the wider context where work is identified with 'pain' or 'boredom' (but NGO work as a 'meaningful work', a virtuous act of resistance), Bourdieu's metaphor of 'double-bass player in orchestra' inspired by Patrick Süskind's one man play 'Double Bass' is applicable here: positional suffering as inferior position (of the double bass player) in a prestigious, privileged universe (of the orchestra) is added to ordinary suffering of professions whose mission is dealing with problems and issues [such as poverty] (Bourdieu et al. 1999:4).

Like keeping the pain for a while and getting comfort when you let it go, something like that. It wears me out, I also think it causes some damage, physically and mentally, but also very pleasant, because I do a certain amount of what I want to do with life here. So the pain, they tolerate each other a bit, I would quit immediately if it didn't sound this much positive. Or the verse. (...) It's like it existed since I was born, and very dogmatic, I can not question what it is or what kind of thing it is, but its impact. But whatever it is, I guess this bond [with my work] is organic, transforms itself through time, grows, gets thinner, shortens, thickens...But I can not still say what it is, may be this tells you something. (Bedri)

NGO professionals see themselves as doing 'meaningful' work (for non-

material purposes), and holding an important place for society, however carrying a heavy burden (the double-bass) of over-identification with the problems and issues and not having an appropriate voice to determine the course of work.

Marx's original concept of alienation, as devoid of the person from realising himself as a human being, involved different levels as: a) *alienation from others* by selfish, calculative and untrustworthy relations within work, b) *alienation from the product* by non-relevant products to the direct needs and desires of the producer, therefore extracted/separated from him/her, c) *alienation from labour* by labour being imposed as a value in exchange of other needs of the worker and demanding subordination and control of others, therefore non-satisfaction and d) *alienation from work* by work turning into a limiting and coercive space and time for the individual. Braverman's return to this labour process for the analysis of work (Braverman 1974) has evoked wide interest among sociologists in 1970's and '80's with the even clearer distinction of physical and mental labour and more effective technology of control compared to Marx's period when complex forms of management control were not yet developed. Internal satisfaction and 'self-expression' meaning of work in profit organisations might be considered identical to *alienation from self* by identification with work (which is naturally alien to the worker according to Marxist strand). In this situation, individual might feel a deep internal satisfaction, but this is

ultimately internalisation or hiding of alienation. However, whether we can apply this conclusion for 'NGO professionals' as presented above still remains open for debate. Worth investigating here is the interplay between individual and collective identities of 'NGO professionals' together with their resistance and accommodation practices relying on these within the labour process, which will be analysed in the next chapter.

IV. Control and management practices: labour process and power in a non-profit organisation

Though NGO's existed for a long time now, use of this term is quite recent (Lebon 1997). Also recent are the tremendous increase of NGO's in number at all levels, changing patterns of paid work as project based, temporary and flexible one, and meaning of volunteering as well as changing role of NGO's. Assessed within the frame of organisational members and actors within issue based NGOs, these are reflected in identity practices of board members and managers, employees and volunteers related to the organisation and the work they fulfil. In the previous chapter I have dealt with the meaning of work for the 'NGO professionals' related to their search of becoming a civic/political agency in the field of issues that the NGO is organised around, therefore democratic agency feature of the organisation. In this chapter I will focus more on the work place feature of the organisation and labour relations in its dynamic setting as they are reflected in the sense making effort of the employees.

IV.1. Construction of meaning in organisation: Management, labour process and organisation as a contested space

'Labour process' is a Marxian strand of analysis that brings together purposeful activity (work), means of production and relations of production.

Marx's analysis included contradiction between means and relations of production in base or substructure (economy) and ideology (including religion, legislation and political and cultural institutions) as superstructure in a dynamic relationship with the base (Thompson 1989). By constructing the relation between base and superstructure, it was possible to include social relationships in the production process. What forms a capitalist labour process is the contract between worker as labour power and capital as the owner of means of production to extract a surplus value. In order to maximise this surplus value, work tasks and activities are designed, controlled and monitored by managers acting as agents of capital owners. Limited to production economy as presented above, Marx's studies on labour process provide a conceptual set of tools, which are prone and suitable for review and renewal according to changing conditions. Treated as such, labour process analysis has opened up the discussion for new tendencies and techniques of power within work organisations, like technology, de-skilling and up-skilling in jobs, hierarchies, flat hierarchies, markets and networks, forms of control, division of mental and manual labour etc. Re-popularisation of the concept was with Braverman's 'Labour and Monopoly Capital: Degradation of Work in Twentieth Century' (Braverman 1974) and since then the popularity of the concept has seen ups and downs occasionally. As a frame and tool, revisions are possible according to shortcomings and critiques, different strands of analysis can be incorporated within frame, and different and/or seemingly conflicting faces

of work and work organisation can be analysed according to their relations with wider society. Various studies have been made to analyse labour process in service sector, situation of white collar workers and separation of manual and mental labour, consumption economy and expansion of commodification and new techniques and forms of power and control (Thompson 1989).

Management as coordination and exercise of authority via control has taken a significant place in this body of analysis. Particularly analysis of control as act of power (and resistance it provokes) can be extended towards its relevance in social relations and sense making of employees as construction of meaning. Thompson (1989) identifies three main forms of management control with the emergence of new forms in a new phase of modernity and capitalism. First form is direct, simple control which is usual under competitive capitalism and small scale corporations, without any sophistication. Second category contains systematic forms of control which includes combination of technology, new layers of management, incentives and bureaucracy. Taylor's scientific management with work organization focus, Fayolism and human relations and authority emphasis (and its reception on the side of workers) and others like Bedaux system with new measurement methods and incentives fall within this category, which tries to protect the "internal state" by e.g. organising rest hours against allowing fatigue to take over and result in losses in productivity. Third category of

forms of control is consent and legitimation based applied by participation, communication and humanisation.

These forms remind the 'carrot and stick' duality; soft control is legitimised by 'democracy, participation and values in workplace' and hard or direct control is justified by market conditions and mass unemployment. However, to distinguish these three categories shouldn't lead to misinterpretation that it's either one or the other that's used; indeed many of them can be combined in practice. Taylorism (or scientific methods) remaining as the base dominant management system (with variations in form and implementation), other forms have been added to respond to particular conditions of the workplace. Even in the Japanese style management techniques which involve discussion groups, team autonomy within circles and creativity, the real motivation behind these techniques are increasing productivity. These high trust/low supervision techniques are used always in combination with sophisticated means of control and measurement of pay-work, and there's little real autonomy transferred from the management or the owner to workers ultimately. The chain of command remains with the aim of profitability in a rearranged and obscured way. Human resources started to play a central role as a new profession in the implementation of new forms of control, democratic, scientific/bureaucratic or coercive, keeping all in hand as a toolbox of techniques to be used according to the context. Social norms and relations like gender or race are also used for

control and cost minimisation.

New forms of 'soft' control contain within itself a strong consent and legitimisation component, or the effort of producing this consent and legitimation, which are impossible to be produced without the social relations dimension. Social relations and norms are not only used, but also produced and reproduced within labour process and becomes accepted as 'laws of nature' via production of knowledge as a lived experience. Discourses of consent like 'organisational culture' or 'company as a family' express less of worker and more of organisation. This form of labour process seeks minimised resistance opportunity and suppressed perception of need for opposition though the workplace remains a contested terrain among organisational actors.

Thompson, giving an account of the debate about labour process theories in 1989, has suggested that organisation of consent in work has not been given a great deal of attention (Thompson 1989); efforts to combine discursive approaches, disciplinary society, analysis of power/knowledge and Gramscian hegemony theories with work and labour related issues have given critical studies about work relations a Foucauldian direction. Gramsci can be taken as a starting point with his ideas on hegemony; his influence is mentioned only regarding wider political terrain, and institutions and organisations (including NGOs) have been analysed from the perspective of

their political roles within this political terrain of hegemony, but not within work relations. On the other hand, studies and particularly case-based analyses on discourses, narratives and identity in work carry the potential threat of de-contextualisation and extreme relativism, whereas context is particularly important to illustrate origins, sources and limits of consent reproduced within both labour process and social formation as a whole.

Richard Sennett's works (Sennett 1998; Sennett 2006; Sennett 2008) to combine life narratives and specific cases about work with social theory are exceptional in this manner. These works on individual life narratives and Foucault's works on power and resistance together with the concept of 'subjectivity' demonstrate the two sides of the picture. Subjectivity is the notion that "individuals continually develop, in the light of the discourses surrounding them, of who they are and how they fit into the social world." (Watson 2003: 48). Subjectivity can be a source of both consent and resistance (Burawoy 1979 quoted in Thompson and Smith 2001). For Thompson, subjectivity is an essential element of social relations between labour and capital in the workplace in the form of a "structured antagonism"; subjectivity includes creativity of workers, which is desirable for the capital in order to constantly revolutionize the production process, but also leads to a spectrum of worker reaction from resistance to accommodation, compliance or consent (Thompson & Smith 2001). Labour process approach as a middle range frame of analysis of work relations is

particularly useful to establish the balance between overdeterminism and over-relativism, structure and agency, objective and subjective aspects in a dynamic way and potentially exhibiting variety of techniques of power and worker reactions in their particular contexts.

IV.2. Labour Process in Non-profit Context

Whether work relations in issue based NGOs can be analysed within labour process framework is another question. On one hand, NGOs are not profit seeking organisations with bosses or shareholders and capital accumulation or share distribution as primary purposes. This challenge can become an opportunity to respond to criticism that conventional labour process theory tended to reify management as an agent of capital rather than assess it with its role in a dynamic set of relations (O'Doherty & Willmott 2000). On the other hand, when wage relations of employer and employees are introduced in these organisations, they are subject to same legislation of labour, apply similar employment contracts (therefore rights and benefits for employee and expectations of employer) and, most important of all, social relations in the work place is embedded in that of wider society. Management practices as well as employee reactions are informed by these social relations of capitalist labour process, and also potentially are located in the sphere of ideology or superstructure, even if we are to assume that work relation in NGOs are not of a capitalist nature (which is a point open for debate).

The case of 'NGO professionals' as defined in previous chapter brings in another complexity regarding identity issue within work relations and labour process, an issue which has been brought into agenda for profit organisations. Meaning (therefore consent and legitimation) has to be manufactured by engineering of sense making in profit organisations, whereas it's assumed to be usually already present due to identification patterns within value-based NGOs. However, this doesn't alter the NGO as a workplace (another form of relationship of professional with the organisation as an 'employee') subject to material exchange and legal implications as well as formal responsibilities and accountability. Consequent forms of alienation and impact on job satisfaction and processes of organisational identification completes the picture.

In order to provide a detailed account of response to this framework, we'll turn to our case studies, all of which contain paid employment relationships and some sort of management. As mentioned earlier, these interview processes have been held with a tailor-made methodology of participatory research; this choice is also in compliance with Thompson's suggestions that the sphere of ideology and consent (and manufacturing of it) can not be studied in a wholly external way (Thompson 1989).

IV.2.1. Management and Control in Issue Based NGOs

Control techniques and mechanisms in organisations vary from hard forms like direct coercion, and technical/bureaucratic control and measurement, to soft forms like social activities and motivation, legitimation and consent (creation of meaning). The main issue of this study will be the difference of labour process within NGOs from profit organisations, particularly regarding sense making of professional paid staff about direct control and consent based management practices.

The term 'management' is treated as a rather dangerous or 'threatening' word for 'volunteer/amateur spirit' in many issue-based NGOs. As in the case of UK, organisations or organisational members with radical or leftist activist backgrounds tend to reject or negatively react to the notion, identifying it with the capitalist business terminology. While such processes of bureaucratic restructuring can bring important benefits in terms of service delivery, the hierarchical and asymmetrical power relations that can result from this process may be profoundly disempowering to those that work within an organisation at a local level. As a member of staff working in the local branch of a national voluntary organisation explained within starting survey, “we don’t get as much support as we used to . . . The decision making structures are becoming more bureaucratic and distant”. On the other hand, other organisations with more of a development and particularly

development-by-service delivery perspective tend to imitate generic business management models in their search for managing 'more professionally' (Lewis 2001: 164-5). 'Professional' here is used as the opposite of 'amateur', however this happens in a time when private sector has been trying to incorporate 'amateurism' in work environment, participation at work place, initiative, social responsibility, corporate citizenship and flexible work organizations as notions and discourse borrowed from the civil society.

According to the respondents participated in this study, levels and forms of hierarchy within the organisation are similar. However, attitudes of the managers and practices of management vary among the organisations and it is these variations that make a difference in working life of the NGO professionals. In the following sections, I will try to provide a brief picture on organisational structure and life for each respondent as presented and interpreted by them. The titles of these sub-sections are taken from the interviews with that person.

IV.2.1.1. “That position was actually created to keep the education responsible who wanted to quit, but s/he left anyway”

The foundation that Esra works has been formed in early 1990's after a

successfully implemented holistic early childhood educational program for disadvantaged sections and regions of the society. The program has been formed by prominent academics in that field and they kept being involved as board members and advisers. The foundation has been funded extensively and regularly by a private bank and its supporting holding company till mid-2000s, and this involvement included appointments and influence in board and management levels. Level of financial contribution by the bank and holding company has been decreasing for the last couple of years, leading to a search of diversification of resources (such as EU funds, selling of souvenirs and individual donations) for the continuity of several programs conducted.

The management style within the foundation contains various techniques and practices, from direct control to technical/bureaucratic form and use of discourse, though without an integrated frame. At first look, regular work times are subject to direct control and not flexible on the employee side, but on the management side there's a frequent pressure for overtime work.

We can not socialise [with each other], even those who go out to smoke are regarded as lazing. Reading newspapers is forbidden. There are usually newspapers at the kitchen side, but people have been warned of not to read newspapers at the toilets. (...) Sometimes even going out for lunch disturbs them, I can not ever stay at the office for lunch, I have to go out to eat something, but even that is criticised, 'oh, she doesn't stay, she leaves.' Not staying at your desk for lunch break provokes a different impression about you.

Also expenditures are subject to ex-ante direct monopolistic control and a

rigid bureaucracy, which leads to search for extra-procedural ways by the employees in order to be able to fulfil their tasks:

For example, there's an approval form, a new procedure, we'll receive approval. We can't spend anything without approval, but really anything, even the simplest stationary. But first this approval form is brought forward, various budget codes etc., 10 minutes work takes an hour. Then head of department sees it and signs, then vice General Director, then board, and then accountants investigate and approve it, it takes around 3 weeks. If you spend it yourself with oral approval, by phone or so, still you have to wait this three weeks to receive it back as it is not a written approval. (...) Now the CEO has to give the final approval and she's abroad for three weeks or so, before they have warned us but there are always unexpected things, or there will be a seminar organised, there's no money. Everybody asks each other, if they have any advance payment for work available, we're in such a situation.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, mainly by the concern of fulfilment of donor requirements, management style prioritises achievement of goals in quantity over substance and quality of the work, therefore real experiences and learning from them:

We had been through a very hard summer term, our project was quite a big one. Many problems came up, we had to struggle with a lot of things. And it was over, I returned back, first meeting, where everyone was present, -later these meetings were not held at all-, they asked what happened during the summer schools, we reached this many children and this many mothers, that's it! What we went through was so different but what can I tell there, and to whom? It's related to this, more detail should have been discussed, in a separate time allocated, not after everything's over, but sometime in between.

Organisational structure and functioning is a solid hierarchy and a bureaucratic form where everybody reports to a single person in a superior post. Bureaucratic and hierarchic form goes beyond the structure to be reflected in the attitude of board and managers; first response to

organisational functioning problems or discontent of some employees has been creation of an additional level in the organisational hierarchy. Most significant example of this sort of response has been creation of previously non-existing posts of vice general directors to overcome the problems that general director has caused among the rest of the staff, contributing to unrest and high turnover rate, but without replacing her personally:

Everybody voiced their problems about General Director, about her way of managing. [Recently appointed] Vice General Directors are more competent about the content, so they tried to take General Director to background and push Vice General Directors to the front as more competent executives. So we also work more easily, as they are directly related with our work. Actually General Director also wouldn't like to be in contact with us. (...) So this new level increases the hierarchy, but I'm more comfortable with the new vice General Director. Because General Director could have made things more difficult.

Creation of posts has been preferred also to place existing staff in a superior position (and thus preserve the hierarchy and chain of responsibility) according to new employees to be recruited, but without significant change in the tasks or salaries of the upgraded employee:

In our unit and other field based units there used to be 4 levels, coordinator, education responsible, assistant to education responsible and assistant. 4 persons, each with a different status. (...) for example I used to be an assistant to education responsible, then I was upgraded as education responsible because new assistants were to be recruited, but I was still doing the same things.

Or to avoid resignation of a needed employee:

Then there was another mid-level formed which doesn't exist in our department, assistant coordinator, we forgot to put it. It was actually created to keep the education responsible who wanted to quit, but s/he left anyway.

Contrary to the organisational chart, also there's an established hierarchy of status among departments which are supposed to be in an equal level, particularly between those related to organisational development and hands-on field work, reflected in the salaries and prestige within the organisation. This was used by former employees who would like to return back to their jobs with a higher status and salary, but similar content. So it became possible that a fieldwork task was created within a department related to organisational affairs:

Those who quit, if they come back...for example, one left a fieldwork project, but returned from organisational development and management, which is superior, i.e. more prestigious and salaries are higher, everyone of them returns in a better position somehow. (...) They are offered a job again, or they whistle to some board members that they want to come back, somehow they make it known, and if it's decided so, a position is prepared for them.

Apart from the structure and general management understanding, various human resource management techniques like conflict resolution or performance evaluation are tried to be imported from private sector either directly or as voluntary service from management consultants, however even those attempts had never been fully implemented or followed up to establish an ongoing system. Some of these attempts are mentioned in Chapter IV.3.2.

IV.2.1.2. “What is your job? We still couldn't get it after two years”

The foundation that Şükufe is employed has been formed in early 1990's as an environmental organisation by founders of big family businesses. The foundation have a headquarters office in Istanbul with paid staff and provincial representatives on a voluntary basis. Number of employees at the time interviews conducted was approximately 100 and the foundation claims to have tens of thousands of volunteers, though very few of them are active, and the figures have never been updated (but simply new registrations are added to the figure) as they are based only on once registered volunteers.

Organisational form consists of specialised departments around mission related thematic work, resource mobilisation (like fund raising or volunteering) and organisational support and logistic work. Departments are directly linked to General Director and organisational form appears as strictly bureaucratic and hierarchic, despite claims of being 'a flat hierarchy with team decision as the basis of organisational decision making':

Some of them might not even be claiming that, if they have been in bureaucracy and think hierarchy is the most effective way of administration. I respect these opinions as well, I came here after a meeting and there were such decisions, to centralise the decisions... The spirit of that discourse is quite different, it says that local representatives shouldn't be giving out separate voices and we should retain final decision as the headquarters. This

supports the opinion that it's hierarchic.

We thought of shooting a documentary of journey of a document in our foundation, think about it. We took the paper and showed it to the camera: "How I see the foundation as a document!", you can produce a simulation like that within the frame of this research. This document, containing an invitation for a conference or an information about a damage to nature for example, it arrives and there's a unit in the foundation, unit of administrative affairs, they find who this document should be directed and an expert receives it. By the way, I tell this in brackets, there's no such thing as experts in our foundation, there are employees and directors. The director decides which employee will deal with it, s/he works and works on it and comes up with a proposal to his/her director. If the director approves, it is sent to General Director. General Director thinks for a while on it, whether that employee can deal with it or not, decides to ask the consultants for example, sometimes consults the president of board, only then it happens.

Work time regime is established as regular working hours and some efforts of some department heads to extend work hours of employees due to work load has met with resistance.

The bureaucratic form and seniority based status is also reflected in the language used in the foundation, resembling to that used among civil servants and state bureaucracy in Turkey:

Low level of participation of employees is also similar to state practice in Turkey. At the same time populist approaches, for example management's populist approach towards volunteers is similar to government's populism. Still when you try a structuring according to a community rather than mass, when the number increases, administration goes hierarchic and inevitably more centralist. There's a concern like 'everything should be standard, confirmed by us, there shouldn't be any declaration without our approval, they should go through us', because then there would be no <...> Foundation. Adopting a standard discourse and position, and to establish that and to control it, you transform the organisation within itself. But the organisation

have become as such. For example I find this very odd, ties and suites in all our meetings, I don't know why, but I always mention these, till now [state] bureaucracy has always been the main partner, governors, parliament, president, commissions, etc....there's always a tendency as such within physical structure, our written language. That language is also reflected in the organisation. Then, I can not see the language in [other associations] here, 'hello' ['*merhaba*'] or 'greetings' ['*sevgiler*'], never, unthinkable. 'Yours' ['*arz ederim*'] or 'with respect' ['*saygular*'], we also write within the foundation like that towards our superiors. That's also an indicator. Yes, such things and patterns are established.

The culture of the bureaucratic state is so diffused in the organisation. Status within the hierarchy has become the sole resource of individual reputation and ways of addressing each other have been expected to be shaped accordingly:

There's no such thing as meritocracy, knowledge, seniority in the foundation. Or in a more correct saying, seniority only means spending more years in the foundation. The more years you have spent in the foundation, more knowledgeable and competent you are and more capacity you have. It's not a problem which department you were a graduate of, which specialisation you have or which concrete achievements you have completed. That's the way things are here, those older administrators, who were here during the establishment of the foundation or years close to it, have sustained that traditional structure, those who had overcome a certain threshold have become permanent [*demirbaş*]. Could it be possible that a 29-year old expert bears responsibility over such kinds of issues, never! Have I told you those words, one consultant to the board told me once: 'You can never address me, I would only be addressed by the General Director!' Because of seniority, you got it? This is State, this is a weird State.

Power structures within the society due to age or gender are reproduced within the organisation, by the help of this bureaucratic and hierarchic organisational culture. On the other hand, many principles of bureaucratic hierarchy are violated by supervising managers in practice:

We talk about it as hierarchic organisation etc, but time to time they [department heads] simply withdraw themselves. Our board consultants can allocate tasks to employees without asking their department heads. Why, because this respect worthy consultant of the foundation for years, what if he asks anything, 'he' knows the job in the end, whatever the system is. And so there are many duties transferred to advocacy unit from different positions skipping the department head, from General Director, consultant, they give us some tasks, because agenda is always busy, or a case goes on.

Forming of a working group of advocacy by the participation of different employees from different departments constitutes a showcase of how issues are decided and work goes on actually, sometimes surpassing the decided form of administration and who reports to whom. This has been the individual initiative of the legal consultant to the board, which he simply decided to carry on without formal decision of the board or consent from department heads actually responsible to supervise the work of team participants.

According to the legal consultant, one of the forestry engineers in reforestation department and one of the two agricultural engineers is in this group. He thinks so and allocate tasks to them from outside. But there's no such thing in our organisational structure, there's no such organisational change, I don't mean like physical gathering of these people or like our department head proposed 'see friends, from now on we'll work with forestry engineers', but there's no change in our friends' job description. Indeed, our department head was not eager for this, for very clear and practical reasons, she has only two agricultural engineers for demonstration projects, they are already overloaded with those big projects which require extensive time and responsibility. Added to this, dealing with the policy aspect would be a problem for their time, but she has used her usual tactics of abstention and uncertain response. (...) They always talk about systematic thinking, rules, work procedures towards us, but task allocation for an employee shouldn't be done unplanned and unsystematic as such.

Despite the surface image of a strict bureaucracy, the organisation is highly political with continuous power tactics and renewed positions between organisational actors, mainly by the concern of preserving their status:

Usually I am criticised by my style, not the content of my defence, so I prefer written and brief form, so that she can not change position. Because they continuously change their positions orally. She can say 'he is sometimes confused about limits of his duties' for the legal consultant, but she can not say this to him face to face or in other media. So she leaves you alone to face legal consultant, 'do whatever you want with him as long as you fulfil your tasks', like this is not her field of responsibility, or it should have been asked to her in this hierarchic administration. She acts like she is not informed about it to gain some time. But next day, when she senses she'll lose credibility, she becomes the most knowledgeable person about that issue.”

