UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

CHALLENGES THAT HINDER WOMEN FROM TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP POSITIONS: THE CASE OF KENYA'S ELECTRICAL TRADES AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION

BY
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2019
DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree or certificate in this or any other University.

Signature .................................. Date .....................................
Nadome, Ernest Nkenya
Reg:  C50/73627/2012

This project report has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

Signature ................................. Date .................................
Dr. Mike K. Chepkong’a,
Department of Sociology and Social Work.
DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to my wife and our lovely children for their constant love, support and encouragement; while I undertook this difficult but very rewarding academic journey, in spite of my demanding work schedule and frequent travels within and outside the country.

To my loving wife and our children, I want to express my sincere gratitude for your sacrifice, emotional support and understanding that kept me going during this fulfilling journey.

May the Almighty God richly bless you.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study has been a journey of hard work, sacrifice and immense dedication; and as this exciting experience comes to an end, I would like to appreciate a number of people without whom this research Paper would not have seen the light of day. Among them are Valentine Chepwogen and Hilda Nash both of whom were instrumental in the Literature Review and data collection phases of this study. The same goes to Phyllis Kiplagat, who meticulously proof-read and ensured that the work is of high academic quality. I also wish to extend a word of appreciation to my fellow students and lecturers who taught us in the Labour Relations Class, for moulding us into knowledgeable persons and more productive citizens of this great nation.

However, my deepest sense of gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr. Mike Chepkong’a, who consistently devoted many hours of work to panel beat my clumsy sentences and ideas into a coherent academic piece of work. I sincerely laud him for his constructive criticism, guidance, encouragement and enduring patience in the face of the numerous interruptions due to the demanding nature of my work.

A word of appreciation is also reserved for my dear family for their constant love, support and encouragement throughout the entire period of this study. I thank you all for bearing my prolonged periods of absence from the family fold.

Finally, I owe it all to God, my maker, for granting me protection, good health and mental fortitude to pursue this work to its logical conclusion.
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<tr>
<td>COSATU: Congress of South African Trade Union</td>
<td>Ghana’s Trade Union Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>GTUC: Ghana’s Trade Union Congress</td>
<td>Kenya's Electrical Trades and Allied Workers Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>KETAWU: Kenya's Electrical Trades and Allied Workers Union</td>
<td>Uganda’s National Union of Trade Unions</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOTU: Uganda’s National Union of Trade Unions</td>
<td>Trade Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>TU: Trade Union</td>
<td>Trade Union Congress</td>
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<td>TUC: Trade Union Congress</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK: United Kingdom</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<td>UNDP: United Nations Development Program</td>
<td>Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin</td>
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<td>KMO: Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin</td>
<td>Women’s Trade Union League</td>
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<td>WTUL: Women’s Trade Union League</td>
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ABSTRACT

Participation of men and women in all spheres of socio-economic and political development is a basic human right that is enshrined in all the international conventions and treaties that the Kenyan government is a signatory to. Consequently, the present study sought to explore challenges faced by women in ascending to leadership positions in the trade union movement in Kenya, with reference to KETAWU. The specific study objectives were to establish socio-cultural biases, stereotypes, and prejudices; role conflicts between domestic and office work; union policies, programmes, structures and organizational practices, that discourage women from vying for and/or holding trade union leadership positions. It also sought to identify strategies that can enhance their access to leadership positions in the trade union movement. The study employed specific research methodology to help answer the research questions. The study adopted a case study design since data were collected from a single source. Regarding data collection, survey and questionnaire were used as well as document review to obtain relevant literatures. The technique allowed the research to collect both qualitative and quantitative data from 63 female respondents who were identified using a non-probability sampling procedure referred to as snowballing where one participant would refer the research to another based on the experience, they had with leadership position at KETAWU. The subsequent responses were analyzed and presented using descriptive and inferential statistical techniques. The key findings obtained from the research support the study purpose. The research revealed that 70% of the respondents observed that patriarchal union structures favour men, but hinder women from accessing leadership positions. That 50% of respondents viewed the trade union leadership role as demanding and burdensome and therefore incompatible with their culturally designated family roles. That institutionalized sexism in the trade union discouraged 50% of the respondents from assuming leadership positions, since they are unlikely to penetrate the male dominated informal leadership lobbies and networks in the trade union. 68% of the respondents opined that skewed employment contracts tend to favour men but marginalized women in terms of power and ability to use for union leadership positions. It was therefore concluded that KETAWU and by extension the umbrella trade union movement, COTU, should adopt and implement affirmative actions that are aimed at maintaining women into union leadership structures. The study, therefore, recommended that trade unions managements should allocate more of its resources, namely, time, interest and finances to sensitization, training and gender mainstreaming activities.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study
Kenya is a signatory to the international treaties and conventions that require unlimited participation in development. Such inclusivity in development is a fundamental human right. The subsections of the conventions include non-discrimination based on gender (CEDAW, 1984); the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA, 2005) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs, 2000). Kenya and other nations have committed to adhere to gender equality and indiscriminative empowerment to stimulate participation in decision making, promoting access to power and development in order to achieve gender equality, peace, justice and development (Onyango, 2013). It is mandatory for all the signatories to institute institutions and tribunals to protecting women against discrimination by persons, organizations and/or enterprises (Onyango, 2013).

The socio-economic change taking place across the world requires equal participation of individuals regardless of gender in all spheres of social life, including trade unions. The pigeon-holing of certain positions and appointments based on gender has been overtaken by time and events and may not help trade unions in advancing their objectives. Concerning the trend Cox (2002) suggests that inclusivity of men and women in trade unions is key to effective negotiation for better wages and working conditions. Similarly, Gilpin (2000) adds that such participation is crucial for the regulation of relations between workers and employers, in addition to addressing the needs and concerns of all the workers.

The origin of Trade Unionism can be traced to the advent of the industrial revolution in Europe in the 19th century. However, here in Africa, Trade Unionism was adopted after the First World War, when returnee soldiers started agitating for better treatment, and improved terms and conditions of employment from their Colonial Masters (Kapstein, 2008). In Africa, Ghana was the first nation to permit the formation of trade unions in 1920. The country was followed by South Africa in 1922, Sierra Leone in 1926, Kenya, Uganda and Zambia in 1929 (Kapstein, 2008), to mention but a few.
In the UK and the US, Eagly, and Carli (2007) observe that women were first involved in TUs during the industrial revolution. At then, female workers and immigrants were drafted to work in large numbers in new industrial roles, thus prompting them to develop an interest in the TU movement as an avenue for improving their lot and working-class interests in general (Broughton and Miller, 2009). By so doing, they contributed greatly to the growth and enhancement of the economy.

In the United States Women’s Trade Union League (WTUL), comprising of both working and middle-class women, played an important role in supporting the massive strikes in the first two decades of the twentieth century, thus prompting the formation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (Kirton and Healy, 2008). They also actively campaigned for the full suffrage of female workers. WTUL is therefore credited for the upgrading of women's working conditions in the USA in the early 20th century (Therborn, 2014). In the UK, Trade Union Congress (TUC) comprising of 61 unions representing 6.4 million members had 30 percent women leadership (Therborn, 2014). In the US, women enrollment in TUs has increased significantly since the 1970s as stated by Hewlett and Luce (2005). However, despite the promising situation, men still dominate in top positions. For instance, among the nine major trade unions in the USA where female membership is perceived to be considerably high, the women comprise of only 24% of top leadership positions as suggested by Hewlett and Luce (2005).

A similar scenario of female under-representation in TU leadership is also evident in developing countries where studies conducted by among others: Andibo, 2012, Kraatz, 2010, Kirton and Healy, 2008, unanimously acknowledge that a "glass-ceiling" exists in the TU movement that locks out even qualified women from union leadership positions. Thus, resulting in the under-representation of women in TU leadership in both several developing countries. For instance, the proportion of female leadership in Ghana's Trade Union Congress (GTUC) was 20% in 1994; 42% in the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) in 2012; 37% in the Zimbabwe's Congress of Trade Unions in 2014; 30% in Uganda's National Union of Trade Unions (NOTU) in 2003 and 15% in 39 developing countries surveyed by ILO in the year 2015 (Kapstein, 2008).
However, nowhere has women's gross under-representation in the top ranks of TU leadership has been more glaring than in Kenya's Electrical Trades and Allied Workers Union (KETAWU), whereby women comprised of a paltry 3.1% of TU leadership positions in the year 1986.

1.2 Statement of the Problem
Data from Kenya Electrical and Trade Allied Workers Union (2012) suggests a huge gap between presentation of women and that of male union members. The statistics also show that out of 245 seats available for grab in different union office branches countrywide, only 49 presenting 20% of the positions were occupied by female members. Nonetheless, out of the 49 leadership positions, a substantial number (twelve) of the seats were specifically reserved for women, while only 9 top leadership position were being occupied by female union members.

The statistics presenting a significant gap of around 9:2 male to female ratio. The statistics is just a replica of other trade union in Kenya such as Kenya National Union of Teachers. Makabila (2011) observes that the only 34 females presenting 8% of the total members held leadership position in KNUT National advisory Council. Regardless of numerous efforts made and enacted in the Kenya Constitution as well as other international labour policies such as affirmative action, presentation of women in trade union leadership is well below the required threshold. The implication of this might suggest presence of diverse social problems that might be hampering women from participating in union leadership such as gender bias. However, there might be more to this than meets the eye. For instance, Onyango (2013) established a possibility of fewer female trade unionist contesting for leadership positions. In this regard, this study presumes that there might be numerous social issues affecting women leadership of trade union, which is noteworthy to be researched.

The proportion of women in every country’s population is about 50% but they continue to be globally marginalized in managerial roles (Kidwai, 2016). In view of this, women in Kenya account for about 48% of the population but the under-representation in leadership, especially in labour unions is common in Kenya. The current body of literature indicates that women make only 3.1% of trade union leadership (Njihia, 2002; LO/FTF Council, 2014). Then again, disproportionate representation of women in KETAWU contrasts sharply with key national
policy documents, such as Kenya's National Gender Policy for Development and Equality (2000), Session Paper Number 2 of 2006, Kenyan Constitution (2010), and the Labour Relations Act (2007); all of which advocate for equal participation of women and men in the fields of development, leadership, business, government and other aspects of public life.

Empirical analyses of the situation by Elkis (2007), Kirton & Healy (2008), Rogers (2003), Jafee and Caine (2008) give reasons for female under-representation in TU leadership. For the scholars, lack of self-confidence; limited union administration skills and education; inability to balance TU work and family responsibilities; fear of burn-out and stress from demanding union work schedules; fear of suspicion by their spouses due to odd working hours and frequent absence from home; male dominance and culture of Tus are the main reasons why women are underrepresented in the managerial roles. However, there is no empirical studies that affirm the explanations empirically in Kenya. Therefore, it is possible that the factors illuminate on the situation elsewhere, especially in first world countries since the majority of the studies originate there. The absence of empirical data supporting the reasons for under-representation of women in trade union leadership in Kenya and other developing nations calls for empirical testing for affirmation of the existing theories. With the study results from KETAWU, it is possible to confirm the most plausible hindrances for climbing of trade union leadership among as an avenue for addressing gender-related work issues accordingly.

1.2.1 Key Research Questions

i. Do personal and socio-demographic factors hinder women from seeking union leadership positions?

ii. What socio-cultural biases, prejudices, and stereotypes discourage women from seeking union leadership positions?

iii. Do union policies, programs, structure and practices constraint women from accessing leadership positions at KETAWU?

iv. What measures can facilitate unionized women to ascend to leadership positions in Trade Unions?
1.3 Objectives of the Study
The study was steered by the following objectives

1.3.1 Overall Objective
The overall objective of this study is to explore challenges faced by women in ascending to leadership positions in the trade union movement in Kenya, with reference to KETAWU.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives
The unique goals of the research are as follows:

i. To establish social-cultural biases, prejudices, and stereotypes that discourage women from seeking leadership positions in trade unions.

ii. To investigate the impact of role-conflict between domestic and office work in discouraging women from aspiring to become union leaders.

iii. To identify union policies, programs, structure and practices that constraint women from accessing leadership positions in KETAWU.

iv. To identify policies that are used to enhance women leadership in Trade Unions

1.4 Significance of the Study
In this era of sustained advocacy for gender parity, at the national and international levels, this study is important to TUs as it may enable them to evaluate their performance on aspects of gender equity and integration. It may also assist relevant government ministries to promote gender mainstreaming through increased involvement of women in trade union leadership and in labor policy and administration in general.

