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*An Analysis of Women's Participation in  
Trade Union Leadership in Kenya*

By

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*A Management Research Project Submitted in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of  
Business Administration, Faculty of Commerce,  
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## Declaration

I the undersigned declare that this management research project is my original work and has not been presented to any university or college for any academic award in either diploma or degree.

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This management research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor

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## **Dedication**

*To All the Women Trade Unionists in Africa*

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# Acknowledgements

Mr. George Omondi, my supervisor for his patience and intellectual guidance, without whom this work would not have been completed.

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My Family especially my husband Patrick, Son Jeff and daughter Titi, it is from you that I gathered the strength and courage to complete this program. Eliud a dear brother whose support I will always be grateful for.

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## **Abstract**

This study aimed at analyzing the participation of women in trade union leadership in Kenya. To achieve this the researcher set out to determine the extent and levels of participation of women in trade union leadership and the policies, action programs and union characteristics that influence women's participation in union leadership.

The study involved gathering data from secretary generals from all registered trade unions in Kenya. Data was collected through use of a questionnaire and analyzed using descriptive statistics.

The information was presented in the form of tables and percentages in order to show union characteristics, levels of women participation and policies and action programs in place to enhance women participation in trade union leadership.

The study concluded that participation of women in trade union leadership in Kenya is still wanting. Majority of the women leaders are to be found at branch level as opposed to national level. Also most of the women in executive positions were trustees or in deputizing positions. It was further established that unions with more women members, tended to have policies and action programs that enhanced participation of women in leadership. Also those unions with women in the executive

were found to have been registered recently. It was also established that the training programs that existed in unions were so irregular to have any impact and their content most often irrelevant in equipping women with leadership skills. It was further noted that despite the existence of action programs there was little effort by unions to institutionalize them.

It is recommended that further research be conducted to understand the women in trade union leadership and how they have successfully overcome the barriers that many other women encounter in their efforts to join leadership.

## *Chapter One*

# **Introduction**

### **1.1 Background to the Problem**

Women's participation in decision-making has been identified as a critical area in poverty eradication and economic growth at the family, community and national level. However it has been recognized that despite the progress made globally in improving the status of women, gender disparities still exist, especially with regard to participation of women in executive and electoral political positions. The Beijing Platform for Action (1995), to which Kenya is a signatory clearly stipulates that "Women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision making process and access to power are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace" (Beijing Declaration and Platform for action, 1995:p8).

Trade unions are established in order to try to improve the members' welfare and regulate the relationship between the workers and the employers (Aluchio, 1998). The trade unions have the responsibility to try and improve workers conditions by securing reasonably shorter working hours, better working facilities and other welfare benefits. They are also expected to protect the workers' interests and safeguard them against exploitation.

In Kenya trade unions are involved in the formulation of national labor policy through the Central organization of trade Unions. Women in third world countries work under difficult circumstances (ILRI, 2002; Kirenga, 1997). It cannot be overemphasized that inadequate women's representation in union leadership means that women's views are often ignored or poorly represented. Some contentious issues include the issue of maternity leave where both employers and trade unionists have agreed with the current stipulation that recommends that women who go for maternity leave forfeit their annual leave. The other is that of sexual harassment. In a study by ILRI 2002, on work place harassment in the commercial and textile and manufacturing sectors in Kenya, it was found that 90 % of the women respondents had experienced or observed sexual abuse within their workplace. Majority said they did not bother to report to the union officers because they were mostly men, who the women felt would do very little. They felt uncomfortable reporting a male perpetrator to another man. The women seemed to have given up on the union who they felt had failed to tackle the issue of sexual harassment. Some women even felt that the attitude of union officials of silence on sexual harassment, was because they too thought that it is a man's right to have sex with any woman he chooses.

In its charter of the Rights of working women, the ICFTU'S executive Board and women's committee suggests that "recruitment work" (for women) should be entrusted to women more often and more women should be trained in this work. In their study in Karachi Parveen & Ali, (1991) found that a union formed by women and led by

women, had been successful in dealing with women's practical problems and drawing support from the labor movement.

In a study on the socio-economic relevance of unions to women, Hartman & Spalter (1994) conclude that collective bargaining leads to increased job tenure, productivity and wages in low wage service industries, where women are disproportionately employed. It was also evident from the study that unions with a high proportion of female members are more active in negotiating for policies and programs that promote pay equity, affirmative action, child care and women's awareness of their right to work free of sexual harassment.

The issues and models of employee/employer relations that emerge from the increased participation of women in unions can have a vital impact on the content and style of collective bargaining and the ability of unions both to increase workers living standards and increase productivity. However to continue to change the content and style of collective bargaining women need to play a greater part in union leadership. Kenya has recently experienced dramatic change in its political climate with the government creating opportunity for more women to participate in decision-making, a commendable effort indeed

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## **1.2 The Trade Union movement in Kenya**

The trade unions Act of Kenya (Cap 233) defines a trade union as "An association or combination of whether temporary or permanent of more that 6 persons (other than staff associations, employee's associations or employees' organizations not deemed to be a trade union under section 3 of this Act). The principal objects of which are under its constitution, the regulation of the relations between employees and employers, whether such a combination would or would not, if this act or any act thereby repealed had not been enacted have been deemed to have been unlawful combination by reason of some or more of it's purposes being in restraint.

A union is a distinct organization separate from an employer. Membership consists of employees, its interest's concern conditions of employment and its primary activity is representing worker interests to management. The primary role of a union in an organization is to influence an employer's decision about conditions of employment. It may also engage in fraternal activities. Trade unions have significant effect on wages, benefits and working conditions (Manda et.al. 2001; Hansen, 1997; Johnson, 1971).

### **Emergence and Development of Trade Unions in Kenya**

In Kenya trade unions came into being as a result of protests against working conditions. The employers involved were foreigners and working conditions were attributed not only to the disorder and uncertainty caused by growth of money

economies and commercial production but also equally to outside intervention. Most trade unions came into being either out of a direct confrontation of workers and employers or out of collusion between workers and politicians (Singh, 1969). In 1937 a change in the British labor policy resulted in the enactment of the 1937 Trade Unions' Ordinance which stipulated conditions under which Africans could organize themselves in trade unions. After the publication of the above ordinance, three unions were registered in Kenya by the Registrar of Trade Unions: East African Standard Union, East African Standard Staff Union and the Labor Trade union of East Africa. In 1940, the 1937 Ordinance was amended, consequently the number of trade unions in Kenya rose from three to six.