Political moves and performances are not limited to board or paid managers, but also other organisational members, even when they are not directly affiliated with or representative of the foundation. The involvement of external consultants like university professors, for example, might even reach the point of politically speaking on behalf of the foundation and rejecting job applications on merely political opinion basis. But this courage to do so is not ungrounded, as the image of the foundation, as various speakers like presidents and board members has presented, and the discourse used in argumentations and motto have heavily included nationalist figures, using symbols like Turkish flag, Atatürk and 'land':

A friend of mine, who used to work with refugees and human rights in UK for a couple of years, a superb guy, very promising, I invited him for a job interview, and I definitely wasted him and caused a major disappointment for him. Of course they called him, because of his CV and it's impossible to reject him. A professor who has been an advisor told him 'I wouldn't ever

apply to our foundation with this CV if I were you'. They humiliated him, as 'human rights organisations, those who work with refugees and so on, are separatists', he told 'we are a nationalist organisation'. (...) I remained speechless, and then learnt that the colleague, who left that position earlier, had not written such experiences in his/her CV. Those experiences show your poly-valence, he's done that kind of advocacy there, returned back to Turkey, have been a campaigner in nature conservation, then applied to our foundation, what would you do? (...) So he incidentally faced that reaction, not because he was incompetent or unknowledgeable, only because he has worked in the field of human rights, refugee rights, they repelled him as if swearing at his face. And the other administrators in the room were speechless as well, they couldn't say anything.

Above incident shows the influence of experts (mostly university professors) around the organisation, and the political and performative aspects of relations on the side of mid-level managers as well. The power of professors about the content of the work (and its effect on employees' job content and resulting low satisfaction level) has already been mentioned in the previous chapter.

Some organisational or human resources management practices like performance evaluation systems, personal development programs for the staff or reorganisation of departments has been tried, but they were either quickly turned into bureaucratic procedures to be completed only on paper periodically or not sustained at all.

In our foundation, some things are initiated, with very fine reasons at the time, some steps forward are taken...I think...my observation, like this merging of departments. Then those who implement it are either not competent, or are not convinced with the aim behind, they only do it to fulfil the task. (...) Logic behind merging these three departments [including international relations] is very fine, because we do a project, but why do we,

it is forgotten and things went on, so they merged these departments. The argument here is: “we do these projects, so let us merge them with advocacy, so that the problems encountered there [in the field] could be linked and we can plan a project.” That's a superb idea, but what was the reason it couldn't be done as separate departments? It could have been done, but the difficulties tried to be overcome by only a formal action. (...) At this point three different functions have been merged to increase the work load incredibly, so my department head can not do anything related to my job, neither a strategy, nor decision, forecasting, or even weekly plans, she's so far from that. She told me 'I can not deal with you' -meaning we can not talk about advocacy, foresee our work, even can not meet- 'because you also have to accept that I undersign expenditures in projects', they are urgent because of daily necessities, but I also have some necessities regarding longer term as advocacy unit. (...) Then it means that I can also do anything, the work of all departments of this foundation with an extraordinary effort. This is illogical, they officially summed up us all with a plus sign, but coordination was more important.

The reasons of taking decisions or measures are forgotten in time when the decision maker leaves, however the measure is sustained (even though it's not useful) till it causes a real problem. This is also valid for creation of some posts, including that of Şükufe, created by an incoming General Director by a vision, but not completely removed by next one, though the function of that post or practice could not be comprehended by the management:

For the past two years, 'What is the job of Ms.Şükufe, we still couldn't get it'. Theirs are clear, prepare certificates and distribute it to some people, organise trainings and conduct them, or contact the voluntary representative, while ours is scan the articles, synthesize them, monitor the latest developments, monitor the legislation, what are the laws, what are the latest amendments, get opinions of professors, these were all the jobs I've done. (...) Until the last two months, former president of the board was telling 'I could never understand what Ms.Şükufe. does'. You could say 'she's not working good, we are not satisfied with this employee', that's another thing, but they

couldn't understand what I'm doing. Sometimes they act like they are satisfied with me, 'a very good employee, very determined' and so on, but they still couldn't get what I'm doing.

As mentioned in this excerpt, the foundation has been in a continuous state of transition for the two-years period Şükufe has worked in, with four General Director and deputy General Director and three complete board changes. According to Şükufe, this has been the case for a long time extending beyond her service time in the foundation; the need for organisational change has been obvious for all levels, but previous attempts had been unsuccessful causing a consequent series of changes. Each change of General Director and board renewal has been experienced as a rupture from the previous one due to lack of proper information transfer. Şükufe has been a showcase of how employees are negatively affected from this change:

Head of department went to department of finance and they told her, 'oooh yes, since two years Şükufe received no raise'. Why? Management was not aware of my performance! My unit was out of ordinary, that's the problem, I used to work directly with General Director, he promised me a raise after 2-3 months, after 6-7 months nothing, and yes, that's also my fault, I also didn't ask for it. I thought he would do it somehow, in the end money was not important for us, let me focus on my work, but I couldn't think how that salary would be in the end. Regular annual raise in the foundation is around 5%, I received none. Then I learned that nobody was filling in my performance evaluation form as I didn't have a department head. Human resources responsible also doesn't know anything. (...) Is it normal? They are aware of the bad, but not the good. On the other hand, it's almost automatic, everybody receives 5% increase every year as far as I know.

This state of transition has led to distrust in any attempt of organisational change among a core experienced staff at the mid-level (department heads),

who more or less kept their places during all these consequent series of turnover at the top level:

[Former General Director] left before 2009 in 6 months. In her first 1,5-2 months she only observed what's going on, put some targets. Then, in her own words, she had seen that conditions are not suitable to realise them, actually if she had seen it she could have started working till late evenings, till 9:30 or 10 for two years. But she didn't want to take this risk, her health condition wouldn't allow it. She said 'If it were so, we could reorganise this place in 2-3 years, but I forced myself and my health conditions and I, for the start, couldn't see the strength in me. (...) So many changes of General Directors, but the mid level remaining the same and everything going on as it is shows that administration doesn't have any willingness, determination and organisation to change it.

The reason of failure to change is not simply an unwillingness at the board level, but also an unsuccessful intergenerational transition at the board and founders level, exemplified by the unhidden unwillingness of board members to be a candidate for the post of 'president' voluntarily:

[About the new president of board] the situation is like he had accepted this task as a sort of [obligatory] service, because there was no one else and he was forced, we understood it as such. The board couldn't elect someone who was volunteer and had time for this post, there were nobody like that. So he was asked and requested heavily, by the arguments 'this is a very important organisation, it shouldn't be left without a president, you should take it as a duty towards your country', and he told this at his first address to the staff. This left a very bad impression among the staff, he said something like "though I didn't take the task voluntarily, I will do whatever is needed." It was a very unfortunate sentence I think, staff expects change, some decisions are thought to be taken. But he remains on the surface, like he has accepted the task as a 'duty towards country', he reflected it as such. His competence in decision making is only on the image, but he really looks very decided and competent, you wouldn't believe.

Failure of these transitions united with unchanged mid-level managers for a

long time has contributed to consolidation of positional power of these core staff as the 'true owners' of the foundation:

Or in a more correct saying, though it's very sad for them [department heads], I witnessed this: 'let's see, another one has come, but he will also come and go.', a mood like this, considering themselves as permanent, legitimate ones. In the foundation, department heads have been working there for around 6-9 years. As they know some sorts of consolidated and invisible relationship forms and systems of getting things done, -actually this was what I tried to say-, in the same energy that incoming General Directors and administrators try to perceive, analyse and direct towards the correct change, they already pursue their lives from here, so they create spaces for themselves, in order for change not harming their positions. Everything has been a gain for them, to be able to come to the office and leave the office whenever s/he wants is also part of the power for those administrators, or to be influential on his/her own salary, to create that opportunity if s/he is courageous enough to demand, has that manoeuvring space. Or trying to be more popular on the side of governors, bureaucracy or media. Everybody's trying to create a space of power and preserve that related to their activity field. (...) This is the general discourse, reactions like "it's us who know the foundation best, because we're here for the last 15 or 6-9 years, I understand the volunteers best, I know my job best, I'm the authority in this field. So let's see how will this newcomer will get used to here? How will s/he perceive, how long will s/he stay, how long can s/he stand?', small ironic gestures, gossips, a comment among two-three people during a meeting, it wasn't nice at all. (...) A continuously grumpy organisation going on like that, and nobody can take it anywhere.

Acquired department autonomy as compartmentalised power spaces of department heads has turned the common platform of the foundation into a medium where power conflicts between department heads dominate. As a result, interests of each department acting as a single entity are prioritised against the concern of the foundation acting in coordination for the specific case it was built around. This is reflected in relations between employees of

different departments and also a kind of imagined competition between departments where individual achievements are adopted by one's department as a whole:

A simple example: two different department heads, it's known that they keep criticising each other during the meetings, I also witnessed this, they always imply that the other is not competent in these matters. Employees from their departments can tell those from the other departments: 'I wanted to ask your department head this issue, but he's not here, it's also your expertise, would you mind if I ask you?' There the job to be done loses its significance because of concerns of being scolded. The job might be a quite important one, let's say opinion of the foundation on a case, my responsibility and my department head is out of office. Such funny dialogues come out and we're so out of business. Finally I told 'Please give it up, it is urgent, isn't it? Let's do it.' and we finish it. If it was up to the procedure... In the beginning I had told a good comment, OK, hierarchy might be a chosen model, a decision made from the beginning, but there's no point in abusing it. In our foundation extreme points of hierarchy and obstructions for people are used extensively. So we see failures. Extreme examples can be seen among the departments. (...) For example, if a department whose task is to publicise the foundation's activities is not liked by the department who does the actual work, then they are not informed. Just think about it, the aim of that department is to publicise the foundation. We witnessed these kinds of dialogues recently, trying to leak pieces of information, as the employee knows s/he can not get information from the department head, s/he tries to get it from employees in that department during the break, the other also knows this, not to spy I mean. 'I heard things like this, well it's not official yet, we'll adjust our work accordingly', our dialogues are like this. (...) in other departments there is more of a belonging issue, protectionism of own members, rather than a team approach. Department heads, if there's a conflict between staff of two different departments due to a mistake of one, defends his/her own member saying there's no mistake on their side.

Frustration about mid-level managers is not only on the side of employees on the lower level of hierarchy, but also on the upper level, which might be another reason of high level turnover:

Coordination meetings [of department heads] were not able to be convened and I heard this word in the meeting, told by the financial consultant who would be acting General Director as General Director has been resigning: 'I won't be holding these meetings, my nerves can not stand it!'. He tells this to all department heads and the resigning General Director and the next thing he says: 'I'm also human'. (...) Why? Meetings have deviated from its original function towards a platform where everybody criticises each other, I'm not exaggerating, I witnessed this myself, and all those General Directors who come and go are worn out of this lack of coordination and meaningless tensions, this is my conclusion.

In the end, the interviewee perceives the situation of the relations within the foundation as a deadlock:

Sometimes I think, how deep a hole is this, is it really this hard? It is a foundation in the end. Normally I think we work on a very specific and high cause, but after a certain point it shouldn't be this hard, why does it get stuck in such issues? Something happens and it gets stuck, it's very easy to create any problem in our foundation, and I can not make any sense about it being that easy. There has been such a conflict, everything goes on with a fight from the beginning till the end, does it have to be this complicated? Indeed, they're actually very easy, it seems so to me, but they don't want that, they don't want to explain it to each other. I sense an image that some people protect themselves in certain positions.

This deadlock culture of getting stuck in departmental (but ultimately personal) conflicts and highly hierarchic procedures, that prioritize the mission and cause of the foundation, combined with the lack of ambition in all levels of the foundation reflects the historicity of the organisation within its dynamic and complex relationships. However, the resource dimension of this ineffective and conflict-driven organisation shouldn't be overlooked: resource flow to sustain salaries of all these staff hasn't been significantly decreased to threaten the survival of the organisation, due to high reputation

within the society and on the side of companies which constitute the board of trustees of the foundation.

IV.2.1.3. “Their approach to nature conservation is very professional, they do 'business'”

The foundation Zeynep works has joined an international nature conservation network in the beginning of 2000's, though the roots of the foundation extend back to one of the first major environmental NGOs of Turkey established in 1970's. Upon joining the network, the foundation started to use the international name which is well known and considered a “brand” of its field.

The foundation's board is composed of former or current private sector high-level executives (e.g. current president is a retired CEO of a bank) and senior nature conservationists among the dominant group of the foundation. A major part of funds of the foundation comes from one major bank and other sponsor companies as well as project based grants of intergovernmental organisations such as European Union and United Nations and individual donations presented as 'membership'. This also has created an image that the foundation is selective of cases to deal with it.

I haven't seen many NGOs, but among those I've seen this is the most company like; it has secrets, and I can not perceive if something is really done for its sake or for other reasons. Maybe because I'm new here, or I'm paranoid. For example, there's

[bank] which supports the foundation and people outside relate why we don't react to [disastrous dam project] to the reason that they're both our sponsor and their creditor, that's the reason we don't say a word about this controversial issue. But looking from inside, the reasons mentioned are not those ones, but other ones such as not taking initiatives about these risky issues in a time when the foundation is in financial risk. But now they say it's the time to raise our voice about dams, so I think if that was the reason we couldn't say anything, then we wouldn't be able to now as well, as they're still our sponsors. On the other hand, our board, -that's why I can not say anything clear- which works together very consistently and we present our work every month and receive approval if needed, is lead by former General Director of that bank, others are from elite level, so I never know what's real, I never feel like 'this is the truth'.

Consequently, culture of the organisation is corporate, or carries the features of both bureaucracy and competition and profit maximization based private sector companies as observed and defined by Zeynep

From interpersonal relations within the foundation, from all decisions being made up at the top level, and also sometimes the organisation gains priority rather than what you work for. In private companies your purpose is accumulating your capital, maximization of profit. NGOs shouldn't be like that, but sometimes we also approach to some issue as 'this issue might shake us', or 'our brand would be misinterpreted here, our logo shouldn't take place together with those organisations', or...In my opinion priority of NGOs shouldn't be itself. If needed, that organisation should be shut down or shouldn't be able to operate any more in order to achieve its objectives. But the foundation doesn't act like that. (...) The priorities of the foundation are 'our brand should be heard more, we should be known better, we should find more finances, more money.'

Particular aspect of private sector culture diffused in the organisation is 'competition' with other organisations in the same niche and its reflection in dominant exchange type relationships with other NGOs and jealousy of symbolic resources like their reputation or brand.

I ask why we don't cooperate, the explanation seems logical that

time, that we don't gain anything by it and other NGO wants to use our logo for its own interests. This explanation would be satisfactory if we were a private company. But regarding issues at that conference, the aim is to mobilise a common standpoint among civic organisations against the problems and raising a strong voice. Because many people say something here and there, but it can not be strong, if we come together it would be stronger and it would mean more. And it's the right and logical demand. But when I tell my colleague who came along with me to the conference that we can report this to the foundation, that they have expectations from us to join

The foundation is organised as departments. Only one of the departments is related directly with thematic field of nature conservation (and Zeynep works in this department) while others are logistic and support departments such as public relations, membership, fund raising and others. Task descriptions of the departments are highly specialised, though in practice individuals can be asked to do work outside their formal task description or help other departments' work:

Our boundaries are not much definite among staff, I realised this today. (...) In another saying, for example one of our friends in fund raising team deals with the organisation of things like individual donors, volunteering, membership, donations, but also she's expected to respond when there's a demand from schools. A school calls us and says 'we're organising such an activity, come and help us, do something.' Then she deals with it, like it's her responsibility, she goes there, tries to do something, and time to time she comes to me and asks if I have time to go to another school, there's this strange confusion.

Decisions are made at the board and General Director level and there's little participation from the lower levels of hierarchy:

It's very hard to reach General Director and communicate your problem, because she's very busy, always out of office, and when we reach her, sometimes her approval is not enough and we need a board decision. I tried to convince myself as this is the way foundations are, I don't know if I'm fooling myself. (...)

When I feel bad, I keep telling myself 'this is a foundation, it has owners and they decide like this, so you don't have the right to intervene.' But if it was an association, I would say 'I also have a say as a member.'

The headquarters office of the foundation is in Istanbul and there are project related field offices in different towns and villages. According to Zeynep, real work is done at the field offices, but at the moment of interviews she still preferred head office because of being close to the power centre:

The attraction of the centre is that here's Istanbul. You're closer to General Director and you at least have a chance to talk about your problem. Even if you squeeze it here and there, like I prefer late afternoon, while everyone is getting ready to go out, and she can allocate you time while she's still at the office and round up the daily work, because if you visit during the day, she has a lot on her mind, it's hard to explain your problem. And also it's a big advantage to be at the centre and to observe people and see the inner dynamics, because our field officers are by themselves there. (...) So I wouldn't like to work in one of the field offices; even when I'm here I can not nurture myself, if I'm there alone, it wouldn't be helpful for my self-development.

Employees of the foundation are either from nature conservation related volunteering background or others from a private sector experience and enrolled via vacancy notices (or job ads) published in major newspapers. As seen before in Chapter III.2.1., this comparison has been almost an identity issue for Zeynep leading her to make some comparison about work styles and organisational attitudes between these two distinct backgrounds:

Those not coming from a volunteering background, when they get out to the field, conditions of accommodation or to talk to villagers may be disturbing for them, and they might give up easily. But those from nature conservation and volunteering background and who aims doing this never returns back, no matter how hard it could be.

Assuming that the mission of an NGO includes also a transformation in

people's understanding and also individuals might adapt to the organisational medium they are in, it should have been possible that individuals from different backgrounds can change minds and adopt relevant attitudes. However, according to Zeynep:

I'd rather believe in this: they might look as if they're transforming themselves, but I don't believe it would be complete. This might be a too closed opinion, but I don't believe in that...and while I'm saying this there's another colleague which contradicts my words, a graduate of international relations. S/he improves her/himself, reads, and we can talk about ecology, not the technical part but world order, what needs to change. S/he works in the field, and I think s/he is quite successful in field work. S/he is actually proof that what I told is wrong. S/he was recruited through a job ad and before s/e has been an inspector in a bank, with a banking background. (...) But s/he left because s/he didn't enjoy working there. Actually, s/he also has a disobedient spirit...yes, we shouldn't limit it as those who have been a volunteer or not. But we can distinguish them as those who has seen that only as a job ad, and those who has treated that as 'something that's suitable for my mind and I want to try it.' And those who had been a volunteer before and tells 'I want it, I want it!' Three groups.

Another group is named as 'professionalised' former volunteers, who 'lost the spirit':

And there's another category, there's a difference between those who have been doing this for a long time now and who had started more recently. You can not get the same excitement or energy from those who have been doing this for a long time. I also believe it has an impact. They're very experienced, and sometimes they can act calmer than needed, or they can ignore something easily. They have lost their spirit [*laughing*], they all lack spirit.

At the beginning of 2000's, a power conflict resulted in ruptures of volunteers and staff of the foundation leading to establishment of another prominent nature conservation organisation, of which Zeynep has been a volunteer while she was a student before getting a job in the foundation; she

still makes sense of the foundation, her colleagues and her experience and relationships within the foundation via comparison with the other organisation. A conference organised by that organisation (referred to as 'the association' by Zeynep) within that week has constituted a good opportunity for her as other colleagues from the foundation attended as well:

The funny part is that I attended because I'm interested in nature conservation, while my other colleague was there for his presentation, he saw it as work, that was the main reason he was there. They told him from the foundation to attend and make a presentation, so he did. I was different, I'm more interested, I want to learn, I want to know what will happen. Also, as I was far from the association for a while, I had the opportunity to see what changed, what's remaining the same, I had the opportunity to compare with my own organisation. Plus I saw the difference between my colleagues and myself. This was a fine experience for me, I can say it changed my point of view. (...) I saw that not much has changed there, I was glad, because I always appreciated the working style and interpersonal relationships there. And I always thought that's the way it should be in NGOs. Many things has also changed there, people changed, but I think the spirit remained the same. Yes, there are minor changes, but when comparing to our foundation, that's the place I put the association.

The comparisons she make, about the work styles in two organisations and mentality of colleagues in the foundation (who see their work as business) and friends in the association (who work for the organisational mission in an amateur spirit), leads her to a self-constructing analysis.

Today we were talking with colleagues who observe the association from outside and everything is strange for them. They can make a comparison when there are such opportunities, I always try to tell them, that with the association things are different. Of course they see the association as a rival, they also see [other environmental organisations] as rivals, like working in private sector, they hold that point of view. This is not only because of their personal, individual opinion, but also originates from the spirit and the medium there. My colleague who made

the presentation told: 'there are three persons working for one project, while we work as a single individual in our projects and still have extra workloads'. And I said: "That's not official, they help each other." "We also help each other." No, we help only if someone tells us to, and reluctantly, 'among all my work, I am told to help other', with several complaints. There people take initiatives, they help each other if they see a problem. When I told this, "No, it's not like that", they don't want to accept, and they don't accept it.

Whether this picture of the other organisation reflects the reality (as she was never an employee of the other, but a volunteer without formal responsibility) is uncertain, but anyway the image helps her to make comparison as mentioned in sense making concept of Weick (Weick 2001).

Work time regime in the head office is regular with the exception of departmental directors. During the regular work hours communication is minimum and any lengthened pause that allows communication among the staff are seen as lazing and not tolerated:

Throughout the day everybody is behind computer screens and you do not have time to discuss your project with your colleague besides your desk. Or when you go downstairs to the cafeteria for 5 minutes to smoke, like some colleagues used to, it caused a discomfort. 'Friends, you go downstairs a lot!'. They used to have Turkish coffee, and for a while Turkish coffee was banned. In an organisation where communication is minimal, you can not produce anything naturally, and you can not learn anything.

Also attempts to avoid late arrival in the morning was made by a signature monitoring with the so-told consequence of cuts in the salary, though it was never implemented:

No, you can only leave by permission if you have something urgent. We sign a form when we arrive in the morning and the form is removed at 9:05, this was started after bad experiences, when people started to come around 10 or 11, so they made up

this system. They tell us that there would be a cut in the salary if you're late for 3-4 times in a month. But this was never done in practice, though there were such occasions. But still it's successful to raise concerns among us. When we talk among ourselves, everybody says this is nonsense and doesn't increase the motivation at all. Regarding the exit hours, it's more company like, if there was a friendly atmosphere everybody would feel free to leave whenever they like, but there's a silent mechanism of controlling each other. Nobody would whistleblow each other, but still there's an agreement.

There's not an established human resource management practice within the foundation, but there are incidental and occasional attempts by the management for personal development (or specialisation) of staff or organisation of social activities for employees. Due to their one-sided (management) characteristics, they end up with more boredom, frustration or hopelessness for change:

They ask us about in which field we want to develop ourselves, but their own plan doesn't change accordingly, it's up to their wish. They tell me 'educational issues', and ask me to develop myself in that field, like nature education, visiting schools or meeting young people, and the organisation of it, but I never asked for such a thing. I say four years is not a small amount of time, and I haven't dealt with those issues within this period. OK, it's a very good field and amusing as well, but I don't have the means, and there's nobody to guide me in the foundation. Yes, I know people outside the foundation, but I can't get use of them, because it will make my life worse. That person outside the foundation will submit his/her experience as I would like to, I will get excited and become unhappier, because I won't be able to realise it in the foundation. Therefore, I shut my eyes and ears, I don't want to receive anything, I don't want to learn anything, I act like I will do what I'm given, and it will come to an end.