The proposed study will also help augment empirical information on trade union leadership in Kenya and more importantly, identify barriers that constrain women from accessing union leadership in order to address work-related gender issues more effectively. The study findings may also help to pinpoint measures for eliminating the identified barriers. Unions may also use the study findings to formulate policies and programmes for sensitizing unionized women on the constraints and the benefits of accessing union leadership, and by so doing tackle the problem of
female under-representation in the TU movement. The findings may also yield information that can be used by labour activists in advocacy campaigns for attracting more women to the TU. Scholars may also use the study findings as a basis for further investigation and researches on women leadership in the TU movement. Finally, the study recommendations may facilitate unionized women to “break the glass ceiling” by motivating them to address female work-related issues from a stronger position.

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study
This study focused on barriers that hinder females’ entrance to leadership positions in trade unions. Factors under consideration include socio-cultural biases, prejudices, stereotypes; role-conflict between domestic and office work, union policies, programs, structure and practices that constraint women from accessing leadership positions. Though, there are various trade unions in the country the study was restricted to KETAWU, which draws most members from Kenya Power.

The unit of analysis for the study are female employees of Kenya Power who are currently or were previously in TU leadership, as well as unsuccessful female leadership aspirants. The study is limited to Kenya Power and its affiliate union, KETAWU, hence the study findings might only be applicable to the case study and other similar unions. Given that the study will be conducted with a focus on KETAWU, oversimplifications of the study findings may be rather limited. Nonetheless, might still be illuminative.

1.6 Definition of Key Terms and Concepts

**Barriers:** These are the obstacles or challenges that hinder women from becoming leaders in the trade union movements

**Leadership position:** This is the position given to a person in order to lead through providing vision and meaning and influencing people towards a specific goal or objective

**Trade union:** An organization formed by employees that acts collectively to protect and promote employees’ welfare and interests
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Kenya Power:</strong></th>
<th>This is the Kenya Power and Lighting Company (KPLC), which is involved in the transmission and distribution of electricity in Kenya</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>KETAWU:</strong></td>
<td>Kenya Electrical Trade and Allied Workers Union (KETAWU) which draws its members from employees in the energy sector including the Kenya Power and Lighting Company (KPLC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social-cultural biases:</strong></td>
<td>The perceptions and standards inherent to one’s culture that is used in judging of one’s behavior and character.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prejudices/Stereotypes:</strong></td>
<td>Preconceived opinion or ideas of women in leadership positions that are not based on reason or actual experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Role-conflict:</strong></td>
<td>The situation where the women are expected to carry out two incompatible roles.</td>
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CHAPTER TWO
THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction
In this chapter there is a detailed overview of trade unionism in Kenya; a thematic review of the literature and the theoretical framework. It also presents and describes the relationships between the variables that are specified in the Conceptual Framework.

2.2 Overview of Trade Unionism
A Trade Union (TU) refers to an association or combination of six or more workers, in one or more occupations, for purposes of improving the member’s welfare by regulating the correlation between the workers and their employers (Andibo, 2012). Accordingly, TUs have a significant impact on the workers’ wages, benefits and working conditions (Eagly and Carli, 2007). There are various types of TUs, representing different trades, crafts, and industrial skills. Crafts unions represent skilled workers such as masons, carpenters, welders, turners, among others. Industrial unions represent non-skilled industrial workers that cannot be defined as a craft or industry, e.g. Building, construction, timber, furniture, and allied trades. Lastly, occupational union comprises of organised, technical, clerical, professional, supervisory and managerial staff. This excludes employees of essential services, such as health, water and sanitation, electricity and financial services, among others.

The TU movement in Kenya predates independence and has its origins in the 1940s. Its emergence may be attributed mainly to the exploitative working relations between the Kenyan workers and the colonial employers; and the rising political consciousness and the awareness of workers’ rights during the post WW2 era. Thus, union activity is therefore borne out of a direct confrontation between workers and employers or collusion between the workers and political activists in Kenya during the period before independence (Hannan, 2012). The first formal unions came into being in the 1940s following the enactment of the 1937 Trade Unions' Ordinance by the British Government. This Ordinance stipulated the conditions under which Africans could organize themselves in trade unions (Hannan, 2012). Following the publication of the ordinance, three unions were registered in Kenya by the Registrar of Trade Unions, namely: East African Standard Union, East African Standard Staff Union and the Labor Trade union of
East Africa. By the end of the 1940s, the number of registered unions had risen from the initial 3 to 6. However, following the Mau-Mau uprising that lasted through the 1950s, several unions came up, with the majority of them embracing political activism and agitation for independence, thus pushing the core worker issues to the backburner (Nwobodo, 2008).

By the time Kenya had gained independence in 1963, Kenya had 52 TUs representing 155,000 workers. With this number of unions, the newly independent Kenya Government found it necessary to form an umbrella body to coordinate union activities in a centralized manner. The Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU (K)) came into being in 1965 following the amalgamation of two umbrella unions, namely the Kenya Federation of Labour (KFL) and the African Workers’ Congress (AWC). Up to date, COTU remains to be the main national trade union that is allied to the International Trade Unions Confederation (ITUC-Africa) with about 300,000 workers by 2010 (Registrar of Trade Unions 2010). In addition to serving the affiliated unions, COTU is instrumental in the formulation of the national labour policy (Bezbaruah, 2016).

Although there is minimal government intervention in the administration of COTU and its affiliated unions, recent amendments in Kenya’s Industrial Relations Act, has significantly opened the door for rival umbrella TU namely Trade Union Congress of Kenya (TUC-K) whose affiliates includes: UKCS, UNTESU, UASU and KUSU among others.

2.3 Trade Union Leadership and Gender

Onyango, (2013) describe how the qualitative differences between the normative roles of men and women affect their leadership behavior and outcomes. According to the scholars, the status difference between men and women can be illustrated using socio-demographic factors. The attribute is the most profound status marker influencing social discernments, observations, and individual appraisals including female capabilities to become organizers and leaders (Aledejana and Aledejana, 2005). The perception is responsible for the differentiated leadership outcomes between men and women. Conventionally, high status and privilege are ascribed to males. Consequently, gender has an upper hand in taking leadership roles due to the congruence of their
socio-cultural gender expectations and status (De la Rey 2005). As women occupy a lower status, they enjoy fewer privileges in both the workplace and society (Andibo, 2012).

In view of this, Eagly and Carli (2007) allege that women are linked with feminine qualities such as compassion treatment of others while men are associated with assertiveness and control. Traditional African societies expect women to be increasingly nurturing, pleasant, gentle, compassionate, soft-spoken, warm, yielding, selfless, and dependent. On the other hand, men are socialized to be ambitious, aggressive, dominant, self-reliant, strong, individualistic and independent (Hewlett and Luce, 2005). These female attributes are inconsistent with what is expected of a leader. Other structural barriers to female union and leadership, in general, include hiring and promotion practices inadequate opportunities for mentorship by female role models and upward mobility, the perceived mismatch between the traits of a leader and those of an incompatibility between union workload and domestic chores (Andibo, 2012).

However, despite the numerous barriers, women have attained some measure of success in the last few decades, although they still hold fewer leadership positions than men in labour unions, business, government, and nonprofit organizations (Eagly & Carli, 2007). They do not also receive equal pay for equal work as men This status quo obtains in several countries even after the ratification of ILO’s Equal Opportunity Legislation and long after the international feminist movements have ushered in a crop of achievement-oriented and highly talented women (Nwobodo, 2008).

2.4 Socio-cultural Barriers against Women Leadership in Trade Unions
Stereotypes regarding the "appropriate" behavior for women exist. Examples include the assumptions that women are difficult to organize; that they are more concerned with family issues rather than their jobs or unions and that they lack self-confidence and therefore underestimate their ability to be union officers (Andibo, 2012). These stereotypes, therefore, portray women as deficient of qualities of effective leadership, which in turn creates false notion inferiority to men in top-level managerial roles (Osiruemu, 2004). In most workplaces, such demeaning stereotypes are harmful to women since they limit their likelihood to rise in the corporate ladder. That said, there is a perfect alignment between the male’s stereotypical traits
with the qualities expected of a typical leader or CEO of the company. The gender typecasts attributing attitudes such as sympathy, emotionalism, and “caregiving” behaviors to females while depicting males as increasingly aggressive and rational influence the rise of women to top union leadership positions (Moran, 2012).

On their part, Feminists attribute the roots of gender inequalities to patriarchal norms, capitalist ideology, and unwritten social structures, all of which are supportive of an unequal gendered division of labor in private and public life (Hausmann, 2009). This division determines and limits choices and opportunities for women to participate fully and effectively in leadership (Tomlinson, 2005). This marginalization socializes women to allow men to sit on committees that make policy decisions affecting the women's lives (Robbins, 2003). Thus, being a union official is likely to be perceived as a male "job", hence most women are reluctant to support other women for union leadership roles. The root of the problem can be traced to early industrialization, which produced different experiences for both women and men. Stereotypes emerged where men were seen as breadwinners and women as economically non-productive dependents (Ridgeway, 2001).

In Zimbabwe, Hannan (2012) found out that there is discrimination in terms of employment opportunities in spite of the domestication of the ILO’s Labor Relations Act. There remain inequalities in wages, training for skilled work, promotion and of access to loans and credit facilities. Ironically the affected women were not aggressive enough in their pursuit of labour rights and privileges. Feminists' scholars opine that women’s’ entry in unions differs from men due to workplace locations and their household tasks (Sicherman, 2005). They question the rationale that designates women certain roles in society and not others (Broughton and Miller, 2009). They have also averred that the labour market is highly segregated along gender lines to the disadvantage of women. This situation calls for interventions that seek to address the identified gender disparities.

Culturally, several domestic chores are reserved for women (Broughton and Miller, 2009). Much of their time is, therefore, spend on family-related duties like child care, cooking, cleaning, and shopping, thus limiting their access to management work (Therborn, 2014). In fact, empirical
findings by (Onyango, 2013) shows that few women are willing to be transferred away from their homes for fear that their families will not function well without them. This makes most women forfeit their promotional positions to men. Quite often a woman’s occupational life is interrupted by marriage and maternity and often upon return from maternity leave, they are likely to be termed as old, in a work environment where youth is considered to be synonymous with adaptability and resourcefulness (Fisk, 2007).

In Nigeria, for instance, the gender role and responsibility differentiation yield inequality and non-complementariness leading to a hierarchical set up of high appreciation of male activities and attributes. Consequently, males tend to be accorded a higher status than females (Osiruemu, 2004). The argument supports the popular cultural myth that males are superior and stronger than women, hence, make the best decisions makers while women are passive and indecisive even in making personal choices (Paavo, 2006). This tends to support an institutionalized culture of male dominance and female insubordination. Furthermore, the patriarchal African societies attached more value to male children than the female ones (Hannan, 2012). Per se, males were enhanced with the social anticipation for achievement in public life. The children were more encouraged and groomed to encounter different prospects than their female counterparts (Osiruemu, 2004). That being said, the societies socialized female children for domestic chores, marriage, and motherhood. This patriarchy in the African societies, therefore, tended to create a situation whereby men frowned upon women leadership (Onyango, 2013).

Implicitly, the patriarchal structure of the union’s acts as a key restriction impeding the effective participation of the women in the TU movement (Simpson, Patricia, and Kaminsky, 2003). Most of TUs are structured to function around male superiority (Kirton, 2006). Thus, the tailoring of legislation of establishing unions, functioning, holding of meetings and activities suits male official, thereby making it impossible for women to play an active role in them (Onyango, 2013). Fisk (2007) refers to the attribute as the ‘male-controlled philosophy ‘of the unions negating women’s equal participation. Similar to Nigeria, societal norms in other African states hinder women from becoming a leader as far as work-related terms and conditions of employment are concerned (Onyango, 2013).
2.5 Role Conflict and Union Leadership among Women

The other factor that obstructs equal participation of women in TU leadership is role conflict between the traditional roles ascribed to their gender and demands of formal occupations and union activities. Debate on how family and domestic responsibilities impact on women’s paid employment and participation in public life is historical as it is relevant. The greater part of a woman’s time is spent performing duties like child care, cooking, cleaning, and shopping. They shoulder the greatest share of family-related work which interferes with their access to management and/or union work (Onyango, 2013).