During the colonial period the authorities tried to suppress union activities through intimidation, harassment and arrest of union officials. The declaration of the state of emergency in the early 1950's made it more difficult for unions to operate as union officials were detained, while others joined the freedom fighters Mau Mau movement. However towards the late 1950's trade unions became increasingly important and better established and the basic structure of the present trade unions in Kenya was almost complete in 1960 and 1961 when unions catering for agricultural workers were formed (Singh, 1969). Among the unions registered were Transport and Allied workers Union, Domestic and Hotel Workers' Union, Quarry Workers' Union, Night Watchmen Workers' Union, East African Federation of Building Construction Workers' Union and Tailors' Union. This was followed by the formation of a National Trade

Union called the Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions in 1952. It was not registered because it was a federation of already registered unions. It was affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in 1952. After independence, however the new government sought central control of the trade union movement much in the same way as the colonial regime had done and attempts by the unions to maintain their independence were overpowered by the government.

In January 1966, Kenya by the act of parliament passed the Central Organization of Trade Union (COTU) as a control device which brought trade union movement in line with the one party state and thereby fulfilled the provision of the Sessional Paper no. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya (ROK, 1965). During the same year, the preservation of Public security Act of 1966 was passed. Under this Act, any trade union leader could be detained indefinitely. This was followed by the Trade Union Act of 1970, which gave the Registrar role of umpire of trade unions. He has the power to dissolve, make alterations of union names, and refuse to register any trade union, effect cancellation or suspend registration of a trade union. The Act made provisions for freedom of association: that is the right to form trade unions, especially as provided in the Bill of Rights. Under these acts (COTU) the management of labor is under three bodies or groups: the registrar, trade union and the employer (Makau, 2000).

COTU's functions include assisting, servicing and coordinating the activities of its affiliates and representing the affiliate's interests before the government and other outside bodies. All registered unions in Kenya are supposed to affiliate to COTU as the country's only National Trade Union Center. By 2002 there were 31 unions affiliated to COTU with plans to affiliate the Kenya National Union of teachers (KNUT), Union of the Civil Servants in Kenya and the Kenya Union of Post Primary Teachers (KUPPET).

### **Structure of Trade Unions**

Each of the 31 affiliates of COTU is organized on an industrial basis (Muir & Brown, 1973). The basic function and activities of all these unions is to organize workers, bargain collectively and to handle workers disputes and grievances. To accomplish these activities all unions rely upon shop stewards and branch secretaries to organize and recruit members. In all cases the Secretary General is the chief executive officer of the union and as such the union's highest administrative and executive official. He/she generally handles all the collective bargaining and major grievance responsibilities of the union; represents the union to its members and to the public; effectively controls all union expenditures and dominates policy formulation (Muir & Brown, 1973).

Each union in Kenya has developed as an autonomous body with its own organization based on the nature of the constitution. The union has a central unit which is

usually the executive committee or governing council spreading out other definitive units such as branches, sub branches set out either on provincial basis or district level, all depending on the type of union (Lubembe, 1968). Office bearers in each union are elected based on each union's constitution and the officers have the responsibility of implementing each union's policy. All members are eligible to take part in the election of the officials at branch level and are free to attend union meetings.

Branch members elect at delegates' conference representatives to represent them on national committees, district committees, and national conferences. These meetings and conferences enable representatives of branches of unions to participate in policy making and also determine certain lines of action directed at benefiting the members (Lubembe, 1968).

Trade unions in Kenya are generally financially weak and are occasionally faced with internal leadership struggles arising from personal, tribal and other differences. Their main source of finance is membership fees, which are not enough for example to pay strikers to sustain a strike. The limits on the trade union's ability to strike means that collective bargaining is the main mechanism through which trade unions can improve the level of earnings and terms and conditions of service in Kenya.

Conflicting empirical evidence exists concerning the influence of trade unions. Some economists argue that union monopolies and the resulting union wage premiums hinder economic growth (Hartman & Spalter, 1994). While other researchers argue that unions stimulate higher wages, resulting in higher standards of living for workers resulting in increased productivity from a more loyal and experienced workforce (Manda et.al., 2001; Manda, 1997; Hansen, 1997; Johnson, 1971). Current trends in the labor market show that there has been a shift from manufacturing to service industry which has seen a dramatic rise in the number of women now in paid work (Holmes & Jackson, 2000). Hence if trade unions are to make any sense in the 21st century they need to recruit and retain large numbers of women workers who make up of the formal employment in Kenya. And if women are to be better represented by their trade unions, they need to have a greater prominence in the leadership roles and decision-making bodies of those unions.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

In spite of their increasing participation and the fact that they constitute most of the new members, women are still under-represented in trade unions (ICFTU, 1999). Out of a total membership of the International Confederation of Free Trade Union (ICFTU) of 156 million in some 148 countries, women account for only about 61 million. Women are even more seriously under represented in trade union leadership worldwide. While they make up about 39 per cent of global trade union membership, they represent only one percent of the decision-making bodies of Unions (ICFTU,

1999). In a survey in the United States of America, Elkis (1994) found out that of the eighty-nine national unions affiliated with the AFL - CIO, only three had a female president. Only nine per cent of the women held top elected positions. Majority were found in administrative positions which carry little power compared to elected posts. She further observed that majority of the women sat on committees that held no real power. In a study of women union leaders in Massachusetts, Melcher et.al. 1992, found that women held 28 percent of local union offices, but only 14 percent were presidents. The least powerful union position, that of local secretary, was held by 51 percent of the women surveyed. Women chaired only 6.9 percent of negotiating committees and 5.6 percent of grievance committees. However women chaired over half of the education committees (holding little power and influence).

In general, women hold very few powerful positions, especially in those unions where women make up a large number of the members. Furthermore, women's participation rate in union executive bodies declines the higher up one looks in the hierarchy (Gladstone, 1988, Kirenga, 1997). Kirenga, points out that in Uganda, by 1997 of the 19 unions affiliated to the umbrella organization, National Organization of Trade Unions (NOTU), there was only one female Secretary General while the positions of chairmen and treasurer were all held by men. Of the five workers representatives in parliament, all but one were men. And it took a lot of effort to include the one woman in the team of five.

In Kenya in 1985/1986 women took a mere 3.1 percent of trade union positions (Zezeza, 1988). Nowhere has women's gross under-representation in top ranks of trade union leadership been more glaring than in COTU itself. From its formation in 1966 to date, no woman has ever sat on COTU's executive board.