Apart from these top-down suggested career planning, individuals try to create their own opportunities for self-development within the work limits of the foundation:

[On staff development programs] You create the opportunity yourself. Nobody tells you that you need to improve yourself in a certain aspect and send you to a training, there's not such a system. But they talk about the international trainings of the network they attended, as 'they've sent me to that training when I knew nothing and I started talking the same language as others', but in our foundation things are organised as you proceed. There's no structural thing, but if you find something by yourself they wouldn't say no, as long as you can arrange your work done somehow. You'll find it yourself, timing should be right and it would be financially suitable for you.

Social activities are also incidental and organised by the management without consulting the employees:

Today there was this "happy hour". And nobody was there willingly, it's a Friday and some of them were about to leave for vacation, everybody was looking forward to the end to leave. But it was organised and done, and everybody felt they had to go. It was also done towards the end of the work hour and pause time also passed. Also they asked if we should do it every week or what hour, and when somebody said 6 there was a reaction, nobody agreed. By the way the association is said to apply summer shift and they end at five.

As in the example of these management 'ideas', daily work at the head office is very much centred around the General Director and her tempo and mood is directly reflected among the staff:

Labour and efforts are wasted too much, because the agenda changes suddenly and we're required to prepare a project for some funds, everybody leaves their regular work for two days and work for that proposal, then in the last minute she gives up to apply another time. Or she asks for information about some issue, right at that moment, it has to be immediately, everybody looks for the information and make their research in stress, then we learn that she left already. Everything's ready, but we can not submit it to her. And later it loses its worth. (...) General Director can tomorrow reject what she approved today, so my director is also hesitating a lot, because he can not predict her possible reaction, nobody can predict whether she would say yes or no. (...) Let me tell it like this, in a very short period of time, in two years 11 persons left their job. A very rapid change, they

include the executive assistant to General Director, and I've never seen such an executive assistant, perfect.

This high turnover rate is directly caused by the attitudes of the General Director, particularly for persons or departments which she prefers to work more closely (which happens to be those departments related to organisational development):

It's not like they left suddenly, there is a continuous circulation there, people come and go, come and go. General Director works very closely with them. [*laughing*]. Her room, PR-FR room and then our room are side by side, so she has dropped down all she had to til she reaches us, so she doesn't get involved in our work much. Or also she always says 'you've got a director of nature conservation, I trust him a lot.'

Q: So doesn't she trust their director?

A: No, she also trusts him/her, but always says "I will work more closely with fund raising, I have to be closer to them.

However, a personalisation of the problems would be unfair according to Zeynep. When asked if the General Director of the association she always compares the foundation with were appointed as General Director, would s/he be successful, she responds:

Not much would change. Because employees are the same. They're all interrelated. Maybe by the time it could change, they would transform each other, maybe employees would change their superior, say 'we're not accustomed to this, tell us what we should do'. Then s/he would start to tell them little by little while saying 'I won't be telling you all the time'. The middle way would be found somehow. (...) But I won't be able to see such a person there, I can not. Because the spirit and the conditions of the foundation wouldn't accept him/her. Tomorrow, if the General Director leaves, the board would replace her with a man who is retired from I don't know which bank²². (...) This is not only related to the top level executive, their approach to nature

²² General Director was replaced with a former bank manager a couple of months after the interviews were concluded.

conservation is very professional, they do 'business'. It's a 'business' there, so a change in top level executive is not that important.

This attitude of the board (confirmed later) reflects a corporate, but still arbitrary style of organisation. Lack of initiative and workplace participation in decision making, even for professional staff, awakens a sense of dissatisfaction, uselessness and hopelessness and consequently a neutral identification with the foundation:

Change is not upto me, or maybe it is, but also a lot of other things, when a lot of things come together, that change will happen, if it happens or if it can happen, if it is possible at all. But I won't be the one causing the change, there would be a spark and I can put some woods to grow that spark. But I don't know if it will happen, if that day will come.

But when I was in the foundation, while coincidentally taking place in an information booth, I had nothing to tell about it. I mean I know what it does generally, where it works, but I can not tell anything about it. It was only information for me. Then I realised that I only do this job for money. Among the organisations, it's an NGO that gives not a very good amount but enough for one person to sustain his/her life in Istanbul.

The organisation adopts a low trust control scheme for employees, but without structured attempts. Decision and execution are strictly separated as management and staff, and though management is personalised in the figure of General Director, real determinant appears to be the board. General Director who conducted an organisational management style of equilibrium (between employees and the board, between incentives and work potential of employees) was replaced by the board when she couldn't sustain this political but 'unprofessional' style. NGO professionals are reduced to executors with little participation in decisions and the content of the work.

IV.2.1.4. “If you employ paid staff, then you should have a certain level of corporate structure”

Country office for Turkey of the international human rights organisation that Ekin works has been established by its Turkish volunteers in the first half of 2000's and Ekin was the first paid employee of this organisation in Turkey. The establishment date of the office was particularly significant marked by the human rights reforms due to EU adaptation reforms to be able to start accession negotiations and the organisation's previous attempts to establish a country office had been turned down by the previous governments. Still, despite the improved legal reforms that allowed the country office to be established as an association, restrictive behaviour of the state officials towards the organisation has continued, particularly by arbitrary and selective bureaucratic objections on financial records and financial transactions from abroad, which has reached the point of freezing of accounts for a while.

Law of Associations and the regulation has to be debated in Turkey, we obligatorily try to adapt ourselves accordingly and this takes a lot of my time, a significant time. It takes a lot of time also in mind, I check everything twice, thinking what can they find to cause a problem here, what should I do not to give them this chance. And this is the thing that causes nightmares rather than our own written procedures, they are for our own transparency and so on. But this is something completely different, a terrible thing. Recently I went to the Department of Associations again, to tell the civil servant there to ask 'that day you had told that there shouldn't be any movement of bank

accounts till we declare the incoming money, how will it be possible?', and this time he said 'I didn't say anything like that.' It's very arbitrary, there has to be serious studies about it. NGOs should come together and we should intervene for our own rights. You are an organisation for advocacy of rights, but when it comes to your own rights...

Country office of the organisation in Turkey has approximately 10 paid employees, one of them being the country office director, main responsible towards the board about the functioning of the office. Country office is registered as an association (the only one among our respondents) and all strategic and political decisions of the organisation are taken by the board elected by the members/volunteers. A participatory approach is tried to be implemented also in between General Assemblies, though board is formally authorised to take decisions.

One thing I like about my organisation is basic decisions being discussed in general assembly or general member meetings held during the year. I wouldn't like that tradition come to an end, so I even lobby for it.

Similarly, international level of the organisation is consisted of an international secretariat office and international board elected by the country delegates in general assemblies. Country offices vary according to number of members and financial capacity, therefore level of influence in general assemblies. However, organisational tradition as general structure and member profile are replicated in local level, not only by informal meetings of people, but also systematic transfer of knowledge among country offices:

As a general system, be it smaller or bigger offices, any office on anywhere on earth, of course there are those who have bigger buildings or so, or 100 employees rather than 10, but general structure, country director, departmental directors, positions,

campaigners, media officers etc. they all resemble each other, and also people resemble each other interestingly. There's a common profile. When you talk to a member in Greece, or in any other country, you see that they talk similarly. Though it's a very big organisation, organisational tradition is very well established, same language, same attitude, same work style. And also there's quite a bit of interaction among offices; if one branch feels a need in skills, e.g. lobbying, then receives trainer support, internships etc from a branch that's stronger in that matter. So there's a certain homogeneity.

Country office of Turkey started employing paid coordinators other than Ekin at the point where volunteer work was not perceived to be reliable any more for the sustainable continuity of these posts:

We started employing people for essential coordinator positions when volunteers were not sufficient as coordinators. Like campaigning. If there's a trouble in that volunteer position, and there is, then we have the intention to open up the debate on volunteering and responsibility, so we have already recruited staff for those coordinator positions. Our growth in office has happened like that.

As a global rule of the organisation, funding can be received only by donations and no corporate contribution (public or private) are accepted in order to protect the independent image of the organisation. In smaller country offices like Turkey, where donations are not enough to fulfil the work and run the office, solidarity funds from bigger offices are used. With the growth of the office and use of these solidarity funds transferred from other country offices combined with the hostile attitude of state bureaucracy, Ekin has taken over the position of 'financial and administrative coordinator', whose tasks include overseeing all financial transactions of the organisations and communication with state bureaucracy

to avoid penal actions by the state.

I have a key position in administrative and financial issues, because I know all about it. It has to be that way, director should know less than managers in specific issues. That manager should know more than director, so that director can manage it. So that's normal, but also director is a key position, as there are no other departmental directors he's a key person in other fields, particularly as he conducts relationships with the board, but within the office we share responsibilities. Because if one of us is not in the office, then work is hindered, so at least one of us has to be there. In fact it shouldn't be hindered anyway, but that's another issue.

Ekin's post and her personal experience constitutes a power position within the organisation (formally second to the country office director), where all financial and administrative steps of work goes through her and she either approves these steps according to formal and legislative requirements, or propose alternative ways due to her unique experience and tacit knowledge incomparable to any other in the office, including the country director.

I guess they [the management] are comfortable and content as I deal with it. But I'm not, really, because in Turkey these are serious things, I wouldn't be stressed at all if I was doing the same job in any country of Europe, everything's in the law clearly written, and they are not too little. On the other hand, here we have to watch every step, for example if some money is transferred to you from abroad and you have a automatic payment order for something and it's done, then you're penalised, 500 TL punishment for each time. You should immediately inform the Department of Associations about incoming money, but you have to take a board decision in order to declare it, for that board has to meet, president of the board has to sign the declaration form, and so on. Really stressful, there has been many times that my last thought when I go to bed before I sleep was a task to do at the association, and also the first thing when I wake up.

In her position and her attitude, she tries to provide in depth information to her colleagues, which in turn confirms her unique tacit knowledge and

consolidates her power situation:

This is a knowledge I acquired from [organisational] life experience, and I try not to hide it and give it away as well.

Q: How? That's not a form of knowledge that you can easily share.

A: That's something that appears over and over, and even more in little things. That could be about a problem with a volunteer while trying to organise an action, or about who should be doing the translation of a book. Very little, very specific, actually those things you think you do automatically, you can not think about them if you had not done those things before, it's very normal. So I intervene in those kinds of situations, that's what I call intervention. I actually say 'no, it would be easier if it's done like this, it can be solved if you do it like that.' If you write something wrong in one of the notebooks, even to correct it can cause a lot of problems. Very little, various things, and they consume a big part of my time in the office. (...) but also many people doesn't share their knowledge in order to create themselves such a position, there knowledge is commodified. I'm against it, so I try to share as much as possible, even when they try not to get it sometimes, or sometimes they tell me 'your explanation was long' and I respond telling 'this has a past like this, if you also know this you understand why I say like that.' So it happens that I give even more information than needed.

The functioning of the offices of the organisation is bureaucratic as well.

For each problem within the office, written procedures are formed and decided together, in order to avoid conflicts in similar situations in future, to ensure accountability and transparency and also to prevent legal and administrative problems with the state:

Written procedures are really easing the work. We develop task descriptions, we still have to define who reports to whom, but we have written procedures in a range of issues, like director-board relations, director-staff relations, activists-office relations and so on. We have an ongoing process of defining written procedures and modifying procedures at the international movement to Turkey office, we had already completed some of

them. If it's written on paper, then people also care not to be much in violation of it. Actually we work quite smoothly comparing to other NGOs. We also have a lot of problems, and now there's the understanding of forming written procedures in case a problem occurs. (...) these can take an extreme bureaucratic form by time, but it's a must regarding transparency, they have to fill in forms, assessing the price proposals, filling in matrix forms and compare. Of course there are complaints, but it should take shortest time possible, quickly finished, we're trying to design forms easy to fill in, like you'll see it if you put it there. (...) They're not definite rules, but tools, to ease your work, and also transparency as it's related to my work.

Q: So they're not binding.

A: No, but it's binding to receive price proposals if it exceeds certain amounts for example, things like that should be obligatory. But many people also call things like these bureaucracy, but that's not bureaucracy, that's accountability. I tell it like 'We're in a free market economy, it's the system we live in, so to conduct a proper purchasing we have to be careful about these'. We don't live in a communist system where prices are fixed. So you can not simply buy it like that.

Apart from diffusion of practices in international level, many of the written procedures are directly drafted by Ekin as they fall directly within her responsibility area. When asked if this is a disciplinary practice for other employees, she responds:

Yes, but I would rather express it as being aware of your responsibilities towards the organisation, but you can call it discipline, and it might also be disciplinary in other aspects. Because if one has not worked before, particularly in private sector, s/he may forget or simply ignore that working in civil society has another point. Here, it seems to me that your responsibility here is different than your responsibility towards your work in private sector. Also in private sector employees have a responsibility towards work, but in civil society it's definitely more. So I also talk to remind that responsibility, and act accordingly. Written procedures, yes they remind it, I haven't thought of it as disciplinary, but it might have a disciplinary effect to organise the functioning.

Written procedures also contribute to the established structure of the country office to be consolidated, which is, according to Ekin, something to be preferred for NGOs with paid employees:

It's a serious problem to be an employee of an NGO that doesn't have an established structure. There work goes over personal relationships and rights of the employee can be violated, s/he can be exploited, many things like this. There can be psychological pressures applied, so to be developed, to be an employee of an NGO with an established structure is important. We also try to get more developed, we're still in the process, and we have a lot of things to do still, though we are very organised, if you compare with other NGOs in Turkey, it looks like that, but we are still in the beginning.

However, when her views about volunteering and activism is asked, she prefers non-corporate loose forms of organisations without any paid employee:

There are a lot of such initiatives that I'm also part of, occasionally participate or consider participating, or support, they don't have any paid employees. They don't have paid staff, if you have a paid staff, then it brings a certain level of corporate structure automatically. Because you have to provide a certain medium to the employee, submit him/her certain rights, but on the other hand, say, conscientious objection movement, or various women's movements, of which I'd also like to be part of personally, they shouldn't have hierarchy. They are not corporate, and yes they are fine, but they have to be platforms of volunteers. I would find it very strange if one was employed there, working with the minimum wage, everybody telling him/her to do this and that. Then it would reach a point where the employee is exploited, and that organisation would feel the urge to be corporate.

Still, when it comes to own organisation where she works, this doesn't (or shouldn't) create much of a distinction or tension between employee status and activist/volunteer status:

I don't distinguish these two identities [activist and employee], not much, and it doesn't cause a tension as well, because I speak frankly, I try not to keep anything inside. If members had decided on an issue, if that action plan has been accepted, I also accept to implement that even though I had some objections about that action plan. In the end, if I'm paid a salary there, as I'm responsible to implement that common decision, I receive a salary and try to do my best. I don't get stuck as I think this way. But on the other hand, I also attend to group meetings voluntarily with my activist identity, also within our organisation I do volunteer work of low intensity, to a certain point, which is separate from my post. And at those meetings I speak frankly, I say it if I do not adopt a decision, as 'I'm against this, because of this and this, but if that's not a thing I can change in this mechanism, OK, but be aware that I'd rather prefer it done that way'. It doesn't cause a tension as I do not hide my position, I guess.

Her limit is where the work to be done is totally against her principles, but she can afford to do it because of her clear and strong standing in and perceived indispensability for the organisation.

Volunteers/members are tried to be pulled into both work of the organisation and decision making, though increase in numbers of paid staff has resulted in less involvement of members in actual work.

Situation now actually shifts from one side to the other. In some issues staff...actually staff doesn't have much. Now there's a hegemony of volunteers...or we shouldn't call it like that, but as we have grown very rapidly, work is actually done by paid staff and volunteers are drawing back a bit. Volunteers now prefer talking at meetings over active work, and it was not like that before. Of course everybody liked talking at meetings, civil society people loves to talk, but on the other hand actual work was done by volunteers and staff together. Now volunteers started to stand back as there are many employees. This brings volunteer hegemony, of course there are some friends who are aware and thinks that we should talk about it. This is where we were and where we are now. Ekin

Despite the similarities and a certain level of homogeneity, diversity in the size of country office is reflected in the form of interplay between volunteers and staff, and consequently participation level of volunteers in decision mechanisms and campaign work of the organisation:

There are country offices where volunteers do not participate much in decision making, as experience and knowledge brings along...as employees know the organisation better, they are more influential in decision mechanisms. We should never let this happen in Turkey, here it's already volunteers who established the country office, we shouldn't lose this. But current situation is also bad, if volunteers remain in the mood of 'let me participate in decisions, but not the work', then it's not volunteering. It's more taking place for ego satisfaction, not volunteering.

[In big offices] there's a staff hegemony. The ideal situation, that we should establish here, is side by side with volunteers, not one side advancing a step ahead, but without those clear cut distinctions in between, particularly while doing the work together. It's also disturbing if volunteers get in the mood of 'you are paid for your work, I'm your boss', or employees think 'I know this better than you, I spend eight hours a day for it and today I read this' against volunteers. Neither of those should happen, and it can be fixed if it happens. If we realise this, yes there's a staff hegemony, while in smaller offices than ours there's a hegemony of volunteers -I guess it's related to the number of staff-, but we have to implement that balance, and I'm trying to implement it. Also within our organisation, I insist on that as my general standing, and when there are certain arguments I talk to people over that position.

Volunteer/member involvement in daily office work also creates tensions and problems time to time, leading to the debate of accountability of staff:

[Paid staff, in general, as a feeling] are responsible towards volunteers. Volunteers can say anything like: 'that person is not working at all, what does s/he do all day, s/he receives money for that.' And this causes tensions, the feeling of potentially being criticised anytime. (...) And sometimes it even decreases their performance. Any employee who feels that pressure would be affected negatively. They feel distant to what they do. So we clearly tell that employees are responsible towards the director,

because it's the director who oversees your work at the office, s/he's the one authorised and equipped to do so. Also within the international movement, these have been experienced in bigger offices where there are several employees, so they have found certain solutions, we also ask them. On the other hand we are trying to form our own written procedures about this issue by considering the feelings and thoughts of our own people, it's still being formed. (...) I also tell that employees should feel responsible towards volunteers if it's needed.

The tension between workplace participation and staff accountability towards members/volunteers can be resolved by establishing a sort of balance required in these activist organisations:

If you don't consider staff as volunteers at the same time, and other sort of employees can not remain long in organisations like us anyway, as it requires devotion, then those employees are also like volunteers. OK, they shouldn't have voting rights in General Assembly, that right should be exclusive for volunteers and members, but on the other side they have to be equal with volunteers in shaping the campaigns or general political view.

Combined with being a small office (of up to 10 paid staff), this feeling of responsibility is reflected in flexibility and lack of direct control for work regime, though everybody is expected to fulfil their work and become available when needed:

I know that nobody can do full shift of 9 to 6, nobody should, it's not for human. Everybody can be late, everybody might feel like leaving early, or because s/he feels annoyed at something, or feel trapped in between walls, leave the office and never come back that day. These are so human, there's a right to laziness on the other hand. Keep this at side, all happens, these are your rights, you shouldn't feel guilty about them, you're not a machine or robot. In normal conditions, while you're able to do all of these, if you spend 1 hour for Facebook surfing, looking at pictures or so, during the time you could work, do something useful or finish some work related to your paid tasks, that's not nice. There responsibilities and self codes of conducts towards oneself, one's own work should be in place. This is what I meant. Each employee should have the right for excuses, and to

say s/he has excuses should be enough. On the other hand, one thing should be clear: it's very usual to say 'I'm sick, I won't be able to come to the office'. No, you're not sick, you simply don't want to come. I tell it directly, I say I'm bored, I can't tell lies. And I'm very happy to be working in such a place, I feel like I wouldn't tell lies even if I was working at the private sector, I wasn't doing it while I was working in private sector. Why would you tell lies for these little things, what's the point, if you are sure what you do is correct, if you're not feeling uncomfortable yourself? So we arrive at the general stance towards life, so I try to behave like that at work as well.

The work of the organisation and contents of the tasks of employees are highly political, and therefore potentially controversial among organisational stakeholders. The solution found by the organisation to avoid potentially damaging conflicts has been using already existing political and social medium within the organisation coming from the activist background of all stakeholders. Forming written procedures as sort of organisational contracts has been globally preferred rather than using imported human resource management practices; the cold face of simple bureaucratic procedures seems to be fulfilling its role of avoiding conflicts on how to do the work and ensuring transparency and accountability, as long as there are functioning examples in the international level of the organisation and all stakeholders agree or adopt this approach.

IV.2.1.5. "A multi actor system in decision making, so that monitoring and control and sharing responsibilities become a multi actor task"

The foundation that Bedri works is established in the first half of 2000's by the initiative of a former bank CEO who had been president of another big foundation working in the field of education. The foundation aims at supporting volunteering in society with a focus on university youth. While the activities during the first couple of years featured more volunteer service actions, eventually the foundation approach and forms of activities evolved into a youth empowerment, self-expression and self-organising platform with a rights-based focus, particularly in trainings and projects implemented by its head office. Volunteer service activities goes on, though, acting more as an entry point to 'participation'.

The foundation and its head office in Istanbul supports the network organised as university student clubs. University clubs are founded as own initiatives of students and head office facilitates the network and initiation of new clubs, supports capacity building and fund raising for the activities of the clubs as well as implementing own projects and fund raising activities. The board is composed of volunteer university students elected by the network of clubs and “adults” elected by the board of trustees, in order to involve volunteers directly within the decision making mechanisms of

foundation.

The head office and paid professional staff is organised as departments of field, training, projects, scholarships and fund raising. Departments are organised around the form of work and activities and thematic responsibilities and individual responsibilities are clearly identified only within projects and training departments.

Financial resources of the foundation are raised from private sector sponsorships, donations and project based funding from intergovernmental organisations. Sponsorships have been the major source of the foundation, but with the economic crisis this amount significantly decreased causing a renewed search for other sorts of funding:

Last year we realised that a vast amount of our foundation's funds are from private sector. And economic crisis strikes directly private sector, so we started looking at grants, we apply for all sorts of funds, good, bad, this and that, we apply for all, and we'll surely get some of them. There are also new donations and initiatives, but this crisis forced us not to diversify our activities. Because instead of looking for funds for our new ideas, we focused on fundraising for our already existing activities we had to continue. So I guess this year our scope of activities will be less, or at least it won't be more. But on the other hand I guess the quality of our work will be enhanced as we'll be able to focus on our work. While we do not or can not think much about the quality of what we do on the continuous run to always create something new, now we can turn back to what we do, and we can see some concrete examples.

Anyway, this was reflected in additional tasks for already heavy work load.

The crisis caused an increase in work amount for all of us due to changes in task description. We didn't replace resigning field

responsible, so there's an extra workload there. On the other hand there's a new work item for all of us, to fundraise. While it was only fundraising and projects department before, now we all look for funds. And I mean not only office and board, but local clubs as well, Kocaeli club has to apply themselves for I don't know what fund, for example.

Field department and its team is particularly important to keep the network together and to establish and keep the balance of links between the head office and the board of the organisation:

Well, as we think ourselves as organisers, though I don't know how much of an organiser I am, I think this is important: though we have different opinions, we have to come together in order to be able to talk about these, and you have to have something in common with the other in order to come together. I mean, why should I sit around the same table with you? There is a question mark there, why should I sit around the same table with Alper Akyüz, give me a reason, people need that. When you work in the field you stand in the middle of relationships to make them sit around the same table. I mean, those people do not come for Alper, but Bedri or Mehmet, for the already established relationship with Mehmet, and links with the other over Mehmet. This is how a field responsible works, I mean nobody comes when you say 'we are respectful for differences, we are transparent and accountable', because these words are used too much, but they have to be realised and s/he has to see it.

Considering that this work is spread all over the country, this work requires an irregular work regime, particularly in field and training departments, bringing together a very heavy schedule, frequent trips. This is a psychologically heavy work which requires a high level of devotion to work for field related departments, and this burden is shared by the training department, of which Bedri is the responsible. These two departments hold a critical position within the office, as a buffer between field and board plus office.