Females’ ‘time poverty’ is, therefore, a notion that is frequently utilised in relation to them since paid and domestic work constitute a ‘double burden’. Thus, TU involvement (as well as other such voluntary activities) amounts to another ‘burden’ for several women (Kirton, 2006). Even women executives and professionals are underprivileged in the job market due to their status as potential or actual mothers (Onyango, 2013). Thus lending credence to the adage that: “the hands that rock the cradle cannot rock the boardroom” (Kirton, 2006). However, without downplaying the importance of women’s insufficiency, recent researches on working women by among others (Eagly and Karau, 2007), content that domestic gender associations are traversable at the level of the individual’s home such that, some women participate in union activities against the odds and do not regard TU participation as a ‘burden’. Though, perhaps as a ‘lifeline’ or a way to a better and fulfilling life (Njihia, 2002).

In their study, on the incorporation of women in the industrial workforce in South Africa, Jafee and Caine (2008) found that women's involvement in TU activities had caused conflict with their spouses, who often viewed their participation with suspicion. This is usually worsened by the frequency of traveling that union officials have to create time schedules for their meetings. More often than not, meetings are scheduled after working hours and may run late into the night and are sometimes held in places that are not “conducive” to women e.g. bars. Thus, given the timings, venues, and obligations of union officials, women are likely to find it difficult to balance work and family responsibilities. This is often made worse by a non-supportive spouse (Nwobodo, 2008).
2.6 Structural Constraints against Women Leadership in Trade Unions

The labour movement is constituted largely by men, thus the culture of the movement and union leadership, in general, is historically masculine. As a result, the institutionalized sexism of the labor market is reflected in the sexual disadvantage of women within TUs. This, therefore, calls into question the TUs' ability to manage diversity among their members (Nwobodo, 2008). It is argued that organizational structures, processes, and practices are linked with hegemonic machismo and the corresponding values, norms and ideologies which effectively bar numerous women from equal participation in management (Kellerman, Rhode and O'Connor, 2007).

Thus entrenched union policies and structures tend to be inconducive to women's involvement and career progression to a leadership position (Njihia, 2002). A study by Njihia (2002), on the problems Kenyan women face as far as TU participation and the extent to which women-specific issues have been addressed identified barriers that women face. Among them are employment contracts which bar women from joining TUs, and the lack of recognition agreements between their employers and the TUs. It was also observed that the majority female aspirants are unable to raise the fees that are required from TU contestants. Furthermore, Rogers (2004) identified several barriers to female union leadership, namely: family time constraints; lack of self-confidence; lack of union education; fear of burn out and stress from frequent travels; lack of skills about union structure and how to run an office; and fear of reprisal from either the male-dominated union leadership and/or the spouse. This comes as no surprise since women are clustered in positions of low rank and little power in their unions. They are also unlikely to be sent to educational conference or training workshops. Hence, unless the organization or a more powerful union official is willing to mentor them, they cannot gain the requisite skills and contacts to seek top union leadership positions (Nwobodo, 2008).

In a research comparing unionized and non-unionized factories in Nigeria, Nwobodo (2008) found that in a unionized factory, women lacked the confidence to become union members and aspire to become leaders as a result of informal nomination processes and selection for leadership that are largely contingent to well-established male networks. The male conquered culture, activities of the union as well as the hostile reactions by male members tends to discourage women from joining unions. Women find themselves discouraged from becoming
union officials because they are quietened during union debates, obstructed from being appointed to key positions or left out during election (ILO & ICFTU, 2000). The idea is in line with Pittin (1984), which revealed that gender discrimination is a tool for men to advance or hold onto their privileged and powerful positions.

A survey conducted by the ILO and ICFTU (2000), established women do not enroll in TUs or aspire for leadership positions because of a male-dominated culture as well as the TU activities and aggressive reaction from male members. Further, lack confidence from women to either join unions or aspire to union leadership. Furthermore, women are often frustrated since they find it difficult to break through the informal networks. There is evidence showing that women feel that men ignore their issues and problems, are sexually harassed physically or through sexist language and/or generally unsupported for leadership positions (Njihia, 2002). It is therefore evident that, the "glass ceiling" existing in the corporate world blocks women regardless of qualifications from positions of power, also exists in TUs. This glass ceiling consists of manmade hindrances of attitudinal or organizational bias that thwart the women’s advancement into managerial positions in TUs (Kirton and Healy, 2008).

2.7 Policies for Enhancing TU Leadership by Women

Despite being equal to men in terms of the world’s population, women are nowhere near half of the decision-making structures. Various governments have consequently adopted the necessary rhetoric and affirmative actions that are necessary for gender balance in leadership. However, the threshold of 30 percent advocated by the UNDP Report (1999) as a prelude to the 50 percent proportion of leaders generally remains but a pipe dream for women. Eagly and Carli (2007) therefore observe more problems concerning ascendance to leadership in women than men. They compare the female path with a labyrinth or maze and establish meanders dead ends, and unanticipated impediments and conclude that overcoming the challenges to create a balance between the two sexes requires a blend of different policies including:

2.7.1 Gender Mainstreaming

For the previous decade, gender mainstreaming has emerged to be more visible. The aspect stresses the role of guidelines and institutions in attaining gender parity. It is these constructions
that shape how society lives (Mazel, 2001). As gender mainstreaming involves a systems-based model, its influence on gender parity is viewed as having much more probable than other approaches (Njihia, 2002). The notion of gender realignment initially happened Nairobi for the international texts in 1985 at the UN Third Conference on Women. It was held up to integrate women and their values into development Work. The term was legitimized by the Platform for Action at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The United Nations enticed its member states to embrace a gender parity aspect in all policies and programs.

2.7.2 Models of Leadership Development

Leadership development approaches facilitate the identification of situations in which current union leaders of both sexes act to increase the number of female union leaders. Kaminski & Yakura, (2008), grouped numerous intervention strategies to correspond to the four-stage model. Also, as concurred by numerous authors such as Eagly and Carli (2007) as well the Institute for Women’s Policy Research (2007). The interventions strategies comprised the following:

2.7.2.1 First Stage: Finding Your Voice

The stage aims at encouraging participation and ensuring that the new members feel that her voice is recognized by the union. It is the initial stage that undertakes that the prospective leader is relatively new or a person that can gain by socialising with the values and norms of the current circumstance (Kwesiga & Bell, 2004). Local leaders (agents and officers) can be pivotal in increasing member activity with the union affairs at this stage. For example, when executives approach the silent female member and request her to give her opinion, he confirms that the member’s voice is significant. Persistent interactions enable leaders to convince the inactive participant to undertake an official role in the trade union. Besides one-on-one working relationships, union leaders can create a highly inclusive and participative setting that differs significantly from the traditional culture of gender dominance (Hausmann, 2009). Creation of a culture that allows workers from the divergent backgrounds to voice their concerns freely is key to the creation of feelings on nondiscrimination based on gender ignored. All attempts made to reach out to new members at a personal level can foster an increasingly inclusive and welcoming environment that is different from the traditional adversarial one.
2.7.2.2 Second Stage: Developing Basic Skills

There are numerous useful tactics for enabling women to develop primary skills, namely: teaching, mentoring, and cohort establishment.

Training and Developing Women and Minorities

Union headship requires people with practical skills in contract and labor policies, not to mention conflict resolution. It is important to note that managerial and contracting approaches can disappoint some workers, hence proper relational skills, such as properly dealing with upset people is vital for union workers. Other abilities that are essential in the positions include public discourse, one-on-one deployment, and administrative skills. It is possible for some of the beginning activists to possess some of the abilities naturally, but there is no person that is excellent in everything. That is to say, most people require training to facilitate their mastery of important skills. Since females tend to have reduced access to such training, schools can create programs aimed at giving the women the opportunity to acquire such important skills. Unions can also create programs that are tailored to equip women with such skills as well.

Create a Cohort/Peer Group

Union campaigners in the second phase can create peer learning groups. For instance, a large local union can hold workshops for freshly nominated agents and teach them about ways of handling grievances and mobilizing members while international union can create a regiment of freshly nominated local union representatives. Creation of such sets of peers that can facilitate the regular meeting and addressing similar issues. The networks can support the delivery of both technical and social support in the future. Women could benefit from being members of a mixed-gender cohort, but a new leading women cohort is likely to be more effective. Melcher (2008) describes a Massachusetts that utilized the strategy. The organization purposely sent a group of women to management training simultaneously. The members of the group ended up forming a robust bond, unified working, and supporting each other as several of its members underwent upward mobility in union leadership.
Generate and Preserve Mentoring Programs

Effective mentoring supports leadership development for people of all genders (de Vries, Webb, & Eveline, 2006). A broad body of research indicates that a careful selection and training of mentors benefits both the mentor and the protégé. Mentors understand the needs and demands of their mentees and allow for the airing of helpful suggestions for improvements (Higgins & Kram, 2001). On the other hand, providing opportunities for connections and networking among leaders facilitate garnering of the support needed for building confidence and countering adverse gender assumptions encountered in the leadership journey (Chesterman, Ross-Smith, & Peters, 2005).

2.7.2.3 Third Stage: Figuring Out the Politics

In the third stage, there is an emphasis on improving comprehension of the organizational setting and arrangement of power. Similar to the previous stages, mentoring is the most critical approach to enhancing this stage. The other approaches that organizations can utilize to develop women leaders are allocating roles and increasing their chances in the wider labor movement.

Create and Maintain Mentoring Programs

The third stage entails mentorship that enables women to understand the power structures and ways of accomplishing goals within it. Despite the higher effectiveness of the informal (or naturally occurring) mentoring than formal mentoring programs, it poses a challenge to mentoring members of certain groups. Though, the formal mentoring program ensures more inclusion of women and people of color in the mentoring process.

Offer Appropriate Roles

Genuine promotion of women entails a shift from dragging women into demeaning roles (Burke & Vinni-combe, 2005). Eagly and Carli (2007) discourage giving women less demanding and lowly-desirable projects, especially routine ones that do not result in the promotion of the doer. The females are also offered prestigious assignments when businesses are experiencing a downturn. Under such circumstances, the likelihood of failure is significantly high (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). Giving women tasks such as recording secretaries and chairing party and picnic organizing committees while giving tasks such as organizing new members to men reduces
chances of the accession of women to top positions. Offering equal opportunities in grievance management, negotiation of contracts, and arranging, and acting as incumbent leaders can inspire them. Additionally, training aspiring women leaders and offering public support to women in the highest-ranking positions encourage others to compete with men for the high ranks in the unions.

Offer Chances in the Wider Labor Movement
TU activists that join external programs and events gain insight into the most appropriate ways of running unions. By exposing people to the operations of other unions, both local and international unions, comprehend commonality and uniqueness of different trade unions and their uniqueness. They also learn ways of other people, particularly females grow in terms of career. In different political structures.

2.7.2.4 Fourth Stage: Set Your Own Agenda
The likelihood of women to rise to high ranks of a union is low. The main interventions in the stage where only a few rises to the top is minimizing tokenism and instituting changes that increase the proportion of women that rise to leadership level and helping new arrivals stay in their positions.

Reduce Tokenism
The few women at the top encounter emotional pressure. As Bezbaruah (2016) notes, an imbalance in the representation of a group creates has its own problems. Under such circumstances, Chesterman & Ross-Smith, (2006) and Kidwai, (2016) assert that the woman might feel obliged to represent all women or perceive the efforts as futility and begin to seek self-gratification through personal representation, leading to a decline of women that are promoted. Creating committees whose membership is primarily women in committees can be helpful in countering the issue in three methods. First, there is a probability that the committee tone will be more favorable to women in leadership roles and increase the level of teamwork and collegiality (Ross-Smith, Chesterman, & Peters, 2005). Secondly, having numerous women memberships can make their male counterparts to perceive each woman as a person, rather than as the stand-in for the entire women, which can challenge the traditional gender stereotypes and misconceptions as suggested by Yates, (2006), since there is enough evidence showing that
gendered assumptions shape the behavior of both sizes (Ridgeway, 2001). Thirdly, when discussing issues affecting males and females distinctively, a higher women representation in committee enhances increased hearing and reduced dismissal of women’s views.

*Sustain Commitment through Institutional Interventions*

The pressure and challenges that union leaders are forced to face lead to stress that reduces performance. The pressure is higher for females since the increased visibility associated with the high ranks encompasses higher self and other member expectations. The issue can be counteracted first by debates and workshops addressing the anxieties and emotional strain for women leaders. Additional, promulgating change policies that would address aspects of gender prejudice can be essential in reducing the feelings of being “misfits” among females who are union leaders.

Available literature on this topic as well as the ones discussed above highlights numerous information on issues affecting female in trade union leadership. However, there are notable gaps that emerge from these readings, which seem to have reduced these literatures to imply that issues facing women in union leadership is more of gender-based attributes than socio-cultural, and economic factors as well as personal traits. Therefore, this study seeks to use the gaps in these literatures to explore socio, cultural factors, institutional policies and personal attributes of female gender towards leadership in trade union.

