



Gender issues in fundraising

Phase 1: Understanding the issues

• The fundraising profession
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March 2022

askdirect

ROGARE
THE FUNDRAISING THINK TANK

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This paper, along with all Rogare's reports, research and other outputs, is available free of charge to the fundraising profession. We think it is important that people should be able to access all the ideas coming out of Rogare, and we are able to give them this access through the ongoing generous support of our Associate Members - Ask Direct (Ireland), Bluefrog Fundraising (UK), ST (Stephen Thomas Ltd) (Canada) and GoalBusters (USA).

Details of all our projects can be found on the Rogare website - www.rogare.net

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Suggested citation:

Appleby, C. (ed.) (2022). *Gender Issues in Fundraising. Phase 1: Understanding the Issues*. London: Rogare - The Fundraising Think Tank.

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About Rogare's Gender Issues in Fundraising project

Rogare began the Gender Issues in Fundraising project towards the end of 2017, inspired, as our director Ian MacQuillin says in s8 of this publication, by Beth Upton's 2017 *UK Fundraising* blog on her experiences of being a woman in the charity sector.

After we made the decision to set up this project, but before we'd done little more than write a project brief and started to assemble a project team, the Presidents Club scandal threw a mainstream spotlight on sexual discrimination and harassment in fundraising (Marriage 2018; MacQuillin 2018). And then research in the USA revealed that something like 25 per cent of female fundraisers have been subjected to sexually inappropriate behaviour (Sandoval 2018).

The fundraising sector has responded to these matters with many initiatives worldwide. We are not aiming to duplicate those initiatives. What we think we can do is help to strengthen the conceptual bedrock on which such initiatives are built.

The project has two phases:

Phase 1 – build the knowledge base that underpins this issue to better inform debate and discussion, thus ensuring we make the best targeted and evidence-based interventions into our profession.

Phase 2 – building on the ideas collated under Phase 1, develop a 'road map' of the issues the fundraising profession is facing and recommend potential solutions for dealing with them.

Phase 1 – led by Ask Direct's Caoileann Appleby – was carried out in 2018-19 with a series of blogs that were published on the *Critical Fundraising* blog. I'd

like to thank Rogare Associate Member Ask Direct for supporting Phase 1 and seconding Caoileann to us to lead it. This paper collects all the Phase 1 blogs (appropriately edited for a different format of publication) into a single output.

After a couple of false starts, Phase 2 is restarting in 2022, with Rogare's chair Heather Hill leading this phase. Heather outlines plans for Phase 2 in section 9 of this publication.

You keep up to date with this project on our website – <https://www.rogare.net/fundraising-ethics-gender-issues> – or by following Rogare's social media (see details on inside front cover). 📢

Ian MacQuillin
Director
Rogare – The Fundraising Think Tank

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2

Phase 1 – understanding the issues

Caoileann Appleby introduces the first phase of Rogare's gender in fundraising project - why we're doing it, what we hope we can achieve, and what we're going to do.



Gender in fundraising is an issue that had been simmering for many years before the #MeToo movement and the scandals of the Presidents Club fundraising dinner (Marriage 2018; MacQuillin 2018) and Oxfam's safeguarding failures (BBC 2018) caused it to boil over. Now there is evidence from the USA that something like 25 per cent of female fundraisers have been subjected to sexually inappropriate behaviour (Sandoval 2018).¹

It is clear that as a profession we urgently need to tackle gender issues and work to improve how we protect and develop all fundraisers, not only for our benefit, but also for our organisations and beneficiaries.

There are already initiatives in the USA² and UK (Institute of Fundraising 2018) aimed at tackling diversity issues in fundraising, but we believe that we can bring our own perspective to the topic.

Rogare's remit is to explore under-researched and 'under-thought' areas of fundraising. We want to provide a concrete knowledge base for raising awareness, identify the crucial issues within our fundraising profession, and discuss the causes and the way forward. This is how we approach all the issues we tackle, and this is how we intend to approach the challenges presented by gender in fundraising.

We aim to:

- provide a concrete knowledge base for raising awareness of gender issues and further discussing the issues, topics and questions within this which are particularly relevant to fundraising
- stimulate and facilitate discussion of how to solve these issues, based where possible on relevant theory and evidence from other sectors and disciplines.


Following Rogare's usual way of operating, we want to bring more theory and evidence to the conversation so that discussions, and any recommendations that flow from them, are based on firm, evidenced foundations. We are not trying to reinvent the wheel, but to draw on and examine evidence and theory from other sectors and disciplines where we can.

We are not here to give definitive answers but to raise awareness of the issues, encourage better conversations and discussions grounded in better knowledge, and help point those of us eager to enact change towards the most effective ways to do that.

We have to be aware of how the different issues might play out and mean different things in different countries or cultures, even though all fundraising sectors appear experience some forms of these issues.

Sounds good, what's next

We'll introduce some common and useful terminology and definitions (s3). Then we'll briefly cover some of the major themes within the broader issues, each of which is explored in the essays in this volume: sexual violence and harassment (s4), career paths in fundraising (s5), leadership and visibility (s6), along with an introduction to how feminist philosophy can inspire some new thinking in fundraising (s7).

We shall then be in a position to make evidence- and theory-based recommendations for change, which we shall be looking to do in the second phase of the project (see ss8 and 9). 

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Suggested citation:

Appleby, C. (2022). Phase 1 – understanding the issues, in: Appleby, C. (ed). *Gender Issues in Fundraising. Phase 1: Understanding the Issues*. London: Rogare – The Fundraising Think Tank.

This article was first published on the *Critical Fundraising* blog on 23 April 2019 – <https://criticalfundraising.com/2019/04/23/knowledge-introducing-our-new-project-on-gender-issues-in-fundraising/>

1 Latest figures (2021) on sexual harassment in fundraising can be found here: <https://afpglobal.org/news/fundraising-workplace-climate>

2 <https://afpidea.org/wii>

3 Terminology 101

This section presents a short introduction to relevant terminology used in further articles:

3.1 Gender - Heather Hill

3.2 Gender discrimination - Heather Hill

3.3 Sexism - Ruth Smyth

3.4 Sexual harassment - Ruth Smyth and Caoileann Appleby

3.5 Intersectionality - Heather Hill

3.6 The Patriarchy - Ruby Bayley

3.7 Privilege - Caoileann Appleby

Suggested citation:

Appleby, C. (2022). Terminology 101, in: Appleby, C. (ed). *Gender Issues in Fundraising. Phase 1: Understanding the Issues*. London: Rogare - The Fundraising Think Tank.

This article was first published on the *Critical Fundraising* blog on 23 April 2019 - <https://criticalfundraising.com/2019/04/23/knowledge-gender-issues-in-fundraising-terminology-101/>

3.1 Gender

Heather Hill

Meaning: “Refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, attributes and opportunities that any society considers appropriate for men and women, boys and girls and people with non-binary identities”.¹ Gender is an identity construct that is related to but distinct from biological sex (itself influenced by multiple chromosomal, anatomical and physiological factors), and can be self-assigned or assigned through cultural norms and assumptions.

What's more: To give a very quick example of the above, modern Western culture has a pervasive colour binary for children: pink for girls and blue for boys. Walk into any children's clothing or toy aisle to see it in action. But 100 years ago, the opposite was true, with pink seen as the “masculine” colour more suitable for boys (and in the 1970s one children's clothing catalogue had no pink clothing at all for two years) (Maglaty 2011). There's nothing inherently that connects pink with being female, but it's a now very visible marker of whether a baby is male or female. We have a wide range of obvious and not-so-obvious cultural gender expectations of men and women that are not connected to their biological sex (e.g. men are better than women at maths – a Western stereotype not borne out by research [Lindberg et al 2010]).

Gender is no longer a binary term and has expanded to include cis, trans and fluid gender

definitions. This includes cisgender (identifying with the gender assigned at birth), transgender (identifying with the opposite of the gender assigned at birth) and gender fluid (a changing gender identity). ‘Gender identity disorder’ was removed from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, Fifth Edition (DSM-5) as a psychological diagnosis in 2013.

‘Gender dysphoria’ was added in its place, a diagnosis for the distress felt by individuals who feel there is a mismatch between their gender identity and their bodies.² This change has been seen as recognition that non-binary gender identities are not pathological. The World Health Organization followed suit in June 2018 and removed the diagnosis of ‘gender identity disorder’ from the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-11).³ 6

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1 https://www.who.int/health-topics/gender#tab=tab_1 (World Health Organization (WHO))

2 <https://www.psychiatry.org/psychiatrists/cultural-competency/education/transgender-and-gender-nonconforming-patients/gender-dysphoria-diagnosis>

3 The reference for this when this article was first published online was WHO factsheet No403 on gender, which no longer seems to be available. This is WHO's current page on gender - https://www.who.int/health-topics/gender#tab=tab_1

3.2 Gender discrimination

Heather Hill

Meaning: A situation in which an individual is treated unfairly wholly or partly because of their gender. This can include but is not limited to unequal pay, harassment and access to services.