And now we can talk about a slightly overinflated buffer. I imagined a device absorbing the load by standing in between something when you said buffer. And overinflated means a bit worn out buffer right now. (...) It has to absorb so much, that it chooses not to absorb some of them in order to be able to absorb others, we are talking about a conscious buffer, well, we can keep this as well, but do we want to keep it? As an example, a request comes for establishment of a new organisation in a new place, there's a tension and we don't keep it. We come up with a decision not to establish a club there, [the buffer] has to make some decisions, some choices, because there is no absorption capacity anymore I think. And also any absorbing device has to release what it has absorbed at some point, but field and training departments do not have anywhere to empty up, they keep them. I mean you either have to raise the capacity to absorb more, or release the load in order to be able to absorb more. So now we make more clear and sharper decisions.

On the other hand, this form of relational and in-depth knowledge about the field with its needs and power relations provides a sort of autonomy to field and training departments in their work and decision making, due to their unique position in their relations with and needs perception of the network:

Training and field departments are in a different structure than others. Particularly managers of externally funded projects can not make many decisions about their projects. Maybe we should elaborate more, but I'm talking relatively, comparing to training and field departments. Priorities of sponsors or project partners might not overlap with what we want to do, so project responsible is not that active in decision making, I can not say s/he decides on his/her own.

Added to this feature of holding the critical information of the network and departmental autonomy in field and training departments, training department is also critical in the support it gives to the employees of other departments in their training needs.

We do it, actually I do the coordination of all these [trainings for staff, apart from those for volunteers in the field] due to my position. (...) Or in a better saying, it happens like this: I try to for

a program first, over the needs I identify, second over the needs their coordinators identify, and third over the needs they name themselves. Within this program I encourage, and sometimes force them to attend not only trainings, but also conferences, seminars and other activities in local, national and international level.

Q: Do you have to force sometimes?

A: Sometimes. Because, though individuals tell you they care about their own trainings, they see their work as a priority like 'I have to do this field visit' when I try to send them to a training.

In an organisation that doesn't have an organised Human Resources Management practice, training department seems to have overtaken part of the role due to their competency area. This task of the training department was not defined in the beginning, but it was a self decision in time as well:

The evolvement of the training department, becoming a key point, may be this was important: we included sending our volunteers, trainers and office staff to other trainings in national and international level, so we committed ourselves. For example, last year it was 60, for our staff, for them to be able to attend trainings and improve themselves. As a result of a study, a counsellor gave me a support on what sort of training should be more useful for which colleague, I tried to implement it. If s/he needs an advanced level training in project management, then I tried to send him/her to that training. But that study was not sufficient, so I did it intuitively. Like 'it would be better if s/he attends this one, because s/he is such a personality, s/he can get more from that one'. And it worked. Somehow. I can not put it in a logical line, like I did it because of this and that, but of course it has a base, an intuitive aspect. And when it worked, this task adhered to the training department, 'training department also plans personal development of employees'.

Due to access to knowledge from the field and their potential to increase human capital via self-development programs, field and training departments hold distinctive powerful positions within the organisation compared to other departments:

This [informal hierarchy] has never been abused, but it exists. So when you orient somebody for work, if you also consider turnover and change, you also orient some for being a manager. (...) But this is a non-written structure. And also I sort of like it, because this is another situation related to my ego, it also satisfies me. I shouldn't lie about it or hide it. So it causes an extra work.

Training department's adopted task of personal development of employees is particularly important because of the profile of departmental employees who are in their late twenties and early thirties and usually come from volunteer and youth work background outside of their university education or original vocation.

I always kept my position that majority of the employees of this foundation should be young people, therefore holding a youth energy. Because this place needs employees of distinctive features different than a homogeneous structure. Just like it needs different volunteers should come in order to be able to keep the pulse of the field. Actually, in our work we provide an orientation to these people about what they should care about in working life, in this NGO, in an NGO, or how and from which point they should read a conversation, how and where they should use the information about something when they find it. This is the first workplace for many of them. Well, it's also not my 5th, but it's also first for most of them. When we think like that, we also have a responsibility for the orientation of them for working life in an NGO. Though all department heads seem to be responsible for this, there's also an untold hierarchy between department heads.

With the diffusion of empowerment based critical pedagogy approach of field and training departments towards young volunteers and their local level organisations into the office, the influence and involvement of staff has changed and it was also reflected in the profile of employees.

At the point of interviews, the influence of office staff in the field and also on board decisions seemed to be less compared to the initial phase of the

foundation and the network, and this was an intentional withdrawal consistent with the political approach of empowerment for local organisations and empowerment of the board to have direct knowledge about the field (without extra intermediate positional help of the office staff).

In the beginning, the office staff were very influential over the decisions in network, now it's significantly less. Because now there's a certain culture settled and it sustains itself. For example, we read some messages that could be critical for that local group in some e-mail groups, but we don't intervene at all saying they can resolve it by themselves. Even if it will collapse, it does. Very recently one local group collapsed, but those who remained said, OK, we'll start again, and they did. I mean that awakens another learning. It has now reached the point to learn riding a bike by falling down from baby to be nursed. It's also related to the age, it's an organisation of 6 years old. A learning organisation.

[Influence of staff on decision making in the foundation] might be decreased. Because the board and the individuals who compose it started to learn the job, when I said job, I mean learning about and recognising the field, so we might no longer be needed for that. I don't say it as a negative development, it might even be positive for us, positive for the field, but still the knowledge of board members about the field is not enough. Is ours enough, that's another point of discussion, but I'm talking about a relative comparison.

The impact on political stance of the foundation is significant as well as the feeling of belonging among the staff:

For example, in the second year of its establishment, it would be impossible to discuss the question 'how would the reaction in the network be if we organise a volunteer action in Kars together with Armenians?' I think it's the staff who managed to do this, because the board started to step forward as they received support from and encouraged by the staff. Also when the profile of the staff changed, and when they encouraged each other, now there's a more homogeneous profile, it's not diverse as it were. So these people also gained courage, like we are one, together.

So the evolution of the foundation and the board ended up with this more 'mental' unity. Formerly, it was more emotional, now there's a more mental 'us'.

Above approach of staff can be called increasingly professional, and according to Bedri, despite all advantages of gaining a corporate structure, professionalisation might bring along a 'loss of spirit' as well, which might be reflected in the quality of work.

I don't know if this is a good or bad thing, an evolution or revolution, I'm really talking about a revolution. Because 'professionalism' is in our work on the other hand, it is like the difference between 'professional' life and half amateurism or volunteering. To say that 'while formerly there was a more emotional 'we', now there's a more mental one', it seems to me that with the more corporate approach, that amateur spirit is getting lost. It's still not an obstacle in front of talking about 'us', but a different 'us'.

Combined with frustration caused by the attempt to introduce some management practices of top level managers and the 'adult' side of the board, this mental unity of staff ended up in organisation of a trade union. Despite bringing a new excitement and motivation as the self-organisation of employees, unionisation also contributed to the foundation gaining a more corporate structure with the introduction of a 'workplace council' between employees and management as employer²³.

Professionalisation of work relations and corporate structure is not limited to unionisation, but also management control techniques like performance evaluation of the employees, impact evaluation of foundation activities, care for defining measurable criteria for statuses of local clubs and individual

²³ Unionisation and self-organising will be discussed in Chapter V.1.1.

volunteers and annual reports published.

We needed this description [of 'active volunteer' status], it came out of need, because we used to have this body called 'the senate'. And we still need it, because to be eligible of candidature to become a member of the board, one has to be an active volunteer. It's a requirement and it has to be formally defined. Also to be able to apply for EVS abroad, or to be nominated for a training abroad, one has to be an active volunteer. So it was out of need. And it's not office staff or the board who decided like that, but the youth council...actually it was the debate related to getting these statuses by attending trainings, so 'what do we mean by keeper of white key?' was defined, and for that sustainability had to be defined in the phrase 'have volunteered actively in a sustainable project'. So what is a sustainable project? As we conduct semester based projects, it was 2 and a half months, something we decided there together, it can be changed any time.

We have to build a system here. We have to keep that system alive and improve it, but on the other hand we think it shouldn't take a mechanic form. Yesterday, a volunteer has sent an e-mail to me, for their dissertation they have to analyse a department of a corporate structure, doesn't matter if it's private sector, or NGO or public institution. S/He asked if s/he can analyse training department. I responded: 'Let's see, we can reply any question of yours and think about it, but I'm stuck here, we are still not a corporate structure. So we might not be a good sample for the dissertation if corporate structure was a must. We are an organisation in an effort to become more corporate, but we also don't want to be corporate within context of relationships. So there is something in between, Same thing is reflected in our work and tools we use. We have to build a system, but we should build it beyond A to B, but from human being to human being. May be that's the part of organisational culture which is lively, with young employees. Bedri

These systems of rationalisation of volunteers are implemented and proposed by the same professional staff who are concerned about over-professionalisation.

[The consequence of corporate structure can be] mechanisation, if your way of relating to the incoming volunteer gets a mechanic form, but I don't mean reports, data, etc., but

memorised or templates based relationships, then the concept loses its power. Or any organisation who relates to volunteers in the field would lose its power.

With the acquired autonomy and unionised structure, these management practices are modified and adjusted to self as in the case of performance evaluation:

The last issue was performance evaluation, I will tell this in detail as it's important. Since I was enrolled in the foundation, there's this saying that there has to be a performance evaluation system. A former employee which worked in human resources department of a company before has prepared something, but it didn't work out. First, there was this obstacle of not being institutionalised enough (in discourse of course), second, there was this discussion on 360 or 180 degrees, who will evaluate who, same discussion still goes on. Though we discuss more about criteria, real anxiousness is about that. Performance system has to be operational in a year, because we'll receive our performance bonuses according to our collective contract. (...) Already we had started to form main articles of a performance evaluation system by defining 'our responsibilities-tasks', and it was not us, department heads, that prepared them, but together with those we work with in our departments, we didn't dictate them without their approval. We talked with everyone about their tasks, it was them who told us the weighing and percentages. (...) If you ask how can it be, how did you put it into a system, we're still in the process, therefore I can't talk about a finished system. But, as an approach, we're not following a penalising one and that's a good thing. And we have to put the category of unsuccessful, 'we won't work with', but we have the consensus that no one will fall into that category. You can ask how, if you're adopting a category what is this consensus, but this is the intention. Still we're trying to do something with good intentions, but maybe this good intention should transform into a more systematic and 360 degrees evaluation, where everybody evaluates also their managers.

Despite all these processes of rationalisation, still written memory of the organisation is missing and tacit knowledge of key persons is still essential for smooth functioning of daily work.

We're talking about a foundation in its 6th year, but still, though we work a lot on it, the written memory is missing, I mean the lack of database, development of a written culture in the office in order for it to develop in the field as well. There are a lot of information lost within this turning wheel and actually this information is still on some people. And in the field related departments that get into direct contact with volunteers, particularly me as I work here for a long time, actually there is a memory of past. This is also my fault, there's a memory that I couldn't transform into written form. Things like this happens, when somebody asks 'how did we use to do these in 2003-2004?' then we ask certain people. I also see myself in such a position.

With its evolving through time, a field of volunteer community, an organisational environment characterised by complex and dynamic web of relationships, formal responsibilities and informal forms of relationships and power, the organisational environment constitutes a public sphere by itself.

If we look at the whole of the foundation, actually we control each other. We try to build up a multi actor system in decision making, so that monitoring and control and sharing responsibilities become a multi actor task, therefore if individuals feels responsible towards all the others, or including his/herself, then it works.

Q: Sort of separation of powers?

S: Sort of, yes. For example, while volunteers feel responsible towards the office, the office towards the board, the board towards volunteers, but on the other hand not only to volunteers but towards Board of Trustees as well, office not only towards the board but also volunteers, volunteers towards other volunteers, local clubs towards their partners in projects, those people towards clubs, trainers, coordinators and so on, there's this spider web like situation. If something is missed somewhere, some other finds it.

The foundation has created a public space with accountability structures in equilibrium with each other and affiliated organisational actors, including volunteers in the field and office and field professionals. This lively

organisational space is in a continuous process of recreating itself and democracy is lived and tried within, though with their own definitions. Workplace feature of the foundation (and worker aspect of employees with rights) is now defined more clearly and unionisation process has also contributed to this definition.

IV.3. Discussion on Highlights of Labour Process and Power in NGOs

Lack of a perspective of profit or a formal public responsibility brings in another complexity in labour process within NGO's. Human resources approach developed mainly for profit organisations is increasingly mimicked and replicated within non-profit work situations while there's a tendency to despise bureaucracy (though it is applied heavily). Therefore, both the tension between level of initiative and level, form and measure of responsibility/accountability on the employee side, and tension between management of different motivations and values (therefore political identity) of the employee and control mechanisms and discourses on the management or board side is worth exploring to reveal power relations due to paid work in NGO's.

All the interview processes conducted within this study revealed a holistic and rich information on both organisational practices (as they were

interpreted by the respondents) and sense making of respondents about these practices. Organisational practices varied with similarities appearing among some organisations, while each experience is unique on its own. Below I try to present and discuss some highlights of resemblances, common points and distinctions regarding labour process and power relations within daily practices of these experiences. I start from more direct and formal aspects of organisational management and control practices towards softer ones like use of discourse. The resistance and self organisation practices are dealt within next chapter where I will try to summarise the common conclusions of sense making and identification of 'professionals' in issue based organisations as well.

IV.3.1. Accountability and Responsibility Problem

Accountability is “generally interpreted as the means by which individuals and organizations report to a recognized authority . . . and are held responsible for their actions” (Edwards and Hulme, 2002:192). Due to political and non-profit features, accountability of NGOs and of their staff should be considered as in multiple levels towards all stakeholders, and ultimately in a more abstract level as 'public'. Lewis refers to third sector researchers who point to 'goal ambiguity' and conflicting performance standards as key management problems (Lewis 2001). These challenges end up in general directions or thrusts rather than formally stated definable

goals. In the lack of vague goals, accountability becomes a highly political process with the gap appearing between formal public statements of the organisation and unofficial goals set by people within, 'official' and 'operative' goals as named by Perrow (quoted in Lewis 2001). While they lack a bottom line according to Drucker, there are too many bottom lines according to Anheier (both quoted in Lewis 2001).

In compliance with the general political context that push NGOs forward, accountability within non-profit organisational context and within NGOs has been investigated dominantly from a funding and accountability towards donors perspective in academic literature. This form of accountability has been included in the category of 'upwards accountability', together with the accountability structures within organisational hierarchy where staff are expected to be accountable (and report) towards superior managers and managers towards the board. Consistent to this levelling approach, other forms of accountability are 'lateral' and 'downwards' accountability (Christensen and Ebrahim, 2006: 196). According to Ebrahim (2005), too much focus on (formal) accountability can be detrimental for the fulfilling of mission and organisational learning and dissemination of information should be the basis for a broader view of accountability. Ebrahim joins others which propose a 'holistic organisational accountability' broadening the narrow and quantitative 'hierarchic accountability' that donors and political authorities urge for (O'Dwyer and Unerman 2008).

The interview processes in this study revealed a diverse picture of accountability (both 'upwards' and 'downwards, or 'holistic' and 'hierarchical') and responsibility understanding among respondents as well as dominant understanding within their respective organisations (and sometimes conflicts between individual understandings and organisational practices). It should be noted that below quotes are about personal and organisational accountability understandings, not accountability mechanisms in particular. Apart from fulfilling formal 'upward' responsibilities, the real accountability for Ekin is towards her own political and ethical standing, combined with her autonomy in her position.

[Feeling responsible towards] Myself. Really myself. Formally to the Director, but he doesn't tell me to do this or that...I mean of course I do it if he tells me, but he doesn't know much about it, as I said, I know my own responsibilities and work, and I'm open for improvement, in the end I'm not a graduate of economics or so. But it's more related to my inner peace, I do what I do considering if I will feel content with it. If I wasn't efficient at work one day, if I had spent too much time on the internet, with a totally irrelevant thing like Facebook, then I really feel guilty. Nobody sees this or knows about this, but if I spend an hour for Facebook at work, which I never had yet, I'd feel guilty.

Similarly, due to acquired autonomy in position of Bedri, his accountability and responsibility understanding is more towards himself and his direct 'clients' of volunteer trainers within the organisational environment.

If I tell the board that I realised all my annual targets in March, they would say OK. I'm that much free in training related issues. Let's say I have three training targets in any subject, if I haven't done that but done three other things and spent the budget for that, I can justify somehow and there wouldn't be any problem.

I'm trying to tell you the level of trust towards me in the organisation. So towards that trust, I feel responsible to do my work as it is required, so I feel responsible towards somewhere in the air. So what's up there in the air as nitrogen or oxygen, I guess the trainers. Those who receive the trainings and those who give the trainings. (...) So it's more like I look at the mirror, 'well, we have done this, but was it right?' I can clearly tell the board or the General Director that I've done this right, but this one wrong.

Şükufe feels the responsibility towards the target group she works directly in contact with. Together with the abstract notion of 'nature', these clients are more prior for her than her superior managers and the board of the foundation:

[extra-organisational target group I work with] Yes, I feel directly responsible towards them, I don't feel that much responsible towards the board, General Director or even my department head. If it works, if something useful for nature comes out, then my interest is in my work with those related to it. I mean, I'm also aware that this is a false target, it could be something with very long term achievements, impossible time to time, not only because of distances but dimensions of the problem that exceeds ours. The my biggest problem is that they see us as a rescuer while we could only be a catalyst, so they push me into an immense responsibility without knowing me, and I start working on that problem and take over the responsibility.

All three respondents put informal and political forms of lateral and downwards accountability, or 'felt responsibility' concern in front of formal 'upwards' accountability (or of 'being held accountable' (Christensen and Ebrahim 2006:207)). This is also consistent with their understanding of organisational accountability towards their volunteers and wider public. On the other hand, the issue hasn't come up with Zeynep and Esra (except in relation with financial procedures of their organisation and the bureaucratic

form of their relations with the managers) whose organisations do not have a wide and continuous volunteer base.

On the organisational (or board) accountability side, broadening of accountability feeling towards abstract concepts like 'public' at the managers side and difficulties to establish criteria for success and achievement has caused gaps in ownership and understandings of responsibility and accountability. Except Ekin's organisation (which is an association with elected board by members), many of the board members and members of Boards of Trustees of organisations under question are also representatives or executives of big holding companies. While similar malpractices, mismanagement of resources and failures to establish a stable organisation within their own companies could cause them lose their work or position, it's not the case for Şükufe's foundation:

I guess those executives would feel responsible towards their own companies, some of them big holdings, of course they would serve according to their own visibility and targets in their sectors.

Q: So what would happen if the resources in their own companies were mismanaged?

A: Well, rural development, nature conservation are not issues these executives know much about. Also that's the reason of General Director crisis. As General Director is in such a strategic position, lack of it and frequent changes caused us a term of stagnation and inefficiency and that's the thing that stucks us. This is rural development, nature conservation, not business, it's different from what board members are accustomed to and earn their lives, so know best about. They see it as social responsibility, but it's rural development, nature conservation and sustainable development, all are science in the end. Therefore, there are experts like agricultural engineers, or

forestry engineers. Related to this, what happens in the field has a different appearance for the board, for experts like us, for volunteers, and for the public which is very close to that of volunteers.

For Esra's and Zeynep's foundations, though board also includes the founders and experts as members, business and donor appointed members dominate the office work and management style, probably with the consent of the founders and experts. However, this imbalance on the side of involvement within the board prioritise mainly quantitative and financial results and combined with lack of monitoring on management styles of managers cause organisations or departments becoming power spaces of those managers in top or mid-level despite unsuccessful management practices.

If you look historically from outside, without knowing much, former General Director has adopted a management style that caused the foundation to financially collapse and driven the foundation into a financial crisis. After that, when you look at the exit from that crisis and current situation, there's a success, a rise, there's a number of employees, their salaries are paid, its name and the logo is well-known in Turkey, more people know about it. It's the foundation known to be working on certain issues. They are successes if you look from outside. So they see the term before current General Director as a failure and think 'now we succeeded and we continue this success'. But as there's no measurement thing, success according to what, only regarding employment, or could you change anything as an NGO, that should be questioned, and that's difficult of course. For example, we made some environmental agricultural practices known among many people, and I think it's a success for an NGO.

The direct quantitative results of the activities and the increase in fund raising are presented and perceived as direct success criteria for the organisation by the boards or management, however due to political and

ambiguous nature of goals, these criteria neither provide real indicators of success towards achieving the mission of issue-based NGOs, nor it is possible to measure if it is the direct success of the organisation or its staff. Therefore, In the normative sector of 'moral types of relationships' (Etzioni quoted in Lewis 2001), accountability on mission basis can be made mainly on perceptions basis rather than concrete objectivist ones. Again as specific for these organisations, multiple levels of accountability also leads to tensions between upward accountability required by boards or donors, and lateral or downwards accountability felt by professionals caught in the middle. Finally, defined board role and structure is directly relevant and distinctive of NGOs; goal ambiguity combined with lack of ownership might lead to a gap of accountability whereas overemphasized financial or quantitative indicators could mislead the organisation (and the staff) from the essential role of producing qualitative alternative information. These could be the case when boards remain passive and leave everything to executive director (without holding him/her accountable) or paid staff in general. Basic difference between Esra's, Zeynep's and Şükufe's foundations and Bedri's and Ekin's organisations can be observed in accountability structure. Former group is mainly managed by a single direction upward accountability structure while the latter organisations have established a multiple accountability structure ensuring a dynamic balance.

IV.3.2. Human Resource Management Practices And Imitation

The impact of business management techniques on NGOs is a relatively unexplored terrain and the debate on non-profit and/or NGO management goes on around the question of whether management without profit concerns (and public and political accountability) requires a distinct approach, or private sector management can address the specificities of this field with some adaptations.

A similar situation has been observed in Turkey, though it hasn't drawn attention of scholars apart from few Total Quality Management experiments within NGOs, particularly around the circle of Kal-Der (Quality Association of Turkey). Both management scepticism and business-like management are found together in the field, both causing frustration on the other side.

In our starting survey, 70% of respondents (50 out of 76) stated that there are special programs aimed at employees. Among them, 47 of them mentioned trainings, 32 social activities and 23 other forms such as mentoring, coaching, career planning. However, frequency of these showed a variety from few times each month to once in a year, and many comments mentioned that they are not systematically organised. For the interviewees of this study, the picture is complicated and varying. For Ekin, tools of the

private sector in a human rights organisation is unthinkable and the organisation simply develops its own practices by experience:

The story of tools of the private sector, it comes out here or there, e.g. in the problem of working hours, or other various daily things about work life, 'but this is so in private sector'...we usually reject them. This is not private sector, this is civil society, in the middle of civil society...to find that balance requires significant skills and thinking on it, but until now I think we managed to find that balance. And after this we can keep it if we manage to transfer the tacit knowledge. (...) Why would we need them in the first place, I don't know that as well. I never worked in a place where there's a human resources department, I don't have much experience in private sector as well, but I guess those departments are established in order to pacify employees and make them not to complain much. For example, in Sabah ATV, human resources director bluntly tells that he won't let trade union in workplace. Let there be no trade union or employee organising, but we'll direct them to some morally benevolent projects like planting trees or helping women in slums who are subject to violence -but never white collar women for example-. That's unacceptable for me, a similar tradition settling in our organisation would make me completely disgusted, I'd fight for that not to happen, and I'd leave such a place if I lose.

