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WOMEN IN UNION LEADERSHIP: A CASE STUDY OF THE GHANA PUBLIC SERVICES WORKERS' UNION (PSWU)

Eva Oteng

Supervisor: Dr. Thabang Sefalafala

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Labour Policy and Globalisation.

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the extent to which affirmative policies (gender mainstreaming, gender equality) lead to substantive improvements in the position of women within the Public Services Workers Union (PSWU) in Ghana. The research data for this study was collected using two methods: An online survey that focused on the experience and perceptions of 46 women leaders in the National Executive Council (NEC). The research is a mixed method in the sense that it generated both qualitative and quantitative data. Semi-structured interviews online with 7 key stakeholders, including women and men, in the national office. Data was triangulated to deal with issues of validity and reliability.

Analysis is framed under how the equality plan has been implemented in PSWU and the challenges in terms of women's leadership efforts in decision-making. It was observed that improvement in women participation in the union is because of gender mainstreaming policy and interventions. This proves an argument in a similar study by Britwun et al (2014) that when women are significantly represented in leadership especially in the mainstream there is a possibility of achieving negotiations for women related issues that is perceived as cost to the organisation. This cost includes childcare facilities and additional maternal/paternal leave (Britwum et al 2014). The survey also projects that there are women leaders who play double roles in the union and at home which affects performances and contributions to union affairs as stated by Kirton and Healy (2008,4) in their research stated that "paid work and work in the home constitute a 'double burden' and trade union participation (and other such voluntary activities) adds another 'burden' for many women". The trend of domestic or household responsibilities should be carefully studied and used as a tool to address the issue of women's lack of interest and commitment to union activities and other leadership roles.

In this regard, increase in women's representation increases women' consciousness about their demands and strives to realize them.

DECLARATION

I declare that this report is my own unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Master of Arts degree at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Eva Oteng (2609755)



24th February,2023

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List of Tables

Table 1: Profile of respondents …….7

Table 2: Economically active population by age group and sex…….7

Table 3: Employed persons aged 15 years and above by industry and sex (%) …….10

Table 4: Distribution of employed persons aged 15+ years by employment status and sex(%)……11

Table 5: Educational attainment of the currently employed by sex (%)……14

Table 6: GTUC Membership…….22

Table 7: PSWU membership distribution with Focus on women……...28

Table 8: Profile of Respondents…….32

Table 9: percentage Age Distribution of Women Leaders in PSWU.....33

Table 10: Percentage Women Aspirations for Higher Roles……...36

Table 11: Interest to Contested Apart from Women's Committee and Reserved Women.37 Position.

Table 12: Reasons for not contesting PSWU Leadership ……...38

Table 13: Other Push Factors of women leaders in participation in decision making…….40

List of Figures

Figure 1: Structure of PSWU…….21

Figure 2: Educational Background of Women Leaders …….34

Figure 3: Average Number of Years of Membership in PSWU.....34

Figure 4: Distribution of Marital Status by Age ……35

Figure 5 : Percentage Distribution of Roles Contested by Women……37

Figure 6: Factors Influencing Women's Leadership……...39

Figure 7: Responses on training/workshop attended by women leaders in PSWU……41

Figure 8: Frequency of top factors that impede women participation by percentage…....42

Figure 9: Level of Women Leaders Participation by Percentage……43

Figure 10: Women leaders performance by percentage …….44

Figure 11: Frequency of Level of Implementation of Women Policies by Percentage.....45

Figure 12: Responses on the level of women's influence since the introduction of separate departments ……47

Figure 13: Frequency of top women's demand by percentage ……49

Figure14: Frequency for Opportunities for Women by Percentage.....49

Table of Content

Contents	Page Number
ABSTRACT	i
DECLARATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	v
ABBREVIATIONS	x
CHAPTER ONE	1
Introduction	1
CHAPTER TWO	4
LITERATURE REVIEW	4
der and Trade Union Leadership	4
The General State of Women in The Economy and Labour Markets in Ghana	6
Trade Unions in Ghana	12
INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR WOMEN WORKERS IN GHANA	17
International Labour Organisation	17
National Labour Legislation	18
Labour Act 651(2003)	18
Public Services Workers' Union (PSWU)	19
The PSWU Constitution	24
Conceptual Framework	27
CHAPTER THREE	28
METHODOLOGY	28
Research Design	28
Sampling Technique	28
Research Instrument	29
Reliability and Viability	31
Ethical Consideration	31