What's more: Much of the literature and past dialogue on gender discrimination centres around male and female gender identities, though gender discrimination is not exclusive to these. Transgender people are also affected by gender discrimination. 6

3.3 Sexism

Ruth Smyth

Meaning: Prejudice or discrimination based on sex or gender. In its early use it was purposely similar to racism, highlighting that both were systemic forms of prejudice that created and perpetuated inequality.

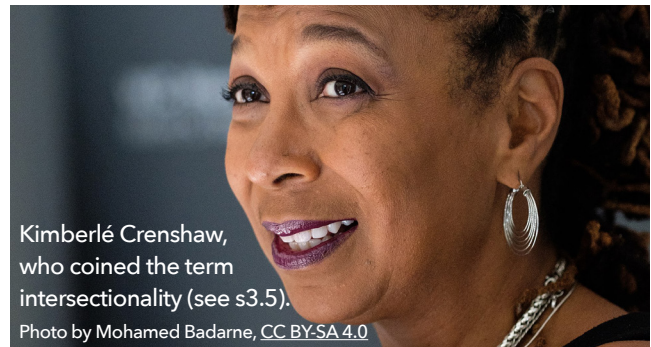
What's more: The term was first thought to have been used in the mid 1960s, and then made popular by the 1986 pamphlet *Freedom for Movement Girls - Now*, by Sheldon Vanauken, which was then picked up on by several feminist groups (Tekanji 2007).

Glick and Fiske (1996) developed the theory that sexism can be 'hostile sexism' or 'benevolent sexism', where the person being sexist may either be directly hostile towards a gender or may be sexist in ways that they feel are 'helping' the person. This is not to suggest that 'benevolent' sexism is any better in its outcome for the person on the receiving end, but its intent is different. Their research has usefully steered people to dig deeper into the ways that sexism persists and how it ties into wider attitudes about gender.

Another ongoing area of interest in prejudice more widely is the idea of conscious and unconscious bias, which highlights how often sexism or racism can operate at an unconscious level (Greenwald and Banaji 1995). The 'Implicit Association Test' was developed to uncover these biases and grew hugely in popularity over the last 10 years as an idea (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998). However, recent critiques suggest that the test is less robust than it first seemed (Blanton et al 2007). 6

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- 4 https://www.lexico.com/definition/sexual_harassment
- 5 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sexual%20harassment#h1>
- 6 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/intersectionality-meaning>

3.4 Sexual harassment

Ruth Smyth and Caoileann Appleby

Meaning: “Unwelcome and inappropriate sexual remarks or physical advances in a workplace or other professional or social situation”,⁴ and first attested in 1971.⁵ Sexual harassment is one form of gender discrimination in the workplace, and is defined in law, for example in the UK under the Equality Act of 2010 or in the US Civil Rights Act 1991. These definitions include both physical and verbal acts.

What's more: Sexual harassment can take many forms, ranging from non-verbal and non-physical (staring, leering, displaying sexually offensive images), to verbal (e.g. ‘suggestive comments’, making professional advancement or continuation conditional on ‘sexual favours’) and physical (e.g. unwanted touching, groping and other forms of sexual assault). While many people who are aware of the issue think that sexual harassment in the workplace is always committed by someone senior to

References & further reading

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the victim, it can also be perpetrated by a co-worker, client, supplier, or others.

Recent research done in the UK by the Trades Union Congress (2016) has shown that sexual harassment is prevalent in the workplace, with 52 per cent of the 1,533 women completing their survey saying they had experienced it in some form. ❶

3.5 Intersectionality

Heather Hill

Meaning: Refers to the multiple and complex ways connected systems of power have a compound impact on marginalized groups. Intersectionality is “the complex, cumulative manner in which the effects of different forms of discrimination combine, overlap, or intersect”.⁶

What's more: The term was first used in 1989 by Kimberlé Crenshaw in her paper, ‘Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black Feminist critique of anti-discrimination doctrine, Feminist Theory and antiracist politics’. It originally described how oppression intersects in race and gender, but now includes other attributes such as class, ability and age. ❷

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3.6 The Patriarchy

Ruby Bayley

Meaning: A social system in which power is distributed unequally between men and women, to the detriment of women. Originates from “a form of social organisation in which fathers or other males control the family, clan, tribe, or larger social unit”.⁷

What's more: Historically, patriarchy was used to refer to autocratic rule by the male head of a family, or ‘patriarch’⁸ – it literally means ‘the rule of the father’ from the Greek πατριάρχης (patriarkhēs) meaning ‘father or chief of a race’ – but over the years it has been broadened to mean a society where power is distributed unequally between men and women. Patriarchy is rooted in gender essentialism, which recognises the existence of only two genders (Boskey 2020).

It is widely accepted not to be about individual men oppressing individual women through specific acts but instead is an interconnected, multi-layered structure of power relations in which men dominate our legal, political, social, and cultural spaces resulting in the subordination, discrimination and oppression of women. This inequality is upheld by powerful cultural and social norms, and supported by tradition, education and religion in addition to the law and state. Despite some misconceptions, feminist theories on patriarchy don't posit that all men enthusiastically uphold or benefit equally from the patriarchy or exonerate women's role in it either.

What does this look like in practice? A few examples:

In England and Wales, only 1.5 per cent of rapes and sexual assaults reported to the police resulted in a conviction in 2018.⁹ The logical answer is that few were brought to trial. But there is a whole series of patriarchal contributing factors that might not seem immediately obvious, from the way our society shames sexually active women to a legal system historically designed by men.

The take-up of shared parental leave by eligible parents since it was introduced back in 2017 is thought to be as low as two per cent.¹⁰ You could conclude that non-birthing parents just don't want to take the time off, but in reality, this is influenced by things like ingrained gender roles (who ‘should’ be at home looking after the baby and who ‘should’ be the breadwinner) and the gender pay gap (it's often more expensive for a male partner to take time off).

There is a belief that women lack the self-confidence and assertiveness of their male peers and that this holds them back in the workplace, the implication being that if they were to be more direct, assert themselves, and negotiate better, they'd be more successful (Guillen 2018). Aside from the fact that there is growing evidence that this is a myth (Thomson 2018), new studies show that when they do behave in this way, women suffer a ‘likeability’ penalty due to stereotypes about how women are supposed to behave, which sets them back anyway (Cooper 2013). ❸

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3.7 Privilege

Caoileann Appleby

Meaning: Referring to someone as having privilege or “privileged” in the general sense usually means that they are wealthy, or have elevated social status. However, in social science it means a person who receives (unearned) social advantage through their membership of the social groups they belong to: “unearned benefits that accrue to particular groups based on their location within a social hierarchy” (Moore, nd). The privileged social group is the one that is seen as the norm and having privilege in this sense is often invisible or unexamined to those who have it.

What’s more: Its usage in this sense originates from sociological examinations of racism, and was popularised by Peggy McIntosh (1989) in her famous ‘unpacking the invisible knapsack’ article on ‘white privilege’. In a recent interview (Rothman 2014) she describes this article as her attempt to explore the difference between an individual’s behaviour and the social system they are part of: “Are these nice men, or are they oppressive? I thought I had to choose. It hadn’t occurred to me that you could be both.”

Different kinds of privileges can intersect (see s3.5), and you don’t need to have heard the term and its origins to understand why a black queer woman whose first language isn’t English and has visible disabilities might find life harder in the UK or the USA, in a variety of ways, than a white English-speaking able-bodied straight man.

Common examples of privilege

Compared to women, men are:

- Less likely to be interrupted when they speak
- Less likely to be the target of street harassment or sexual violence
- Seen as the default in healthcare and design
- More likely to be paid more for the same work. 6

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Peggy McIntosh, the American activist who first described the concept of ‘privilege’.

7 <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/patriarchy>

8 <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/patriarch>

9 <https://www.theguardian.com/law/2019/jul/26/rape-cases-charge-summons-prosecutions-victims-england-wales>

10 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-43026312>

4

Sexual harassment and violence



Caoileann Appleby looks at the prevalence of sexual harassment in society and whether this is reflected in the fundraising profession.

It would be difficult to have a productive discussion about gender in the fundraising profession without examining the context in which we find ourselves. The most extreme way in which gender impacts on our profession is through sexual harassment and sexual violence – and while it's not unique to our profession, neither are we exempt from it. In fact, if there's anything we'd like you to take away from this series, it's that even though we work to solve these issues, the fundraising sector is by no means immune to them.