On the other extreme end, the foundation of Esra works exclusively on service delivery of executing educational programs for preschool children and literacy courses for adults despite limited advocacy efforts in the form of a campaign. The office is a very formal one, with even written dress codes that are applied in a non-strict way, but they are frequently reminded to the employees. Managerial direct control is very strict resulting in unrest and frustration ending up in high turnover rate. The organisation is also very secretive and "they're worried. They're concerned that these internal problems will be known by everyone [in the NGOs field]." This attitude of isolation resembles to that of companies with commercial secrets and heavy

competition. When I asked what would happen if they knew she was an interviewee for this study, she responded:

It would be terrible, I guess I'd be fired. But on the other hand they give lots of material to talk about, like those who quit. For example, Mrs. [founder, board member and professor who proposed her this job], I value her so much, but even she can not tolerate the foundation to be criticised, as she sees it as her own child, so they would see this as a major fault. They have completely changed their attitude towards my friends who had left, because they thought they have been criticising the foundation outside and talking about it. They didn't want them to leave, they even told them to work during summer, but suddenly, no, certainly not, if they talk around about the foundation, then they were, not ungrateful, but traitor, betraying to the foundation. So I would be seen as a spy, betrayal, definitely betrayal.

This attitude of secretiveness is also reflected in search for solutions to problems. When the board and the management have felt the need for external consultancy help in order to sort office relationships out, they have invited some individual training and management consultants to run workshops. These consultants provide this consultancy work voluntarily without asking a fee. They are usually with limited or no experience of working with NGOs.

Many of these consultancy help are in the form of one off trainings or talks, standard and not modified according to the needs, by consultants working with a bank which is a major donor of the foundation. These trainings

sometimes are useful, but to be concrete, management skills were not useful, my unit is quite different, I work with a team in south-east Anatolia and with more than 100 people during the summer. I can not use them there by management skills training and methods and models used in the bank, because it's a

completely different culture, everything's different. (Esra)

However, a more direct reason for use of these consultants appear as imposing management views on organisational practices through an external authority of knowledge:

A famous image consultant, she came and gave us a training, and told 'if you don't feel good enough for make-up, do not come to the work as well', i.e. 'absolutely do it, your hair should be made, you should wear make up, you should put on shirt and jacket, a suit', that's what they want. Else you're perceived as a bug and they treat you like that.

Furthermore, consultants were ultimately acting on behalf of their first hand clients, the management, even during their one-to-one work with the employees while claiming to reach a common view within office. After a(nother) row of resignations and voiced unrest within the office, board decided to ask for external help again. However, General Director, the major source of disturbance among employees, was present at one-to-one meetings of the consultant with the employees, and the consultant didn't object to this presence:

Later on we discussed among ourselves about why General Director wanted to attend as well: they purposefully wanted to be there. And even at that point, to control, to give us the message that 'we do something for you, but we continue to control you, so don't cross the line'. (...) But the consultant was also like...he didn't hear certain things. And he almost manipulated the process to come up with the result that 'our common areas should be cleaner and tidier'. Like it's our number one priority, our biggest discomfort, or that's the thing that will make the organization a better place to work, in the end whole thing went out of direction. Of course he also listened to the management, but he was also...the cases he mentioned to us, for example, 'in call centres employees work for 10 hours without an opportunity to raise their heads, they have to take permission to go to toilet, mobbing is ordinary, but you are very

comfortable here'. He also presented his opinion there. It was not deep enough. And finally, these five points are the things to save us. Well, of course there were others, but these were the concrete steps to start, we happened to decide about this all together, but with manipulation and while the General Director was there.

According to Esra, the outcome of the workshops were also manipulated by the request of the management:

[5th point] Like that's the real problem, 'we shouldn't scold each other'. Not everybody is scolding each other, but certain people humiliate, scold, belittle and mock others. So we expressed our disturbance like that, 5th point. If our tone and words get harder, let's remind each other the 5th point. I'm expected to remind the General Director 'the 5th point'. (...) I wouldn't, I can't.

In the end, trainings, workshops and the consultancy processes transferred from the private sector served only to the direct client, management, to pacify the discontent among employees, and re-establish the authority until the next row of unrest and resignations.

Another attempt of import from private sector is performance evaluation systems, in the cases of Bedri, Esra and Şükufe However, while Bedri and colleagues try to implement it step by step and modify the system according to their own needs and workplace values, it turned into an effectless bureaucratic form for Şükufe's. For Esra and the foundation she works, performance evaluation has been first imposed as another management tool, but it hasn't been sustained:

When I started the job, there was a human resources expert, she tried to develop something. We used them, for example I had a performance evaluation chart. Starting from that we used to talk about personal targets, results of counselling meetings, then

performance evaluation meetings, and we used to sign the outcomes. We thought we would do it every six months, but we only did it once or twice, then nobody remembered that. (...) [Then] They wanted to pass on to another system, but also that one wasn't implemented. Some titles were identified, over those titles problem solving and decision making was to be sought, and levels of authority were to be identified for each person, like you should be here but you're here now. For all the titles something was prepared, but that one was not implemented as well.

These practices and techniques were simply taken from some books or training manuals and applied directly without modification to own needs. These techniques are also used to categorise employees in order to assess their personalities and personal characteristics rather than identifying needs for personal development.

By the way, we fill in '*Occupation Personality Questionnaire*' (*OPQ*) when we're recruited. They consider the results, like 'this person is a bit weak for taking decisions, but ambitions are high'. Then we were also subject to wheel of general success, according to another questionnaire. There were a few 'managers' among the staff, I turned out to be a supporter, team member, but weak in making decisions or managing, give her a task and she'll take it over, try to do it. And we received a training as an outcome of this wheel. (...) There was a one day training. They touched on self awareness and how should we work together, but only one day, very short. 'Here, we provide you this, from now on be careful about that and whatever you do after that is yours.' Then it was reshelved and human resources tasks were left to unit managers, performance evaluation would be now done by them.

Main approach of management towards employees at the lower level of hierarchy by applying these human resource management techniques seems to be a sort of managerial show off, with attempts aiming at building consent, turned into meaningless and useless bureaucratic procedures or not sustained at all in the cases of Esra, Zeynep and Şükufe Bedri's experience

with these techniques is somehow different that these systems are designed and modified by employee participation, contributing to staff empowerment and also as a part of employee self-organisation. Ekin's organisation either forms new procedures out of need or imports them from other country offices (but modify them anyway). This picture shows a variety of positions towards management practices for NGOs (Lewis 2001:189): foundations established by business circles mostly adopt the attitude of generic management ('management is management') while Bedri's foundation adopts an adaptive view and Ekin's organisation constructs its own original view.

IV.3.3. Power Positions and Power Spaces

Positions give power to individuals, but how to exercise it is related to learned practices, and particularly learned or adapted in organisations with established management styles. For Esra, management of people means being able to lead them, or make them what manager wants them to, which requires 'managerial skills', she thinks, she doesn't have.

Definitely I think that management is another skill, or if we take these examples in our foundation, I don't think I can go anywhere with that. If I become like them, because I don't have much of that manager thing, I happened to know these people as managers, I live with them, I haven't seen other different ones. How can it be different, more democratic? They often tell me not to be too democratic. Take the case of our field team for example, there's this strange thing. We decided to transfer some of the activities to them, by authorising some of them, so there

were changes on authority levels. Then I observed the changes in their relationships. They are for example a team of six, they're friends, but when you make one of them responsible for anything, s/he becomes cruel against others, and the rest are jealous of him/her and a chaos, then their superior puts more pressure on them. Why, does it have to be this way? So you think s/he reflects the way things work to the field. S/he goes there and scolds others, s/he tries to make things work by scolding, and there's no different model. So what I did was try something with my limited perspective, and I couldn't be a "manager" manager. I didn't prefer to be as well. Because that's a team work, team spirit. (...) So I was more of a supporter, team worker and somebody who says 'let's decide together'. Then they didn't respect me [as an authority] at some points.

This notion of 'power as a quantitative capacity' that could be held in hand is not a simple cultural way of imitating form of authority behaviour, but there is pressure or manipulation from supervising positions for the post holders to act like this towards lower posts.

Because I know that Vice General Director was putting pressure on our coordinator to do like that. (...) I know she told her that she should make her authority respected.

Replication of that way of management reminds Paolo Freire's detailed definition of oppressed individual oppressing colleagues when an authority is given to him/her by the oppressor (Freire 2003). This notion of positional status and hierarchy is even reflected in the way professionals are expected to treat their superiors:

I used to call new vice General Director [by her name], then she was appointed as vice General Director, and when I called her [by her name] in a meeting with General Director, she asked 'who is that?', I told, and she said 'oh, Ms. [... *hanım*]', she gave the message that I should call her formally.

On the other hand, positional power of the professional manager is relevant to flow of information and tacit knowledge as in the cases of Şükufe, Bedri

and Ekin , where this form of power is collected in the hands of mid-level managers like department heads. In the case of Bedri, his experience of establishing the system related to his work, being in direct contact with the field of volunteers, fulfilling tasks that benefit both the wider field of volunteers (particularly already powerful leaders with the status of 'trainer') and the office staff, and having witnessed organisational history had put him in a key power position that is hard to replace within the office:

As long as you cover people's needs, both for volunteers, staff and myself, if they realise that an investment has been made for them, especially if you consider training as an investment, they establish a bond of gratitude or loyalty for the institution, person or position which makes this investment. And if that investment works for him/her in the future, that is the place they refer to encountering a problem. This is not necessarily only training, whatever instrument that is useful for self is made available, same bond can be established, but in our work, as this thing called non-formal [education] is very powerful, and very parallel to our work in general, training is one of the first places to refer to. So if I tell a field responsible "Ahmet Mehmet, you should go to this training abroad, it might be of great use for your work" and s/he concludes that it's really useful for him/her, s/he keeps the order of reference on who to consult or take into account more. In that sense, though sometimes I end up in this power position by my own choice, in other times I'm put there by other people, but I consider this as a requirement of work.

His interpretation about his position is also formed by the appreciation of all those benefiting from his work as well, providing him a space to perform:

I hear such things like both my colleagues, volunteers, board and the foundation needs me. But the foundation needs a person in my position anyway. They also say they need me personally. This ties me up a bit, but I don't know if this is the real bond, it is not, I can die tomorrow in the end. (...) That applies a pressure, but also I like it. In the end, I'm also a person with an ego, and who lives with this ego, I have to satisfy it somewhere. The bond is not because people need me, but because they think I can respond to their needs in times of need. But actually I can

do it from outside as well. Only the fact that I'm available whenever they need me ties me up. It's also wrong to put it like 'them', but I should also look at myself. The need...I also think that I'm at a critical situation, every night or morning or every day I certainly live this, I say I won't do it anymore. And I even tell it to my closest friends, I also told you before, that now I'm very tired and worn out. So why don't I give up? This place creates a space for me, there's a space here. So, actually I might leave if I find somewhere else that I can find this space. But to be in this critical position feeds me, feeds my ego despite all this pressure and being worn out.

The difficulty of transferring the experiential tacit knowledge about the position and the foundation appears as not being able to raise another for his post:

On the other hand, nothing would happen to the foundation if I leave, it wouldn't end or collapse, I'm not in such a brutal position, it's not tied up to me, it's a living organisation, learning organisation, it learns. But my experience can not be found anywhere, only transferring to colleagues like master and apprentice. And those colleagues never work here as long as I have been, I try to, it seems like the time has come for me to pass it on, and they leave. Because they receive what they can get from the foundation and leave. (...) So that's one of the reasons I still remain here, I don't know who to pass it on.”

Similar to Bedri's position, for Ekin the critical power position is created contingently due to her experience, critical check-point feature of her tasks for the organisation and her knowledge about her tasks and her witnessing of organisational history, though this notion of power is not matching with her understanding of power as 'a tool for personal hegemony' which is to be avoided or fought against:

Might be something to do about knowledge, about being senior, and general point of view, ways of judgement...in the end yes, somehow sometimes there are situations that I intervene to other friends' tasks in the office. But it's not an [imposing] intervention, more like sharing information. Because I believe

information shouldn't be monopolised and it should be shared as much as possible, I don't remain silent if I happen to hear something and I know something about that case, I tell what I know. Because we also have inexperienced employees. Does this provide me power? In fact no, it returns as more work time, nothing else. (...) Key position, would it be a key position because it is administration and finance? I mean certainly, people doing the financial jobs always hold a key position, in the end they are the ones who determine the budget, who are authorised about extra budgetary situations or overspending. But actually my position is related to functioning of activities in compliance with transparency and other financial concerns, and it has no effect on other staff than me. I only tell them to provide me with the documents in a week when they do something, else state officials cause us trouble. Only about such things I have a position to give "orders" in quotations, or allocate tasks. As I said, I don't like hierarchy, and 'key positions' or 'power' reminds me of hierarchy, so I give this 'ummm....errrr' responses, because I really try to remove it from my life. In the past I even failed in some cases because of this attitude.

In the case of Şükufe, the mid-level managers hold critical power positions, however, according to Şükufe, they use their departments as power spaces to hold for their personal job security or career development, and act in competition or conflict with the other departments rather than in coordination for organisational mission. Mid-level managers are even more of a determining factor than General Director for the organisation's functioning despite the strategic position of the General Director on the organisational chart. As mentioned, they had gained these positions and spaces by seniority.

In the cases of Esra and Zeynep, organisation of office work is direct responsibility of General Director who works between the board and the office, and all work is centred around them personally, with all management

practices mentioned above decided and implemented by them personally. Though backed by the board, they apply their own management styles and even personal moods can affect all work atmosphere; for these cases, whole office and the organisation constitute a power space related with the lack of a multiple level accountability as well, contrary to Bedri's multiplicity of organisational actors to be accountable and downward accountability of Ekin

IV.3.4. Discourse as management and control tool

NGO career is either known as or perceived as "a meaningful work with a volunteering aspect which pays less", so it is known to be preferred by those who takes this 'fact' into account as also exhibited by our interview processes and mentioned in Chapter 3. On the management side, this discourse is also used by management of NGOs within office for a number of reasons and together with volunteering spirit discourse.

First, use of "[But] We're an NGO" discourse is meant to be understood as expectations of flexibility in extended work times (usually without compensation even in the form of extra permissions during work days) and a lower salary.

Second, use of "You are half volunteers/We are half volunteers" discourse (which is used both by the management and the employees) implies

(expectations or claims of) devotion, self-sacrifice (from private life and time) and an 'amateur spirit'.

Third, contrary to these two discourses, professionalism and corporatisation discourse is used to emphasize the need for efficiency, upwards accountability, order, direct control measures and establishment of power structure and positions, to depress resistance and build consensus or consent among employees (or other organisational members).

Finally, the discourses of 'flat hierarchy', 'team work', 'workplace democracy and employee participation' are used to convince the employees of such a work place medium (even if it's not the case but one person tyranny), therefore silence such demands and expectations of downwards power transfer and accountability.

All respondents think they would be earning more as a salary if they were working in private sector, due to their qualities. This perception is sometimes based on facts like in the case of Esra

[If I worked in an other organisation or in private sector] I guess I would earn more, because when I was about to leave...I applied to a private school and then when I asked a higher salary, it was accepted. So I know it will be higher. (...) We know that it's less than the market. After two years of my graduation, my term friends were receiving 50% more than mine.

However, the untold hierarchy and market approach within the foundation is also reflected in the salaries of different departments, particularly those

other than field or logistics related departments:

When comparing with our unit, we know that salaries are astronomical towards organisational development and management, but it's not open, we don't know each other's salaries. (...) Once I was scolded like 'do you know each other's salaries?'. It's that much of a secret. Some of our friends receive even less.

Dedication to work in field workers (or 'professionals' directly related to mission of the foundation) and also perceived difficulties in finding a work (on both the employee and the management side) is reflected in their lower salaries, while salaries in management related positions are negotiated for a substantially higher amounts. In order to avoid unrest among staff, salaries are asked to be kept as a secret. This has also been the case for Şükufe's foundation, however the employees there didn't obey to this rule and used the differences in salaries as arguments towards their department heads.

Also the economic crises have been used as justification in all organisations (except Ekin's) for not giving a raise, putting pressure for extended working times or extra task allocations or fire unwanted employees.

[During the economic crisis] I don't think they will have difficulty to fundraise. Being experienced in project proposal writing and implementation, big EU funded projects etc. and an experience and accountability in that field as well provides a continuity I guess. They find very easily, we find it, it is found, let me use plural as we. I don't think it will be negative. [Will we receive a raise?] I don't think so, because I don't think it's because of the crisis. It's more of using the crisis as an excuse for not giving a raise.(Esra)

The use of 'We are an NGO' and 'we have to be more professional/corporate' discourses by management is spotted easily by the employees as an

instrumental use and a contradiction:

If it would be right to say, they act a bit shifty. When they feel appropriate, 'we're an NGO, we're flexible, we work like this'. But when they feel the other way, 'We have to be corporate, we have to do this, we have to adopt principles, establish an order.' I mean...I didn't want to say it...There's such an order that many of your rights are ignored in working conditions, but on the other hand they satisfy you somehow, and you don't raise your voice. (...) Like they gave me permission for a volunteer research work in nature. They realised that my motivation is below zero and they said OK. (...) Or regarding the pay, we happen to be known as an NGO which pays good. We didn't know this, but it was heard up at the board, so there was a rumour that the board debated it like 'why is it so? We also talk about the crisis, so let's reduce them.' So we as the staff are careful not to talk about it elsewhere. Therefore I didn't want to tell it, but this is the answer to that question. We don't receive big amounts, not even like working in a company, and, even, do we get paid worth our labour? I think we don't. But I know other friends of mine who work the same intensity and get paid significantly less. (Zeynep)

This contradictory use of discourse also appears on work time issues. This contradiction is also used as a counter-argument by the employees at the point they start to get frustrated by this inconsistency:

At certain points, 'we are civil society, some voluntary work should be done, look, we all stay.' We received such e-mails as 'nobody stays [at the office] after six anymore, we're an NGO!' This was told by the general director, and she was told by CEO, e-mail message was written by either of them, I don't remember exactly. 'We all work late time to time, we stay till 9.'

Q: What would the response be if you asked for overtime pay or compensation.

A: 'Ooooh, no, we're an NGO.' They would say so. (...) At times very structural, I mean I'm talking for them now, 'we're quite structured, but in issues like this we are very much an NGO, we should act like an NGO, a foundation, we should spend like an NGO.' And 'you're also a volunteer, do you expect material reward?' This would be the approach.

Q: If you insist, or tell 'so be it, then I will actually work within regular workhours', in not a pleading manner, but as taking a position, how would their reaction be?

A: 'Where in the earth this came to your mind from?' I mean, it would be considered weird, and also...I mean, no, they would never be positive about it. I guess they would consider that inconsiderate. (Esra)

Those who work in the evenings, following the legislation during the week ends, this is not work. The third Bosphorus bridge issue, for example, we go to the field during the week end, or to a meeting, or a protest, as these are out of work time, and all our friends are like selected, only they can stand this, others can not and do not. We also might not stand it, I don't build such a superiority, but a cause and effect relationship. (Şükufe)

In the case of Bedri and Ekin, working overtime is the adopted way of work or a necessary part of it, though it also cause weariness when it extends beyond their limits. Difference in their attitudes might be both caused by their attachment to the work or the organisation, and also their own position as mid-level managers.

Another very popular discourse stream is about elimination of hierarchy between managers and the managed. This stream is consisted of 'team work', 'flat hierarchy' and/or 'workplace participation/democracy' discourses used by the top and mid-level management. These are popular discourses in management fads and fashions also within private sector, and actually these are concepts borrowed from the civil society (Lewis 2001). NGO managers reimport these discourses from private sector management discourse and use them for a number of reasons, ranging from awakening motivation within department or organisation to get rid of responsibility of negative

consequences caused by their decisions.

For Şükufe and the department she works in 'team work' discourse appeared after the merging of departments when one department head has become responsible for formerly three different departments, and their staff respectively.

And now there's a grand 'team' discourse in the department, 'We're a team', a big balloon, we don't become a team when you use the word in one of two sentences when there are rifts between mentalities. (...) You don't become a team by saying 'we're a team', by expressing it orally. You can identify a team, by its members, manager, leader, with its competency, resources, time, like you can identify them with their work. Anyway, we [are told to] become a team whenever there's a problem, a tough situation. So I told her, 'Are you aware how lucky you are? You haven't contributed anything to form the team.' with irony. (...) And one of the tasks of the manager is coordinating the work schedule, activity plan, making people work, motivating them for work, controlling them if needed, evaluating and disseminating the results and outcomes, to be able to say 'look, friends, we're behind schedule, so come this thursday evening in order to round up these', that's also part of the team. But none of these are done. And I relate it to this: we have a potential, -but I thought for a moment if I hide behind it-it can be realised, but when it can be realised, a team discourse of nonsense appears suddenly, like a joke. (...) Whenever there's a problem we become a team, but when we really need to exchange opinions or plan something, I hear nothing about it.

Within the foundation only one other department (head) uses the team discourse, but again without its real sense:

I can think about one department very clearly, it could be a novel, another department like ours, whose head used to be human resources manager, so s/he keeps repeating the 3A rule, I don't remember what those 3 A's were, some sorts of cliché, about theories of communication which is told in Doğan Cüceloğlu's books, and without any application or appearance. There's this person who say 'I get everybody's opinion, I'm very democratic', but hushes the girls and uses them as secretaries,

s/he has worn me out and distanced me from the foundation when I had to work closely with that department. I have also seen the situation there, keep saying 'We're a team', make people work while s/he, him/herself... in that sense me and them have a different mentality, either their notion of team is different or mine, there's a rift somewhere. In these two departments there's this discourse of 'team', in others even that doesn't exist, the director and the staff, director gives work, staff does it. At least ours is closer to real, because we're also aware and demanding, if something's unfair there's a demand for it if necessary, but on the other department, it's only one person using the discourse.

Bedri's department and even together with various departments in their foundation act like a team with their own autonomy, spending time together and providing space for initiatives of team members, but the use of this discourse or narrative hasn't come up with this term during the interview process, possibly because the discourse is not needed.

Another related and popular notion is the organisation being a 'flat hierarchy', again with emphasis on decisions being made all together rather than by a top-down approach, and departments having a certain level of autonomy. Again, this discourse appears mainly in organisations that is far from achieving this feature, like Şükufe's foundation:

Many managers would claim there's a flat hierarchy in our foundation but we shouldn't believe it. (...) They think it's bad to be hierarchic and 'we're not hierarchic', 'you misinterpret it'. I actually heard this to be said, there are employees who suggest we have flat hierarchy. According to my world view, flat hierarchy is the ideal organisation form for NGOs as well, for example network type organisations are also applied in Turkey, but flat hierarchy seems more suitable to me, both for our foundation's theme and appropriateness for Turkey, but we're not like that. Still there are some who claims we are. I guess they also know that flat hierarchies are more democratic and allows more productive processes, that's why they claim that.

Similarly, the foundation Esra work, which is clearly a bureaucratic and managerial hierarchy, is claimed not to be hierarchic by the managers:

If you ask the management, they would tell you that there's no hierarchy, but there's a certain hierarchy. Because there's a certain organisational structure, trying to be consolidated. Actually some things are quite bureaucratic, these approvals, permissions, all decisions, but if you look from the other side teams decide, there are teams. Flat hierarchy is in its logic, visible side, but if you're inside, it's not like that. (...) It's described as team decision, everybody's in the decision making, but if you look at the organisational scheme, everybody's in a higher or lower position towards others, everybody has to ask for permission of their superiors. (...) there is a bureaucratic structure here, there's the Board, General Director, but they pretend it's us who takes the decision while reality is different, these decisions are made in another level. [The aim is] to show that there's workplace democracy, they can turn to us and say 'you made this decision, why didn't you tell us then?'. Actually even when they are asking us, they ask in an imposing way, you are not entitled to express your idea or anything much, and then they turn back to ask 'why didn't you tell then?'.

The claim of workplace democracy and participation and the discourse of a 'democratic workplace' is used to hide the decision making practices of managers which fundamentally contradicts this discourse. In the foundations that Esra and Zeynep works, continued authoritarian decision making practice leads to silencing of employees and loss of self-esteem and confidence as a reaction.