2.8 Theoretical Framework

2.8.1 Theory of Patriarchy

Patriarchy is referred as a form of social structure in which the father is the supreme authority in the family, clan or tribe and descent and inheritance are reckoned in the male line, with children belonging to the father’s clan. Other definitions include a social system in which the father is the head of the family and men have authority over women children and family, community or society based on this system or governed by men (Andibo, 2012). It may also be understood as the control by men of a disproportionately large share of power (Summers, 2003).
Kraatz, (2010) identified six types of patriarchal relations namely: sexuality, the household, male violence on female, paid employment, cultural institutions, and the state. All these are not a mutually exclusive manifestation of female exploitation. For example, a majority of Third World states tolerate violence against women within the household. The perception of patriarchy is usually utilised by extension to denote to the belief that men undertake primary obligation for the welfare of the household as well as the community at large. Patriarchy is a lens that keeps certain things out of focus. It is a system of arbitrary values masquerading as the natural and right order of things. It defines men as the standard of humanity and women as something slightly less than that and therefore robs us all our full humanity (Andibo, 2012).

The patriarchal setting of unions is consequently viewed as main constraint impeding effective involvement of women in the TU movement. The situation insinuates that Trade Unions are organized and operationalized based on male dominance (Hannan, 2001). Implying that the lawmaking process, functions, conferences such as meetings as well as other union activities are frequently designed to favour the male members. Further, since most TUs are formed with an assumption that it is males who are supposed to be on the helm of male leadership, most women face numerous challenges of assuming active roles. The roles that women could even perform. Therefore, this situation of affairs can be associated with what Bezbaruah (2016) who refers it to as the male-controlled philosophy of the unions, which denies women’s involvement.

2.8.2 Gender Role Theory
Gender refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male or female and the relationship between men and women, girls and boys (Hannan, 2001). The attributes, opportunities, and relationships are socially constructed and are learnt through the socialization process. Hannan (2001) further explains that gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context. In other words, gender refers to roles, responsibilities, opportunities, privileges, and expectations ascribed to males and female by society. A gender role, therefore, is a set of social and behavioral norms that are generally considered appropriate for either a man or a woman in a social or interpersonal relationship.
The role theory uses gender stereotypes and gender role socialization as explanatory concepts (Broughton and Miller, 2009). Stereotypes are descriptive shortcuts applied to categories of people, women, and men, blacks and whites, poor and rich. They rest on oversimplified generalizations leading to categorized judgments about people. Although stereotypes may often be based on a grain of truth, in reality, they more often conceal than they reveal. Gender stereotypes are based on the assumption that women lack the attributes, abilities, skill, and motivation required for leadership roles (Broughton and Miller, 2009). The stereotypes imply that with respect to leadership abilities, men are better and fit for the leadership role than women. Women are associated with communal qualities which convey a concern for the passionate treatment of others.

The qualities consist of being especially affectionate, helpful, friendly, kind and sympathetic as well, as interpersonally sensitive, gentle and soft-spoken (Eagly and Carli, 2007). Behaviors such as emotionality, dependency, and sensitivity associated with female gender stereotypes are perceived as incompatible with requirements for leadership. Men are linked to agentic attributes that convey assertion and control. The qualities comprise being aggressive, dominant, ruthless, confident, influential as well as dependent and individualistic. These agentic qualities are also connected, in minds of most individuals, with effective management (Eagly & Carli, 2001), possibly because of a lengthy history of male control of trade union leadership. The historical domination of made has made it challenging to separate the leadership qualities and the male qualities of association. The gender stereotypes maintain that the attributes and behaviors typically ascribed to women are the opposite of what is expected of a leader. Moreover, these commonly held stereotypes imply that women who want to be successful leaders should adopt manlike qualities and learn to lead like men (Broughton and Miller, 2009). The situation facilitates the guilt of gender role incongruence. The concept of gender role congruence refers to the extent to which leaders behave in a manner that is consistent with gender role expectations (Ridgeway, 2001). According to the gender role theory, prejudice can arise from the relations that people perceive between the characteristics of members of a social group and the requirements of the social roles that group members occupy or aspire to occupy (Eagly & Karau, 2002).
In the case of women and leadership, the prejudice towards female leaders follows from the incongruity that people perceive between the characteristics of women and the requirements of leadership roles. People feel that female gender roles are not similar to leadership roles. The gender role theory posits that leader behavior consistent with gender stereotype is more positively related to follower satisfaction than is leader behavior incongruent with gender stereotypes (Ridgeway, 2001). Considerate leader behavior which is more consistent with female stereotypes is predicted to correlate positively with subordinates’ satisfaction with female leaders, whereas initiating structure, a style associated with male stereotype is positively associated with subordinate’s satisfaction for male leaders. The qualifications and accomplishments of women notwithstanding, once women have attained positions of leadership, they are often anticipated to conduct themselves like men, rather than using their unique abilities and perspectives in their new roles. Broughton and Miller (2009) speculated that the casts of sex roles are influential in the absence of women in leadership positions. The labels are based on historical roles assigned to genders and contain bias against women. They also present a major challenge for women that are leaders.

2.8.3 Anarchist Feminism Theory
The anarchist feminist theory demonstrates the prevalent social impact of gender divisions with the goal of creating an understanding of the oppression and subordination of women that is aided by different societal constructs. The perspective evaluates gender treatments and concludes that both sexes have an equal likelihood of developing personally under similar conditions. The perceived differences in the realization of potential emanate from externally imposed constraints, especially the established social institutions and values (Aledejana, F. & Aledejana, 2005).

Feminists question the essentialist view of women that designates them to certain roles in society and not others. They have also described the labor market as being highly segregated along gender lines to the disadvantage of women. Feminism like other theoretical frameworks has different schools of thought such as radical feminism, socialist feminism, Marxist feminism, liberal feminism, third world feminism and black feminism (Kraatz, 2010).
The perspective conceived in this study locates the roots of gender inequities in patriarchal and capitalist ideologies and within structures of society, which result in an unequal and gendered division of labor in private and public life. The division determines and limits the choices and opportunities of women to participate fully and effectively in public decision-making capacities (Aledejana, F. & Aledejana, 2005). The feminist perspective starts with the premise that "females joins unions quite unique as compared to men since of their workplace locations and their household chores and these differences present a profound challenge to male based union practice. But feminist research has had little influence on mainstream industrial relations thinking. Though, feminist scholarship has redesigned the social sciences, it has also unpredictably created a few inroads into the realm of industrial relations (Wajcman, 2000).

The feminist theory acknowledges the universal influence of gender segregation on social life and attempts to recognize women’s persecution and the arrangements in society that advocate this form of oppression and subordination. The feminist perspective asserts that males and females have the same probably for individual development. Therefore, the variance towards grasping of such acumen might be as a result of externally imposed constraints as well as the social institutions and values influence (Hausmann, 2009).

This theory is applicable to the study as it tends to illuminate the reasons behind the fewer numbers of women in a union leadership position. Feminists mention three broad perspectives in an attempt to expand the low participation of women from leadership. The first perspective is the personal factors; which consist of psychological attributes such as personality attributes, attitudes and behavioral skills of women themselves. Further, they say lack of self-esteem and self-confidence, lack of motivation to accept challenges are to blame for women’s predicament. Women have a low potential for leadership, they are less assertive, have less emotional stability and they lack the ability to handle crises (Hausmann, 2009). Though, women also have a positive side made up of loyalty and trustworthiness which can aid them to ascend to leadership. Besides, there are aspects of structural or institutional factors. Women find themselves in an underprivileged position in the organization structure, and this has tended to shape their destiny. They are few and far between; they wield little power and have inadequate access to resources. The remedy, therefore, is to eradicate inappropriate discrimination in institutional policies and
practices. Male resistance to women in leadership positions, absence of policies and legislation to ensure the participation of women and limited opportunities for leadership training are but just to mention a few factors (Bezbaruah, 2016).

The last viewpoint is the one documented by Smulders (1998). The social structure of gender and the assignment of particular roles, duties, and prospects to men and women is the crux of the matter, in this case, she says. The gender-based roles, inappropriate to the workplaces, are forwarded to the workplace and continuously practiced since the workers involved, both the senior and the subordinate subjected to social and organizational reality. The cultural aspects also spearhead the orthodox views about women’s capability within the cultural setting. Also, the perception that leadership is a preserve for men demotes women to secondary roles. The emphasis has reduced women’s roles to housekeepers, mothers, and caregivers.

**Affirmative Action Theory**

The approach of affirmative action asserts that allegiance to fair and equal access to opportunity coupled with blocking of cumulative inequalities is a sign of civility (Hellmers, 1998). To the theorists, the basis of affirmative actions are social inequalities that have a significant impact on the societal and self-perception of the affected groups. The stereotypes that exist perpetuate power asymmetries that leave some societal groups at a disadvantage (Eberhardt & Fiske, 1994). A society that braces such stereotypes expresses suspicions regarding the ability of the recipients to fit in their job placements and promotion. The powerless are more likely to receive negative evaluations and less likely to receive help. Concerning this, the inability of women to rise in the trade union ranks can be viewed as an inequality in the society with women as the primary victims. The societal views about women causes suspicion about the ability for the women to perform in the highly-ranking position of the trade unions. Therefore, is critical to assess the ambiguities of the societal beliefs that are the major causes of the phenomenon to reduce the power asymmetries that have a significant adverse impact on the women.

**Standpoint (Lobbyist) Theory**

Lobbying is the art of influencing the actions, decisions and policies of legislator’s and regulatory agencies’ members (Ben-Dov & Shilony, 1982). Ordinarily, a lobbyist emphasizes
that he supports the ideas of his audience. If a person can convince a delegate to vote against something before the beginning of the debate, he achieves a tremendous advantage since he has a strong political influence during a debate. Lobbyist theory emphasizes on determining the most powerful, important or key figures in a debate and seeks it minimize his effort by selecting the approach that favors and promotes his decision. It encompasses capitalizing on the priori power that a member of the decision-making body has with limited resources without considering the opinions of other members. In this research, a lobbyist element is incorporated since there is a challenge of the existing ideas about women’s position in the trade union leadership. It also involves an attempt to influence key decision-makers to formulate policies and regulations that can facilitate a rise of women to senior positions in trade union leadership.

2.9 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework encompasses ideas and principles abstracted from the pertinent fields of inquiry and facilitates the structuring of subsequent presentations (Reichel & Ramey, 1987). It also serves as a hypothetical model for identifying the variables under study and more pertinently the association between the predictor and target variables. A conceptual framework, therefore, serves as a starting point of reflection between the research and its field of inquiry. Such that, whenever there is a clearly articulated conceptual framework, it provides an indication of the connection and direction of the key study variables; thus, providing guidance to the entire research process. It, therefore, assists the researcher to ultimately contextualize and derive the meaning of the research findings (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003).

In this study, the dependent variable in women participation in TU leadership. This involvement is operationalized in terms of the proportion of representation and the number of women in TU leadership. The participation is primarily influenced by the following independent variables: gender socio and demographic factors such as social perception of women, gender expectation, female traits, low of confidence, limited union education and poor personal initiative to lead; role conflict between domestic and office work; socio-cultural factors, namely: biases, prejudices, stereotypes, internalized patriarchal attitudes, institutionalized gender roles, suspicion by male spouses as well as gender marginalization; and lastly a masculine TU culture that favour men in terms of its work patterns and terms of employment. However, the impact of the
independent variables on the dependent variable may be mediated by sensitization of women on the importance of TU leadership, gender mainstreaming and/or mentorship programs, affirmative action by the respective TUs, and/or personal initiatives by the female leadership aspirants.
Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework for Challenges that Hinder Women from TU Leadership Position

**Independent Variable**

- **Personality Traits**
  - Low Expectations
  - Pessimism
  - Low confidence/Self-esteem
  - Poor Personal Initiative

- **Socio-cultural Factors**
  - Gender Stereotyping
  - Patriarchal Union Structure
  - Gender Roles
  - Suspicion by male spouse
  - Gender Marginalization

- **Role Conflict**
  - Between domestic/union work
  - Time constraints

- **Organization Culture**
  - Institutional Sexism
  - Masculine Trade Union Culture

**Intervening Variable**

- Gender Mainstreaming
- Mentorship Programs
- Affirmative Action
- Union Sensitization/Education

**Dependent Variable**

- Participation in TU Leadership
  - Number of female TU leaders
  - Level of involvement in TU
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction
This chapter focuses on site description, research design, unit of analysis and observation, sampling procedure, data collection methods and tools, data analysis, pilot study, and ethical considerations.