Trade unions are still not women friendly and the inclusion of gender perspectives in trade union policies and programs is far from being achieved (Zezeza, 1988; ICFTU, 1999; Njihia, 2002). Unions cannot be credible and claim to fight for workers rights when they fail to adequately address gender issues in their structures and business. Research from the developed countries analyzing participation of women in trade union leadership is plenty, (Elikiss,1994; Melcher et. al, 1992; Gladstone,1988) but little research has been done to analyze the representation of women in trade union leadership in Kenya (Njihia,2002; Zezeza, 1988). These studies in Kenya sought to investigate the extent of women participation in trade unions without trying to identify the various levels at which they participate in. This study therefore intends to investigate both the extent and levels of women participation in trade union leadership in Kenya.

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

- (1) To determine the extent and administrative levels of participation of women in leadership of trade unions in Kenya.

- (2) To identify the policies, action programs and union characteristics that influence women's participation in union leadership.

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The study would be important to trade unions as it would assist them evaluate their performance towards gender equity and integration. The results of the study would also assist the government through the ministry of labor and human resource development in monitoring the participation of women in trade unions and gender mainstreaming in labor policy and administration.

In addition in this era of strong trends towards gender equity both nationally and internationally, it is especially important to understand trade union culture as distinct from the corporate culture, and what kinds of prospects it bears on the participation of women in trade union leadership. The study may afford an opportunity for any interested parties to appreciate not only the "gender gap" that may need to be addressed with appropriate policies and programs but also in identifying the structural deficiencies that may require modifications.

## **Literature Review**

### **2.1 Theories on participation of women in the labor Process**

In the study of the participation of women in the labor process, there are several theories that acquire immediate relevance and applicability. One is the feminist theory which recognizes the pervasive influence of gender divisions in social life and tries to understand women's oppression and the structures in society that inform this oppression and subordination. The feminist perspective looking at the many similarities between the genders concludes that women and men have equal potential for individual development. Differences in the realization of that potential therefore must result from externally imposed constraints and from the influence of social institutions and values (Nzomo. 1995).

Feminists question the essentialist view of women that designates them to certain roles in society and not others (Richardson 1997, Alcoff, 1997). They have also described the labor market as being highly segregated along gender lines to the disadvantage of women (Walby, 1997; Witz, 1997). 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.

The perspective conceived in this study is broad with no specific feminist ideology in mind. Rather the perspective 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. This division determines and limits choices and opportunities of women to participate fully and effectively in public decision-making capacities (Nzomo, 1995).

Feminist scholarship begins with the premise that "women enter unions differently from men because of their workplace locations and their household/family responsibilities (Briskin, 1992:82), and these differences present a profound challenge to male based union practice. But feminist research has had little influence on mainstream industrial relations thinking. While feminist scholarship has reshaped the social sciences, it has made surprisingly few inroads into the field of industrial relations (Wajcman, 2000:183)

## **2.2 Barriers Facing Women When Seeking Union Leadership Positions**

In Kenya, unionization is found in the manufacturing, trade, transport sectors, large-scale agriculture and teaching service. The trade unions' main objectives are to improve the welfare of their members by negotiating high earnings for their members, bettering their conditions of service and by increasing job tenure. Given these attractive objectives, one would expect a majority of the workers to be trade union members. However only a third of the formal sector workers and even fewer women

have joined unions (Manda et.al 2001). Evidence exists concerning the influence of trade unions on wages. For instance a study by Hansen (1994) of Sweden finds the effect of trade unions on wages to be negative for male workers and positive for female workers. Hartman (1994) in a study in the United States of America found that the wages of a female union member are 12% higher than those of a woman who is not a union member. The question that arises is why then do women find it increasingly difficult to join trade unions or even participate in trade union leadership?

### **Family Roles and Responsibilities**

Researchers have found that women in unions face a host of barriers that bar them from participating in union leadership (Koziara & Pierson, 1980; Chaison & Andappan, 1989; Elkis, 1994; Njihia, 2002). The greatest barrier is their dual roles at home and work. It is only after their children are grown that women have the time to devote to union activities. They begin to climb up the union hierarchy at a much older age than most of their male colleagues.

Jafee and Caine (1998) in their study on the incorporation of women in the industrial workforce found that in South Africa, the women's involvement in trade union activities had brought conflict with their spouses, who often viewed their activities with suspicion. This is usually worsened by the amount of traveling these officials have to make and times scheduled for their meetings. More often the meetings are scheduled after working hours which run late into the night and sometimes in places

not sociable for women e.g. bars. Given the obligations of union officials, women find it difficult to balance work and family responsibilities. This is made worse by a spouse who is not supportive at home.

### **Gender Stereo Types**

Stereotypes regarding the "appropriate" behavior for women exist, such as, women are difficult to organize, women are more concerned with family issues than their job or union and also women lack self confidence and therefore underestimate their ability to be union officers (Elkiss,1994; Njihia, 2002). Feminists locate the roots of these gender inequities in patriarchal and capitalist ideologies and unwritten structures of society, which result in an unequal gendered division of labor in private and public life. This division determines and limits choices and opportunities of women to participate fully and effectively in decision making. In understanding this dilemma, it emerges that the dichotomy between the public and private sector is very small. Works within and outside families are shaped both by a patriarchal gender system and a capitalist economic system (Briskin, 1992). Thus it is for this reason that women allow men to sit on the committees and make policy decisions affecting the women's lives. Being a union official may be perceived a male "job" so that many women are reluctant to support other women for office. 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.

Chimanikire (1987) found that in Zimbabwe women are not offered the same employment opportunities as men despite the labor relation's act. There remains inequality in wages, training for skilled work, promotion and lack of access to loan or credit facilities. However the women were considered not aggressive enough in their pursuit of equalities in wages, training, promotion and credit facilities.

Feminists' scholarship begins with the premise that women enter unions differently from men because of their workplace locations and their household/family responsibilities (Briskin 1999:88). They question the essentialist views of women that designates them to certain roles in society and not others (Richardson, 1997; Alcoff, 1997). They have also described the labor market as being highly segregated along gender lines to the disadvantage of women. This situation calls for interventions that would seek to address these gender disparities.