CHAPTER FOUR 32

FINDINGS 32

CHAPTER FIVE 52

CONCLUSION 52

References lviii

Appendice lxii

Interview Schedule lxii

Questionnaire lxvii

ABBREVIATIONS

ECOSOC -The United Nations Economic and Social Council

GTUC- Ghana Trade Union Congress

GLU- Global Labour University

NEC- National Executive Committee

TUC- Trade Union Congress

PSWU- Public Services Workers' Union

PSI -Public Service International

TWU- Transport Workers Union

ICU-Industrial and Commercial Workers Union

UN-United Nations

ILO – International Labour Organisation

ITUC- International Trade Union Confederation

ICFTU- International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

SSNIT- Social Security and National Insurance Trust

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The Public Services Workers' Union (PSWU) in Ghana has actively sought to widen women's participation at all levels of decision-making since 1993. The union has actively sought to employ a gender mainstreaming approach to promote women's equitable participation in the union by introducing quotas (i.e. reserving the 2nd Vice Chair positions for women). It has also created a separate department for women (i.e. the women's committee) which is in charge of addressing women's demands that include: wages, maternal leave, discrimination and women's voices at the workplace and in the union. These actions have resulted in an increase from 30 to 40 percent in the minimum quota of female participation in the PSWU's education and training programmes. These actions also led to Mrs Georgina Opoku Amankwah becoming the first woman Chairperson of the Ghana Trade Union Congress (GTUC) from PSWU in 2012 (Daily Graphic 2012). The PSWU is currently implementing a Strategic Plan (2020-2023) to enhance the effectiveness of its operations. One of the focus areas is gender and youth mainstreaming.

The growing participation of women in leadership positions in trade unions has been the subject of scholarly debate and analysis In Ghana (Britwum 2010; Britwum et al 2014,26; Anyemedu 2000) and elsewhere (ILO; Kirton and Healy 2008; Prowse et al 2022; Kuye et al 2012). According to the United Nations Economic and Social Council (1997) gender mainstreaming "requires efforts made to broaden women's equitable participation at all levels of decision-making*"*. Kirton and Healy's (2008) research in the United Kingdom context shows the importance of gender mainstreaming policies to broaden women's leadership in the union. For example, the women's committee and reserved seats run from the national to the local levels as part of gender democracy strategies to broaden women's leadership in the context of multi-layered

union leadership (Britwum et al 2014). According to McBride (2001), an important component of the concept of union democracy "is the extent to which women can engage with union policy and the adequacy of union provisions for women to voice their concerns" (McBride 2001, 26). In Ghana, scholars note that the increase in women's representation in the trade unions is due to a range of factors (Britwum 2010; Britwum et al 2014,26; Anyemedu 2000; Amponsah et al 2019). These include the introduction of separate departments, quotas, reserved seats, and legislation. Second, is support from international bodies and sister unions like International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) for women to address issues relating to the gender pay gap, maternal leave, and reproductive health. These factors have contributed to increasing women's leadership in the union (Britwum 2010; Britwum et al 2014, 26; Anyemedu 2000; Amponsah et al 2019). However, while the representation of women has increased in union leadership in Ghana, much less scholarly attention has been paid to women's experience in leadership roles and the impact of women's leadership on advancing women's needs and interests in the union.

The purpose of this research is to measure the extent to which affirmative policies (gender mainstreaming, gender equality) lead substantive improvements in the position of women within the PSWU. The focus of this study is on gender mainstreaming and women leaders in PSWU as gender and union activists since they exhibit the potential to have an impact on gender policies and the decision-making process. This leads to answering the question, Does women's representation in the PSWU translate into substantive improvement (in the leadership and influence of the situation of women)?

Sub Questions

1. What type of union responsibilities do women in leadership hold?
2. How has equality been implemented in PSWU?
3. What are the challenges in terms of women's leadership efforts in decision-making?

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review below outlines the key debates and concepts in the study of gender and trade union leadership, gender mainstreaming, gender democracy, and descriptive versus substantive representation. It then discusses union issues in different settings and then Ghana and enablement strategies for women leaders in union such as: quotas, separate department, legislation, International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions and labour specific laws. Another discussion area is on the conceptual framework, and how they link with the study.

Gender and Trade Union Leadership

Trade unions over the decades have served as a mode of communication between workers and the management of an organization to address issues relating to wages, incentives, grievances, and work conditions. In the 1970s, the pressure on labour institutions to increase women's participation and leadership increased, powered by female union members and the introduction of feminism (Cobble, 2012:31). This is in line with approaches to achieve equal gender representation at all levels of decision making in unions. International studies have shown that despite the adoption of charters in Belgium to increase females' leadership by gender mainstreaming, males still prevail in union leadership (Ravesloot,2013). Gender mainstreaming initiatives were introduced in global writings after the third UN World Conference on Women. Jahan (1995) has categorized gender mainstreaming activities in two: i.e., "institutional activities"- deal with the internal operations of an organisation's "policies, structures, systems, and procedures" while the "operational activities" deal with change management. Gender mainstreaming has been useful in setting up structures and regulating union activities. In effect, a conclusion was drawn that trade unions need a "structural and organisational transformation" to approach gender mainstreaming

demands (Britwum 2007a). This led to another approach known as 'gender democracy' to streamline women leaders in union decision-making to enhance equality.