3.2 Study Site
The study selected KETAWU three regional offices, namely Nairobi, Kisumu, and Mombasa branches as its data collection sites. Kenya Electrical Trade and Allied Workers Union (KETAWU) draws its members from Kenya Power, KenGen, and KETRACO. Through its leadership, KEATAWU bargains on behalf of its union members and negotiates labour contracts, employment welfare as well as other collective bargaining issues. The union has a population of 8,184 members. Nairobi branch, which also acts as the union headquarters has 3456 members of which 987 are women and men are 2,469. Mombasa branch has 2,263 members of which 761 are women and 1,502 are men. Kisumu regional office has 2,465 union members, of which 893 are women and 1572 are men. The three KETAWU regional offices coordinate amongst each other through regional and national board committees. Also, regional and national union electoral process to form the union’s regional or national leadership.

3.3 Research Design
The research design acts as a blueprint for fulfilling the study answers and objectives (Best and Khan, 1993). The scholars emphasize that a proper research design facilitates the planning and structuring of a conceived investigation conceived to ensure each research question is answered accordingly. The research design articulates the problem and plans for research to obtain empirical evidence pertaining to the research problem. A case study plan entails method of organizing data and observing the object to be studied (Kothari, 2006). Besides, it creates a detailed assessment of a single subject or a group of phenomena. Case study approach aids to narrow down a wide field or population into an easily researchable one, and seeks to describe a unit in detail, in context and holistically, (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). Therefore, the study
considers a case study design is appropriate because data were collected from a single source: Kenya power, KETAWU members.

3.4 Unit of Analysis
A unit of analysis is an object of study that is to be critically examined. It is further observed by Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) that a unit of analysis refers to what or who can be studied. For purposes of this study, the unit of analysis are barriers that hinder women from Trade Union Leadership positions in KETAWU.

3.5 Unit of Observation
Units of observation refer to the subject, cases or entity from which a researcher estimates the attribute of, or obtain the data needed in the study. Hence, the units of observation in the present study are current Female KETAWU union officials, former officials, Ordinary union members, and unsuccessful Female union Leadership aspirants.

3.6 Target Population
A population is referred to as a complete collection of individuals, observations (objects) with a common observable characteristic, (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The target population for this study was female union officials, former female officials, and unsuccessful female union aspirants.

Table 3.1: Target Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female Respondents</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current Female Union Officials</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Female Union Officials</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsuccessful Female Union Aspirants</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary Union Members</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.7 Sampling Size and Sampling Procedure

Sampling entails the process of recruiting a section of the population that will participate in the study. The sample recruitment process ensures that the study conclusions can be generalized to the population that took part in the research. Conversely, a sample entails any set on which information is attained. To get a sample size, there are aspects to be considered, for instance, research design model, data analysis technique and the scope of the accessible sample population (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). This study employed the use of a non-probability sampling also referred to as snowball sampling technique. Ideally, the unsuccessful union female aspirants and former union female leaders were hard to find, identified, and recruited. Therefore, Snowball method provided an opportunity for the respondents to recruit or recommend other participants to the researcher.

The study sampling frame comprising of 90 eligible respondents were identified using official union records and information provided by branch officials in the three KETAWU regional offices, namely; Nairobi, Kisumu, and Mombasa. The regional distribution of the sampling frame is indicated in Table 3.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional offices</th>
<th>Target Population</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mombasa</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kisumu</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td><strong>61</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following the compilation of the sampling frame, the Branch Organising Secretary was requested to invite all the 90 female union members to their respective branch offices on different specified dates. However, a total of 63 potential respondents honoured the invitation on the appointed dates and time. Prior to the interviews, both the researcher and Branch Organising Secretary explained the purpose of their invitation and requested the invitees to individually complete and return their respective questionnaires at the end of the session.
In total, 63 questionnaires were completed and submitted by an equal number of respondents. Nevertheless, 2 questionnaires were found to be incomplete and therefore, were rejected during the data cleaning process. The study, therefore, comprises of 61 respondents.

3.8 Data Collection Method and Tools

The relevant data and information were collected using questionnaires. Kothari (2008) defines questionnaires as comprising of several questions written or typed in a structured manner. The research study employed both primary and secondary sources of data. The questionnaire, field data collection through interviews were exerted to obtain primary data. While secondary data were obtained through reviewing documents from existing literature such as books, articles, journals, and online reports. The study used quantitative data to ascertain the claims advanced by key respondents. Conversely, the key respondent’s data was essential in regard to supporting the obtained quantitative information. The primary cite of data were the KETAWU female union members were questionnaires were administered to the 63 invitees in attendance consisting of 12 Current Female union officials, 6 Former Female Union officials, 13 unsuccessful Female union aspirants, and 32 Ordinary union members.

The questionnaire is divided into four thematic areas namely; the respondent’s personal profile, personality traits, social cultural constraints, role conflict, organisational culture, and Intervention approaches. Each of the sections has both open and close-ended questionnaire items. The data collection instrument was adopted in this study, since it would obtain both qualitative and quantitative data based on the research design. Also, it is more economical in terms of time and resources, as compared to other methods such as group discussions. Further, the questionnaire facilitated easy and quick responses within a short period. Since it accorded respondents an opportunity to express their views, opinions and the freedom to offer their own suggestions regarding the study subject. The 63 respondents in attendance, at the 3 study venues, namely; Nairobi, Kisumu, and Mombasa were first sensitised on the purpose of the study and the structure of the data collection instrument after which they were requested to individually complete and submit the data collection instrument to the researcher.
3.9 Validity and Reliability of the Instruments

Validity shows the degree to which a research instrument measures what it purports to measure (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). Hence, it ensures that there is a scientific usefulness of the findings obtained from a study. Research tools were well thought out in consultation with the University supervisor. The accuracy of question items was highly checked to convey the same meaning to all respondents.

Reliability of research instruments is important to any study. It means the ability of a research instrument to yield constant results over time especially after replicated studies have been undertaken. The instruments were administered twice at different intervals in order to examine the degree of internal consistency of the responses.

3.10 Data Analysis and Presentation

According to Tromp and Kombo (2007) data analysis entails the process in which the collected data assessed to obtain relevant information. Particularly, the process entails finding fundamental structures, extracting essential variables, noticing any irregularities and testing any fundamental assumptions. Further, it encompasses examining the obtained information and creating interpretations.

This study utilised descriptive statistics to analyse obtained data. Descriptive statistics entails the collection, organisation, and analysis of all data relating to some population or sample under study. According to Breakwell (2006), descriptive analysis enables the presentation of data in form of frequency tables, graphs, and pie charts. Qualitative data were analysed thematically to detect patterns, categories, and recurrent themes.

The obtained data was prepared, coded and keyed in SPSS version 20.0. The SPSS software helps data analysts to conduct summary statistics and visual exhibitions of the obtained findings. The analysis process exerted the utilization of both qualitative and quantitative method. Qualitative techniques were employed where responses from the interview schedules were discussed in themes that relate to the objectives of the study. In quantitative analysis, descriptive such as averages, frequencies, percentages, and cross-tabulations were utilized to analyze the
data. On the other hand, Exploratory Factor Analysis and Chi-square tests were used as an inferential statistical method. The test obtains inter-correlations of different variables to determine the factors that critically hinder women from taking up Union leadership positions.

3.11 Pilot Study
The questionnaires employed in this research were pre-tested through a pilot bore hand to allow for important revisions in case it was necessary. The pilot study was done to determine validity. It was done in the Nakuru region because it neighbors Nairobi. The findings from piloting aided in streamlining the questionnaire’s queries that were unclear to the interviewees. The study validity was tested using expert view, in which the supervisor assisted the researcher to test whether the questionnaire answers the entire research objectives; therefore, ensuring that appropriate information will be gathered. Further, expert (supervisor) views played an essential role in establishing the validity of the research tools.

3.12 Ethical Considerations
In this research, there was compliance with the principles protecting the dignity and privacy of every respondent who were compelled to provide the important data (hereinafter referred to as a subject of research).

Before being selected as a study subject, every person was notified about the aims of the research, the choice of the data collection methods, potential benefits and hazards of the research. The researcher also informed the respondents about their right to avoid and pull out when they wish. About confidentiality, the respondents were informed about the extent with which their replies could remain a secret.

The researcher ensured that participation was free from pressure and inducement to encourage people to become a subject of research. There was no subject that was coerced or tricked to participate in the research. The approach ensured informed consent for participants.

Moreover, the identity of participants was kept private. Upon the conclusion of the project, any information that could disclose the identity of participants was destroyed unless the individual
concerned consented in writing to its inclusion before the beginning of actual data collection. The final report did not have information concerning the details of personal information or communication in the course of undertaking the project without subject consent.
CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction
The chapter presents the analysis of data and presentation, as well as interpretation of the findings. The overall study objective was to explore challenges faced by women when ascending the leadership positions in the trade union movement in Kenya, with specific reference to KETAWU. This is the trade Union for the Kenya Electrical and Allied Workers. The chapter starts with the respondent’s demographic data followed by analysis and interpretation of factors that hamper women from ascending to union leadership positions. The analyzed data are presented in tables, figures, and frequency distribution tables.

4.2 Response Rate
The study sample size was 61; Nairobi 25, Kisumu 17, and Mombasa 19. Thus, bringing the total number of respondents to 61. Female members of KETAWU who were either current/former union leaders; unsuccessful union leadership aspirants and ordinary female union members. Of the targeted sample 63 turned up, filled, and returned the questionnaires. 2 were not dully filled, therefore, were left out during data cleaning. This presents a response rate of 97%.

4.3 Respondents’ Demographic Information
The study sought to establish the respondent's age bracket, employer, employment cadre, academic qualifications, and duration of union membership.

4.3.1 Respondents Age Bracket
Table 4.1 indicates that 22 (36.1%) of the 61 respondents were aged between 45-54 years, 19 (31.2%) were aged 35-44 years, 10(16.4%) were aged between 25-34 years, while 9 (15.3%) were aged 55 years.
Table 4.1: Respondents’ Age Bracket

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Bracket</th>
<th>Frequency (n)</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25-34 Years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44 Years</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54 Years</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55+ Years</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents age bracket results imply that the majority of the union’s leadership 31 (51.4%) are aged between 45 and 54 years. According to Gerald-Mayer, (2004) employees who are aged between 40 and 55 years, usually take their jobs seriously, and vying for a union leadership position is a way of safeguarding their jobs. Therefore, the age demographic results reveal that the union has a small proportion of members that are aged 55 years, suggesting that they might have tired from the union to pursue post-retirement careers.

4.3.2 Respondent Employer

Evidently, 96.7% of those who participated in the survey are Kenya Power employees. The remaining 2 (3.3%) are KenGen.

Table 4.2: Respondent’s Employer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>Frequency (n)</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Power</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>96.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KenGen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results are consistent with union membership statistics, which established that the union draws the majority of its members from Kenya Power.

4.3.3 Respondents Employment Cadre

Also, analysis established that only 1(1.6%) of the 61 participants was in a senior position (management cadre), 5(8.2%) were subordinate staff, and 13(21.3%) were in a supervisory level.
The largest proportion of 42 (69%) of the interviewees were serving in the clerical cadre, as presented in Table 4.3.

### Table 4.3: Respondents Employment Cadre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment cadre</th>
<th>Frequency (n)</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Management</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisory</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>68.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinate</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>61</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3 findings, therefore, suggest that majority union members hold low-class jobs such as secretarial, human resource assistants, security personnel and accounts clerk among others. The findings are therefore consistent with those by found Liszka (2014) which confirmed that most of the union leaders in the US are employed under the Clerical Cadre.

#### 4.3.4 Respondents Academic Qualification

Regarding academic qualification, Table 4.4, indicates that most respondents 30(49%) are Diploma holders, followed by those with Degrees 21(34%), nevertheless, a small proportion of the respondents 5(8%) indicated secondary education as their highest academic achievement. Another 4 (7%) of them were Postgraduate (Masters) holders with only 1(1.6%) being a certificate holder as aggregated in Table 4.4.

### Table 4.4: Respondents Academic Qualification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic qualification</th>
<th>Frequency (n)</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certificate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>61</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It can, therefore, be surmised from the findings that most of the respondents were functionally literate and had a modest grasp of the usually intricate union matters.