### **Union Rules and Structures**

Historically the labor movement has been constituted largely by men and the culture of the movement and of unions has been masculine. In this sense the institutionalized sexism of the labor market are reflected in the sexual disadvantage within the internal life of trade unions. This calls into question unions' ability to manage diversity among their (potential) members (Bradley & Hebson, 1998). It is argued that organizational structures, processes and practices are connected with hegemonic forms of masculinity and the respective values, norms and ideologies

which effectively bar many women from equal participation in management (Lange, 1997).

Entrenched union rules and structures are not conducive to women's participation and advancement to leadership position (Njihia, 2002; Chimanikire, 1987). Njihia (2002), investigated the problems Kenyan women face as far as participation in trade unions and the extent women specific issues have been addressed. The study involved 28 trade unions from Nairobi. The results showed that barriers women face in participation in trade unions, include employment contracts which bar women from joining trade unions, and the lack of recognition agreements between the organization and the trade unions. It was also observed that women failed to participate as officials because of the fees contestants had to pay which were beyond the reach of many members. She also observed that majority of the women in leadership (60.7%) were at the branch level.

It is worth noting that 90% of the 27 million workers in Export Processing Zones are women most of them between the ages of 16 - 25 years (AFL-GO). The EPZ's are tax-free industrial areas for foreign companies and in such zones labor laws are suspended. Women face anti union attitudes from supervisors, double shifts and gender based discrimination. This works against the rights of the women who have no avenue to air their grievances.

Olukoshi 1991, observed that in Nigeria women lacked the confidence to join unions or to aspire to leadership positions because the informal procedures in the unions for nominations or appointments relied on established male networks. Olukoshi, in a research comparing unionized and non-unionized factories in Nigeria found that in the unionized factory, issues of gender are of primary concern to women workers especially job segregation on the basis of gender. In the non-unionized factory, in contrast, class issues were of over riding importance to women workers as they fought to establish a union against management wishes. It was observed that women often lacked the confidence to join unions or to aspire to leadership positions. The male dominated culture or activities of the union or hostile reactions from male members were found to discourage women from joining unions. Informal procedures in the unions for nominations or appointments rely on established male networks. This is supported by Pittin's research in Nigeria in 1984, which found that men utilized gender discrimination to gain or maintain for themselves positions of relative privilege and power. This comes as no surprise as the male dominated culture or activities of the union and hostile reactions from male members discourage women from joining unions or aspiring for leadership positions. Women find themselves discouraged from becoming union officials because they are silenced at union meetings, blocked from appointment from key positions or excluded from election slates.

Women often are frustrated because they find it difficult to break through the informal networks. There is evidence showing that women feel that men do not take

their issues and problems seriously, engaged in sexual harassment (including sexist language) and generally did not support them (Trebilcock, 1988).

It is evident that the "glass ceiling" existing in the corporate world which blocks qualified women from positions of power also exists for women who attempt to move into leadership positions in the union. This glass ceiling consists of artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational bias that prevent individuals from advancing into management level positions.

Elkiss (1992) conducted a survey to identify barriers that women face in moving to union leadership positions, after they attended a three day women's leadership training workshop in the state of Illinois. Questionnaires were mailed to a hundred women. In the study it emerged that the barriers women faced were similar to those identified in other studies. The top five barriers included family time constraints, lack of self-confidence, need for more union education, fear of burnout and stress and frequent travel required. It also emerged from the study that the least cited barriers were that of not knowing how to run for office, fear of reprisals from management and attitude of husband or partner. What emerges as interesting is what the Americans considered as minor barriers, were considered as significant barriers in Africa.

It has also been suggested that women do not run for office because they lack skills about union structure or administration, such as conducting local meetings,

presenting motions and running for office (Elkiss, 1994.) This comes as no surprise since women are clustered in positions of low rank and little power in their unions, and are least likely to be sent to educational conferences or training workshops. Hence unless a more powerful person is willing to help show them the ropes (serve as a mentor), they cannot gain the requisite skills and contacts to seek positions as top offices.

### **2.3 Strategies for Strengthening Women's Participation in Trade union Leadership**

It has been argued that having women serve as top officers enhances a union's ability to organize unorganized women workers (Hartmann, 1994; Breger, 1992; Trebilcock, 1991; Ledwith, 1990). Also once women are in position of influence and power women may use their agency to inject their own beliefs, values and concerns into strategy, policy and actions (Trebilcock, 1991). Various measures and strategies have been proposed and some implemented in various unions to enhance women's participation in decision making. For example in industrialized countries like the United States, Nordic countries and Japan there has been effort to provide for opportunities to reform the male dominated workers unions and to develop women workers unions through the promotion of feminism (Moghadam, 2000). Unions have been encouraged to consider radical measures including, setting up advisory committees within their constitutions machinery to ensure that the special interests of it's women members are protected and to ensure women's representation on decision making bodies either through the creation of additional seats or by co-option (Beale, 1982).

A survey of the South East Regions Trade Unions Congress (SERTUC) in the United Kingdom shows that majority of the large TUC trade unions have a range of strategies to encourage and increase women's involvement. These include having national women's committees, national equality conferences and having women only education. These measures have brought change within the internal life of trade unions, in that women's representation, participation and involvement has increased over time (Labor research , 2000).

Going even further, some suggestions include adding an equality clause to union constitutions. Included in such a statement should be affirmative action plans that set goals, fix timetables, and designate monitoring mechanisms to track progress made towards proportional representation of women in union leadership (Trebilcock, 1991).

Trebilcock (1991) argues for the establishment of women's committees, which have adequate financial support and strong links to traditional decision-making structure. Such committees can provide a forum where women's issues are raised and give women an opportunity to gain experience in union affairs.

Roby & Uttal, (1988) in their study in the United States asked stewards what their union could do to make participation easier. The primary request was to schedule meetings at more convenient times, provide sufficient notice of scheduled meetings, and hold meetings at convenient locations. Women trade union activists believe that

another way to increase women's participation in trade unions is by making trade union education more accessible to women and creating women's committees in existing trade unions (Gooding & Reeve, 1993; Roby & Utall, 1988).

In a study on women's participation in trade unions in Kenya, Njihia, 2002 found that close to half of the unions had special recruitment mechanisms to assist in recruitment of women. The study concluded that there was a positive relationship between the number of women in trade unions and availability of gender policies. The study found out that the main programs used to address gender issues included use of committees and use of officers. They also used workshops and seminars to encourage participation and as a way of correcting gender imbalances. The researcher recommended that formulation of a gender and management system was critical in ensuring that gender was institutionalized in the trade unions. However this study was silent on the effectiveness of the policies and administrative measures that existed in unions to encourage women's participation in leadership. It would be interesting to also find out whether there is anything unique about unions that had more women in leadership and the type of positions they held.