According to McBride (2001, 26), 'gender democracy' refers to gender equality concerns in union structures, the women's involvement in union policies, and the adequacy of union provisions for women to voice their concerns (Britwun et.al). The process of pursuing demands among representatives is by preference and sometimes restrictive (Ledwith 2006; Hensman 2002; Curtin 1999). As a result, some researchers have explored gendered leadership traits with masculinity and femininity that can be traced from McEldowney et al. (2009, 25) where they argue that feminine characteristics of "caring, nurturing, and relationship-building" of women are not regarded as leadership qualities. Given this gender can be described as characters, actions, and standards that the world associates with men and women. Beauvoir (2011) finds ample cases of female subordination but no convincing justification for them. She argues that female subordination is not an absolute "fact," but a replication of certain attitudes, preconceptions, and injustices.

This has led to a lot of debates on representative democracy. The concept of representation has been differentiated by Pitkin (1967, 209) as "acting for' or 'acting in the interest of the represented in a manner responsive to them" in substantive representation while descriptive representation shows "the correspondence between the characteristics of the represented and the representatives". Substantive representation is women 'standing for women' and is perceived to be an enhancing factor where women are 'acting for women' (Celis and Childs, 2008, 420). Kirton and Healy (1999) show in their research in the UK that women union leadership positions can implement programmes to meet women's demands. Kirton and Healy (2008) explicitly challenge union leadership as an individual idea rather than the idea of leadership being practised within a collective and democratic context. On the other hand, others argue from

descriptive representation that men can act on women's behalf better than women (Phillips 1998, cited in Celis and Childs 2008). Others have also highlighted the inequalities and marginalization of women in the capitalist system (Cock 2014; Velicu and Barca 2020). The women's struggles around exclusion, wage gaps, and women's occupation of lower positions even when they are professionals and qualify for leadership, as the result of the capitalist system that subjects women to all forms of exploitation, exclusion, and discrimination. The struggle for a more gender-representative world must therefore be premised on the struggle against the capitalist system. Drawing from this, it is important to view the characteristics of a trade unionist beyond social perception, instead to use a systematic framework that can help portray and exhibit modern-day trade union activists. This will be used to examine perceptions of women's route to leadership in the union in my study.

The General State of Women in The Economy and Labour Markets in Ghana

Women constitute 50.7 percent of Ghana's 30.8million of the total population. The labour force, which is the economically active population, is 11,541,355 (employed, 9,990,237 and unemployed, 1,551,118), representing 58.1 percent. 53% percent of the female labour force is economically active as shown in Table 1 (Ghana Statistical Service 2021). Economic activity among males (63.5%) is substantially higher than that of their female (53.0%) counterparts (Ghana Statistical Service 2021). In 2010, there was an increase of about 5 percent while for males it was 2.8 percent following trends from the 1960 population census. This phenomenon has not been constant for the past years. The percentage of economically active females dropped from 81.6 percent in 1984 to 73 percent in 2000 and in 2010 remained below 70 percent (Ghana Statistical Service 2013). The private informal economy dominates most in the Ghanaian labour force. This is because of the failure of the formal sector (both public

and private) to generate jobs in their required numbers (Ghana Statistical Service 2013). The number of females in the informal economy is 81 percent, while the number male is 73.7 percent (Ghana Statistical Service 2021).

The public sector employs about 10 percent of the employed population, almost 60 percent are males i.e. 10.3 percent males and 8.5 percent females (Ghana Statistical Service 2021). These sectors operate within the confines of Ghana's Labour Act, Act 561 of 2003. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2021), agriculture (32%) dominates most in the employment sector which is preceded by service and sales then Craft and related trades as shown in Table 2. About three-quarters of the employed population 15 years and older are engaged in skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery (33.0%), services and sales (26.5%) and craft and related trades (16.1%), with a higher representation among females (81.3%) than males (68.9%) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013).

Table 1: Economically active population by age group and sex.

Age Group	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
15-24	30.0	26.3	28.1
15-35	53.3	45.4	49.3
15-64	64.7	55.0	59.7

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2021.