Show me the numbers

Those of us who have worked within the gender sector may know some of the statistics on sexual violence, but they bear repeating:

- Globally one in three women have experienced sexual violence. It is a major public global health issue (World Health Organization 2017).
- In the UK, for example, this figure is one in five for women (under four per cent for men) (Travis 2018). This figure does not include all forms of sexual harassment; other recent surveys suggest one third (Lezard 2018) to over half of women (BBC 2017) have experienced this at work or in education (Trades Union Congress 2016).
- In the USA, one in six women¹ have survived attempted or completed rape (three per cent for men). Research from 2018² suggests that more than 80 per cent of women and over 40 per cent of men have experienced some form of sexual harassment or assault.
- Lesbians, trans people (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2014) and those who are otherwise marginalised by their ethnicity, class, disability or immigration status,³ are often particularly targeted.
- The 2017 annual survey conducted by the US Bureau of Justice Statistics found that people with household incomes of less than \$7,500 reported a victimization rate of 4.8 incidents per 1,000 persons age 12 or older, which is 12 times the rate reported by those with household incomes greater than \$75,000 (0.4 per 1,000) (Kasteel, Wolfe and Nguyen 2018).
- One 2018 study in the US (Stop The Street Harassment 2018) found that lesbian and bisexual women are nearly twice as likely to experience sexual assault compared to straight women (48 per cent to 25 per cent) and a similar ratio exists for women with disabilities (40 per cent vs 23 per cent) (depressingly, it didn't find statistically significant differences for other demographic groups, because "sexual harassment and assault is so common for women").
- If you are lucky enough to be surprised by the above figures, bear in mind there are very good reasons for why you may have been unaware of just how prevalent an issue this is. There is a large gap between incidence and reporting, and another between reporting and prosecution. For example, in England and Wales:⁴
 - 79 per cent of rapes are not reported to police (this is approximately 77 per cent in the US [Kasteel, Wolfe and Nguyen 2018])
 - 82 per cent of reported rapes don't get to trial
 - Of those that do get to trial, 24 per cent of cases are discontinued, and 34 per cent are found not guilty. Only 40 per cent are actually convicted.

So even if you report rape to the police in England and Wales, your chances of seeing your attacker behind bars are approximately seven per cent. Given this, and the fact that 92 per cent of these rapists were known to the victim beforehand (most often partner, ex-partner, family member or acquaintance), it's not surprising that many survivors do not report. These statistics relate to just the most serious types of sexual violence in one jurisdiction; other forms of violence and harassment are, of course, more common.

The #MeToo and #Timesup movements have helped make it clear just how prevalent these are. Since the original use of the former term by activist Tarana Burke, then popularised by Alyssa Milano in 2017, hundreds of thousands of women (and men) have shared their experiences of sexual harassment and violence in their industries: people in entertainment (Farrow 2017) to sports (BBC 2018) to medicine to religion, and yes, fundraising (Marriage 2018). And for every person who feels safe enough to speak out, many more will keep silent.

As American political strategist and community leader Charlene Carruthers said: "If wealthy, highly visible women in news and entertainment are sexually harassed, assaulted and raped – what do we think is happening to women in retail, food service and domestic work?"⁵

The plural of anecdote is not data, of course, but

aggregate research data backs this up too. Here are 100 young women. How many do you think will be sexually harassed [at work] by the age of 31? At least 46 per cent (McLaughlin 2018). This figure comes from the Youth Development Study, a longitudinal study that followed more than 1,000 people from one US city over decades, and included questions about sexual harassment in the workplace (that 46 per cent figure only covers sexual harassment in the previous year, not over their lifetime, so the true figure is certainly higher).

And who's doing the harassing? Most often in this sample, it's a co-worker, followed by a customer or client, then a supervisor. And it's much more likely to be a repeated issue rather than a once-off, as Heather McLaughlin writes in a *Harvard Business Review* report (ibid) on the Youth Development Study:

"The regularity of these incidents makes it evident that a larger culture of harassment exists; it's not just a few bad apples who are abusing their power. The data from the survey of respondents at age 30 to 31 shows that more targets endured multiple instances of harassing behaviours than experienced a single incident. This was true across every type of harassment."

Like more serious types of sexual crime, women under-report. The most common person a woman tells when she experiences sexual harassment? Nobody. This is echoed in Trades Union Congress study from the UK,

1 <https://www.rainn.org/statistics/scope-problem>

2 <https://stopstreetharassment.org/our-work/nationalstudy/2018-national-sexual-abuse-report/>

3 [https://www.collectivefuturefund.org/leading-philanthropies-announce-funding-collaborative-to-build-womens-power-and-](https://www.collectivefuturefund.org/leading-philanthropies-announce-funding-collaborative-to-build-womens-power-and-ensure-safe-workplaces/)

[ensure-safe-workplaces/](https://www.collectivefuturefund.org/leading-philanthropies-announce-funding-collaborative-to-build-womens-power-and-ensure-safe-workplaces/)

4 <https://informationisbeautiful.net/visualizations/rape-a-lack-of-conviction/>

5 <https://twitter.com/unitedwedream/status/940326367996121088>

with 52 per cent of women having experienced some form of sexual harassment (the vast majority from male colleagues), and four out of five never reporting it (TUC 2016).

There is continuum of gender violence from sexist language, to street harassment, to sexual assault, 'domestic' violence, and rape. You may know a rapist, and they are listening too, according to a New York Times article summarising latest research (Murphy 2017):

"These men begin early, studies find. They may associate with others who also commit sexual violence. They usually deny that they have raped women even as they admit to nonconsensual sex..."

"Heavy drinking, perceived pressure to have sex, a belief in 'rape myths' – such as the idea that no means yes – are all risk factors among men who have committed sexual assault. A peer group that uses hostile language to describe women is another one."

What these numbers make clear is that you need to remember that even if you aren't a survivor of sexual violence yourself, you almost definitely know one: whether donors, beneficiaries, or colleagues. You just may not know that you know one.

What about in fundraising?

It's not difficult to see the parallels between the situation fundraiser Beth Upton (2017) describes, and the details of Harvey Weinstein cases (it was this blog of Beth Upton's on *UK Fundraising* that provided the impetus for this whole Rogare project):

"A couple of young female fundraisers I was working with met a potential major donor at his hotel lobby one evening for a drink to discuss some queries about his company's fundraising for their charity...He invited them up to his room to continue the conversation. He suggested that a significant personal gift would be forthcoming on top of the corporate support if they

carried on talking. The two fundraisers said no, that the lobby bar was plenty private enough. He withdrew his company's support shortly afterwards."

In the US, yet another example recently hit the *New York Times* (Otterman and Dreyfus 2019), where multiple women working for different organisations over a period of decades reported the same pattern of sexual harassment from philanthropist Michael Steinhardt, for example in these three stories from separate women (quoted verbatim from *NY Times*):

- "He repeatedly asked if she would have sex with the 'king of Israel', which he had told her was his preferred title for the video. He then directly asked her to have sex with him, she said. When she turned him down, he brought in two male employees and offered a million dollars if she were to marry one of them."
- "She was 27 years old, and it was the first time she had met Mr Steinhardt. He harangued her about being unmarried and said she should put her vagina and womb 'to work' Rabbi Sabath said... When an associate of Mr. Steinhardt's walked into the office, Mr. Steinhardt told Rabbi Sabath she should consider having sex with him, she said. Then Mr Steinhardt proposed that she should become his own concubine."
- "During a meeting at his office to make a pitch for funding, Mr Steinhardt suggested that they all take a bath together, in what he called a 'ménage à trois'. One of the women, the executive director of the organisation, asked that her identity be withheld because she feared that people on her board would pull their donations if she spoke publicly. Her former colleague asked that her identity be withheld to protect the executive director."

It's notable that even those quoted in this article as defending Mr Steinhardt don't dispute the verbal harassment, but insist that his comments were only

⑥ *'The Presidents Club scandal – in which young women were harassed and assaulted at a men-only charity event – is an example of the power dynamics of the major donor-fundraiser relationship leaving our staff vulnerable. It's also not difficult to imagine how sexual violence might be a particular issue for other types of fundraising, such as face-to-face and door-to-door (both for the fundraisers and potential donors).'*

meant as a joke. However, as nonprofit consultant Shifra Bronznick says: "...when people harass women verbally instead of physically, we are asked to accept that this is the price we have to pay for the philanthropic resources to support our work." (Otterman and Dreyfus 2019.)

The Presidents Club scandal (Marriage 2018; MacQuillin 2018) – in which young women were harassed and assaulted at a men-only charity event – is another example of the power dynamics of the major donor-fundraiser relationship leaving our staff vulnerable. It's also not difficult to imagine how sexual violence might be a particular issue for other types of fundraising, such as face-to-face and door-to-door (both for the fundraisers and potential donors).

And we don't have to just imagine. A 2018 survey among fundraisers by *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* (Sandoval 2018) suggests that 25 per cent of female fundraisers have faced sexual harassment while doing their job, and 96 per cent of these harassers were men (donors or prospective donors, board members, managers or colleagues). Ruby Bayley's (2019) article in *Civil Society* in the UK has also made it clear this is an urgent issue needing to be tackled:

"What nobody in the charity sector seems to be talking about is how these barriers play out when you are a fundraiser. Standing up for yourself can compromise a relationship or partnership and thus donations. It has the potential to mean we don't reach our targets, bringing repercussions for our careers and the charity we care so much about. It is common knowledge that several of the "forefathers of fundraising" – men to whom we give guru status – can get "a little bit handsy". And yes, we warn each other about you."

There are many more examples we could give. It's not just happening elsewhere to other people. It's happening in our sector, in our boardrooms, at our events and conferences; it's happening both to people like you and by people you know.

What to do next?