Elkiss (1992) conducted a survey in the United States to quantify the move if any into upper level union leadership positions of past participants after they had attended a three-day training program. It was observed that only six past participants stated that they had moved into higher leadership positions indicating that the effect of the

training was minimal. The low number of women moving to higher positions was attributed to the duration of time between the training and when the evaluation was conducted. It was noted that the one-year was not sufficient for women to gain the necessary skill and political connection to attain higher office. This study like Njihia's however did not seek to evaluate the content of the training, which at times may not reflect the needs of the women.

A study by Roby (1995) in the United States examines how workers become union stewards and how gender and race influences this process. She concludes that union leaders who wish to recruit more women and minorities as union stewards can do so if, in addition to posting flyers and making newsletter announcements about steward positions, they make one-to-one contact with members. Recognizing that women may have particular needs and priorities different from those of men, unions need to adopt special measures to recruit female members. Unions have found that recruitment tends to be more successful when they adopt a multi-pronged approach consisting of a range of measures over a period of time rather than relying on any single measure. In particular they need to empower women. One of the major reasons why women do not join unions is because they do not understand how unions can help them (Roby, 1995). Roby further stresses that unions need to raise awareness and sensitize potential women members on the benefits of unionization. They should also encourage women to get involved in management and decision-making, as this will enhance the addressing of issues specific to women during the whole process of collective bargaining.

Various organizations have been at the forefront of trade union education for women in Kenya. These include the ILO, ICFTU and Friedrich-Ebert Foundation. The strengthening of trade unions and of their ability to perform their tasks, especially with respect to promoting the equality of men and women, is of primary concern to these organizations. COTU and some individual unions also conduct their own educational programs for women workers. The educational programs have to some extent benefited some women workers and helped raise their profile in the trade union movement, both as members and officials, especially on the shop floor and in the branches. Despite this women are still poorly represented in union leadership. All too often women are passive recipients of an educational diet prepared by men, which is at best lightly peppered with concern about the state of women's participation in the trade union movement. While many of the training programs are sponsored locally, there is also a high level of dependence on outside financial and organizational assistance (Zezeza, 1988).

In some countries, major structural changes have taken place, which include reserving seats for women on executive boards or mandating that a minimum number of candidates running for union office be female (Kirenga, 1997; Trebilcock, 1991). For example in Uganda, Kirenga attributes the increase in number of women in executive positions (even though 50% were in deputizing positions), to the constitutional change, which incorporated affirmative measures to ensure female representation in the national parliament. This became a practice for most organizations that

implemented affirmative action at all levels and which enabled women in trade unions to take up leadership positions.

The literature has highlighted the barriers women face when becoming union officials and strategies put in place to strengthen their participation. But little seems to have been done to establish whether these strategies do strengthen women's participation in trade union leadership. Indeed data on the number of women participation in trade union leadership is abundant in Western countries unlike in Kenya. It is worth finding out the levels of participation of women in leadership in trade unions in Kenya and whether there is any deliberate effort by unions to enhance proportional representation of women in union leadership.

## **Research Methodology**

### **3.1 Research Design**

The survey design was used because of its appropriateness in establishing relationships between variables. Also this design facilitated the collection of information regarding the current status of women's participation in trade union leadership which led to drawing of conclusions across trade unions in Kenya.

### **3.2 Population**

The target population consisted of all national Secretary Generals from the national executive committee, in each of the 31 registered trade unions in Kenya. The selection of the Secretary Generals was purposive based on the fact that they are the chief executive officers of their unions, and since they handle all the collective bargaining and dominate policy formulation, they are better placed to provide adequate factual information. This was a census study of all registered trade unions in Kenya.

### **3.3 Data Collection**

A self-administered questionnaire was used to collect data. The questionnaire consisted of the following sections:

**Section A:**

This section consisted of demographic details like the name of the trade union, industry that the union represents, number of members, number of women members, and the occupational categories of union members and tenure.

**Section B:**

This section sought information on the number of elective positions, appointed positions and number of women occupying those seats.

**Section C:**

This section sought information of the types of policies and action programs in place to address gender issues. Also information was sought on the effectiveness of the said policies.

**3.4 Data Analysis**

The quantitative data gathered was analyzed descriptively; this involved the use of frequencies, percentages and mean scores. Data regarding union characteristics was presented using frequency distribution tables. Unions as a result were ranked depending on the number of action programs and types of policies in place. Demographic information for example number of members in the union, number of women members, number of elective and appointive posts were also presented using frequency distribution tables.

## Chapter Four

# Data Analysis and Findings

This chapter presents data analyzed from questionnaires administered to executive union representatives.

### 4.1 Demographic Characteristics

Unions were required to indicate the occupational category of their members, majority of the unions (65%) in the sample represented non- manual workers.

**Table 4.1: Distribution of the Sample by Occupational Category**

Type of Workers	Frequency	Percentage
Non manual workers	13	65%
Manual workers	4	20%
Professionals	3	15%
Total	20	100%

Most of the unions in the sample (45%) would be classified under the small size category. Table 4.2 shows that only 10 percent of the unions had union membership of 20,000 and above. This was even worse for women who were poorly represented in unions. The union with the highest representation of women as shown in table 4.3 had between 100 and 500 members.

**Table 4.2: Distribution of respondents when categorized by union membership**

<b>No. of Members</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Below 5000	9	45%
50001- 10000	4	20%
10001 – 150000	2	10%
15001 – 20000	3	15%
20001 – above	2	10%
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 4.3: Distribution of respondents when categorized by women representation**

<b>No. of women</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Below 100	1	10%
101 – 500	8	40%
501 – 1000	6	30%
1001 – 5000	3	15%
5001 – 10000	0	0%
10,001 and above	1	5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 4.3 shows that majority of the members in trade unions are male with few women. This is bound to affect the women's ability to participate in union leadership, as fewer of them are available to contest for the leadership positions.

Table 4.4 gives responses regarding when their unions were registered. It emerged that most of the unions had been registered for more than 20 years. Only two unions have been registered within the last five years.