It all goes within their own rationalities. I mean, workers actually, we are like workers in all that's done there. Actually I don't even call it workers, but soldiers. Sometimes I think I'm doing a military service, like a soldier. They condition themselves, believe something is right and continue that way, we are a bit like that. We are doing our military service, and we have commanders. (Esra)

Actually we can not dare telling our suggestions, those we voice anyway are those we knew beforehand to be accepted, not

totally independent ones. It's so wide, it can be about the work we do, about operational things in the foundation. Our department of nature conservation is particularly disturbed about the functioning within the foundation, we act time to time as accountant, project manager, field worker, press relations officer, fundraiser...To do all these is not human, but this is the expectation. Many of the employees only mutter about it, but not voice it, there's not such a medium. So it's told, not as a proposal but muttering and talk among ourselves.

Q: Doesn't it somehow reach those who take the final decision?

N: No, and when we try, it returns as a bitter response. You shouldn't derive a conclusion that this is so for all issues, but we [only] discuss, talk and reach a decision about issues related to [content of] our work, like fish farms, or dams. (Zeynep)

Whoever you ask, those who are really self-confident outside, say 'my self esteem, self confidence has eroded here.' Because even most self-confident person can be stuck when s/he enters that [meeting] room and is asked something. There, at that moment they can ask you things like 'come on, quick, tell us this, why wouldn't you be able to tell that now?'. 'Quick, tell us how many trainings can we do in how many provinces?'...and you haven't done your [preparatory] meetings at all. You should be making up, but you don't want to, that's not a right thing to do as well, because they can return to you, there should be a pre-research, so you get stuck and considered as not knowing [your work]. (...) Also in evaluation meetings about tasks, you can not say that 'we guessed that it would be this way' or 'we told so'. They ask 'why did it happen that way?' but we can not say 'we told it before, we had foreseen, but you planned it this way, we were not given a say.' So we end up taking over the guilt as well. (...) We live like we'd believed, we act as if we had believed, those we had told beforehand happens that way, and 'why don't you tell what you have foreseen?' Planning, for example, you discuss only to an extent that plan wouldn't work because of certain reasons. But why can't we go further when it's told that 'it would be done that way'? Because acting like you had been convinced might relieve you at that moment, or sharp employees are not desirable as well somehow, and they may be fired or forced to resign. (Esra)

Above excerpts from the interviews reflect the use of discourse and myth of flat hierarchies by top managers and the board, by an attempt to create an

image of a 'democratic workplace' with the aim of distributing the responsibility of failures of mismanagement as well as disempowering/discouraging of professionals in inferior positions. The organisations Ekin and Bedri work are not mentioned at all for using these discourses within office, apart from those they used for themselves (like 'we consider ourselves half volunteers' or 'empowerment of staff').

In the presence of this wide (and frustrating) use of managerial power, techniques of resistance and self-organisation of employees (including unionisation) are almost inevitable and they will be dealt with in the next and concluding chapter.

V. Conclusions and Discussion on Problems and Prospects

In the previous chapters I have tried to provide 5 different work life fragments of 'NGO professionals' working in 5 different issue based NGOs in Turkey. We have tried to build up a dialogue together on their choice of working in an NGO (rather than conventional careers in a private company or public sector) and how this choice has been lived through. We tried to interpret their experience through a labour process frame and in relation to their subjectivities as sense making efforts. All the interview processes provided a rich information, particularly due to the qualitative and interactive methodology that has foreseen a semi-structured interviewing process covering a life segment experienced together with the interviewees. In this chapter, first I'll present main findings on 'NGO professionals' sense making on work and management together with resistance and self-organising processes to reveal the tension between NGO as a workplace and NGO as a civic platform, and consequently 'NGO professional' as an employee and civic agency. Reflection on methodology will follow in relation with the topic. I'll conclude this chapter and this study with some future research prospects and further points of thought.

V.1. Conclusions and discussion about professionals' work in issue based NGOs

The topic of NGO work and NGO professionals provide a fruitful area of exploration because of various intersections and overlaps; between labour and (civic/political) action, volunteering and professionalism, agency and structure, public and private (or in and out) in organisational status, work and life, and 'worker' and 'citizen' statuses and identities. Investigation of tensions between these different statuses and fields holds promising potential for revealing power relations built within the society around basic assumptions about order and change. Interview processes that I conducted within this study used these tensions and revealed rich information about daily realities of work life of NGO professionals within issue based NGOs and sense making and identity processes of these professionals. Due to qualitative methodology that values uniqueness of each experience, conclusions within this chapter are only valid for these 5 interview processes. Despite inevitable urge for comparison among each other, this study can not be qualified as a comparative study either. None of the cases nor the sum of them can be assessed as representative, but each of the interview processes is an integral case providing valuable information in itself. When considered as a whole, the group also presents a variety of practices and experiences.

I have started with the assumption that working in issue based NGOs is a choice rather than need for any job. This assumption was confirmed by all respondents within the interviews and supported by the life narratives of all. This could have been an expected outcome as one of the few criteria for the selection of interviewees was willingness to participate and a definite expectation of dialogue on the issue of working in an NGO. Therefore this assumption can not be generalised for all 'NGO professionals' as well, but it is valid for many of the cases as exhibited by the responses in our initial survey. NGO work as a choice is also a choice of life style due to content of the work, human relationships it entails and identification patterns one adopts. It is also a choice of life style because of perception of lower salaries than average (for the same qualifications) and work regime. This choice can be seen as a search for becoming a civic/political agency through work; work is seen as a 'meaningful act' rather than working for profit or within state bureaucracy. Working in NGOs is basically a negative choice against working in private or public sector. Availability of this choice as an alternative career option is recent as explained in detail in Chapter 1.

I have built the backbone of the study on multiple features of issue-based NGOs (as a workplace, as a public space and a tool for democratic political participation) and tensions between these three features. With the introduction of labour process by salary based paid work in the organisation as an essentially voluntary and non-profit initiative, these tensions are

embodied on 'NGO professionals' resulting in a boundary problem triggered by the intersections and overlaps between these features and individual's civic agency and employee statuses within the organisation. When remain unresolved by carefully established codes of conduct or mechanisms of participation, these tensions cause the violation of implicit contract on both sides. Roughly, managements expectation of a professional work by volunteer spirit (and the urge for the realisation of this via control measures) confronts employee's expectation of a medium of civic/political self realisation. Resistance and employee self-organising acts are born out of the violations and conflict.

V.1.1. Resistance, employee organising and labour relations

Labour process foresees a structured antagonism between the management and labour, defined by divergent interests despite interdependence. Within labour process theory, employees are considered both dispensable and dependable, and any control attempt to maximise the potential of the employee has created resistance. Unionisation has been the structure of resistance also recognized as a right. On the other hand post-structural approach puts emphasize on surveillance of self by consent, and on resistance as act of constructing of alternative dynamic, negotiable, shifting, ambiguous and potentially contradictory identities, rather than a fixed essence. This approach doesn't aim celebration of all forms of resistance

(resistance also might serve to reinforce power and discipline), but intends to explore interrelated conditions, processes (of meanings, motives and practices in its multiplicity) and consequences on selves and organisations.

Interview processes exhibited in previous chapters demonstrated both the individual expectations of 'NGO professionals' from their work and daily experience of power relations within the organisation together with pressures of work and conflict between interpretations of managers and of professionals about their roles, tasks and responsibilities. In any power driven medium, acts of resistance are inevitable (Foucault 2005).

The terminology used in literature for acts of workplace discontent varies and the focus on either 'resistance', 'misbehaviour' or 'dissent' also reflects the viewpoint of the researcher (Collinson and Ackroyd 2005). While 'resistance' implies overt, principled and possibly formally organised acts against exercise of power, 'misbehaviour' is self-conscious rule-breaking individual behaviour and 'dissent' is linguistic or normative disagreement (Collins and Ackroyd 2005: 306). All of these terms are inadequate to describe the phenomenon as all might co-exist in different levels of consciousness at a single point of time or they might find their expression at different points over a fragment of time. Also the attitude and/or decision of the employee to consent, cope or resist might vary due to subjectivity of the individuals described as the variety of ways to build up their own sense of

self within given circumstances. Furthermore, resistance (or misbehaviour) practices that are covert or hidden are inevitably more difficult to identify and research.

As the organisation is a social medium or a 'public sphere' in itself, communication between staff in similar levels of organisational hierarchy might lead to a collective organising process (and also contributing to employees' subjectivities and professional identities in a relational sense). Industrial relations field examines the varieties of relations between employers and collectively organised employees. Organising of employees within the frame of labour relations is a process by itself. Furthermore, a collective employee organisation that has reached the point to manage relations with the employer is the outcome of a lengthy process of communication, mobilization and negotiation among the employees, which is not free from power relations and power games among the employees.

At the structural end of this process of organising is the form of trade union organisation that represents the employees to conduct collective bargaining. Kelly's review on unionisation in industrial societies (Kelly 2005) presents a dominant tendency of declining trade union density among workers since 1980s and this decline is accompanied by a decline in employee satisfaction (particularly due to increasing injustice of pay distribution and working hours and job insecurity concerns). In several workplace, direct

communication systems between management and employees (such as Human Resource Management systems, high trust low control work schemes or organisational culture and commitment attempts) have replaced representative system, but they are reported to be inadequate for employee satisfaction as long as they couldn't respond to the concerns mentioned above. The level of union density varies in less developed countries (Nathan and Brady 2007), but the decline tendency is global. From the figures in Britain and some other developed countries, Kelly also claims a revival of interest in unionisation induced by perceptions of loss and injustice by processes of globalisation. As he mentions that the article has been written in a medium of 'recovery from recession of 1980's with high growth rates and sharp falls of unemployment', the figures might significantly vary within the current period of economic crisis. On the other hand, in an individual level, Kelly's reference to social movement theory on mobilisation suggest that employees do not get unionised only for self-benefit, but also with a sense of injustice both in the society and the workplace and concerns of job insecurity. Studies on unionisation are dominantly quantitative and based on either country or sector level statistics, or surveys on causes and motives of unionisation, remaining non-union or resigning as well as the attitude of 'free riding' (non-union employees getting use of the extension of collective bargains without bearing the costs of being a member). There's a gap in industrial or labour relations literature about case studies and processes that leads to unionisation in general. To my

knowledge, no study deals with unionisation in issue based NGOs though relations of trade unions with NGOs particularly in development and social rights context has been a popular subject for political scientists.

Added to the global trend of de-unionization, 1980 coup d'etat and following military regime in Turkey has closed left-oriented trade union confederations and discouraged unionisation by renewed laws, resulting in a sudden and sharp fall in unionisation rate. Despite progress and re-establishment of closed unions after more than a decade, trade unions and membership (as is any attempt of independent civic organising) were publicly associated with illegality and violence in this period. Turkish legal system is also discouraging for trade unions with the requirement of notary approval for membership (and resignation), 10% membership threshold for a union to gain the authorization for overall collective bargain for a work section and 50% workplace threshold to gain authorization for collective bargain in a workplace. Ministry approval for authorization is also a lengthy process and many employers can extend this process furthermore by applying to court for questioning authorization of the particular union or sufficient number of members, while firing unionised employees for other reasons. Within this context which contains the premature steps of paid professional work in NGOs, unionisation is in its initial phase as well, with only two issue-based NGOs unionised and signed a collective contract with trade unions organized under 17th work section at the time of writing of this

study.

In our cases of 5 employees in different organisations, respondents develop different forms of resistance²⁴ and in various levels of organising, with only Ekin and Bedri formally members of a trade union which gained the authorization to conduct collective bargaining with the employer²⁵, while in the case of Esra and Zeynep negotiation with the employer is made on an individual basis and employee organisation is only on the communication level. In Esra's and Zeynep's foundations, an employee who puts his/her demands during the recruitment period and negotiate clearly has been able to receive more amounts for salary and got his/her terms accepted more easily. According to Esra, it's not a surprise that this sort of 'high self-confidence' employees are usually enrolled in the organisational development related departments (such as fund raising and public relations) which are closer to private sector in employee background. These private sector background employees are more equipped for the bargain context (Daniel 1973, quoted in Watson 2003:188) where they stress negative aspects for material (or more concrete) rewards before reaching a deal with the employer. However, within work context (after recruitment), where non-material concerns like social rewards and self-realisation gain priority, they simply leave when they get into a series of conflict with the General

²⁴ The forms of resistance that were elaborated within the interview processes could only be described within 'resistance' and 'dissent' categories of Kelly (Kelly 2005) and no 'misbehaviour' other than withdrawal has come up during the interview processes. The reasons due to methodology are discussed further within this chapter.

²⁵ At the time of interviews, employees of these two organisations were the only ones that has unionised among issue-based NGOs in Turkey.

Director as a direct control source. On the other hand, this scheme doesn't apply to employees of field related departments who choose to accommodate in the situation by silence and go on with their work.

Here in this [fund raising] department, for example, people's styles reflect self-esteem. They have experiences outside, with different experiences, and they tell anything bluntly. So they go on for shorter durations. On the other hand, in these field work [Educational] departments, people have been oppressed for years, [they are] not self-expressive, with certain concerns, may be desperately in need of this job, some of them can not think what to do else, some of them stay only because they love their job, so whole department is accustomed to it, going on within that order, products of an *assembly line*. (...) Those who put their conditions beforehand like that, are they more respect worthy? I don't know. (Esra)

Somehow individuals within the foundation shape their own boundaries, it's related to personalities. If you can defend yourself, your objectives are definite, if you can draw your boundaries clearly and tell 'this is my target' and get into conflict at a suitable time and with an appropriate style, then you can get what you want, I can see that. On the other hand, it turns out like this if you say yes to everything. But here there's a distinction, those from a volunteering background says yes to everything, but others who come via a vacancy notice at newspapers can conduct their work along with their own targets and desires, defending their rights more comfortably as they have their own stand. There's this distinction, though I despise them much, they have this feature I envy as such. (Zeynep)

The professionals working in field related departments do not find the courage in themselves to ask for very basic improvements in working terms and conditions, or even consider it possible in the cases of Esra and Zeynep

Such a thing happens that I can not even think about or imagine saying such a thing, I get confused about saying it. Somebody told me, for example, 'you leave for a long time and all these hotel rooms and travelling trigger health problems, illnesses.' I spent almost 25% of last month's salary for health issues though I had a private health insurance which covers 70%, 'so go and talk about it with them to cover 80%'. I wouldn't even be able to

imagine that I could ask such a thing, so when I was told this I was quite surprised, I thought it was weird, so I'm surprised in the same way now. (Esra)

Esra's frustration about the management and office is reflected in the language, she always refers to the management as 'they', not necessarily giving names, but when she talks about the field work or advocacy work of the organisation, she switches to the language of 'we'.

But when talking about the ministry's family policies, I remember myself talking as 'we do these', it was you who pointed out that. Therefore, while feeling like 'we do such wonderful things', when I come to the central office there's a serious distinction like 'you, bugs' and 'we, elites'.

In a medium where any demand about self for compensation of hard working conditions are considered as unthinkable, employee organisation and/or resistance (other than quitting when it reaches an unbearable point as she did) also becomes unthinkable for those concerned. The only behaviour of resistance that came up during the interview process with Esra has been withdrawing into official work hours (while working in the headquarters) despite the urge of the management for overtime work (justified by the discourse of being an NGO). Similar attitude has been adopted by Şükufe after a period of 'committed work' during when she worked both extensive hours of overtime and weekends, including working at home or attending meetings.

The new department head has become in a position to demand things we formerly used to do voluntarily, by ourselves and without even thinking about it. Before, it would be very nice, but now I will also react. For example, she says one of us should stay [at the office] during lunch break, or complains that nobody stays for any meeting after work time while we used to do these

voluntarily before. We would not even ask for lunch, but now people have such different concerns that they use these as an issue of reaction, including myself. We directly voice our rights one by one. We never receive overtime payment for example. That's an interesting issue in our foundation, I could not figure it out completely, we are told that we were supposed to work Saturdays as well, we're paid for six days a week, but actually working 5 days, our salaries are calculated accordingly, I do not understand this. (...) Before I would not consider this as coercion, because in such an issue based NGO I'd consider it as normal, so I worked like that in previous two years. But when it became institutional somehow, when you realise your idealist approach is not met with respect because of organisational blindness, so you retreat to [boundaries of] the system, stick to routine rules and use them as your defence arguments. This has become one of those for me. While not considering this as a coercion in a normal situation, I take it as such now and I react.

For Zeynep's foundation where salaries are considered higher and benefits like annual paid permissions are in a better condition than other NGOs, sparks of anxiousness appear only when these better conditions are threatened by comparison.

When talking about employee organising, I think about defending our rights and acting together; honestly, I'm not recalling anything like that, but it's like beginning as we know each other more, because news about [cut in] permissions was like a bomb and everybody started to grumble. But I don't know if we will stand against it in an organized level when it is serious, but still I have this question mark. When we meet as a department and I name a problem, I've never seen or felt anybody's support. Because then the other side brings very logical explanations and serious claims, and everybody thinks 'what's the point in causing trouble, let the meeting come to an end', nobody actually talk about problems.

Şükufe herself has become part of an employee organising effort with leisure and communication purposes among employees of different departments within the foundation. They started organising a collective

lunch outside of the office once in a week:

When we observed that things are stuck and people are annoyed about some problems, we started to meet informally every Thursday at lunch time with funny names like 'take your toast and come' or 'an organisation'. So we saw that we could chat on some topics, we could get informed on some things, we could gossip as we are subject to same kinds of problems, we could talk about people, so it could be comforting, it even became like a therapy in the end. It started like 'we allocate our time, meet and go to have fun or strengthen the ties among us', and nobody was left there as single one, most of us did comply, so a system is established and this system is really meaningful. (...) Usually employees' benefits are asked from Human Resources, they demand it from that department, and we actually did ask for it. When we see nothing happens or nothing sincere happens, we decided to do it among ourselves. In the end we are civil society and we are together for a cause. A competition or lack of communication among us harms the case, and also why would we annoy ourselves? So it was reactionary.

These meetings started as informal lunch gatherings and picnics in little parks around the office, but evolved into more organised acts of peer workshops, and even solidarity acts (like peer language courses) among employees.

'Let's do something together for our work as well, for example do you know what kind of a pine tree this is, though you work in a foundation like this?' We motivated ourselves like that. And as there were forestry experts among ourselves, we asked our friends to tell us about them. So we do spontaneous things like that and it is known.

This initiative started among employees of different departments and it was not a 'secret' attempt, information were sent to employees of departments, but no personal invitation was sent (including department heads, who perceived it as somehow secret meetings for employees in the lower level though these meetings always foreseen open participation).

So there were mails circulating, surely it reached them and it's said that anybody can join, but none of those department heads ask what this is, why we wouldn't invite them, they never showed that warm and constructive approach, it's a very easy thing to do if they feel so. We even include sentences of messages to them, implying that 'though we send this message to the list of staff, it should be circulated to anybody who might not be receiving it.' (...) But passively and as an unspoken agreement, nobody personally invites their department heads.

This semi-conscious behaviour of not openly inviting department heads ultimately caused anxiousness among department heads, particularly at the point when some of their superiors attended to improve informal communication with their staff in a medium they were not included.

We wanted to share something, once in a week, to overcome meaningless distance among ourselves. Because there are a lot of newcomers and they do not understand anything going around, it's like we take them for orientation. They do not receive a formal orientation, so it became like a pirate thing. So they [department heads] are right to be afraid. I think they first didn't mind, then nervous a bit, and finally 'Oh my God, what are they doing?' when vice General Director attended.

With this level of established and jealously protected power space of mid-level managers (both against employees in the lower level and General Director and board), any attempt of self-organising among lower level staff could cause worries to distribute concentrated power.

Apart from these informal organising, formal organisation of employees in a trade union is predicted to cause serious concerns among managers as well. As a challenge for both the managers and employees themselves, one of the standard questions of this study was about the prospect of unionisation and I asked what would the reaction be in case of an unionisation attempt. In

Şükufe's case, she thinks it would again cause reaction on the side of department heads rather than board or top-level managers:

Board and the General Director would understand that this is a serious demand, because they are familiar with this issue. The board is composed of people representing holding companies, and General Director is responsible for these issues concerning employees. But mid-level managers would tell it's ridiculous, this is a volunteer organisation and we are half volunteers. They wouldn't take it seriously, but also wouldn't like it and put some office pressure.

'Professional as a half volunteer' and 'organisation as a voluntary initiative' discourse appears whenever 'labour rights of wage worker' or 'organisation as a workplace' discourse is used by the professional, as mentioned in Chapter 4. The same question about possibility of trade union membership came as a surprise for Esra

Oh!...I guess we would be like YÖRSAN²⁶. I hadn't thought about, and I don't think it would be possible, they wouldn't let you remain there. We should learn from the experience of others [who managed to do it], but still approach of management would be very important perhaps, isn't it?

Q: What would they do when you say 'they wouldn't let you remain'?

A: Either they would pay you your compensation and fire, or force you to resign, tease you till that point.

It was clear before that she saw herself and colleagues as employees but not 'workers', when she told they “are [treated] like workers, not even workers but soldiers”. Zeynep had not thought about that possibility as well, but she also thinks the reaction of the management would be strictly negative:

²⁶ Starting from 5th December 2007, 400 workers of YÖRSAN milk factory were fired after they attempted unionisation. The resistance of the workers which lasted 11 months gained sympathy in public leading to a boycott towards company's products. The court decided in favour of the workers in November 2008 and the company stepped back.

[On the question of unionisation] I can not make any comment. I mean...recently a legal office was hired to review our contracts, to monitor these kinds of things. They were hired two months ago and I was informed very recently. And I believe that the foundation can be very violent time to time, and if there was an attempt of unionisation they would be negative about it, I have such an idea. But whether the employees would like it, accept it despite anything, I'm not sure. While talking about unfairness among ourselves two days ago, many of them wouldn't tell it in the meeting. So it's a big question mark, I don't know what would happen.

Both responses exhibits a double-sided picture; a) they think top management and the board wouldn't tolerate such an attempt, b) and also they and their colleagues had not thought of it as a right or possibility for themselves. This should be considered in parallel with the general understanding of 'workers' (and not seeing themselves as such) as only 'blue-collar' and negative view of trade unions among white-collar workers.

According to Şükufe, her case is different than Esra's or Zeynep's regarding the location of negative reaction from superior positions. While in other cases it would be top management (General Director or the board), in Şükufe's case it is mid-level managers, who claim to hold the ownership of organisation and act on behalf of the benefits of the foundation, but in fact protecting the power space and concentration:

They would start with sincere small talks and questionings, or suggestions against the act, in the manner of a president. Of course, you might think 'what would they do as long as it is legal', but there are ways like this, office pressure, for example reminding you of your legal responsibilities as well when you are late for a few times, putting them as counter arguments or impositions like 'if they are your rights, these are your responsibilities'. It's very probable, because I witnessed many

interesting administrative techniques like tolerating some mistakes of some people and use them as investment of psychological pressure, 'see, I've done something like that for you before, though I shouldn't have'. I think after these reactions, when it comes to the board, they would think about it, discuss our demands and problems and approach it in a logical level.

In her case the idea of unionisation came up during their improved communication among colleagues, but only after change by employee efforts themselves were considered impossible. Unionisation is seen as the ultimate move against mid-level managers' hegemony and unfair wage and participation schemes:

Your value is not respected and you do not get paid well', money is a measure of your worth in the end, and you have to live with that money. So as all these started to stress us, rumours started to circulate about the wages, 'she receives that much, his salary is that much, why is our wage policy like this, why isn't there a standard?' I tell a colleague, 'you receive the same amount as me though you are 6 years senior than me', s/he says 'did you know that s/he receives twice as much?' So while thinking about these, why this system is like this, if we deserve to be treated like this, we started to think about our rights. It was 1 and a half years after I was enrolled, I asked: 'Could there be a union where NGO staff can be a member of, or could we establish one?' I'm not much informed about labour movement, I'm not a person who made a research on it or interested in it, because my dad is an artisan for example, I haven't been to a medium about workers' rights, and also, to be honest, as an individual I always thought about my personal career.