Make no mistake – this is an issue for our sector. And while the same *Chronicle of Philanthropy* survey (Sandoval 2018) suggests that 93 per cent of us want a zero-tolerance policy on sexual harassment, when more than half of those who reported say they weren't satisfied with how their complaint was handled, we still have some way to go to really expose and combat this issue.

We will be digging further into this as an issue for the profession; how it manifests in our workplaces, at conferences; with donors; throughout our careers – and what we can do about it – in more depth later in the series. For now, you can:

- Read more: the essays in this volume are a good place to start. Take a look at Rogare's Donor Dominance⁶ series too and take part in our ongoing survey.⁷
- Take the issue seriously: bear in mind that you cannot assume how much personal experience those you are talking to have of these issues.
- Speak up when you hear others minimising sexual harassment, sexual violence or survivors (especially if you're a man). ⑥

6 <https://www.rogare.net/donor-dominance>

7 <https://www.surveymonkey.co.uk/r/Rogare-DD>

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Suggested citation:

Appleby, C. (2022). Sexual harassment and violence, in: Appleby, C. (ed). *Gender Issues in Fundraising. Phase 1: Understanding the Issues*. London: Rogare – The Fundraising Think Tank.

This article was first published on the *Critical Fundraising* blog on 23 April 2019 – <https://criticalfundraising.com/2019/04/23/knowledge-gender-issues-in-fundraising-sexual-harassment-and-violence/>

5

The career path of a female fundraiser

From a gender pay gap to the glass ceiling, Ruth Smyth examines the factors that shape the career of a female fundraiser.



What is it like for a woman who chooses to have a career in fundraising? Does fundraising suffer from the same gender imbalances as other areas of work? And how can we, as a fast-changing sector, with many charities actively working on these or similar issues, lead the way on gender equality? This article aims to introduce the topic of how gender impacts on fundraising careers by highlighting some issues that we will be exploring further as part of Rogare's project on gender in fundraising.

How does fundraising compare?

Sadly, or perhaps unsurprisingly, the issues in career inequality found elsewhere are also found in fundraising. The gender pay gap is not only present but slightly higher than the average across all sectors: the pay gap in UK fundraising is 16.7 per cent¹ (Robertson Bell 2018) vs an average of 16.5 per cent;² in the US it is 19.5 per cent (Association of Fundraising Professionals 2018) vs an average of 18.2 per cent.²

The 'glass ceiling' also holds true, with fewer women than men at the top of the profession despite far more in the junior and middle manager roles (see Tables 1 and 2 on p18). This is particularly the case for bigger charities in both the US (Di Mento 2014) and UK.

It might seem surprising that these are still major issues for the contemporary workforce considering that many charities have had women heavily involved in their founding, leadership and day-to-day activities for longer than most other professions. After all, if you trace the history of fundraising back to its origins, it was often undertaken by women for whom charity work was the only form of labour they were permitted to perform (Nank 2011). Although, as Seattle University's Elizabeth Dale (2017) points out, these were often

'invisible careers' and the first people to be paid to raise money were men, so perhaps the voluntary aspect of these early fundraising women gave them lower status and reduced autonomy over how they were able to progress in their careers.

Starting out

There are plenty of junior positions in fundraising, and the majority of these are held by women (Nathan and Tempel 2017). Fundraising seems to attract women rather than men and men entering the profession at a junior level can feel less welcome as a result of this (Merrylees 2020). What makes the profession more attractive to women than men? Is it, as Elizabeth Dale (2017) suggests, because charities are perceived as having more feminine traits? Or is it linked to the reasons a higher percentage of women donate to charities, like the tendency to having stronger pro-social values? (Beutel and Marini 1995, and see Bekkers and Wiepking 2011).

A study by French academics Lanfranchi and Narcy from 2015 explores this question and finds that part of the reason women are attracted to nonprofit work is because it tends to offer more part-time work opportunities and a shorter work week than for-profit organisations. They also found that men tend to be less attracted to the nonprofit sector because they tend to favour pecuniary benefits (like savings plans, insurance and pensions) that are less likely to be on offer at a nonprofit organisation. This raises some interesting possibilities for what we might be able to do to recruit more men into fundraising at a junior level, and to support them when they do enter the profession.

The high percentage of women at junior levels

Table 1: Percentage of male and female respondents occupying fundraising roles in the United States (source: AFP 2014 Compensation and Benefits Study, taken from Dale 2017).

Fundraising role	Percentage male	Percentage female
Chief executive	32.4	67.6
Chief development officer	22.9	77.1
Deputy development officer	23.2	76.8
Program manager	16.0	84.0
Other positions	12.3	87.7
Total	21.8	77.3

Table 2: Gender diversity of senior leaders in major UK charities. Source: Green Park (2019), using data gathered from annual reports, Charity Commission listings, charity websites and LinkedIn.

Management level	Percentage male	Percentage female
Chair	77.0	23.0
Top 3 (Chair, CEO, CFO)	72.5	27.5
Executive leadership team	53.7	46.3
Top 20 (trustees & leadership team)	58.4	41.6
Total	21.8	77.3

suggests that gaining entry into a career in fundraising might be relatively easy for women. But there is evidence that women with higher levels of qualification are less likely to be called for interview compared to men with that level of qualification, which may well effect women seeking both junior and senior roles (Quadlin 2018). Are our fundraising recruitment processes fair? If we move towards a need for more qualifications – argued by Ian MacQuillin (2017) that we should – what will this mean for women? Will the women who gain these qualifications lose out by being perceived as over qualified and therefore find it harder to gain entry?

Progressing

In fundraising, women are in the majority at the lower levels of the organisational hierarchy (see Table 1 for US data), but this majority decreases at more senior roles. This also varies with budget responsibility and size of charity, with smaller charities more likely to have a female CEO than larger charities (Di Mento 2014).

One of the theories put forward to explain why there is a lower proportion of women at a senior level is that women don't tend to ask or apply for promotion as frequently. Recent research finds evidence to refute this theory, suggesting that women do ask as frequently, but are not given promotions at the same rate (Artz, Goodall and Oswald 2018).

Added to this is the difference in experience when men and women do get promoted. A longitudinal

study of data collected in the UK over 10 years has shown that women who get a promotion tend to have a decrease in their level of work satisfaction, whereas for men the opposite is true (Lup 2018).

Women tend to have less support from managers, less access to senior leaders and face daily small differences in treatment to their male counterparts, making progression much tougher for women (Huang et al 2019, p8). Women also tend to take on more 'non-promotable' tasks than men, for which there could be plenty of opportunity in fundraising (Babcock et al 2017). This research isn't specific to fundraising, but nonetheless highlights issues that are found within fundraising, as an American poll from 2014 (Di Mento 2014) suggests.

What, therefore, can we do in fundraising to address the barriers between women and senior leadership, to support women to get to senior roles and, importantly, to thrive when they do?

It is also important to note that these issues are not the same for all women. Minority groups tend to face multiple issues. The proportion of Black and minority ethnic (BAME) women at a senior level is more skewed than for white women in the UK (Green Park 2019) and the same is true in the US (Mills 2017). The Chartered Institute of Fundraising's initiative to increase diversity in fundraising³ will hopefully help with this, but what more can we do as fundraisers and fundraising organisations to improve equality for all women?

6

‘Women tend to have less support from managers, less access to senior leaders and face daily small differences in treatment to their male counterparts, making progression much tougher for women. Women also tend to take on more ‘non-promotable’ tasks than men, for which there could be plenty of opportunity in fundraising.’

The fatherhood bonus and motherhood penalty

I’m part of a Facebook group called ‘Juggling motherhood and professional charity work’, set up by British consultant Lisa Clavering. There is a common theme to many of the discussions, which is exemplified by a post that asked other members about flexible working. The question posed was “When in the interview process for a senior role should I bring up that I would like to work for four days a week?”. This touches on one of the thorniest issues for women and career equality, the impact of parenthood.

Parenthood is now perhaps the most significant factor in the gender pay gap. In a paper published in 2019, Danish academics Kleven, Landais and Sjøgaard call this the ‘child penalty’:

“The arrival of children creates a gender gap in earnings of around 20 per cent in the long run, driven in roughly equal proportions by labour force participation, hours of work, and wage rates. Underlying these ‘child penalties’, we find clear dynamic impacts on occupation, promotion to manager, sector, and the family friendliness of the firm for women relative to men...gender inequality caused by child penalties has increased dramatically over time, from about 40 per cent in 1980 to about 80 per cent in 2013.”

It is notable that the ‘child penalty’ is one more often borne by the mother, whereas fatherhood tends to have a positive impact on pay and career (Budig 2014). Most women who have children tend to have a higher level of responsibility for caring for them, and this impacts on their careers. In fundraising this is further compounded by the difference in salary that might occur for a woman working in a lower-paid fundraising role with a partner who earns a higher salary in the private sector.

One question that nearly always comes up when discussing the issues is whether women choose to take on more of the responsibility for childcare and would do so even if they had other options? Although studies consistently find that women tend to carry out twice as much housework than men, they also find that perceptions of fairness are socially constructed, with women tending to feel they should take on more (Dixon and Wetherell 2014).