**Table 4.4: Description of unions when categorized by number of years since registration**

<b>Years since registration</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
20 and above	11	55%
15 - 19	4	20%
5 - 14	3	15%
Less than 5	2	10%
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100%</b>

#### **4.2 Extent and Levels of Participation of Women in Leadership of Trade Unions**

In an effort to find out the extent of women's participation in trade union leadership, respondents were asked to indicate the rate of participation of women.

**Table 4.5: Rating of Women's Participation In Trade Union Leadership**

<b>Rating</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Very Poor	2	10%
Poor	3	15%
Satisfactory	9	45%
Good	4	20%
Very Good	2	10%
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100%</b>

It is clear from table 4.5 that majority (45%) of the respondents rated women's participation in trade union leadership as satisfactory. It was worth noting that 10% of the respondents rated the participation of women in trade unions as very good. This could be an indication that unions are making deliberate efforts to encourage women in leadership positions in their unions. It was clear that there was also a correlation between the age of the union and their views towards women participation in trade union leadership. The two unions that rated the participation of women in trade unions leadership as very good had been registered within the last five years. The unions that rated the participation of women highly in trade unions acknowledged that they encouraged women to vie for the seats and had a number of them in elected positions.

Comparison was made with the number of women members and rating of participation of women in union leadership. Table 4. 6 shows that unions with few women rated women's participation as very poor or poor. None of the unions with women members below 500 rated the participation of women as good or as very good. The two unions, which rated women's participation as very good, had over 5000 women members. This shows that women's participation in trade union leadership is bound to be higher in unions where there were more women members.

When asked to indicate whether they had women in elective positions, majority of the respondents (60%) said yes while the rest (40%) said they did not. Most of the unions highlighted positions mainly in deputy positions apart from one union, which has a

woman treasurer. Majority of the respondents indicated women in the trustee's position (70%) and three said they had assistant treasurers at national level. Table 4.7 shows that the situation with regard to appointive positions was much better with all the unions. Each indicated that they had representatives from each union at national level for which at least one would be a woman. Some unions have this clearly stipulated in their constitution.

**Table 4.6: Rating of Women's Participation in Unions as per the number of women in each union**

No of women	V. Poor	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	V. Good	Total
Below 100	1 (5%)			1 (5%)		2
101-500	1 (5%)	3 (15%)	4 (20%)			8
501-1000			4 (20%)	2(10%)		6
1001-5000				2 (10%)	1 (5%)	3
5001-10000						0
10001 and above					1 (5%)	1
Total	2(10%)	3 (15%)	9 (45%)	4 (20%)	2 (10%)	20

Table 4.7 indicates that in majority of the unions women were mainly placed at branch level as opposed to national level.

**Table 4.7: Description of Women Unions Officials as placed at branch and National level**

Level	Frequency	Percentage
Branch level	14	70%
National Level	6	30%
Total	20	100%

The respondents were also required to indicate the departments where women were to be found.

**Table 4.8: Distribution of departments Women are to be found in**

<b>Department</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Administration	3	15%
Education & Training	6	30%
Women Affairs	7	35%
Industrial Relations	2	10%
Child Labor	2	10%
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 4.8 indicates that majority of the women were to be found in women affairs departments and in education and training. Only two unions indicated that they had women in the industrial relations department. This indicates that few women actually take part in decision making during collective bargaining. As a result this is bound to influence the issues that would be presented for negotiation. These issues would certainly be dominated by issues that men considers priority thereby negating women issues to the periphery.

Table 4.9 shows that few women chaired the collective bargaining committees. Only one union indicated that a woman chaired this committee.

**Table 4.9: Description of Committees Women Chair**

<b>Committee</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Finance	2	10%
Welfare	8	40%
Training	5	25%
Collective Bargaining	1	5%
Not applicable	4	20%
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100%</b>

### **4.3 Policies and Action Programs in the Unions**

Information was sought regarding whether there were policies and action programs within the unions that enhanced women's participation in union leadership. Many Unions (60%) have some form of policy addressing gender. Only 40% of the respondents indicated that they had no policy on gender. This shows unions have some sensitivity towards women's issues.

When asked to indicate the extent the policies had led to more women participating in leadership, table 4.10 indicates that majority (60%) of the respondents felt that it had done so, to some extent. Two respondents felt they were not sure.

**Table 4.10: Extent to which policies have led to Women participating in Leadership**

<b>Extent</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
To a Large Extent	1	5%
To Some Extent	12	60%
To a Small Extent	4	25%
To No extent at all	1	5%
Not Sure	2	10%
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100%</b>

When the respondents were asked to indicate whether there were any union rules that were not conducive to women participating in trade union leadership, majority of the respondents did not think so (65%). The rest indicated that they did not know.

#### 4.3.1 Action Programs

The study sought to find out whether unions have in place action programs that enhance participation of women in trade union leadership. These include training programs for women. Despite many respondents (60%) acknowledging the existence of such programs, they were not regular. Table 4.11 indicates that majority of the unions held them once a year with 30% of the respondents not being sure, an indication of the irregularity of these programs.

**Table 4.11: Distribution of the frequency of training programs for Women**

Frequency of occurrence	Frequency	Percentage
Monthly	2	10%
Quarterly	4	20%
Once a year	8	40%
Not Sure	6	30%
Total	20	100%

When asked for the content, it was found that they covered a wide range of issues including income generating projects, trade union activities, women's legal rights at work and women development. When asked to indicate the effectiveness of these

programs in encouraging women to seek elective positions, table 4.11 shows that a substantial number of respondents were not sure (45%).

**Table 4.12: Success of Training Programs in Encouraging Women to seek Elective Positions in Unions**

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	5	25%
No	6	30%
Not Sure	9	45%
Total	20	100%

This raises to question the seriousness of these training programs as an intervention measure. When asked to indicate whether their unions carried out publicity campaigns to educate their women members, majority of the unions (70%) indicated they did not while 30% did. The frequency of the campaigns were yearly showing that majority of the unions carried out yearly campaigns.

When asked to rate the usefulness of the campaigns in mobilizing women, the six unions that had publicity campaigns felt they were useful and the other two felt they were somehow useful.

#### **4.3.2 Administrative Measures**

The respondents were asked to indicate whether their unions had put in place any administrative measures to improve women's' participation in union leadership. Majority of the unions (60%) said they had done so, only (40%) had not. When asked

to indicate the type of measures, the respondents cited workshops and seminars and establishment of women's committees.