Her case is another example of white-collar employee formerly not considering herself as a worker in a collective entity, but as an individual career holder. She shifted towards a transition period of collective action with colleagues for their own rights within a solidarity medium initiated by an open communication platform, which is established by their own efforts.

So there appeared an atmosphere like 'we could do this and that, so let's share these ideas, let's meet everyday.' This is a primitive thing, not even 'u' of unionisation, but an idea. Whomever we ask we heard that channels of self expression like meeting General Director are obstructed. So everybody was reactionary, (...) chatting and exchanging ideas on how to overcome these incidents, how to defend our rights, tactics, 'we do it like that in our department, so just surpass him/her, talk to General Director directly' and so on, after that 'how could we do it in a legal/formal way, would it be easier if we come together, we should all do it, it wouldn't work individually' and so on, classical participation pattern. And then we discussed about telling each other our salaries, some agreed and some didn't, little preliminary things like these.

Within this established communication medium, self-organising leads to a sense of empowerment as well, reminding the need for consistency between what organisations claim to do as their role in society (participation and rights-advocacy) and what their employees live through within the organisation.

This was really like genetic, like 'we should look for our rights, yes, they always decide one sided about us, our working hours, how they would address us, how much we'd get paid, but how can we defend ourselves legally, in the end I'm advocacy coordinator, how can we be advocates of our rights?' First we should have such a concern.

This process looks like a natural one, or “genetic” as she describes, but it has been the outcome of efforts of building a communication among employees in a frustrating work environment.

In the cases of Ekin and Bedri, attempts of unionisation have already achieved success by signing of a collective contract. For the human rights organization of Ekin, this was a relatively smooth process apart from “the

only obstacle” which “came from the ministry up to now” as a delay in informing officially that the union gained right to a collective bargain:

There was never a conversation on whether we should or not unionize, immediately, all staff became members automatically, even those who never talk on these issues and prefer to stand aside. We called the union and held a meeting. After that meeting we sent a message to other colleagues who are not in Istanbul with the minutes of the meeting. Almost all of us became a member in just one week. And the laziest ones, who didn't want to go to the notary²⁷ during the lunch break were the ones who used to talk most on these issues. Anyway, we did it all together, 100%.

According to her, the process wouldn't be smooth, even with the same colleagues, in private sector:

I thought myself recently that it wouldn't be the case if these employees were in private sector. Because it wouldn't! Many different things are part of the equation while working in private sector, only 3-4 of them would be a member.

She presents this attempt not significantly as an organising for own rights, but as another model action of rights advocacy.

What we demanded for collective contract were preserving our already existing rights. We didn't ask for raise in our salaries, because we don't want to cause extra financial burden on the organisation due to voluntarism stuff. We want our existing rights to be kept and to form an outstanding collective contract to be a model.

The action targeted various sides in labour relations. The trade union(s) would be challenged by a model collective contract equipped with rights for the employee.

Because actually the union sent us a draft and it was a bad one for us, for example our existing gender equality principle

²⁷ According to the laws on trade unions, membership has to be made through approval of a notary, which holds back many employees from unionisation due to unavailability within office hours and extra fees for notaries.

foresees equal maternity leave for men and women, why would it be only woman's task to take care of the child? It's equally man's duty. Some of the rights we ourselves thought about or already implemented were not in the draft contract, and there were even some conditions lagging behind our existing reality. Of course there were also rights we hadn't thought about and became aware from that draft.

Unionisation as an action also targeted other non-profit and/or professional organisations as employers.

We can say that it's easy for us to get unionised, but even for us it's not that easy, there are many serious discussions on us being members of a trade union. When talking to a friend from a chamber [of engineering], he told me: "Well, our employees shouldn't get unionised, they don't have a boss." And he's a board member for years in that chamber, such a person told me this. And I told him 'do you get paid, or is the employee get paid for the work s/he does, I guess s/he is. Then s/he is a worker and has a right to trade union.' S/he is a worker if s/he receives a salary for his/her work, and every worker has the right to unionisation, we are also workers in that sense. So I care about unionisation.

Finally, the action was a support to the general unionisation movement of white collar workers.

And I'm very glad, because right now there's a movement again, white collar workers start to be unionised, and I'd be very glad if we had our part in this mobilisation with the sample collective contract. And also you start these kinds of things somehow, and it reaches some points you never hoped for, you can receive unexpected negative reactions as well, we'll see.

Similar to Şükufe's views, Ekin, who had always seen herself as a worker, also draws attention to consistency with her standing about unionisation and the NGO mission or role in society.

What challenges me, or rather inspires me is being able to realise finally what I have been talking about for years. Fundamental constitutional right should be practically realised.

Contrary to Ekin who presented the process of discussions and negotiations

among employees as a smooth one, the process of unionisation led to internal tensions among Bedri's colleagues.

There was a tension between those who are unionised and who are not. Those who didn't become a member were considered a bit negatively. And also there was an expectation on who would become a member and there were people whom we didn't expect to be. I mean, who could tell this, in the end it's an individual right, so I become irritated while telling these, it was a difficult process.

These tensions were overcome in the end and the employees reached the sufficient number for the union to gain the right for collective bargain.

There were discussions among the employees whether to open up the process to the management of the foundation.

When we reached the sufficient number, a letter was sent to the ministry and we were waiting for the letter of the ministry to the foundation. Meanwhile we opted for a transparent process and some of us suggested to tell the management and the board that we had been unionised, some others opposed for them to be informed by the letter of the ministry, because this is a point of struggle and we'd lose ground. Some of us said why wouldn't we transform this field of struggle to a field of consultation, and there was a discussion, like those who believe in the trade union system and those who don't, very lengthy discussions.

The discussion reveals the different approaches among employees towards labour movement, and at this point the concerns resemble that of Ekin's case: a) caring for the own organisation's survival, b) forming a model contract that could inspire other organisations for labour rights and benefits.

And within all these discussions focus comes to the labour movement, and others say 'well, that's not our motivation, but it should also support it', all these discussions are reflected in the collective contract. Like 'let's put this article in the contract, because it could be a reference point for other workplaces like supermarkets²⁸, so we also have to consider the other workers

²⁸ According to the Turkish regulations, NGOs are in the same work section with

who are affected by our contract, but we also have to think about the foundation. (...) For example we could also say that 'well, there's this point in the contract with that hypermarket', but as we are an NGO, that ambiguity is always there.

When finally they told the management before ministry's official letter was received by the foundation, first reaction was disappointment and reflection on what was the mistake of the management that led to this 'unexpected' move of the employees.

Then the administration started to approach more positively to this unionisation process, once they started the discussion among themselves, they talked on 'why this happened'. That 'survey of satisfaction' was held again, and also there was a proposition like 'we can send the manager if you're not satisfied', but we told them it's not the problem, but workplace participation, like 'A is replaced by B, then C, but there has to be something about participation'. We also want to gain our rights, we work here and this is our job. It was a bit strange to tell 'this is our job, trade union is our basic right, and we want to enjoy this basic right' to a board who approaches the issue emotionally, because according to them we are volunteers who receive money. So we do pass towards professionalism from there, or are we?

The collective contract brought a new mechanism of workplace governance by the establishment of a workplace council, composed of equal numbers of representatives from employer and employee side, including representative of the union, and the chair was intended to be a neutral person who would be approved by both sides. The workplace council was intended to be a medium where employees could deliver messages about their problems to employer for a solution (and vice versa), but it hadn't been the case.

First massive point, in any conflict over collective contract, Workplace Council is convened. But we decided to expand this task, and as we want something related to participation, let's talk other problems on organisational management. But the process

hypermarkets as well as private educational establishments.

showed me that, at least this is my own interpretation, it doesn't work like that, and it won't. Both the board and the union act like this is a bureaucratic place where decisions taken elsewhere are approved. We can say this attitude is more on the employer side, but the union is not different either. (...) We held 3 meetings, in two of those it's as if the union representative is the chair, and I was the union representative, because the union representative is quite soft in approach and market oriented. This crisis issue and contractions and things like that, relocations and restructuring of tasks are big issues as they also meet hypermarkets where work conditions are not that good, so our issues were relatively soft, comforting and focused on solution, the exactly same things that the employer tells, while we as staff were thinking about different things.

Managerial functions and employee (and organised employee) status cause a challenging conflict situation on Bedri As a department head who is also a member of the union, Bedri found himself in between during various managerial meetings, particularly during the meetings where budget (therefore salaries) were discussed.

Very interesting, I sometimes think if our structure is too transparent, because something related to our salaries are discussed there, or something about our unionisation, but for example I [as a member of the union] also have a word there, and another person from management after that, salary raises are discussed there. Again an organisational structure with many things intersecting and overlapping and embedded within each other.

The concrete outcomes of the process have been establishment of formal participation mechanisms, signing of collective contract with achievements of a significant raise in a time of crisis, plus clear bonuses, and finally reduction of General Director's power over management (which ignited the unionisation process). According to Ekin unionisation is thought to be “good for the organisation” as well.

But the initial motivation and excitement of the process for Bedri's colleagues faded away and more responsibilities (and an additional workload) were put on some of the employees.

We had this target, first step is getting unionised, then starting the process, then the collective contract, then Workplace Council. So we somehow reached a point. We don't have all our requests within the contract, but now we have a contract we agreed upon. A loosening is a process I could foresee, but I guess there are a lot of people who sees the process as completed. I mean that.'s related to individuals' own process of unionisation rather than a natural thing. A group still intends to continue organising, with the motivation of organised struggle. But still there are things we should do, and since the contract was signed, we couldn't discuss any issue that has to be discussed among us. So did we become unionised only for the collective contract? Maybe we did so, I can not get angry at them, maybe it should have been this way, but I've seen differences in individual motivations. (...) Now the first motivation, that excitement, spark is not there any more, but it's a workload on some as employee representative, s/he has to fulfil that duty now, like attending the Workplace Council.

A significant feature of employee attitude within unionisation process for both Ekin's and Bedri's case is the care for the organisation and balance between employee benefits and limits of organisational survival. In the organisation of Ekin, financial improvement was not a demand during the collective bargain. Economic crisis has been an alarming situation for Bedri and colleagues as the incomes were estimated to decrease, causing them to agree with some measures to overcome the challenges of crisis without a damage for the organisation.

But the economic crisis, either as an artificial or real thing, has dampened our excitement of organising, because we approach our workplace emotionally as well, including myself. I guess

that's an important point. Do I undermine the unionisation process as a member of the union because of this emotional approach? I don't know, We try to build it on logic, but there are facts as well. We have a certain amount of money, which is not free or guaranteed, like it's not sufficient for the salaries, so we postponed the bonuses. Postponed, but not cancelled. There I think the unionised members have been considerate.

Outcomes of interview processes on resistance and self-organising can be listed as follows:

- Employee resistance is developed against managerialism (all but Ekin), arbitrary decision making processes of managers (all but Ekin) and use of 'voluntarism' discourse by the management against employee rights and benefits such as decent work hours and paid overtime work (all but Zeynep) and decent pay. 'Voluntarism' discourse is also adopted by our respondents, who present justifications self-legitimising the blurring of work-life balance as a life style or giving up material expectations by choosing an NGO career. However, 'professionalism' discourse becomes a safe haven of resistance when 'voluntarism' discourse is instrumentalised by managers.

- While resistance remained as individual acts for Esra and Zeynep, others have been involved in organising processes. Organising process in Şükufe's foundation has led to improved communication among professionals encased within departments, contributing to development of an organisational 'public sphere', where notion of 'civil society' as a communicative space has been carried into the organisation. This experience

of communication can be qualified as a resistance act against the power spaces of mid-level managers.

- Despite existence of trade union organisations for paid NGO staff as legal status of 'workers', no attempts from either employee nor union side has been made in Turkey until 2008. This might be due to a number of reasons including professionalisation of NGO's being a recent phenomenon, however our interviews exhibited a lack of awareness about this possibility as well as general notion of labour rights for non-unionised ones, who simply treat the organisation as a non-regulated space of power dominated by managers, where professionals either act with consent or leave. They do not consider themselves as 'workers' with rights, but individual career pursuers in a free labour market in either case,.

- The reverted case exists among union-aware ones; labour rights and unionisation is an expression of 'rights' discourse as employees (“this is our job in the end”) against 'half-volunteer' discourse of the management.

- In the two unionised workplaces and the one that considers it as a serious possibility (Şükufe's), motives and concerns are diverse, but sense of injustice either or both in workplace and in the society are common points, in compliance with the mobilisation theory presented by Kelly (Kelly 2005). Unionisation process constitutes a channel between organisational space and

civil society where struggles of justice and rights take place. Unionisation and form and content of collective contract, established workplace participation mechanisms and organising process itself are also model actions targeted outwards. It is not a surprise that these two organisations have become the first ones as both of them operate with an empowerment perspective towards their target groups.

- Motivations for unionisation among employees also vary and getting organised for unionisation becomes a process that incorporates power relations and negotiations among the employees. As in the case of Bedri, differences in motivation might cause experiencing of ups and downs in motivation and ownership by members, particularly after the signature of collective contract which is the first objective to achieve for some while for others organising process itself is important.

- Though the unionisation process bears the potential to harm workplace relations by an endured conflict and organisational survival due to power relations mentioned above, a care for organisation coexist with the rights negotiation during and after collective bargaining process in both unionised cases. This is an indicator of identification of 'NGO professionals' with their organisation, and the tension between volunteer/activist/civic agency aspect and paid employee aspect transforms into a merger in such a challenging circumstance.

V.1.2. Conclusions on tension between organisation as workplace and agent/platform of change

Resistance and self-organising processes exhibit NGO professionals' approach and point of view on their work and workplace, and in the centre of their sense making process lies the tension between workplace and civic participation features of the organisation. In modern full-employment society, individual's time is simply divided as paid work, citizens work (including social and political activities) and private life. Paid work takes the central and significant part, and also obligatory one for survival and a decent life with society being organised around economics. Though issue based NGO's are associated with voluntary citizen work, emergence of an alternative career within these organisations brought an opportunity for those who associate work with 'materialism' and devoid of value. In the presence of such an opportunity, individuals who search for an inner satisfaction in work tend to merge the part of their lives they identify most with the obligatory work (similar to the shiny headline of 'turning hobby into work' where an aspect of private life is merged with the obligatory part).

The search for a 'meaningful work' that can contribute to 'change' or 'doing good' while earning lives is interrupted or undermined by the 'realities' of

work life. A separation between work and action is adopted or used as a distancing of self (identified by action and/or self-realisation dimension) from burdens (as seen unwanted realities of work life).

When I look from my dissatisfied lens, I see it as a work place mainly. For example today, time didn't pass by, I was waiting for it to come to an end so that I could go away. (...) On the other hand, it's like an institute, you can improve yourself in trainings, my views on education, adult education has changed completely. My training skills has improved, so I also see it from my side. I guess I'm looking from both sides. (Esra)

'Work' or 'workplace' is associated with dissatisfaction in Esra's discourse.

The need to distinguish the 'job' from 'volunteering' aspect also appears in Bedri's colleagues, despite ongoing confusing feelings.

But we are aware that this is our job, we are clear about it, this is our job, we earn money from this and we make a living out of it. And we want to receive what we deserve. But while deciding on what it is that we deserve, we couldn't move beyond acting emotionally. Thank God there are colleagues who are strict, like 'this is our job' and they helped clear our minds, but while clearing our minds, they also broke minds time to time.

For Zeynep, separation of work features from voluntary ones of her job should be questioned, as her expectation was merging of these and she didn't 'want to see work as work'.

People in my position have internalised these issues, and nobody stands against it. And when a single person stands out, she becomes 'confused'. So you can not change anything in the foundation. This is actually very sad, because what you do is working in an NGO and there are certain things that civil society brings with it, to exist, to voice something aloud and without hesitation is the biggest purpose, at least I see it like this, to be able to change something, I don't think we work to be able to change something. A former employee, who still provides consultancy services to the foundation, tells me 'each organisation has a distinct style, this is our style and we think this is the right one. And it's not easy for this organisation to

survive. In order for this organisation to survive and employees to keep receiving their salaries, there are rules determined, and it has to be this way.” That's how s/he explained to me. That means 'if you are here, that's because of these rules, you earn your living because of these'. And at that point I start questioning myself, why do I use it to make a living out of it?

Her resistance to dominant urge to keep silent by distinguishing 'work' aspects from 'voluntary' ones remains individually isolated, while in Şükufe's case it also formed a collective resistance in the form of self-organising to construct a more 'social' and alternative workplace, a lively 'public space' within the organisation. Bedri's and Ekin's cases also exhibit a lively organisational space of governance and organising processes. Urge for becoming an agency doesn't remain only organisationally outwards directed, but also demands to become one in shaping the organisational space.

In an effort to take the debate between agency and structure, Giddens has proposed the structuration theory where “knowledgeable human agents act within historically specific boundaries, which in turn are formed by unrealised conditions and unintended consequences of their actions” (Giddens 2008:273). Agents for change and established structures balance, form, reform and transform each other in a dynamic setting. In order to understand the power relations within the organisation, this framework provides an inspiration for a frame of conception presented in Figure 3, based on the interaction and the distance between the operational constituency of the organisation and individual subjectivities of the

organisational members:

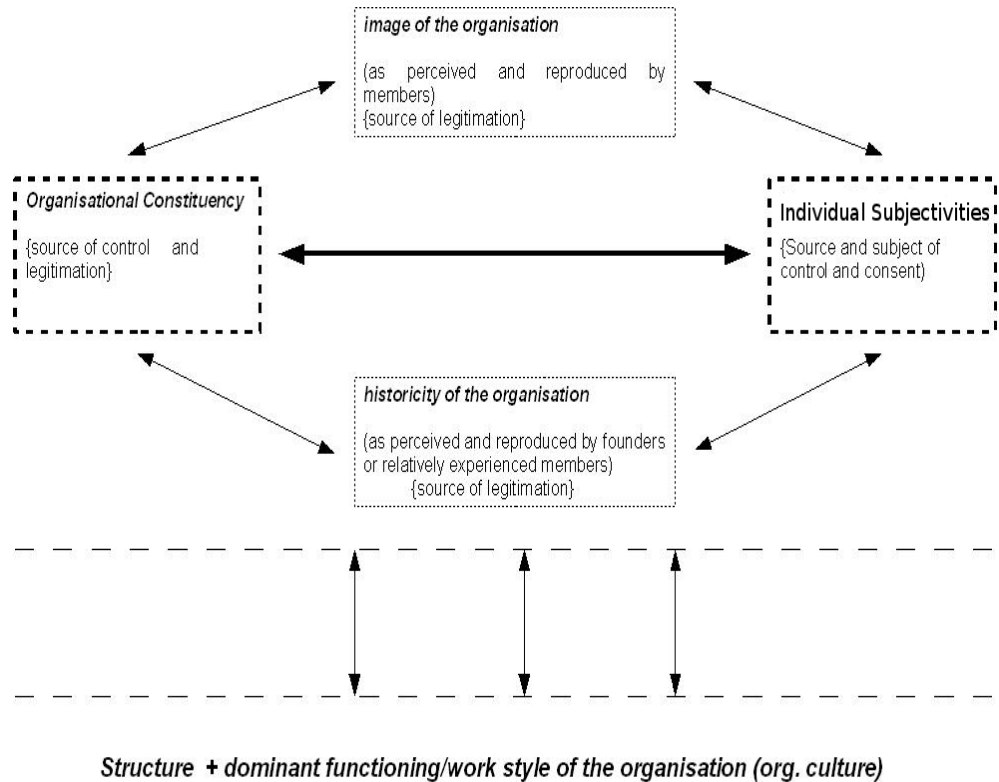


Figure 3. Dynamic processes of 'meaning' in work of organisations

This picture is intended to represent a dynamic process of contestation and sense making within the organisation as we have witnessed in our cases. It generalises the antagonism between management and employee to an abstract level in an attempt to upgrade 'workplace' aspect to the 'organisational public space' of expressions and identifications. NGO professionals are both subjects and agents as they have a formal responsibility and authority towards their employers (i.e. the board or management of the organisation) in exchange of the salary they receive, but they are also acting agents as citizen workers.

This process and the context also contributes to the process of identification of individuals with their work. According to the expanded model of organisational identification of Elsbach (quoted in Humphreys & Brown 2002), patterns of reactions towards the organisation can be categorised in four points: organisational identification, organisational disidentification, schizo-identification and neutral identification. While identification means active and positive perception that one is a member of an organisation, disidentification occurs as a result of exclusion from participation and negative feelings for self-definition, that is expressing/defining oneself as being 'not' part of a specific organisation or implementations within (Elsbach & Bhattacharya 2001). On the other hand, different interests within the organisation lead to distinct reactions as a result of organisational features with distinct or perceived mutually exclusive tasks. This process is called schizo-identification. As a last category, neutral identification is feeling no identification at all and only 'doing his/her job'. Humphreys and Brown investigated a higher education institution and this sample promises to shed light on NGO's as it's mostly a matter of choice rather than necessity to work in both kinds of institutions, therefore easier for the employees (and volunteers if there's any) to identify with the organisational mission. However, Humphrey and Brown showed how the efforts of senior managers to impose and control an organisational identity led to disidentification, schizo-identification and neutral identification among the

faculty and employees who perceived these acts as hegemonic acts required for legitimation purposes. This classification requires some more elaboration to include new categories (such as 'overidentification' as extreme ownership also known as 'founder syndrome' of organisation) that can not be evaluated within those mentioned above, complexities and overlaps, as well as which forms of work organisations and patterns lead to which identification pattern.

Personal identification might be either with the organisation itself (due to the historicity and the labour put in it), with the issue/aim of the organisation, with the culture of the organisation, with the activities of the organisation (and the joy or satisfaction of taking place in them), or with the target group of the organisation. Within the process, neutral identification or disidentification might also appear in different organisational members. Overidentification to lead to hegemony on the side of board members as well as disidentification in other group members or among employees and neutral identification in volunteers, board members and employees are frequent in NGO's, all reflecting a dynamic way of existing within the organisation. Despite the tendency of NGO employees -often former or present activists or other types of volunteers with a concern of some kind of self-constructed understanding of (social or environmental) justice- to identify themselves with the work they do, quantitative outcome oriented work required by international donors and funder organisations might lead

to neutral identification in staff, due to flexible, temporary, highly bureaucratised and deadline pressured nature of the work (Lebon 1997; Ilcan & Basok 2004; Hodgson 2004). Resistance to hegemony claims of managers and board members, or tension between political activism and service delivery might lead to schizo-identification among employees and volunteers. All these attitudes might be observed, overlap each other and exist in parallel. These dynamic processes are connected to issues of power and legitimacy as well as new roles attributed to NGO's.

The basic research question of this study was "**whether introduction of labour process in issue based non-governmental organisations as voluntary initiatives by extensive use of paid professionals undermine the search of a 'meaningful work' of 'NGO professionals' concerned**".

The conclusion for this study is "*wage relationship and resulting labour process in the form of accountability/control and management structures undermine this search, but 'professionalisation' of the organisations and individuals also provide new grounds for resistance and meaning creation.*" Particularly NGO professionals are the embodied form of tensions between 'workplace', 'democratic participation platform' and 'public space' features of the organisation, because of the interaction of work styles with different organisational actors (particularly management and board), political values, demands and action forms and resulting forms of expressions and identifications of the employee.