### 4.3.5 Respondents Technical/Professional Qualification

In addition to their educational qualifications, 8(13%) of the 61 respondents specified their professional or technical qualifications. Of the 8(13%) responding, half of them were Human Resource (HR) Professionals, while 2(25%) were Certified Public Accountants and Electrical technicians respectively as displayed in Figure 4.1. Evidently, HR personnel is keener on TU affairs. This is arguably so since union matters revolve around the terms and conditions of work and as such, their prompt resolution creates a harmonious and productive work environment.

#### Figure 4.1: Respondents’ Technical/Professional Qualifications

![Respondents Technical/Professional Qualification](image)

**4.3.6 Trade Union Membership Duration**

The researcher sought to determine the duration in which the study participants have been in the trade union and the results were as follows.
Table 4.5: Trade Union Membership Duration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Membership Duration</th>
<th>Frequency (n)</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20+ Years</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 years</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20 years</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5 Years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings, therefore, revealed that a significant proportion of the respondents 20 (33.3%) have been in the trade union for over 20 years; 16 (26.7%) for 6-10 years; 13 (21.7%) for a duration of 11-15 years; 6 (10.0%) for 16-20 years and 5 (8.3) for less than five years. On a positive note, the findings may suggest that majority of respondents were knowledgeable and resourceful on labour matters, in view of their long tenure as TU members. However, on the contrary, it may mean that the union was being led by long serving and conservative members, with old school union ideals and approach to labour matters.

4.3.7 Respondents’ Trade Union Status

Interviewees were questioned about their Trade Union Status and the results are displayed in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Respondents Trade Union Status
Figure 4.2 indicates that the largest proportion of respondents 39(63.9%), comprised of ordinary members; 15(24.6%). Were current/former union leaders while 7 (11.5%) consisted of unsuccessful TU Leadership Aspirants. The fact that 75% of the respondents do not occupy union leadership positions presently, is suggestive of the weak bargaining power by women in the labour movement. These results are consistent with a study conducted by Ledwith and others, (2015) which established that absence of women in collective bargaining process influences them negatively towards taking up union leadership positions.

Table 4.6: Position held by Former/Current Union Leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Union Position</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Committee member</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Executive Board member</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branch Treasurer/Assistant Branch Treasurer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Branch Secretary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National youth leader</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organising secretary(women wing)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to ascertain leadership positions that are held by female union members, former/current union leaders comprising of 15(26%) of the study respondents were asked to indicate their leadership titles. Of those responding 5(37.5%) were committee members; 4(25%) were National Executive Board Members; 3(18.8%) were Branch Treasurer/Assistant Branch Treasurer while 1(6.3%) was Assistant Branch Secretary, National youth leader, and Organising Secretary (women wing) respectively. It is therefore evident from the foregoing results, that most the female respondents were nominal committee members. This is the lowest cadre in the union ranks and it recruits over than 5 members for each of the union’s branches. Other positions in the union such as Treasurer and Branch Secretary only provide for one seat. Besides, most of the leaders were National Executive Board Members since the position also provides for multiple seats.
Furthermore, 15(26%) of the former/current union leaders were asked to rate themselves in regard to their respective level of experience in the union matters. Of those responding, 6(37%) rated themselves as having a high level of experience; 8(53%) rated themselves lowly whereas 2(10%) of the respondents could not rate their levels of experience in union matters. A follow-up tabulation was conducted to establish leaders that rated themselves either highly or lowly. The results showed that the 8(53%) who rated themselves low were committee members, Branch Treasurer, and Assistant Branch Secretary respectively. On the other hand, respondents who rated themselves highly comprised of NEB Members, National Youth Leader, and the Organising Secretary (Women wing).

As regards the justification for the self-rating, officials who rated themselves high advanced reasons such: involvement in the formulation and amendment of KETAWU laws and policies, e.g. the Union’s Gender Policy; empowerment and capacity building in the resolution of union disputes, conflict and reconciliation of union; documentation and presentation of the interest and grievances of youthful union members to NEB in addition to participating in the organization, coordination, record keeping and the general administration of the union’s information database. It would, therefore, appear from the study findings that the higher the union position held, the higher the level of responsibilities discharged and the individual’s level of experience in TU matters.

However, the majority of those who rated their union experience as low stated that they hold low profile union leadership positions, which are more of clerical than managerial in nature. In fact, a significant proportion of them observed that their responsibilities are limited since their participation in union matters is only limited to the union branch level. Hence their inability to influence the overall union decision-making process. Their admission, therefore, suggests that most female Union leaders hold low cadre positions, which exposes them only limited managerial and decision-making opportunities, hence their admittedly low level of participation and experience in union affairs. This finding is consistent with Elkiss’ (1994) finding that women are clustered in union leadership positions of low ranks and little influence and power. Consequently, the situation offers them limited opportunities to attend training workshops and
union conferences. They are therefore unable to access platforms that can address their issues or gain the requisite skills and contact to propel them to top union positions.

Table 4.7: Reasons for the Unsuccessful Leadership attempts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unfair electoral process</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Division among women</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate resources to finance campaign</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypocrisy among members</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding the 7(11.5%) unsuccessful union leadership aspirants, the research data showed that those who vied for the shop stewardship posts, national youth leader, and branch organising secretary respectively. Evidently, the majority of them vied for the less competitive union branch committee member and treasurer. However, when asked to explain why their attempt was unsuccessful, they attributed the aborted quest for leadership to the unfair electoral process; division among female union members; inadequate resources to finance their campaign and hypocrisy by the union members. As is evidenced by findings in Table 4.4, unfair election processes and division among female union members are the two major challenges accounting for the unsuccessful attempts. In addition, lack of financial resources among the female aspirants partly contributed to the failed quest for union leadership. A study by Machyo, (2003) also established division among female trade unionist poses a great challenge to their quest for union leadership positions.

4.4 Personality Traits that Hinder Women from Union Leadership

The primary goal of the study was to determine the respondents’ level of agreement with statements that represent personality traits. Table 4.8 shows the findings.
Table 4.8: Extent to which Respondents Agree on Personality Traits that Hinder Women from Union Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesized Factors</th>
<th>Agree (%)</th>
<th>Disagree (%)</th>
<th>Undecided (%)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perception of women as weak, feminine and fit for homemaking de roles</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-leadership gender expectation of women</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are seen as soft-hearted, weak, compassionate and hence cannot perform the union roles which is characterized by toughness, abrasive and combative posturing</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female union members have low the confidence to lead</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female members have poor personal initiative to lead</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study revealed that on average, 27 (44%) of the respondents agreed with the perception that women are weak, feminine and fit for home-making roles that hinder them from union leadership positions. These finding also resonates with the notion held by the society that women are weak and compassionate and as such cannot perform union roles which require them to be tough, abrasive, combative, strong-willed and courageous.

This finding is in tandem with Eagly and Carli’s (2007) observation that while women are associated with feminine qualities which involve compassionate treatment of others; men are linked to masculine attributes which are reliable with assertiveness and control. The findings further revealed that 28 (46%) of the respondents agreed that non-leadership gender expectations by the majority union members hinder them from vying for and/or holding union leadership
positions. The thinking resonates with the assumption that women are comfortable nurturing and performing household roles and not doubling in dirty TU politics. In addition, the findings concur with Aledejana and Aledejana’s (2005) observation that women generally occupy lower status jobs and enjoy fewer privileges in society, especially work-related.

The implication emanating from the foregoing findings are that women are not taken seriously when they vie for TU leadership positions due to the stereotype that union activities are synonymous with radical advocacy and toughness of character which women do not generally exhibit. The present study findings are therefore in agreement with Eagly and Carli’s (2007) observation that women are associated with feminine qualities which involve treating others compassionately without tough abrasive posturing associated with TU politics. On average, 24 (40%) of the respondents agreed that female union members lack the confidence to lead, while 29(48%) of them opined that female members have limited union exposure/education/leadership due the historical marginalization of the fair gender.

The findings, therefore, seem to suggest that women are yet to embrace union leadership roles fully due to their historical marginalization by their respective societies. As a result, they are yet to break the glass ceiling in the arena of labour politics. This predicament, according to Kirton and Healy (2008) compounded by inadequate opportunities for mentorship in union leadership roles by female role models. Lastly, but not least, 24 (40%) of the respondents strongly agreed that female members lack the personal initiative to lead. This implies that having seen how union leadership is dominated by men, women opt to just sit by and let their male counterparts run the show.

4.4.1 Union Membership Duration vs Personal Initiative to Lead

To establish whether there is an association between duration of union membership and personal initiative to lead, a chi-square test of independence was done. The test was utilised to establish if a significant statistical association exists between two variables. The variables were: Female lack of the initiative to lead and Duration for members in the union. These variables were recoded into two groups respectively. The first variable; membership duration was divided into those with; less than 15 years and those with more than 15 years of union membership. The second
variable; lack of initiative to lead was categorized into Agree and Disagree components. Table 4.9 presents the summary of the chi-square test summary in terms of numbers of cases used.

**Table 4.9: Chi-square Case Summary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Valid</th>
<th>Missing</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Member-Duration * Poor Personal initiative to lead</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>93.4%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.9 indicates 57(93.4%) of the cases were used for the test, only 4(6.6%) were not used. Therefore, the results imply that the test used enough data to provide statistically significant results. Table 4.10 presents the chi-square cross-tabulation test.

**Table 4.10: Union Membership Duration vs Personal Initiative to lead**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Initiative to Lead</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>33.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88.8</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.7</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Output: \( X^2 = 0.236 \) and P-value \( p=0.12 \), which is less than 0.05
Table 4.10 indicates that there is a different opinion between two groups of respondents when asked if they lack the personal initiative to lead in the union. The results established that a significant proportion of respondents 32(88.8%) who have been union members for more than 15 years disagreed with the statement, with only a small proportion 4(11.2%) agreeing with the statement. On the other hand, the majority 14(66.6%) of the respondents who have been members for less than 15 years disagreed. However, what is notable here is that a significant proportion of 7(33.4%) of the under 15 years old union members conceded that women lack the personal initiative to lead.

The findings, therefore, appear to suggest that the more the number of years a female member spends in the union, the higher her personal initiative to lead. The results of the cross-tabulation are also supported by the results demonstrated in Table 4.11.

**Table 4.11: Chi-Square Tests Results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)</th>
<th>Exact Sig. (2-sided)</th>
<th>Exact Sig. (1-sided)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>.236a</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Valid Cases</strong></td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.05.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 4.11 indicates a Chi-square($X^2$) = 0.236 and P-value p=0.012, which is less than 0.05 significance level. The results suggest that there is a statistically significant association between union membership duration and female personal initiative to lead in the union. Furthermore, the results found a small chi-square($X^2$) value, which implies that the data for the two variables observed/used fits the expected data extremely well (goodness of fit). Thus, the findings revealed that most of the women who are in the union leadership seem to have been in the union for longer duration as compared to those that are not in leadership or failed to capture the union leadership seats. Figure 4.3 visualizes the frequency distribution between membership duration and the initiative to lead.
Figure 4.3 indicates that women with more than 15 years of union membership have higher frequency distribution in terms of disagreement when asked if they lack the personal initiative to lead 28(61%) as compared to women with less than 15 years duration in the union 18(39%). Therefore, the findings imply that duration in the union comes with experience, exposure and personal advantage to lead.

4.5 Socio-Cultural Constraints

The study sought to explore the hypothetical socio-cultural constraints that discourage female KETAWU members from taking up union leadership positions. To determine whether the constraints hinder them, respondents were asked to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with specific socio-cultural hindrances. They were also required to give reasons for their specific ratings on a scale of importance with 1 having the least impact and 4 having the highest impact. For a more profound understanding and interpretation, the ratings are collapsed here into agreed, disagreed and undecided categories.
Table 4.12: Extent to which Respondents Agree on Socio-cultural Constraints that Discourage Women from Seeking Leadership Positions in Trade Unions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesized Statements</th>
<th>Agree %</th>
<th>Undecided %</th>
<th>Disagree %</th>
<th>Mean Rank 1-4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender stereotyping of women as home-makers and unfit for leadership roles.</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriarchal union structures favour men but hinder women from accessing leadership positions.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socially prescribed gender roles exclude women from union leadership positions.</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear of suspicion by their spouses discourages females from vying for or/and assuming union leadership positions.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.12 depicts that a significant portion of the respondents (65% on average) agreed with the study’s speculated constraints. When asked if gender stereotyping discourages them from participating in union leadership 42(70%) agreed with the reasoning. Although, a significant proportion of them, 17(25%) disagreed with gender stereotyping as a hindrance. Most respondents 39(64%) agreed that the union’s patriarchal structures favour men, but hinder women from accessing leadership positions, while 19(31%) disagreed; (61%) of the respondents agreed with the statement socially prescribed gender roles excludes women from union leadership positions. However, a significant portion of the 17(28%) disagreed with the statement. Lastly, 64% of the respondents where of the view that fear of spouses’ suspicion for immoral behavior discourages females from vying for and/or assuming union leadership positions. Though, 16(26%) disagreed with the statement. Those who agreed cited that, because of spouses’ suspicion, they would rather opt-out of union leadership quest to save their marriages and relationships since some of the value and prefer their families to union leadership. When asked to identify other sociocultural constraints, 20(33%) of the respondents pointed out fear of sexual harassment by their male counterparts; favouritism and nepotism among union members;
religious norms that prohibit female adherence of Islamic faith from taking up union leadership roles.