How both men and women arrange their domestic lives and careers is influenced heavily by identity and social expectations, which often place emphasis on the father as ‘breadwinner’ (Shirani, Henwood and Coltart 2012). It could also be argued – as it has been by feminist author Jessica Valenti (2018) – that men need to take on more domestic responsibilities to enable women to progress in their careers.

As well as these very strong social norms, there are still both structural and cultural changes that employers could pursue, such as better flexible working options, increased parental leave for men and opportunities for job sharing (Chelsey 2011). Would more fathers choose to take on higher levels of childcare and reduce their hours if this were made easier by employees? How can we make charities and fundraising roles more flexible and accommodating of different needs during parenthood? And how can we ensure senior roles are accessible to women who may at some point in their career want the flexibility to have and bring up children?


Going it alone

One solution for creating the flexibility required by parenthood is freelancing or setting up your own business and, partly due to technology enabling it, this is a growing trend for mothers across all areas of employment (Simpson 2017), doubling in the UK over the past 10 years (IPSE 2018). But this increased flexibility may come at a cost: although more than

10 years old, a study by Debra Mesch and Patrick Rooney (2008) of Indiana University's Lilly Family School of Philanthropy showed that female fundraising consultants earned on average 36 per cent less than their male counterparts, as well as receiving significantly lower bonuses.

What are the implications for women who work as freelancers in fundraising? Is this a good way for women to maintain or develop their careers outside the restrictions of traditional employment? Or does it raise new challenges and risks? The more precarious nature of freelance work is receiving focus due to the rise of the gig economy (Bajwa et al 2014).

What to do next

- Find out if there's a gender pay gap in your charity/company and then try using some of the techniques recommended by the UK Government's Behavioural Insights Team (2017) to address it.
- Does your senior management and board reflect the diversity of the rest of the charity/company, and/or the population(s) you serve?
- Do your recruitment and promotion processes explicitly have mechanisms for ensuring gender equality, such as blind assessment of CVs?
- What can be done to better support women in your organisation who want to progress their careers? Good mentoring from a woman in a more senior role is often cited by women as critical in them advancing in their careers.
- If you're interested, then read up on the issues, follow the links in the references, and I especially recommend Elizabeth Dale's (2017) excellent paper 'Fundraising as women's work?' 

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1 This report gives a figure of 20 per cent for the pay gap. However, that figure was derived by basing it on the average salary for women, whereas UK government guidelines say it should be calculated based on the average salary for men, which gives the lower figure of 16.7 per cent, used here <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/making-your-gender-pay-gap-calculations>

2 <https://data.oecd.org/earnwage/gender-wage-gap.htm>

3 <https://ciof.org.uk/about-us/what-we-re-doing/equality-diversity-and-inclusion>

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This article was first published on the *Critical Fundraising* blog on 17 May 2019 - <https://criticalfundraising.com/2019/05/17/knowledge-gender-issues-in-fundraising-the-career-of-a-female-fundraiser/>

6

Why are women under-represented in leadership roles?

Picture a fundraising leader. If the image in your head is of a man, Heather Hill says you need to read this essay.



Think of a leader in the fundraising profession. Think about the qualities that leader possesses. Think about what makes that leader effective. Now tell me whether you pictured a man or a woman. If you pictured a male leader, why?

Nearly 75 per cent of members in the Association of Fundraising Professionals (North America) and 68 per cent of members in the Chartered Institute of Fundraising (UK) are women. Recent data shows that anywhere from 41-53 per cent of leaders in fundraising (those in senior management positions) are men – hardly congruent with the composition of the profession. What’s more, the bigger the organisation, the worse the gap and it begins at the top. In US nonprofit organisations with budgets of \$50 million or more, only 18 per cent had a female CEO and in the top 50 charities in the UK, only 30 per cent of CEOs and 36 per cent of trustees are women. Given the majority role women have in the profession, why don’t leadership roles mirror that ratio? And why, as Elizabeth Dale (2017) found, are those who are in leadership doing so in smaller organisations earning far less?

The gender imbalance extends to boards and trustees. In a 2018 US study of nonprofit board diversity, women represented 47 per cent of board members, but only 35 per cent when the organisation had a budget of \$25 million or higher (Papadopoulos et al 2018). The 100 largest UK charities mirror these statistics, where 42 per cent of trustees are female (Green Park 2019). For boards with higher percentages of women, the following results were found (Osili et al 2018):

- Greater engagement in oversight and governance
- Higher commitment and involvement
- Greater engagement in advocacy work
- Higher grades by CEOs for fundraising performance
- Greater engagement in fundraising.

One theory for the disconnection might be that more

Suggested citation:

Hill, H.R. (2022). Why are women under-represented in leadership roles, in: Appleby, C. (ed). *Gender Issues in Fundraising. Phase 1: Understanding the Issues*. London: Rogare – The Fundraising Think Tank.

This article was first published on the *Critical Fundraising* blog on 4 September 2019 – <https://criticalfundraising.com/2019/09/04/knowledge-gender-issues-in-fundraising-leadership/>

men are likely to be donors than women, so male leaders may be better suited to connect with donors. This, however, seems unlikely to be the case (Mesch 2010). Research by the Women's Philanthropy Institute at the Lilly School of Philanthropy at Indiana University has shown that women are increasingly taking the lead when it comes to charitable giving, being more likely to give, and give more, than men (Mesch et al 2015). When it comes to high net worth individuals, men are no more likely to give than women, neutralising any gender advantage in leadership.

Perhaps men possess traits that make them more effective leaders. That, too, is debatable. According to research done by the Pew Institute, women in the workplace were perceived by the public as better than men for seven out of nine qualities associated with effective leaders (Horowitz, Igielnik and Parker 2018). These included:

- Being compassionate and empathetic
- Serving as a role model for children
- Working out compromises
- Being honest and ethical
- Maintaining a tone of civility and respect
- Standing up for what they believe in
- Being persuasive.

Women were seen as equally skilled at working under pressure as men. The only quality for which men scored higher than women was a willingness to take risks. If it's not the number of women in the profession, stakeholder relationships or possession of leadership qualities, then what reason is there for the absence of women in fundraising leadership roles?

Perception of gender roles as they pertain to suitability for leadership has been shown in numerous studies as a significant barrier to leadership (Paustian-Underdahl, Walker and Woehr 2014). Not only are women less likely to be selected as leaders, their behaviour is evaluated more negatively than the same behaviour attributed to a man. A recent study published in the *Academy of Management Journal* revealed, for example, that when female employees speak up in the workplace they are ignored while their male counterparts are rewarded (McLean et al 2018).

This is not the first time the issue of gender bias in leadership has been researched. This is not the first time these statistics or findings have been shared. Surely, as awareness has increased about the gender leadership gap, progress follows, doesn't it?

6 *'Less visibility of females in leadership roles and as role models functions as an inhibitor for other women progressing in their careers. This is mirrored in industry thought leadership. Male-dominated keynotes and speakers at conferences send the message that females are not leaders in their profession.'*

Why aren't things changing?

Unfortunately, workplace environments, even in those places where there have been stated intentions of inclusivity and non-discrimination, have not yet transformed. The idea that sexism will improve 'naturally' with time minimises the influence of existing structures in workplaces historically led by males and gender-based stereotypes that are slow to change. This is referred to as 'second-generation bias'. According to research from Indian academic Vijay Grover (2015):

"Second generation gender bias is related to the hindrance for women to be accepted as a leader or reach the top of an organisation. These biases may be simply in the form of maintaining the status quo, or an active approach to strengthen the existing structures of male-benefiting traditions, customs, values and beliefs."

Under-representation of women in senior leadership reinforces implicit biases and maintains the status quo because when women are not part of the decision-making leadership, they are limited in their ability to influence policy and effect change within their organisations. Recognition and encouragement of emerging leaders who do not look like the current senior executives is rare (Batara et al 2018).

Compounding this, there are fewer female role models and mentors because there are fewer female leaders, which also means lack of access to a network of support and sponsors. In the Leaders and Daughters 2019 study by consultancy Egon Zehnder, 74 per cent of women indicated aspirations for attaining senior leadership roles but only 54 per cent of women reported they had access to mentorship from female leaders (Egon Zehnder 2019). This subtle gender bias also disrupts women's access to the learning cycle of leadership development. The consequences of this

leadership gap perpetuate the problem. Less visibility of females in leadership roles and as role models functions as an inhibitor for other women progressing in their careers. This is mirrored in industry thought leadership. Male-dominated keynotes and speakers at conferences send the message that females are not leaders in their profession.

When good intentions and non-discrimination policies fail, what interventions are there that can affect change?

There is no simple or easy solution and, given the research on 'second-generation bias' (Grover 2015), it's unlikely anything will change without intentional and proactive disruption to the hiring process. Current counsel from the International Labour Organisation (2017) recommends blind evaluation for jobseekers, which removes physical gender attributes, such as names and pronouns, from the initial application process. It does not, however, prevent the possibility of unconscious bias interfering further in the hiring process.