A number of sub-conclusions and points of discussion can be derived from this frame and our interview processes:

- Goal ambiguity of NGOs leads to a challenging and complex management field with multiple levels of accountability. NGO professionals clearly prefer a holistic (felt) accountability with moral and political reasons rather than narrow/functional hierarchic (formal) accountability. However, this might be ethically and politically problematic, as the reason for this preference might include the intention or result of avoiding accountability by broadening the concept. (O'Dwyer and Unerman 2008; Edwards and Hulme 2002). Organisations which empower staff are observed to lead to a holistic accountability while working for mission achievements (Christensen and Ebrahim 2006) as observed in Bedri's case. Following Freire's ideas, 'empowerment' includes or is identical to critical self-organising as observed in the case of Şükufe, and self-organising might act as a model for similar organising processes as the cases of Ekin and Bedri are attempting to do as well. A holistic accountability taken as the basis rather than functional one would be consistent with professionals' preference as well.

- Whatever the organisational scheme shows, organisation is established as a negotiated order (Watson 2003:36) and a contested space between organisational actors, with its historicity reflected in power concentration

and power spaces of the organisation. Labour process theory offers a valuable framework for the analysis of power relations and accountability structures, particularly between management and professionals within the limits of this study. While attempts of coercive (direct, scientific or technical) forms of control and imitations from private sector management techniques could not be directly applied or sustained, modifications or self-production of these methods for self-identified needs within non-punitive holistic accountability approach could be applied successfully. On the other hand, soft (consent, legitimacy and motivation-based) control techniques are widely used by the managers with the shifting use of conflicting 'professionalism' and 'voluntarism' discourses to maximise employee potential (e.g. by extending work times) and minimise costs (e.g. by legitimising lower salaries). Employees adopt a similar approach of using the counter discourse in exchange as a resistance or protecting self. Another discourse frequently used by the management to build consent about exercise of power is 'team work/flat hierarchy/democratic workplace', which aims to hide the lack of these concepts and to strip the managers from responsibility of their decisions. This interplay of discourses also contributes to the reshaping of power structures and concentrations and to the resulting organisational negotiated order.

- Middle level managers appear as most powerful actors that hold a critical position for the information flow. Because of their position in between NGO

professionals and top level management, and also usually of their former and ongoing NGO professional experience, they appear both as agents of management within labour process (as presented by the case of Şükufe) or as employees as NGO professionals themselves (in the cases of Bedri and Ekin) in our interviews. As department heads, they create and control a power space, but the form of exercise of power varies from jealous and authoritative control to disciplinary power and non-authoritative and facilitative ones (O'Dwyer and Unerman 2008). Interpreting as such, we should be careful about the differences in respondents' positions: Ekin and Bedri as mid-level managers, Şükufe with a certain degree of autonomy, Esra and Zeynep at lower levels of organisational hierarchy.

- 'Professionalisation' term is not only used for the organisation, but for the individual as well. In parallel to organisational use, the term carries both positive and negative connotations. Positive connotations include empowerment with skill-enhancing and effectiveness increasing and increasing reputation within society, while negative connotations include distancing of work issues from self and separation of work and non-work life as a showcase of lower commitment. However, professionalism as re-defining boundaries also appears as a resistance and a safe haven to seek refuge when 'volunteering' is used as a discursive act of consent building by the management or inexistence of such boundaries start to harm the individual. They are consequently the embodiment of tension between

'professionalism' and 'voluntarism' as well.

- 'Workplace participation and democracy' appears either as a top-down management discourse (with the reverse intention or effect) or as a self-organising practice. Self-organisation of employees contributes to creation of a communicative public space and re-shaping of subjectivities of employees. Particularly, trade union membership also contributes to the consolidation of professionalisation and professional identity.

- Real participation of professionals in workplace decisions rather than acting as shop floor execution workers would also be consistent with the public standing of NGOs as tools for participative democracy and rights advocacy. Union membership and/or other forms of self-organisation of employees also bears promise for organisational development (if used as an active participation process) and for an organised society by way of diffusion or translation of organising processes (Campbell 2005). Social movement theory and studies on new social movements combined with organisation theory provides valuable opportunities for the study of self-organising as civil society development (Davis and Zald 2005; Clemens 2005). A further discussion on organising as 'capacity building' and civil society development can be found in Chapter V.3.2.

V.2. Conclusions about methodology and empowerment

The specifically formed methodology of interview process was conducted as an open dialogue. This methodology has not only revealed a holistic and in-depth information about work life experiences and sense making of NGO professionals, but also contributed to their sense making and empowerment. Labour process framework combined with sense making and identity/subjectivity in professionals has provides a suitable lens to analyse tensions and suggest ways forward. Life narratives and experiential self-analysis within witnessed work-life fragment for studies on job satisfaction and organisational commitment.

The purpose of the methodology as 'building up a dialogue where they are not the object, but subject of the research' was explained to the interviewee in the beginning and they all agreed with the methodology. In compliance with this purpose, the interviews were shaped together with the interviewee in an iterative dialogue process: the process started from talking on questionnaire to identify general issues that could be highlighted more during the interview process with each interviewee. Issues of detailed elaboration of each interview was identified either at the end of previous meeting, or the beginning of new one. Last question for all interviewees was 'what is your *dert* (ultimate purpose or concern)?' for them to re-evaluate and relate the interview processes with their life narrative.

Each interview started talking about recent developments during the intervals. Other interventions by me as the researcher were made for the purpose of inducing self-analysis of the interviewee. These interventions were both planned and spontaneous: challenges to perceptions or arguments, critical questions and possible alternative explanations, common questions for all as potential or real challenges for organisational practice (effect of economic crisis and response, unionisation as a perspective or experience, and personal *dert* as the final question). Though interviews were conducted one-to-one, it's also possible that the interviewer carries the point of view of one interviewer to the other, establishing another level of communication between individuals who do not know each other and are not in direct contact (Kentel et al. 2007:15).

The interviewees commented on the methodology as being useful for themselves, and they did so feeling the urge (without asking). Their comments are indicators that interventionist methodology have reached its purpose of achieving a certain level of objectification (Bourdieu et al. 1999) or conversion (Touraine 2000), which is considered as 'empowerment'.

To be frank, during our interviews, I found the opportunity to reflect on things I haven't thought about until now: what do I want in fact, what's my position now, what will change, what won't change, or what will I change, I used to live in these, but I hadn't looked at them as I was so buried inside them. Now I can see what's ahead of me more clearly with an inner peace. (...) Now, despite my space of movement is limited, and sometimes I feel hopeless, or my motivation falls down, still I believe I can

change something when I'd like to. So before I was thinking "I can not change anything in this foundation, I'll be going everyday, I'll do my job in front of the computer and return back". But as I have become more accustomed to and comprehended things, my point of view changed. (Zeynep)

I also thought this study has already been useful for me for some aspects, you should have guessed or there might have already been similar reactions. The problems in my head, things I've been always criticising, and what this foundation mean for me and for Turkey, or what I am or what I mean...they have been more systematically organised in my mind as I have reproduced them by talking systematically. Now I can see more systematically what's better, what potential is there, what goes wrong. (Şükufe)

Interview processes also exhibit the context relevance as the interviewees reflect on emergence of NGOs as alternative career options for themselves, impact of economic crisis on organisational and work life and other challenges including the perspective or experience of unionisation. As a consequence, they also reflect on becoming a subject of processes of professionalisation and how these processes are produced and made sensible by themselves during restructuring in the societies.

The interviewees had not only gave feed back on what they have gone through, but also about their position within the research methodology or approach itself, by looking at themselves in the interview process as an outsider:

Actually now, I have thought about it while I was coming here, in every organisation, or I'd better say it for my own organisation rather than generalising, every person's experience differs according to his/her position, I perceive, shape and describe the organisation differently, others describe it differently. So, for a moment I told myself, what I tell here is not the organisation

itself, but what I see and observe. I'm sure the outcome will be my point of view, whatever I tell about the organisation, those words are not binding for the foundation but myself, it's related to how I see things. (Zeynep)

These comments reflect Bourdieu's statement that the information gained is the 'point of view on a point of view', and shows that objectification is not limited to their own position about what they live through within work life, but also what they live through during the interview process.

This last comment carries us to the researcher's side: this process would not be possible without the balance Bourdieu warned to be established about the distance between interviewer and the interviewee. The delicate balance for the dialogue required neither a total equality or overlap, nor a complete divergence, but a 'familiarity' of the interviewer to the interviewee, in order for the words of the interviewee could be reflected and easily recognised. Therefore, I wouldn't be able to hold a similar process with an interviewee from a totally different social background or experience than myself. The success of establishing dialogue proves that we have fulfilled this requirement as well.

Finally some cautions about the interviews and contents presented here:

- The words and interpretation of them reflect not the reality itself, but what the interviewees prefer to show, starting from how they perceive their experiences, therefore they should be read as such.

- External actors (and particularly beneficiaries and target groups of the NGO) appear only as faint or abstract figures within narratives. This is due to focus on self within work environment and their particular relations with organisational members like management and colleagues.

- Contents of interview might not always reflect direct and carefully filtered interpretations, but also times of performance (towards the researcher or potential readers as audience), times of comforting self or self legitimisation, and joy of self-expression (Bourdieu et al. 1999:615). Spontaneous intervention in the form of challenging questions or suggestions of possible alternative explanations become particularly important when these are spotted or suspected. Familiarity of the interviewer is also useful to spot these times to retract the interviewee to an objectifying distance.

V.3. Way forward: problems and prospects

The study revealed a rich information about work life of NGO professionals and due to holistic approach for each interview process have caused several aspects to come up, some of which could be dealt with in sufficient detail while others could be only mentioned superficially, if any at all. In this section I will present possible other related topics which could provide

perspectives for further research or alternative conceptions of phenomena within organisation of social space. Below suggestions are only ideas for inspiration and one can add more due to interest field of self.

V.3.1. Suggestions for research

The study had various limitations presented in Chapter I. Number of organisations investigated was limited to five and this limitation also brought several other limitations such as working field and dimensions. On the other hand, the information was very rich of various aspects that form the work life of an issue-based NGO, so deepening in each of these aspects were not possible. Therefore, this study can be either diversified and expanded, or further refined, focused and deepened on specific aspects:

- Due to intensive content of each interview process, only a small number of organisational contexts could be elaborated. Though a quantitative representativeness could not be claimed anyway, the study can be broadened towards a diversity of organisations regarding dimension, working field, location, and working method (advocacy (protest, campaigning and lobbying), service, charity, combined).

- On the other hand, single organisations or organisations in a specific working field can be given particular attentions as case or field studies, such

as transnational and inter-cultural aspects of labour process between national offices of international organisations, two of which has been part of this study.

- Studies could elaborate on a specific focus among various aspects (such as accountability, identity and identification, professionalisation, labour relations and organising, etc.) dealt within this study. Also follow up of the cases within this study (particularly on a specific aspect like unionisation) promise to give valuable information about process, as only a limited time span of organisational life could be covered during the interviews.

- Resource dimension of professional work in NGOs haven't been subject to a detailed interpretation within this study. The ways in which spaces are organised and resources mobilised to sustain professionalisation and professional distinction (and hierarchy) in NGOs can be subject to another research. Professionals in project-based work is a specific case that couldn't be dealt with sufficiently within this study. A specific study from the perspective of employees in project-based work is promising to reveal work patterns including job security, deadline pressure, prioritisation of quantitative results and donor effect on organisational structures and processes.

- I have assumed 'NGO work' as becoming a professional identity (a process

of the occupations to gain recognition and autonomy and also called 'professionalisation' in the literature). The formation of a professional identity as such can be subject to a more detailed research as well.

- The negative career choice of 'NGO professionals' (in order not to be lost in state bureaucracy or to serve the private profits) resembles similar choice of artists, craftsmen, academics as well as other professionals like teachers and social workers in search for a 'meaningful work', a 'safe haven' and a bond in a 'no-strings-attached' work. Similar methodology might be used to compare labour process and identity in those professions.

- A closer relation with social movements theory can be established to use framing, diffusion and translation and mobilisation approaches to explore phenomena in organisational life of issue-based NGOs and their relationship with environmental conditions.

- Unionisation in NGOs provides another intersection field that hasn't been studied much. This intersection field provides a mutual learning from experience and diffusion of ideas and practices between trade unions and NGOs as well as between NGOs and their environments can be studied in a detailed way. Follow up of the cases with specific focus on this aspect can shed light on challenges for trade unions to get organised among white collar workers where alienation of the worker is hidden with the self-

expression meaning of work.

- Regarding the methodology, other forms of 'intervention' or 'objects of thought' can be tried (like starting from daily/weekly highlights in each interview or use of pictures/models/schemes).

V.3.2. Prospects for alternative conceptions on work and citizenship

In this study, we have seen that professionalisation could undermine the search of individuals and organisations to become civic agents. However, despite all critics in studies with a hegemony approach about role of NGOs and professionalisation within neo-liberal system, this is not an unavoidable necessary result: professionalisation in issue-based NGOs not necessarily reproduces power relations and hegemony, but it can also provide new opportunities for resistance, self-organising and new alliances with labour and social movements to construct new identities and subjectivities. Reflections on the study and conclusions lead to also further points of (sociological, political and management related) discussion about the concepts and phenomena of NGOs, work and management, citizenship and civil society.

Neither 'associational boom' nor professionalisation of NGOs are isolated

phenomena than the second phase of modernity called reflexive modernity. Early modernity and its rationalised and economic way of organising of production and consumption patterns have caused 'unintended consequences' in the organisation of work and citizenship as well as daily life and culture in the society. They are reflected as “given facts” or “natural order of the society” in the policies and programs, political culture and structure, and organisational culture and structures. Issue-based NGOs have been outcomes of these tendencies as increasingly popular civic responses for the 'unintended consequences', and they are encouraged or forced to get professionalised to be more 'efficient' and 'accountable' by global political actors, some of which act as donors as well. This has caused the introduction of labour process and wage relationship in the voluntary initiatives, where organisational actors take place by their urge for action against consequences of the system, but eventually face a paradox of working within existing social structures of capitalism. This paradox and responses produce new prospects for policies and practices in a number of fields.

V.3.2.1. Prospects for 'civil society development' and 'capacity building'

'Capacity building' of citizens through 'civil society development' has been a popular political discourse among international/global institutions, and it

also created a point of debate, particularly for developing country contexts. Priorities of 'capacity building' and 'civil society development' policy and programs have encouraged and shaped professionalisation of NGOs and emergence of NGO professionals as an alternative career. Both Edwards (Edwards 2009) and Lewis (Lewis 2001) refer to dual meaning of the term and policy implementation: capacity building as organisational development of NGOs (by strengthening boards and staff) and as institutional development of civil society (by legal reform for organising and establishing participatory mechanisms). Both authors conclude that policies and programs focus on either one aspect or the other and miss the fact that they are complementary and integral in character. Furthermore, capacity building should be treated as a process itself, rather than a means or an end.

Edwards' integrated approach to civil society and civil society development (as associational life, as a public sphere and as a good society) inspired this study by reflecting the three integrated aspect of civil society in NGOs themselves as microcosms of the civil society in the relevant context. According to this approach (see Figure 1 in Chapter I.3.1), NGOs could be treated as workplaces, as public spheres within themselves and tools and platforms for democratic society, while these different features cause tensions within dynamic space of the organisation. Only a balanced and inclusive approach towards the organisation(s) as dynamic space(s) of these tensions can cope with the challenges organisational actors face as a result

of professionalisation and introduction of labour process. Neglecting any of these features of issue-based NGOs by any organisational or political agent ignores the 'active responsible citizenship' perspective and creates or consolidates these tensions already sharpened by professionalisation. According to Lehman "The structures of capitalism make it difficult for NGOs to escape the existing social structures. (...) these problems haunt NGOs but might be handled politically through the involvement of citizens in the spheres of civil society guided by a dialectical thinking which is used to explain the contradictions in human affairs." (Lehman 2007:656)

This is also true for organised employees of NGOs as allies or self-initiatives for social movements against instrumental reason. Ehrenberg proposes "a more assertive labor movement that made a little trouble from time to time [would do more] to reinvigorate civil society than moralizing reproaches about individualism and laments about the bad habits of the poor". (Ehrenberg 1999: 249) Self organisation of NGO professionals as part of labour movement could contribute to this awakening by strengthening both aspects and development of civil society as associational life, democratic society and a public sphere. When civil society is meant to be 'an organised society', 'employee' and 'citizen' statuses are complementary with each other for a communicative empowerment/enabling perspective. Therefore, 'capacity building' and 'civil society development' programs and policies should support the formation of

a 'public sphere' feature of the organisations as well by a perspective of 'labour rights' and particularly the right to association by employee status to be empowering. Unionisation of NGO professionals brings challenges to conventional trade union organising. NGO professionals are white collar workers in a tendency to act as individual career pursuers rather than elements of collective worker entities; they work in a non-profit setting with common resource problem and a certain degree of initial identification with the organisation; and they seek an alternative work and work medium devoid of alienation. The response of trade unions to these challenges of organising among NGO professionals would also be determining on the reshaping of trade unions and labour movement for the challenges brought in by the post-Fordist era as well as sectors with similar challenges like academy, education, social and cultural work and art organisations.

V.3.2.2. Prospects for NGO Management

On the side of management challenges, a focus on NGO management as an empowering practice for staff could form an integral part of this process. Lewis' suggestion of a composite model on NGO management incorporating business, public, third sector and development organisation aspects and shifting between them is also promising not only for effectiveness and efficiency, but also a holistic accountability approach which might lead to a empowerment based distinctive approach as well. Conclusions within this

study has shown that organisations who could build a lively public space where organisational actors can get organised with their multiple statuses and identities could also cope with the challenge of managing multiple levels and forms of accountability.

The debate about 'adopting ways of business' (including human resource management techniques) for a more effective and efficient organisation appeared simply as a fad or spontaneous managerialism act of managers, which is not sustained and copied for one-shot implementations. NGO professionals do not 'buy' these unless they are modified or reorganised taking their own needs into account.

However, prerequisite of all these discussions is the capital and resource base of particular NGOs (and due recruitment processes). While talking about empowering practice for NGO professionals or the meaning attributed to 'empowerment', we have to keep in mind that many NGOs, including some of those dealt with in this study, are established and managed by big holding corporations and their representatives, and managers and NGO professionals are recruited and managed by the representatives of these corporations within the board of these organisations.

V.3.2.3. Prospects for work and citizenship

In the wider context, the problem stems in the adopted time divide and employment-centrality of our systems, where employment is transformed into a scarce resource rather than a means for production of needs of the society (Meda 2004). In this system (or assumption), paid work dominates the time of citizens, and being unemployed for a long time also means being excluded from functioning of society; many basic rights are also linked to being employed somewhere. Therefore, alternatives to alienating, boring, painful (but imposed and obligatory) work for individuals appear as either masking or relieving of alienation by treating workplace as a social space as well, or finding ways to merge non-work time (such as hobbies, social care or civic initiatives like volunteering in NGOs or other political activities) with paid work, as is the case with our interviewees. Other alternative visions, forecasts and policy proposals for the replacement of full employment society have been developed like guaranteeing 'basic citizenship income for all citizens' independent from work. Another relevant vision is developed by Ulrich Beck (Beck 2000) utilising the categorisation of work (paid or non-paid) as domestic work (including family care), civic work and paid work: together with the basic citizenship income (which is increasingly a demand of organisations working on advocacy of social policy), a reduction in the work time of paid employees would leave them free to deal with either domestic/family work or civic

work (or simply for rest) while those choosing civic work are supported in the field of domestic/family care work and paid citizenship workers work for the organisation and development of these civic work opportunities. Therefore, Beck proposes a “citizens’ work” (bürgerarbeit) where the notion of "working citizen" (arbeits bürger, as tax paying according to income) is diminishing with the full employment society (Beck 2000: 141). This vision is complemented with its transnational civic solidarity dimension while cosmopolitan feature of today’s societies prevent the adequacy of the national dimension. However, none of these alternatives could be viable without allocations from public budget and political support, configured with the perspective of an 'enabling/ensuring state (or public body)!'.

These alternative visions are indicative of another search for an attributed role for citizenship and civic organisations and initiatives outside the private and governmental spheres. NGO professionals, who had transferred the civic work part of their lives into paid work in their search for a meaningful life based on self-realisation, can provide the essential experience for an exit out of assumptions of full-employment society (which is de facto not the case in reality anyway) and opportunities to fulfil 'active responsible citizenship' with an empowerment and participation basis.

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Appendix I – Initial Questionnaire

1. Personal Information

1*. Age

15-18

19-25

26-30

31-35

36-40

41-50

51-60

61 and over

2*. Sex

Male

Female

3*. City of Residence:

4*. Level of Education

Primary

High School

University

University (not completed)

Masters

Doctoral

5. Department of Graduation:

2. Information About Organisation

Please provide information about the NGO you work in.

1*. Working field of the organisation (human rights, women, environment, children, social rights, etc.) :

2*. How do you describe the organisation and activity level of the NGO? (choose all appropriate)

local regional national international

3*. What is the approximate number of volunteers?

1-5 6-10 11-20 21-50 More than 50

4*. What is the approximate number of employees?

1-5 6-10 11-20 21-50 More than 50

5*. How do you describe organisational structure of the NGO?

Tall hierarchic/bureaucratic

Flat hierarchy (teams, working groups or commissions)

Network type/Broad/Non-hierarchic

Other (Please Specify)

6*. Who (or which board) makes the strategic decisions within the organisation?

7*. Who makes the final decisions about your work? .

8*. Are there any specific programs or activities for employees within the organisation?

Yes No

9. (If yes) which of the following? (choose all appropriate)

Social activities

Training

Career Planning

Mentoring/coaching/supervising

Other (Please Specify)

10. Social activities (if any):

Forms:

Frequency:

11. Trainings (if any):

Topics or titles:

Frequency:

12*. How do employees participate in organisational decision?
(choose all appropriate)

Personal consultation (by General Director or most top level executive)

Personal consultation (by department/unit head)

Participation workshops

Strategy meetings

Planning meetings

Budget estimate meetings

Attendance in board meetings

Attendance in general assembly/board of trustees

Other (please specify)

3. Individual-Organisation Relations (for currently employed)

Please provide information about your relationship with the organisation you work in.

1*. Your position/task in the organisation:

2*. Location of work place (choose all appropriate)

Head office Local office Home Fieldwork

3*. Are you satisfied with your job?

Very satisfied

Generally satisfied

Lingering on [İdare ediyorum]

Not satisfied

Will leave at first opportunity

4. What is your average daily work hours?:

5*. How do you describe your work regime?

Regular/workshift system
Flexible/task oriented working hours

6*. Please provide information about overtime work

	None	Sometimes	Frequently
Do you work at weekends?			
Do you work after workhours?			
Do you take your work at home?			

7*. Who are you directly responsible to in your work? (Identify position) :

8. Who are those directly responsible to you? (Identify position)

- 1:
- 2:
- 3:

9*. For how long do you work in this organisation as an employee? (identify in months or years):

10*. How do you describe your organisation primarily?

Work place
Platform where I can lead a change
Social medium
Other (please specify)

11*. Have you been a volunteer in this organisation before?

Yes No

12. If yes, for how long? (identify in weeks, months or years) :

13*. Have you been a volunteer in other NGOs before?

Yes No

14. If yes, for how long? (identify weeks, months or years):

15*. For how long have you been a paid employee in NGOs?
(identify months or years):

16*. Why did you prefer this organisation to work?:

17*. Why did you choose to work in this field?

18. (If any) what was the reason you quit your previous job?

19*. Have you thought of quitting in the last few months?

Yes No

20. If yes, how do you describe the reasons?

21*. Would you work in another NGO in case you quit your job in
this organisation?

Yes No

22*. What are your primary preferences in job choice? (Choose
three)

Wage/fee

Peaceful work medium

Career opportunities

Social medium (social sharing opportunities with colleagues - friendship)

Working field

Authority in decision making

Opportunities of contact with beneficiaries

Opportunities to engage with decision makers and opinion leaders

Opportunities to make a change

Other (Please specify)