It is therefore evident from table 4.9 that gender stereotyping, socially prescribed gender roles, patriarchal union structures and fear of spouses’ suspicion emerged as some of the major factors that bar female union members from vying for and/or assuming union leadership roles in the KETAWU. The finding concurs with that of Kanjuo-Mrčela et al, (2015) who observed that social/gender stereotypes hinder women from achieving leadership positions in the society despite having all the requisite skills.

4.6 Role Conflict as a TU Leadership Barrier for Women
Data was collected and analyzed in order to establish the extent to which role-conflict between domestic and union work hinders women from seeking KETAWU leadership positions. The findings are presented in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Extent to which Respondents Agree on Role Conflict as a TU Leadership Challenge for Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The conflict between domestic and union work discourages women from taking up leadership positions.</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women view trade union leadership roles as demanding and burdensome.</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union meetings are normally held after work, at a time when most women would prefer utilizing it for nurturance and home-making.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most Trade union leadership meetings are held in places that are not conducive for women (i.e. hotels, bars, clubs, restaurants, etc.).</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A shown in table 4.10, 34(56%) of the respondents agreed that conflict between domestic and union work discourages women from taking up leadership positions. Another 33(53%) agreed that women view trade union leadership roles as demanding and burdensome, 27(45%) agreed that union meetings are normally held after work, at a time when most women would prefer utilizing it for nurturance and home-making and 27(42%) agreed that most Trade union leadership meetings are held in places that are not conducive for women such as expensive restaurants.

Findings in Table 4.10 implies that the role conflict between the domestic roles and union leadership is a major hindrance. Most women prefer to be at home early so as to check on the family and other domestic duties. The fact that some union meetings are held after work hours in socially non-conducive venues discourages women from aspiring to leadership positions in the trade union movement. The finding resonates with Livingstone, (2004) assertion that the greater part of an average African woman’s time is spent performing domestic chores like childcare, cooking, cleaning, and shopping. By and large, she is still the family workhorse who shoulders the greatest share of family-related work. These commitments interfere with their upward mobility, access to managerial positions and/or availability for union work.

4.6.1 Impacts of Role Conflict on TU Leadership

To attain a better understanding of the data, Exploratory Factor Analysis was utilised to establish if there exists a correlation between the four-study hypothesized role-conflict statements. Normally, the test estimates the factors using a statistical model that tabulates variances. First, a KMO and Barlett test was done to determine sample adequacy ad shown in Table 4.14.

| Table 4.14: Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin’s and Barrett’s Test |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy. | .515 |
| Bartlett's Test of Sphericity | Approx. Chi-Square | 53.085 |
| | df | 6 |
| | Significance. | .000 |
Table 4.14 indicates a Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) and Bartlett’s tests which are used to determine whether the sample size and data for the variables meet the minimum requirements for the Exploratory Factor Analysis to be conducted. The test measured the appropriateness of the four role-conflict variables presented for the test. Therefore, the results of KMO Measure of Sampling Adequacy is .515 indicating that the sample size is accurate and the data is statistically significant for the test the P-value is smaller than the 0.005 significance level (p=0.00). For the test to be appropriate the KMO value must be greater than .5. Besides, the test revealed a statistically significant correlation between the two or more variables.

In order to establish the variables that they hinder women from union leadership positions, a follow up principal component test was performed as shown in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Principal Component Test for Role-Conflict in the Union (Total Variance Explained)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Initial Eigenvalues</th>
<th>Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>% of Variance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.864</td>
<td>46.607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.321</td>
<td>33.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>.468</td>
<td>11.701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>.346</td>
<td>8.660</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.15 indicates results for the total variance between the principal components 1 to 2 being strongly agreed and agree and 3 to 4 being disagreed to strongly disagreed. Based on the analysis, two components recorded the more significant value of 1.864 and 1.321 with a variance of 46.607 and 79.639 respectively. This implies that most respondents generally agreed that females in the union view trade union roles are demanding and conflict between domestic and union work. However, most of them disagreed when asked if union meetings are held in appropriate places also if they are held after work. The values are lower (0.468 and 0.346) respectively. The results of the principal component test tally with percentages and frequency in
Table 4.10. Nonetheless, Figure 4.4 (Scree Plot) visualises a simple distribution of the total variance between the four components.

**Figure 4.4: Role Conflict Constraints**

![Scree Plot](image.png)

Figure 4.4 indicates respondents agreed with two variables and disagreed with the other two variables. A Matrix tabulation was analyzed as part of the Factorial analysis and the results are presented in Table 4.16.

**Table 4.16: Component Matrix for Role-Conflict**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Component 1 (Strongly agree)</th>
<th>Component 2 (Agree)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The conflict between Domestic and Union work</td>
<td>.989</td>
<td>.608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TU leadership roles are demanding</td>
<td>.974</td>
<td>.570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TU Meetings held outside the working hours</td>
<td>.544</td>
<td>-.459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings held in inappropriate venues</td>
<td>.531</td>
<td>-.645</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.16 shows correlation values for the four role-conflict variables. The results found out that correlation value ranges between -1 to 1, and 0. When a correlation value is near 1, it suggests a strong relationship and when the value is near -1 it means there is no correlation. Therefore, the findings imply that there is a positively and strongly for domestic and union work conflict and TU leadership roles are demand (.989 and .974) respectively. This implies that the two factors/variable hinders women from accessing the union leadership positions. However, it is evident from the component matrix test that there is no correlation between variables; Union meeting being held outside working hours and Union meetings being held in inappropriate places (0.544 and 0.531) as you can see the values are far away from 1, which suggest that they rarely hinder women from taking up leadership positions in the union. Though, they might be partly responsible for some women since not everyone disagreed with the statement. It also emerges that union meetings being held outside the working hours and inappropriate places partly hinders women from taking up leadership positions. Women would rather spend their time after work with their family or perform other domestic roles. Therefore, the findings of the exploratory factor analysis test are consistent with the outcome of the initial frequency and percentage test as shown in Table 4.10.

4.7 Organizational Culture as a Hindrance to Female Leadership Aspirants

This section of the study sought to establish whether organizational culture hinders female leadership aspirants from vying for or holding TU leadership positions. This was done by asking respondents to offer their opinion on whether they agreed or disagreed with the study’s speculative statements. Figure 4.5 illustrates the results.
Figure 4.5 indicates that 29(48%) of the respondents denied the presence of institutionalized sexism in KETAWU. But, a significant proportion 23(38%) did acknowledge its presence. As to whether there is male dominance in the union hierarchy, most respondents 31(53%) agreed. However, only 24(39%) disagreed. Majority of the respondents, which is 39(65%) were of the view that female union members are often frustrated since it is challenging to break through a male-dominated union leadership. However, a smaller proportion of 20(33%) of them disagreed with the reasoning. When asked whether the organization had skewed employment contracts that favour men but discriminate against women in terms of power and ability to vie for union leadership positions, most respondents 41(67%) agreed. Though, a smaller proportion of the 15(25%) denied the same.

Evidently, unionized women share the view that institutionalized sexism hinders their aspiration to ascend to leadership positions in KETAWU. However, they are convinced that male dominance in the union hierarchy, skewed employment contracts (which favours men but discriminate against women) and the male-dominated informal leadership lobbies and networks are among the cultural practices that impede female union leadership aspirants. In addition to the inadequate dissemination of information to sensitize women on leadership and election procedures and the lack of affirmative programs to groom women for union leadership roles.
4.8 Intervention Policies for Enhancing Female Trade Union Leadership

4.8.1 Intervention Policies for Implementation by Trade Unions

The study sought to establish intervention polices that KETAWU can implement to facilitate higher female participation in union leadership roles. Table 4.17 displays the respondents’ level of agreement with the proposed intervention strategies.

Table 4.17: Policies that are used to enhance women obtain leadership positions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Mean Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unions should reserve some leadership seats for women.</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unions should articulate gender mainstreaming in their organizational leadership framework.</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women ought to cultivate personal initiative for leadership roles.</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unions should institutionalise female-oriented TU sensitization programs.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unions should adopt policies which meet the needs of male and female members.</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unions should initiate mentorship programmes for nurturing female members for leadership positions</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 4.17, 47(77%) of the respondents agreed that unions should reserve some leadership seats for women, only a small proportion of 10(16%) disagreed. When asked if the union should articulate gender mainstreaming in its organizational leadership, an overwhelming proportion of 52(86%) agreed, and only 7(11%) disagreed. In fact, 53(90%) of them opined that in order to improve female involvement in TU leadership, women ought to cultivate personal initiative to lead. However, only 4(7%) of the respondents differed with the opinion.
When asked if KETAWU should institutionalise female-oriented TU sensitization and education, an overwhelming proportion of respondents 55(94%) replied in the affirmative. only 2(3%) differed with the suggestion. Regarding the suggestion that unions should make policies which meets the needs of both male and female members, an overwhelming majority of the respondents 56(93%) agreed but only 2(3%) disagreed with the suggestion. Lastly, as to whether KETAWU should initiate mentorship programmes to nurture female members for leadership roles, 54(88%) agreed. Only, 6(8%) disagreed. It is also instructive that the mean ranking offered by respondents for each suggestion correlates with the respondents’ opinions. In fact, all the mean rankings are 5.2 / 6.0 implying that the level of importance for the statements is high.

4.8.2 Other Proposed Intervention Policies to Enhance Women Leadership in Trade Union

Respondents also proposed other intervention policies that should be used by the union to embrace women participation in the union leadership as demonstrated in Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6: Other Intervention Policies used to enhance Women Leadership in Trade Unions

Figure 4.6 shows that 59% of the respondents proposed that women should be funded and equipped with resources to equally contest for national trade union leadership positions. 33% thought that the unions should embrace broader gender diversity. 8% proposed a free and fair union election. The results in Table 4.14 and Figure 4.6, therefore, implies that most women 59% in KETAWU are in favour of changes in union laws and policies through the implementation of
new intervention policies that will facilitate increased female trade union leadership. This advocacy is consistent with UNDP’s 1999 advocacy for organizations, labour unions included, to boost the threshold of women leadership initially to thirty percent and ultimately raise it to fifty percent.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction
This chapter contains a summary of the findings, conclusion, and recommendations of the research. It concludes by offering a proposal for further research.

5.2 Summary of Findings
5.2.1 Respondents Demographics
The findings revealed that most study participants (51.4%) were 45 years. The results suggest that the respondents had worked in the organization long enough to give well thought out answers. Majority of them (68.9%) were in a clerical position, compared to (22.9%) who were in the supervisory and managerial cadre of their organisations. In addition, a high proportion of the respondents (42.6%), have been in the trade union movement for over 16 years. This suggests that the study targeted the most resourceful segment of the respondents who have been in the trade union movement for a long time.

Most respondents, (63.9%) of the respondents are ordinary union members thus suggesting that women rarely aspire for elective Trade Union positions and even those who try rarely get elected. The study further revealed a significant proportion of the respondents (37.5%) were ordinary committee members. This implies that even for the elected few, an insignificant proportion of women occupy the decision-making positions of the trade union movement. Furthermore, the unsuccessful aspirants indicated that they vied for the positions of a shop steward, branch treasurer, branch committee member, branch assistant treasurer, branch organizing secretary, and national youth leader. All these are positions in the union’s branches and not the central leadership of the union.

5.2.2 Personality Traits of Females as a Leadership Challenge
Regarding personality traits, the results found that 44% of the respondents strongly agreed that perception of women as weak, feminine and fit for homemaking roles hinder women from union leadership positions, 46% of the respondents strongly agreed that non-leadership gender expectation of women hinder women from union leadership, women are seen as soft-hearted,
weak, compassionate and hence cannot perform the union roles which is characterized by toughness, abrasive and combative posturing as shown by 46%. 40% of the respondents strongly agreed that female union members lack the confidence to lead and 48% of the respondents opined that female members have limited union exposure/education/leadership due to prolonged marginalization. The results show that either women feel frustrated during leadership contest and decide to opt-out to just sit by and let their male counterparts run the show.