Data analysis on compensation and promotions can help inform organisations about potential gender bias issues, but only if the data drills down all the way into root causes of any discrepancies. For example, a study in an investment firm (Madden 2012) showed that female brokers were compensated less than male brokers, but the difference was due to the amount of commission earned on accounts. Additional analysis revealed, however, that this was due to female brokers being assigned inferior accounts and opportunities.

The ILO also recommends structured recruitment and evaluation criteria to decrease the potential for bias. A set methodology that is uniformly applied and used by all managers ensures job performance for employees of all genders are judged by the same metrics. Does this completely eliminate the chance of unconscious bias? No, but it is, at least, a framework for prevention.

The implementation of quotas has been explored as another potential strategy for addressing the gender leadership gap. The research on this practice identifies as many potential pros as cons. Pros include creating a pipeline of female leaders and eliminating (or reducing) stigmas by creating representative rather than token presence. Cons include failing to address root causes of discrimination and reduced employee engagement (He and Kaplan 2017).

Norway imposed gender quotas of 40 per cent for all corporate boards of public limited companies in 2008. After 10 years, the data showed that it did not have a trickledown effect of increasing female presence in other roles (Economist 2018). Further, while decision making processes changed, quality of decisions didn't improve by having greater female representation. Perhaps simply imposing quotas on board composition is not enough.

A number of European countries have mandated gender quotas for corporate boards that are accompanied by penalties for non-compliance (Global Education Monitoring Report 2017). While, as seen in the case of Norway, simply ensuring a baseline percentage of female representation does not create wholesale change in an organisation, the penalties do mandate the beginning of the change process.

Are fines and sanctions ultimately the way to dismantle gender-biased organisational structures? Daniel Kahneman's (2013) research in behavioural science found that people are more motivated by loss aversion than by equivalent gains. In other words, the pain of a fine or penalty is more likely to incentivise action than rewards. One example is that of carbon emissions. While carbon tax credits promised to reduce carbon emissions by rewarding companies utilising green fuel sources, what ultimately lowered fossil fuel consumption was taxing carbon emissions (Plumer and Popovich 2019). Is there a way to accelerate closing the gender leadership gap that draws from this model?

For women in fundraising, the best advantage for overcoming gender bias is strength in numbers. Not to lean in, or to raise each other up to 'break the glass ceiling' but, rather, to lean out and knock down the constraining walls of an unresponsive construct so that something new may be built (Bayley 2002 - this volume, s7). Females already outnumber males in the profession, yet generational transitions in leadership have not created space for female leaders, nor have hiring policies or quotas found much traction. A roar of female voices demanding - and actively working en masse for - change may be where hope is found in toppling the patriarchal leadership structures.

This will only happen, however, with significant intervention to dismantle existing structures and processes. Without it, the research shows the status quo will remain. ●

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7

Lean In or Lean Out?

That fundraising is beset by gender inequality is not in question. But how should the profession seek to redress these inequalities? Ruby Bayley examines at the pros and cons of two different schools of thought.



Fundraising is a disproportionately female profession, even more so than the charity sector as a whole (Institute of Fundraising 2019). Despite a healthy pipeline, far more men than women hold positions at the top (Dale 2017). But what actually is fundraising's gender problem? And what approach do individuals, charities, and institutions need to take to tackle it? This essay describes two different schools of thought on gender equality theory – Lean In and Lean Out – and asks us to think about how they have played out in our efforts to address inequality in fundraising so far.

'Leaning out is everything that leaning in is not: at its core, an emphasis on the need for structural change, with the onus on policy-makers, governments, and business leaders to create change, rather than on the women they oppress.'

Suggested citation:

Bayley, R. (2022). Lean In or Lean Out?, in: Appleby, C. (ed). *Gender Issues in Fundraising. Phase 1: Understanding the Issues*. London: Rogare – The Fundraising Think Tank.

This article was first published on the *Critical Fundraising* blog on 21 August 2019 – <https://criticalfundraising.com/2019/08/21/knowledge-gender-issues-in-fundraising-lean-in-or-lean-out/>

Lean In

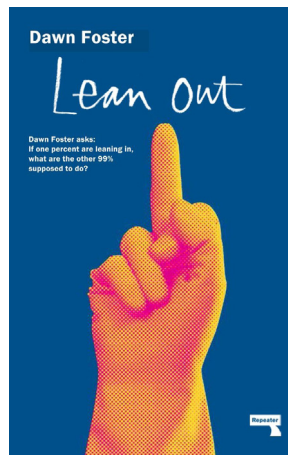
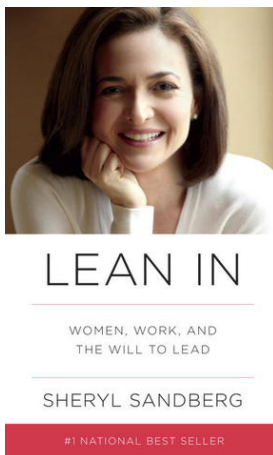
Lean In is a school of thought that was officially formulated by Meta/Facebook chief operating officer Sheryl Sandberg in 2013, with the publication of her book *Lean In: Women, Work, and the Will to Lead* (Sandberg and Scovell 2013). Its central tenet is that women, socialised by gender stereotypes, unconsciously hold themselves back from professional advancement due to misplaced insecurity, passivity, and a lack of ambition.

Leaning in is an approach that presents individual solutions to navigating the patriarchy (Facio 2013) with the idea that change at the top will trickle down; so more women in power equals better outcomes for all women. It proposes that women can have it all if they lean in to gender inequality and bias by projecting confidence, seizing all opportunities at home and at work, and essentially forcing a seat for themselves at the table.

This includes things such as (Sandberg and Scovell 2013):

- negotiating your salary and benefits
- not slowing down in the lead up to having a child
- not avoiding jobs you don't think you are qualified for
- not taking too long for maternity leave
- not worrying about being liked in the workplace
- being more assertive
- joining peer support circles (Lean In Circles)¹
- taking more career risks.

¹ <https://leanin.org/circles>



Lean In (conceptualised by Meta COO Sheryl Sandberg) and Lean Out (devised by British activist and journalist Dawn Foster - above) are opposing schools of feminist thought on tackling the patriarchy. Photo of Dawn Foster © Novara Media under [CC BY 3.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/).

Lean Out

In response to Lean In, an opposing school of thought termed Lean Out has emerged. Pioneered by feminists such as Dawn Foster (2016) and bell hooks (2013), leaning out calls for the onus to overcome gender inequality not to be on the individual woman but on governments, institutions, companies, and society as a whole.

Leaning out has one of the main criticisms of leaning in at its core – that a trickle-down feminism centres the concerns of an élite minority of women and not all of us. Lean Out instead calls for widespread systemic change, essentially a dismantling of the patriarchal system that creates the very conditions that Sandberg's strategies teach us to overcome.

This might sound abstract, but in practice this could look like:

- government policy reform (e.g. more paternity leave)
- more government funding for things like childcare
- better education (e.g. on gender stereotypes)
- better workplace policies (e.g. flexible working)
- healthcare reform (e.g. better pay for care work)
- changing organisational cultures (e.g. perceptions around work-life balance).

The merits and pitfalls of both

Leaning in has become a key part of modern feminist discourse. Its self-actualising approach can be empowering for individual women by offering them practical and rational ways to succeed in 'a man's world'. It enables women to feel they can do a great deal to improve their own lives on an individual level.

One study found that women became more confident in asking for the compensation they felt their work deserved as a result of Lean In (Shonk 2013). Another study found that de-emphasising gender differences increases women's confidence and makes them feel they are more able to overcome challenges at work (Torres 2018). There is also possible evidential support that women's networking events, such as Lean In Circles, can have a positive impact on things such as pay rises and promotions (Achor 2018). And there are several success stories that back all of this up (Newman 2018): women have shared their stories of improved confidence, drive, and success as a result of adopting the philosophy (Bonos 2014).

That said, the approach has been criticised for being too narrowly focused on privileged women – educated, white, wealthy – and ignoring issues faced by working class women, single mothers and women of colour (hooks 2013).

In addition, critics say it downplays other structural (ibid) issues and inequalities that are embedded in work-life as it is, such as a lack of family-friendly policies (Booth 2019), the myriad ways women are impacted by unconscious bias (*Harvard Business Review* 2019), the impact of austerity (McVeigh 2013), sexual harassment in the workplace and barriers to reporting it (Equality and Human Rights Commission 2018),

unpaid care work (Ferrant, Pesando, and Nowacka 2014), and the effects of emotional labour (Erickson and Ritter 2001). And it ignores the intersections of sexism, racism, classism, ableism, transphobia and homophobia, by assuming that if all women follow the same advice they will receive the same benefits.²

One study by Duke University even found that, when exposed to Lean In messaging, people are more likely to believe women are responsible for causing gender inequality and to hold them responsible for fixing it. They were also less likely to think that structural changes would make a difference (Kim, Fitzsimons and Kay 2018). Dawn Foster in particular links the Lean In message – the message of focusing on individual success in your career and your family life over collective rights, workers' rights, and a change in women's position in society as a class and as a whole – to a neoliberal capitalist society which is incompatible with true gender equality (Fitzgerald 2016)

In many ways, leaning out is everything that leaning in is not: at its core, an emphasis on the need for structural change, with the onus on policymakers, governments, and business leaders to create change, rather than on the women they oppress.