Respondents were also asked whether they were satisfied with the number of women in leadership positions in their unions. Majority (75%) said they were not as opposed to 25% of them who indicated that they were satisfied. Majority of the unions who indicated that they were satisfied had between 1000-5000 women members. The unions who were not satisfied indicated that they had made effort to encourage women to participate in leadership. For example some unions had made it a policy that there must be at least two women representatives at the national executive council. Some have gone out of their way to support women candidates by encouraging them to contest the various seats that were available.

When asked for their greatest impediment in trying to encourage women to participate in leadership, majority of the unions (65%) cited the attitude of the women towards participating in leadership. Most women are found at the lower ranks in their unions and lack the necessary skills to seek positions as top officers. Also one impediment cited by unions represented by manual workers was the unwillingness of men to vote for women. The workers felt that women are too weak to make any significant representation on their behalf to their employers. When asked to indicate whether they had any plans to address the impediments in the future, a large number (65%) said they would while 25% were not sure. 10% had no plans to address the impediments.

## **Discussion, Summary and Conclusions**

This chapter presents a discussion on the research findings in the context of the research problem. In the statement of the problem it is argued that little research has been done to analyze the representation of women in trade union leadership in Kenya. This study investigated the extent and levels of participation of women in trade union leadership. Majority of the unions (65%) represent non-manual workers with 15% representing professionals.

In addition a greater number of the unions (45%) would be classified under the small size category with members below 5000. Only 10% of the unions had union membership of 20,000 and above. These numbers are lower for women who are poorly represented in trade unions. Majority of unions 40% had women members of between 100 and 500. Only one union had more than 10,000 women members. This shows that women are grossly underrepresented in the trade union movement. Majority of the women do not see the need to join unions, as they fail to see what the union can do for them.

The small number of women in the trade union movement is bound to reflect itself in the composition of leaders in the unions. It is expected that there will be fewer

women vying for leadership positions given their limited numbers already. Also the delegates are most likely to be men who are bound to influence the voting outcome on the basis of gender.

Majority of the respondents (45%) rate women's participation in trade union leadership as satisfactory. It is also worth noting that 10% of the respondents rated the participation of women in trade unions as very good. There was a relationship between the age of the union and their views towards women's participation in trade union leadership. The two unions that rated the participation of women highly had been registered less than five years ago. These unions also had more women in elective positions. This indicates that new unions were more responsive to change than the older ones, which had entrenched male dominated union rules, structures and policies.

It was also observed that unions with few women (below 500) rated women's participation as very poor (5%) or poor (5%). None of these unions rated the participation of women as good or as very good. The two unions, which rated women's participation as very good, had over 5000 women members. This shows that women's participation in trade union leadership is bound to be higher in unions where there were more women members. Despite this one of the unions, which had women in elective positions, had less than 500 women members. It was also a union representing professional members.

All the unions indicated that they had women in appointive positions. Three of the unions indicated that they had a provision in their constitution requiring that for the representatives in the national executive council at least two must be women. The same applied at branch level where the unions required at least one female representative at the branch level. Majority of the unions 70% indicated that women were mainly placed at branch level as opposed to national level. It was also worth noting that majority of the women were to be found in women affairs department (35%) and in education and training (30%). Only two unions indicated that they had women in industrial relations department. The implication is that women's issues are unlikely to take center stage and hence fail to feature during collective bargaining as fewer women participate in policy making.

When asked to indicate the committees' women chaired, only one union indicated that a woman chaired the collective bargaining committee and 40% of the unions indicated that women chaired the welfare committee. Another committee that women chair was the training committee with 25% of the unions acknowledging this. This confirms various studies that show that women chaired committees with little power especially with regard to policy making. This has a result resulted in trivializing of women's issues as they are considered secondary.

The study also sought to identify the policies, structures, action programs and union characteristics that influence women's participation in union leadership. It was

observed that the union with women members above 10,000 had gender issues enshrined in their constitution. This could be attributed to the fact that most of the unions with less than 100 women members represent industries where women are disproportionately represented hence would see no need to enshrine it in their constitutions. Most of the unions (60%) have some form of policy addressing gender. Indeed this number has not translated itself into more women in leadership positions. This indicates a problem in implementation or trade off on women related issues. It is observed that unions with higher number of women tended to have gender policies as opposed to those with fewer women members. When asked to indicate the extent to which these policies had led to more women participating in union leadership, 60% of the respondents felt that it had done so to some extent with 2 respondents indicating that they were not sure. 65% of the respondents did not think that there were any union rules that were not conducive to women participating in trade union leadership. An indication that majority of the rules were seen from the male perspective.

60% of the unions have administrative measures to improve women's participation in trade union leadership. The administrative measures that were cited include seminars and workshops, and establishment of women's affairs committee.

Majority of the unions 75% were not satisfied with the number of women in leadership positions in their union. Unions who indicated satisfaction had between 1000-5000 women members. Unions indicated that they were doing something to encourage

women to participate in trade union leadership. Some indicated having policies that required having women representatives at executive level. Some encouraged women to contest for seats and supported them (women) by encouraging the delegates to vote for them.

The respondents cited women's unwillingness to contest as the greatest impediment towards their efforts in having more women in leadership. 65% of the unions indicated their willingness in addressing these impediments.

### **5.1 Recommendations for Further Studies**

- (1) More research would be required to identify the characteristics of the women who are union leaders and how they have overcome some of the barriers women experience in union leadership.
- (2) It would be important to assess the effectiveness of the policies and action programs that unions have put in place to enhance women's participation in trade union leadership.

### **5.2 Limitations**

The significance of the results of the study should be however be analyzed in the light of the following limitations to the study

- (1) The population of the study may not have been large enough to justify making generalization of all trade unions in Kenya. Out of a targeted 31 registered

unions only 20 responded to the questionnaire.

- (2) The study did not address the significance of the relationship between union characteristics and number of women in trade union leadership. The study only determined that there was a relationship but the statistical significance of this relationship was not determined.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

- Women in Kenyan trade unions are not involved in policy making, which has resulted to disparities in the content and style of collective bargaining. As a result women issues are trivialized and considered secondary and of special interest.
- It is clear that even though many unions have adopted various positive strategies to enhance women's participation in trade union affairs, this has not translated into transformation of union culture and agendas. Union leadership is still a male affair.
- Going by the numbers of women in trade union leadership we may also conclude that unions have as yet to show a strong commitment to gender equality.