5.2.3 Socio-Cultural Constraints
On socio-cultural constraints, 54% of the respondents strongly agreed that the gender stereotyping of women as home-makers and unfit for leadership roles hinder women from union leadership positions, 70% strongly agreed that it is the patriarchal union structures that favour men, but hinder women from accessing leadership positions. Concerning socially prescribed gender roles that exclude women from leadership positions, 70% strongly agreed and lastly, 72% of the respondents strongly agreed that fear of suspicion by their spouses discourages female union members from vying and/or assuming leadership positions. The findings imply that women would rather relinquish their desire for union leadership to preserve their socio-cultural values such as family, marriage, and religious adherence.

5.2.4 Role Conflict as a TU Leadership Barrier for Women
With regards to role Conflict as a TU leadership barrier for women, 56% of the respondents strongly agreed that Conflict between domestic and union work discourages women from taking up leadership positions, 56% strongly agreed that women view trade union leadership roles as demanding and burdensome, 48% strongly agreed that union meetings are normally held after work, at a time when most women would prefer utilizing it for nurturance and home-making and 50% strongly agreed that some Trade union leadership meetings are held in places that are not conducive for women. The findings imply that women are comfortable nurturing and performing household roles and not doubling dirty TU politics.

5.2.5 TU Organizational Culture as a Hindrance to Female Leadership Aspirants
On trade Union Organizational Culture as a hindrance to female leadership aspirants, (56%) of the respondents strongly agreed that institutionalized sexism in TU discourages female members
from taking up leadership positions. Concerning women are often frustrated since they find it difficult to break through the male-dominated informal leadership lobbies and networks, 66% strongly agreed. Most respondents, 68% strongly agreed that skewed employment contracts that favour men but marginalize women in terms of power and ability to vie for leadership positions. The results suggest that the union has inactive policies, programmes, and standards that enhance women participation in union leadership.

5.2.6 Intervention Policies that are used to Enhance Female Leadership in TU
Concerning, Intervention policies for Facilitating Female TU Leadership, 80% of the respondents strongly agreed that unions should reserve some leadership seats for women. On trade unions should adopt gender mainstreaming in its organizational leadership framework, 80% strongly agreed. On Unions should articulate gender mainstreaming in its organizational leadership framework, 80% strongly agreed. The findings further revealed that 86 % of the respondents strongly agreed that Women ought to also cultivate personal initiative for leadership roles, 90% of the respondents strongly agreed that Unions should institutionalise female-oriented TU sensitization and education and 90% strongly agreed that unions should initiate mentorship programmes for nurturing female members for leadership positions.

5.3 Conclusion
The study concludes that personality traits, social-cultural constraints, role conflict, trade union organizational culture hinder women from union leadership positions. It was established that Perception of women as weak, feminine and fit for homemaking roles, Non-leadership gender expectation of women, Women are seen as soft-hearted, weak, compassionate and hence cannot perform the union roles which is characterized by toughness, abrasive and combative posturing, Female union members lack the confidence to lead, Female members have limited union exposure/education/leadership due to prolonged marginalization and Female members lack the personal initiative to lead.

On social-cultural constraints the study concludes that the gender stereotyping of women as home-makers and unfit for leadership roles, patriarchal union structures that favour men but hinder women from accessing leadership positions, socially prescribed gender roles that exclude
women from leadership positions and fear of suspicion by their spouses discourages female union members from vying and/or assuming leadership positions.

The study concludes that conflict between domestic and union work discourages women from taking up leadership positions, women view trade union leadership roles as demanding and burdensome, union meetings are normally held after work, at a time when most women would prefer utilizing it for nurturance and home-making and Most Trade union leadership meetings are held in places that are not conducive for women (such as hotels, bars, clubs, restaurants, etc.). Regarding trade union organizational culture as a hindrance to female leadership aspirants, the study concluded that institutionalized sexism in TU discourages female members from taking up leadership positions, Male dominance in the trade union hierarchy make it impossible for women to penetrate, Women are often frustrated since they find it difficult to break through the male-dominated informal leadership lobbies and networks and skewed employment contracts that favour men but marginalize women in terms of power and ability to vie for leadership positions.

On Intervention policies that are used to enhance women leadership in trade union, the study determined that Unions should reserve some leadership seats for women, Unions should articulate gender mainstreaming in its organizational leadership framework, Women ought to also cultivate personal initiative for leadership role, unions should institutionalise female-oriented TU sensitization and education, Unions should make policies which meet the needs of both genders and unions should initiate mentorship programmes for nurturing female members for leadership positions.

5.4 Recommendations

From the study findings obtained, the following recommendations are made:

i. That it is time for the organization to sensitize members on doing away with the stereotypes and gender prescribed roles;

ii. KETAWU management should devote more resources such as time interest and financial support to assist women assume leadership roles in the trade union;

iii. The study also recommends that the organization should put aside some positions for women;
iv. The study endorses that the trade unions should enact policies which accommodate both genders.

5.5 Recommendation for Further Research

i. Research should be undertaken to explore the effectiveness of policies, principles and procedures that are used by trade unions to enhance the participation of female members in their union leadership

ii. A more comprehensive study can undertake to establish the scope of female participation in union leadership and challenges study face in accessing union leadership.
REFERENCES


I am Ernest Nadome, an MA (Labour Relations) student at the University of Nairobi. I am currently carrying out a research on challenges that constraint women from assuming leadership positions in Trade Unions such as KETAWU. You have therefore been identified as a respondent in this study, and I would therefore appreciate to know your views on the issue. The interview will take about 20 minutes of your time. Please read the instructions and respond to each of the questions: some will only require you to tick in the boxes provided; whereas others require you to state or write down your response(s) or comments in the spaces provided. Kindly note that your responses are confidential and will not be attributed to you as an individual. In any case, you are not required to indicate your name on this questionnaire.

Thanking you in advance for your useful responses.

Yours sincerely,

Ernest Nakeya Nadome
Appendix II: Pilot Study Interview Guide

Site Description

Describe KETAWU in terms of the following:

1. Its History/Milestones since inception.
2. Year founded Vision, Mission, objectives, Core Values.
3. Location of its branches, Gender composition of its membership and leadership.
4. Its Organizational Chart depicting the structure of its entire leaders (i.e. All the way from the Secretary General to the Shop Steward).
5. Relationship with its parent parastatal(s).
6. Its functions/services.
7. Its challenges.
8. Any other pertinent organizational issues.

Sampling Guide

9. Provide the number and work locations/stations of female KETAWU officials.
10. Specify the number of former and present female KETAWU leaders (right from the shop steward to the Highest level).
11. Give the names and workstations of unsuccessful female leadership aspirants during the last 3 Elections cycles.
12. Indicate the names and workstations of male union leaders who can be accessed for purposes of this interview.
13. Does KETAWU draw its membership from Kenya Power, KenGen, GDC, KETRACO and/or any other organization?
14. If your response for qn 13 above is yes, please avail the Histories of the respective Parastatal.
Appendix III: Respondents’ Questionnaire

Section A: Respondents’ Profile

1. Indicate your gender:
   Male [ ]
   Female [ ]

2. What is your age bracket:
   Less than 25 years [ ]
   25-29 years [ ]
   30-34 years [ ]
   35-39 years [ ]
   40-44 years [ ]
   45-49 years [ ]
   50-54 years [ ]
   55-59 years [ ]
   60 years and above [ ]

3. Name your employer:
   Kenya Power [ ]
   KenGen [ ]
   GDC [ ]
   KETRACO [ ]
   If other, specify_______________________

4. Specify your employment cadre:
   Management [ ]
   Supervisory [ ]
   Clerical [ ]
   Subordinate [ ]

5. What is your highest level of academic qualification?
   Secondary [ ]
   Diploma [ ]
   Degree [ ]
   Masters [ ]
If other, Specify__________________________________________

6. Indicate your highest level of Technical/Professional qualification(s).
   __________________________

7. Indicate the duration of your TU Membership:
   - Less than 1 year [ ]
   - 1-5 years [ ]
   - 6-10 years [ ]
   - 11-15 years [ ]
   - 16-20 years [ ]
   - Above 20 years [ ]

8. a) What is your TU Status?
   - Ordinary Union Member [ ]
   - Current/Former Union Leader [ ]
   - Unsuccessful TU Leadership Aspirant [ ]

   b) If Current or Former Union Leader, indicate the position held_____________________

   c) If Current or Former Union Leader rate, your level of experience in TU matters:
   - Very high [ ]
   - High [ ]
   - Cannot tell [ ]
   - Low [ ]
   - Very low [ ]

   d) Give reasons for yourself rating above:__________________________________________

   e) (i) If unsuccessful aspirant, indicate leadership position vied for

   (ii) Why was your leadership attempt unsuccessful?

   ________________________________________________________________
Section B: Personality traits

9. (a) Kindly rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:

Key: 5-Strongly agree, 4-Agree, 3-Undecided, 2-Disagree, 1-Strongly disagree

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perception of women as weak, feminine and fit for homemaking de roles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-leadership gender expectation of women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are seen as soft-hearted, weak, compassionate and hence cannot perform the union roles which is characterized by toughness, abrasive and combative posturing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female union members lack confidence to lead</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female members have limited union exposure/education/leadership due to prolonged marginalisation.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female members lack the personal initiative to lead</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Any other reason(s), specify____________________________________________________

c) Rank the following reasons in order of their impact, with 6 having the highest and 1 the least impact.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</table>
Section C: Socio-Cultural Constraints

10 (a) Kindly rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:

Key: 5-Strongly agree, 4-Agree, 3-Undecided, 2-Disagree, 1-Strongly disagree

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The gender stereotyping of women as home-makers and unfit for leadership roles.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriarchal union structures that favour men but hinder women from accessing leadership positions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Socially prescribed gender roles that exclude women from leadership positions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fear of suspicion by their spouses discourages female union members from vying and/or assuming leadership positions.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b). Any other reason, specify_____________________________________________________________________

(c) Rank the following reasons in order of their impact, with 4 having the highest and 1 the least impact.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
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</table>
### Section D: Role Conflict as a TU Leadership Barrier for Women

11. (a) Kindly rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:

**Key: 5-Strongly agree, 4-Agree, 3-Undecided, 2-Disagree, 1-Strongly disagree**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conflict between domestic and union work discourages women from taking up leadership positions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Women view trade union leadership roles as demanding and burdensome.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Union meetings are normally held after work, at a time when most women would prefer utilizing it for nurturance and home-making.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Most Trade union leadership meetings are held in places that are not conducive for women (i.e. hotels, bars, clubs, restaurants etc.).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b). Any other reason(s), specify

(c) Rank the following reasons in order of their impact, with 4 having the highest and 1 the least impact.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Rank</th>
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<tr>
<td>Conflict between domestic and union work discourages women from taking up leadership positions.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Section E: TU Organizational Culture as a hindrance to Female Leadership Aspirants

12. Kindly rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:

**Key: 5-Strongly agree, 4-Agree, 3-Undecided, 2-Disagree, 1-Strongly disagree**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institutionalized sexism in TU discourages female members from taking up leadership positions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male dominance in trade union hierarchy make it impossible for women to penetrate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Women are often frustrated since they find it difficult to break through the male dominated informal leadership lobbies and networks.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Skewed employment contracts that favour men but marginalize women in terms of power and ability to vie for leadership positions</td>
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(b). Any other reason(s), specify___________________________________________________

(c) Rank the following reasons in order of their impact, with 4 having the highest and 1 the least impact:

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<th>Reason</th>
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<tr>
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</table>
Section F: Intervention Policies used to Enhance Women leadership in TU

13. Kindly rate the extent to which you agree with the following intervention strategies:

**Key:** 5-Strongly agree, 4-Agree, 3-Undecided, 2-Disagree, 1-Strongly disagree

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intervention Policies</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unions should reserve some leadership seats for women.</td>
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<td>Unions should articulate gender mainstreaming in its organizational leadership framework.</td>
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<td>Women ought to also cultivate personal initiative for leadership roles.</td>
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<td>Unions should institutionalise female-oriented TU sensitization and education.</td>
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<td>Unions should make policies which meet the needs of both genders</td>
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<td>Unions should initiate mentorship programmes for nurturing female members for leadership positions</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

(b). If any other intervention strategies, specify______________________________

(c) Rank the following the identified strategies in terms of their perceived potential impact, with 6 having the highest and 1 the least impact:

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<th>Intervention Policies</th>
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