But this is an incredibly complex and sometimes overwhelming concept. You only need to look at the number of different targets³ under the UN's Gender Equality Sustainable Development Goal to see this is the case. It also relies on our ability to agitate and influence those people in positions of power (often men) which leaves us in a bit of a double bind.

2 Since 2015, leanin.org has funded the Women in the Workplace study – the largest study of the experiences of women working in corporate USA. 2018's report focuses on structural issues and puts the onus on companies to take more action towards gender equality. It also looks at the intersections of race, ethnicity and sexuality – <https://leanin.org/women-in-the-workplace>.

3 <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/gender-equality/>

4 <https://afpglobal.org/news/afp-launches-womens-mentoring-and-development-program>

5 <https://afpidea.org/wii/education>

Fundraising – Lean In or Lean Out?

When we discuss gender inequality through the lens of equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI) in our sector, we tend to centre the disproportionate number of men in leadership positions. Our default solution to this problem has been to focus our efforts on empowering more women to smash the glass ceiling and get into leadership positions through initiatives such as mentoring schemes, leadership development programmes and discourse calling for women to stand up (Ribeiro 2011) and be bold (Isaac 2015). Examples of this are the UK CloF's (2018) *Manifesto for Change*, which will offer a 'women into leadership programme', and the US AFP's Women's Impact Initiative mentoring programme⁴ and suite of educational materials⁵ which, although they do touch upon sexual harassment, are mainly comprised of resources about leadership, ambition, communication skills and negotiation.

But what about factors such as the conflation of stereotypically female qualities with what it takes to be a good fundraiser (Dale 2017)? Or the parallel between fundraising's secondary status compared to operational delivery (ibid) in charities and women's secondary status in society (de Haan nd)? The prevalence of the gender pay gap (Plummer 2019)? The link between low wages and the availability of part-time work in our sector (Dale 2017) and a woman's traditional role in the home (Park et al 2013)? The fact that even within fundraising, women dominate less highly valued roles like prospect research and events (Dale 2017)? The disproportionate levels of sexual harassment experienced by female fundraisers (Sandoval 2018)? And all the other systemic factors that contribute to gender inequality more generally?

So the question we really need to be asking ourselves is: are charities and professional fundraising organisations tackling gender inequality in systemic as well as individual ways?

What to do next

- Read more: the reference section to this essay is a good place to start.
- Assess your workplace and professional associations' initiatives on gender equality. Are they mostly one type or the other? What does that say to you about how gender issues are viewed in those organisations? ❷

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8

A roadmap for structural change



We all know we need to make changes. But the question is how do we make those changes? Ian MacQuillin describes how Rogare aims to identify structural changes that will level the playing field for all female fundraisers, not just those who will benefit from current initiatives and projects.

In July 2018 I was sitting in a panel session at the IoF National Convention that was looking at the issue of women in fundraising. As I recall this had been a fairly late addition to the programme. I'd already decided that Rogare needed to turn our attention to the question of gender in the fundraising profession. The spur to this has been Beth Upton's 2017 blog on *UK Fundraising* about her experiences of being a woman in the charity sector, in which she described cases of sexual harassment and impropriety (Upton 2017).

By the end of 2017 Rogare had started pulling together the brief for this project, assembling the team and collating the literature and reading lists. One of the key papers was by Seattle University's Elizabeth Dale, published in the *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*¹ in December 2017. Titled 'Fundraising as women's work? Examining the profession with a gender lens', Dale's paper was both timely – the Presidents Club scandal (Marriage 2018; MacQuillin 2018) kicked off the month after it was published, providing fresh impetus to gender issues in fundraising – and is a must read for anyone with any serious interest in these issues and challenges.

And so in July 2018 I was watching the IoF's panel debate. That session left me feeling dissatisfied, though not with the panellists, who all said things that no-one could disagree with. Men should call out bad behaviour when they encounter it. They should. Women should be paid the same rates for the same job as men to reduce the gender pay gap. They should.

How, though, were we to achieve these things? Let's just consider one issue out of the many – the gender pay gap.²

It's all very well saying we need to reduce the gender pay gap. The question is *how* do we reduce it? It clearly isn't as simple as 'just paying women the same as men'; if it were, we'd have fixed it years ago. To find an answer for the gender pay gap issue, we need to know exactly what it is and what it represents or indicates. These are possibly different things in the UK and in the US, since their respective equal pay legislation is different: the US legislation³ allows for unequal pay based on merit, seniority and performance in a way the UK law⁴ does not (though I am no HR or employment law expert and stand to be corrected in this interpretation).

In both countries, the gender pay gap could signal that there is significant law-breaking going on; or it could suggest that there's a hierarchical stratification in roles, with women predominantly occupying more junior, lower-paid roles.

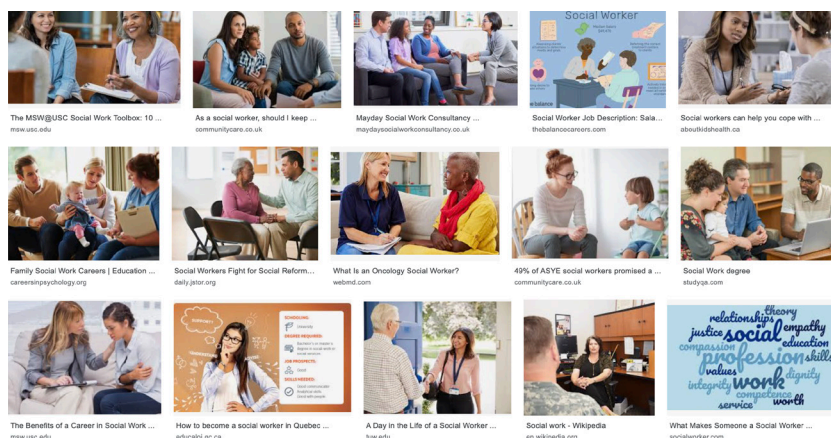
But in the US, perhaps the pay gap is exacerbated by more leeway in the jobs market that allows men to do better than women at negotiating better salaries and benefits packages – based on their perceived or alleged seniority or merit – which further reinforces this stratification? There's some evidence for this. A study into the gender pay gap in fundraising commissioned by the Association of Fundraising Professionals (2019) reported that 61.5 per cent of fundraisers had negotiated their salaries in 2018. Of those, 69 per cent

1 Now the *Journal of Philanthropy and Marketing*.

2 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gender_pay_gap

3 <https://uk.practicallaw.thomsonreuters.com/1-502-4731?transitionType=Default&contextData=%28sc.Default%29>

4 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Equal_Pay_Act_1970



A Google Image search for 'social worker'. Most of the images depict a woman, perhaps because social work is one of those professions that has undergone a process of 'feminization'.

of male fundraisers reported that they had negotiated their salaries "effectively", compared to 58 per cent of women.

Elizabeth Dale (2017) describes one possible explanation. This is the process of 'feminization', which happens when women enter what have previously been male-dominated professions. Men then move out of the more junior roles – which are downgraded in status as a result – reserving for themselves the more prestigious, and more highly paid, senior positions. This process of feminization has happened in clerical work (England and Boyer 2009), banking (Holmberg and Stanfors 2011), teaching (Drudy 2008), healthcare (Adams 2010), and social work (Khunou, Pillay and Nethononda 2012). And so if the process of feminization is one of the causal factors of the gender pay gap, we have an indication of where and how to direct our interventions in order to close the gap.

The first part of Rogare's project to explore Gender Issues in Fundraising has been to lay out some of the wealth of knowledge and ideas that have already been devised, so that we do not reinvent the wheel or exclude something really important, and that we are armed with the actual knowledge we need to make change.

In a series of blogs on *Critical Fundraising* (now collected in this volume), we have provided a basic grounding in various terms and concepts (s3), and looked at sexual harassment and violence (Appleby 2022 – s4 in this volume), career progression (Smyth

2022, s5) and leadership (Hill 2022, s6) as they pertain to and affect female fundraisers.

These fill gaps about what knowledge we need to effect change. But it leaves questions about how we now use this knowledge.

Gender and critical realism

All academics and researchers work within a methodological paradigm that informs how and why they carry out the research the way they do. At Rogare our methodological approach is something called critical realism (CR).

Critical realism⁵ considers that there is an independent social reality, and that things are not simply constructs we have invented, as various forms of interpretivism would have it.⁶ Critical realism therefore considers that certain things really exist in the real world. The role of CR is to identify the mechanisms, often hidden or unactivated, that explain/cause these real world phenomena.