### **5.4 Recommendations**

- Unions need to facilitate the advancement of women into leadership positions by not only embracing a policy of equality but by also formulating a gender integration and management system that will institutionalize gender issues in the trade union. This will call on effort by both men and women write action programs

targeting both genders.

- Unions need to examine their internal structures objectively and determine obstacles that prevent women from moving into leadership. Unions must commit financial resources and offer women political support. Any focused effort to move women into leadership must take into consideration women's often-distinctive life experience.

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# Appendices

## Appendix I

### List of Trade Unions Registered in Kenya

1. Amalgamated Union of Kenya Metal Workers
2. Kenya Union of Commercial food and allied Workers
3. Kenya Union of entertainment and industry employees
4. Kenya Union journalists
5. Kenya Union of printing, Publishing paper manufacturers and allied workers
6. National Seamen Union of Kenya
7. Railways Workers Union
8. Tailors and textile workers union
9. Kenya Union of Domestic, hotels, educational institutions, hospitals and allied workers
10. Union of Post and Telecommunication
11. Union of scientific, research, technical and general employees.
12. Transport and Allied workers Union
13. Banking, Insurance and Finance Union
14. Kenya Electrical Trade and Allied workers union
15. Kenya Bakers and confectioners workers Union
16. Kenya Game Hunting and Safari workers Union
17. Kenya quarry and mine workers Union
18. Kenya National Union of Fishermen
19. Kenya Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union
20. Kenya Petroleum and Oil Workers Union
21. Kenya Union of Sugar Plantation Workers
22. Kenya Airline Pilots Association
23. Kenya Local government Workers Union
24. Kenya Engineering Workers Union
25. Kenya chemical and Allied workers Union
26. Kenya Building and construction, civil engineering and Allied workers Union.
27. Dockworkers Union
28. Kenya Union of shipping and clearing and warehoused workers
29. Union of National research institutions staff of Kenya
30. Kenya Guards and Allied workers Union
31. Kenya Union of Post Primary Teachers
32. Kenya National Union of Teachers
33. Union of Academic Staff of Universities
34. Union of Civil Servants

## Appendix II: Questionnaire

### Questionnaire for Secretary Generals of Trade Unions

#### Part A: (INFORMATION ABOUT THE UNION)

1. What is the name of your trade union?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
2. Indicate the occupational category of the members you mostly represent  
Non manual workers  
Manual workers  
Professionals  
Other please specify \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
3. How many members are in your union?  
Below 5000 [ ]  
5001 - 10000 [ ]  
10001 - 15000 [ ]  
15001 - 20000 [ ]  
20001 and above [ ]
  
4. How many of the members are female?  
0-100 [ ]  
101-500 [ ]  
501-1000 [ ]  
1001-5000 [ ]  
5001-10,000 [ ]  
10,001 and above [ ]
  
6. In which year was your union registered?

#### Part B: (INFORMATION ON EXTENT AND LEVELS OF PARTICIPATION)

7. (a) How would you rate the participation of women in leadership in the union? (Please tick)  
Very Poor [ ]  
Poor [ ]  
Satisfactory [ ]

Good [ ]  
Very Good [ ]

(b) Please give reasons \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. How would you rate management support for gender issues in the union?  
(Please tick)

Very Poor [ ]  
Poor [ ]  
Satisfactory [ ]  
Good [ ]  
Very Good [ ]

9. (a) Do you have women in elective positions?

Yes [ ]  
No [ ]  
Not Sure [ ]

(b) If Yes please indicate the positions \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

10. (a) Do you have women in appointive positions?

Yes [ ]  
No [ ]  
Not Sure [ ]

(b) If Yes please indicate the positions \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

11. What level is the majority of women union officials placed in the union?

Branch Level [ ]  
Provincial Level [ ]  
National level [ ]

12. What departments are women to be found in your union?

- Administration [ ]
- Education and training [ ]
- Women affairs department [ ]
- Research [ ]

Other please specify \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

13. Which committees do women chair in your union?

- Finance [ ]
- Welfare [ ]
- Training [ ]
- Collective Bargaining [ ]

Other please specify \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Part C: POLICIES AND ACTION PROGRAMS IN THE UNION**

14. Does the union have specific internal policies on gender? (Please tick)

- Yes [ ]
- No [ ]
- Do not know [ ]

15. To what extent have these policies led to more women participating in leadership?

- To a large extent [ ]
- To some extent [ ]
- To a small extent [ ]
- To no extent at all [ ]
- Not Sure [ ]

16. Has the union adopted special measures to recruit female members? (Please tick)

- Yes [ ]
- No [ ]
- Do not know [ ]

17. In your opinion are there union rules that are not conducive to women participation in trade union leadership?

- No
- Yes
- Do not know

18. Do you have organizational structures that are not conducive for women's participation?

- No
- Yes
- Do not know

19. Does your union have a department that deals with women issues? (Please tick)

- No
- Yes
- Do not know

20. Does your union have administrative measures designed to improve women's participation in the trade union leadership?

- No
- Yes
- Do not know

21. If Yes, what are the measures?

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22. (a) Do you have training programs for women in the trade union?

- Yes
- No

(b) How often do you run these programs?

- Monthly
- Quarterly
- Once a Year
- Not Sure

(c) When is the last time you had such training? \_\_\_\_\_

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23. What is the nature/content of these training programs? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

24. (a) In your opinion have these training programs been successful in encouraging women to seek elective positions in the union?  
Yes [ ]  
No [ ]  
Not Sure [ ]

(b) If Yes please indicate how many women have benefited and the positions they hold  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(c) If No please give reasons  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

25. Does your union carry out publicity campaigns to educate its women members?  
Yes [ ]  
No [ ]  
Not Sure [ ]

26. If Yes how often does the trade union carry out its publicity campaign?  
Monthly [ ]  
Quarterly [ ]  
Yearly [ ]  
Other Please specify [ ]

27. (a) How useful are these campaigns in mobilizing women?  
Very Useful [ ]  
Useful [ ]  
Somewhat useful [ ]  
Not useful at all [ ]

(b) Please give reasons \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

28. Are you satisfied with the number of women in leadership positions?

Yes [ ]

No [ ]

29. If you are not satisfied what are you doing to encourage women participate in leadership of trade unions?

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30. What is the greatest impediment to your efforts? \_\_\_\_\_

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31. (a) Do you have any plans in the future to address these impediments?

Yes [ ]

No [ ]

Not Sure [ ]

(b) Please explain \_\_\_\_\_

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*Thank you Very Much For Your Cooperation*