These mechanisms operate hierarchically at different levels, with deeper mechanisms explaining the mechanisms and observed events at higher levels. CR aims to develop what are called 'causal-explanatory accounts' of events. The purpose of CR is to explain, but not predict, as is the case with positivist science. So critical realism is the halfway house between positivism and interpretivism.⁷

Although I've never been very explicit about this approach, it underpins everything Rogare has done in

5 <https://centreforcriticalrealism.com/about-critical-realism/basic-critical-realism/>

6 Gross simplification klaxon!

7 <https://www.mytutor.co.uk/answers/7486/A-Level/Sociology/What-is-the-difference-between-Positivist-and-Interpretivist/>

ethics, regulation, public perception and relationship fundraising.

The critical realist approach is exemplified in the report we produced that looked at the barriers to relationship fundraising (Rogare 2017). This report identifies barriers at different levels, with those at lower levels explaining/causing those above, e.g.:

A barrier to relationship fundraising is a failure to invest in long-term fundraising (insistence on short-term targets), which is explained/caused by...

... lack of understanding of professional fundraising, which is explained/caused by...

... lack of organisational culture of philanthropy, which is explained/caused by...

... fundraising not being seen as a profession, which is explained/caused by...

... many things, including the lack of a specified and required body of knowledge (and we have a separate line of enquiry that uses CR to uncover the mechanisms behind fundraising's lack of professionhood⁸ and how they can be activated to lead to greater professionalisation).

This is the approach we aim to take with our gender project – to look for the factors that have causal powers to shape the patriarchy in fundraising, and to help identify where and how we can best intervene to redress the balance by activating or suppressing certain causal powers.

Because what critical realism also tells us is that the patriarchy (see s3.6) is real – literally real; it's not just a social construct we have created, but something that exists independently of whatever we say or think about it. Just as there are mechanisms that keep

buildings standing, so there are mechanisms that keep the patriarchy standing. We uncover what those mechanisms are by asking realist questions about the thing the mechanism enables, be that the something physical such as the Empire State Building or something intangible but equally 'real' such as the laws of cricket, public trust in fundraising, or the patriarchy: why is it the way it is; could it be different; what else is needed for it to exist; what is it about the thing that enables it to do what it does?

So as you can now see, the discussion about the process of feminization in fundraising follows this approach by asking questions about the gender pay gap in fundraising: what is it, why is it the way it is, could it be different, what factors cause it to exist?

Elizabeth Dale points out that there are many female leaders in the nonprofit sector, but that they tend to lead smaller organisations (that pay less than bigger ones). And the 2019 AFP study confirms the disparity between men and women in leadership positions at larger organisations, and the effect this has on salaries (Association of Fundraising Professionals 2019).

In this case, it is not that men and women are being paid different rates to do the same job, as the male leaders of smaller organisations are (hopefully) being paid the same as their female counterparts. Instead, what the critical realist approach suggests is that the gender pay gap – in some contexts – may be an emergent phenomenon of a different set of institutional biases, namely those barriers that stand in the way of women taking up leadership roles at bigger organisations.

Now we come to the question of how we connect a critical realist approach to genuine action for change. That bridging mechanism is supplied by Lean Out feminism, as discussed by Ruby Bayley (2022) in s7 of this collection.

'We don't simply want to ameliorate the effects of the patriarchy to make it easier for women to get ahead in fundraising – or easier to get ahead only for those women with mentors or upskilled negotiating techniques. Our goal is not to improve the lot of female fundraisers by providing them with special assistance so they can compete on an equal footing with their male counterparts; it is to level the playing field so that no such special assistance is needed in the first place.'

6

Next step – a critical realist, Lean Out road map for change

As Ruby Bayley (2022) explains, Lean In and Lean Out are two competing schools of feminist thought in how to tackle the patriarchy and its effects.

Lean In recommends women taking more action themselves to get ahead, such as negotiating salary and benefits, not taking time out of the workplace (on maternity leave, for example), or being 'more assertive'. Lean In is therefore aiming to counteract the effects of the patriarchy, while leaving the structure largely intact.

Lean Out, by contrast, seeks to change the structure of the patriarchy so that the effects that both Lean Out and Lean In feminists are trying to ameliorate don't come about in the first place. Lean Out recommends overarching interventions at the policy level – such as the provision of paternity leave and flexible working, and changes in organisational culture to promote better work-life balance.

Critical realism, as a research methodology, is compatible with both Lean In and Lean Out. Both schools of feminist thought seek to respond to real events, and their responses result in new mechanisms (on the part of Lean In, these are things such as 'Lean In circles', or the Association of Fundraising Professional's Women's Mentoring and Development Program⁹ – one component of which is upskilling women to be able to negotiate a better salary¹⁰) that will become part of the complex causal web that impacts on the patriarchy in fundraising.

But for Rogare and the Gender Issues in Fundraising project team, we don't simply want to ameliorate the effects of the patriarchy to make it easier for women to get ahead in fundraising – or easier to get ahead only for those women with mentors or upskilled negotiating techniques. Our goal is not to improve the lot of female fundraisers by providing them with special assistance so they can compete on an equal footing with their male counterparts; it is to level the playing field so that no such special assistance is needed in the first place.

The gender pay gap for fundraising in the USA is about 10 per cent after controlling for factors such as educational level, organisational budget and job position (Association of Fundraising Professionals 2019). Is the way to close this 10 per cent gap by doing something such as upskilling women to more effectively negotiate their salaries (Lean In)? Or is it to bring about structural changes to HR processes so that salary negotiations are not such an important factor because, for example, more jobs are offered at fixed salary bands with transparent seniority increments in salary (Lean Out)?

This is not a rhetorical question. Upskilling women's negotiating positions may well be the best way to redress this balance (particularly in the USA), and/or it may have a significant contribution to make alongside other measures.

Lean In, however, appears to be the approach that many initiatives looking at these challenges are currently taking. So to complement these, we are going to come at this from the Lean Out perspective.

The next stage in this project will be to produce a critical realist-informed Lean Out road map of what we need to do in order to tackle and redress gender issues in fundraising. We'll aim to identify the core issues, what mechanisms are exerting causal powers on these issues, and how we might moderate or change those mechanisms or activate new mechanisms to make a difference. And we'll base this in the best evidence available. By doing so we're intending to turn slogans into outcomes.

We know this won't have an immediate and direct impact on gender issues in fundraising, things such as the pay gap, in the way some Lean In initiatives might have. But we'll be aiming to signpost those structural changes that can transform fundraising so that, hopefully, those Lean In initiatives won't be needed in the future. ●

8 <https://www.rogare.net/fundraising-profession>

9 <https://afpglobal.org/news/afp-launches-womens-mentoring-and-development-program>

10 <https://afpglobal.org/new-research-finds-gender-gap-persists-fundraising-salaries-identifies-key-factors-compensation>

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Suggested citation:

MacQuillin, I.R. (2022). A roadmap for structural change, in: Appleby, C. (ed). *Gender Issues in Fundraising. Phase 1: Understanding the Issues*. London: Rogare – The Fundraising Think Tank.

This article was first published on the *Critical Fundraising* blog on 6 October 2019 – <https://criticalfundraising.com/2019/10/06/new-ideas-gender-issues-in-fundraising-a-roadmap-for-structural-change/>

9

Next steps – creating the Lean Out road map

When I was talking recently to Rogare director Ian MacQuillin about Phase 1 of his project, he said to me he'd forgotten just how good the essays in this collection are. That's very nice of him considering that I'm one of the authors (as is he!).

But he is right. Everyone on of the contributions to this volume *is* excellent and I'd like to pay more own tribute to Caoileann Appleby who so ably led the first phase of this project. We set out to clarify some of the concepts and issues that are central to the challenges of understanding the gender issues in the fundraising profession. I think we have done just that and I now intended to use this as the jumping off point for Phase 2 of this project.

We did not originally intend to have such a long gap between the two phases and we did actually make a start on the second one. But we had some internal challenges at Rogare that I won't bore you with and then the Coronavirus pandemic intervened and we pushed this project down our priorities list so we could focus on others that more directly impacted on fundraising during the pandemic.

However, we're now ready to embark on the second phase, and we aim to have the first draft of the road map presenting solutions to challenges based on Lean Out feminism by the end of the 2022 Northern hemisphere summer.

This is the process we're going to follow:

- What is the problem/issue/challenge is that needs to be solved/fixed?
- What is the evidence that this is a problem/issue/challenge?
- What, if any, solutions are currently being presented? Are they Lean Out, Lean In or neither?
- What is the potential Lean Out solution (including evidence and theory that it will work)?
- What might be the barriers to implementing this solution and how might they be overcome?
- What is the project team's recommendation for implementing this solution in the fundraising profession?

I'm not yet entirely sure the format we'll use to publish our recommendations. It might be a series of blogs like we did for Phase 1 that we can collect into a companion volume like this one. It might be something else – perhaps something that looks like an actual map, or at least a pathway or flow chart or other type of graphic. We'll work that out as we go along.

But whatever we do and however we do this, I am confident it will be pretty good. Because we already have such a good foundation on which to build.

Heather Hill
Project leader for Phase 2

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Rogare - The Fundraising Think Tank CIC is a community interest company registered in the UK, registration number 11807930.

Rogare brand identity created by Rebecca Woodall at Bluefrog Fundraising.

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