Table 2: Employed persons aged 15 years and above by industry and sex (%)

Main industry	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Agriculture forestry and fishing	36.6	28.8	33.0
Mining and Quarrying	1.9	0.2	1.1
Manufacturing	5.9	7.7	6.7

Electricity gas stream and air conditioning supply	0.9	0.1	0.5
Water supply; sewerage waste management and Water supply; sewerage waste management and	0.2	0.1	0.1
Construction	9.1	0.7	5.2
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	10.1	28.8	18.7
Transportation and storage	9.5	0.2	5.2
Accommodation and food service activities	1.5	9.8	5.3
Information and communication	0.7	0.2	0.5
Financial and insurance activities	1.6	1.3	1.5
Real Estate Activities	0.2	0.0	0.1
Professional scientific and technical activities	1.7	1.0	1.4
Administrative and support service activities	0.9	0.7	0.8
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	2.3	0.9	1.7
Education	6.1	5.7	5.9
Human and health and social work activities	1.9	3.4	2.6
Arts, entertainment and recreation	0.9	0.8	0.9
Other Service Activities	7.6	9.1	8.3

Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods- and services-producing activities of households for own use	0.3	0.6	0.5
Activities of extraterritorial organizations and bodies	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2021.

Trading is mostly female which employs 18.7 percent of the economically active female population followed by manufacturing (7.7), accommodation and food services (9.8) as recorded in Table 2. The manufacturing sector includes agro-food processing such as cassava into "*gari"* and dough, palm fruit into soap and vegetable oil and other agro-food processing (Britwum, 2014). Another feature of the Ghanaian economy's employment status is self-employed. 67.4 percent of females are self-employed without employees in Table 3. 33 percent that is a quarter of employed males are employees (waged employment) and 20.5 percent of females (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021). This form of employment guarantees frequent salaries and other incentives that come with job descriptions. Again, in the second quarter of 2022, eight out of every ten persons are employed in the private informal sector with females having relatively higher proportions (about 88%) than males (about 80%) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2022). On the other hand, most of the self-employees are normally informal and precarious and are not formalized, scattered; and sometimes not registered under any association with no labour rights.

From Table 3 (5.8 percent) women are commonly engaged in contributing to family work. That is, women are engaged at "their husbands' farms or other household-based enterprises as part of their marital obligations" (Apusigah, 2009; Britwum, 2009). This causes a lot of patriarchal issues and women abuse as it becomes difficult to apply

employment norms that can ensure social protection (Britwum et al 2014). In areas where women's rights are not recognized in relation to inheritance, women are abused and left with nothing to make a living (Duncan 2004). Section 20 of the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1971 (Act 367) dealt with property rights issues before the 1992 Constitution (Otoo 2019). This law was for property and financial allocation for spouses in a decree of divorce and Article 22 of the 1992 Constitution also stipulates the Property Rights of Spouses (Otoo 2019). Even though there are mechanisms to protect the allocation of inheritances there are still lapses in which gender activists and other social movements have advocated for amendments.

Table 3: Distribution of employed persons aged 15+ years by employment status and sex (%)

Employment status	**Male (%)**	**Female (%)**	**Total (%)**
Employee	33.0	20.5	27.3
Self-employed without employees	53.7	67.4	60.0
Self-employed with employees	7.4	5.8	5.7
Casual worker	2.7	1.3	2.0
Contributing family worker	2.2	3.8	2.9
Paid Apprentice	0.1	0.0	0.1
Unpaid apprentice	0.7	0.9	0.8
Domestic worker	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other	0.1	0.2	0.2

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2021.

In Table 4, one-third (32.9%) of the males compared to 18.9 percent of females had secondary or higher education (Ghana Statistical Service 2021). Educational level has improved over the years. This implies an improvement in the level of literacy rate.

In 1960 about 91 percent of the population of the economically active age had no school attendance, this dropped to 39 percent with no formal education with female labour in 2010 (Ghana Statistical Service 2013). With reference to Table 4, the percentage increase over time shows significant improvement with respect to box sexes but there are still lapses. For instance, secondary and other higher levels of education recorded a little above 35 percent of females and over 65 percent of males.

The level of income shows inequalities or uneven distribution faced by women who are employed. The 2008 statistics from the Ghana Living Standards Survey Round 5, this survey from the period of the year 2000 shows that income in the country was very low ie. The average hourly earnings for all actively employed Ghanaians was one fifty-five pesewas (GH¢ 0.55) with females' hourly income of GH¢0.50 which was lower than males' GH¢0.61. Currently, the unadjusted gender pay gap in the 2022 first quarter is 37.3 percent, with males earning a mean hourly pay of GH¢11.00 and females GH¢6.90 (Ghana Statistical Service 2022).

Table 4: Educational attainment of the currently employed by sex (%)

Educational attainment	**Male (%)**	**Female (%)**	**Total (%)**
Nursery	0.0	0.0	0.0
Kindergarten	0.1	0.1	0.1
Primary	10.2	15.6	12.8
JSS/JHS	29.1	34.7	31.8
Middle	11.2	9.7	10.5
SSS/SHS	24.0	20.7	22.4
Vocational/Technical/Commercial	2.4	2.4	2.4
Post Middle/Secondary Certificate	0.6	0.7	0.7

Post Middle/Secondary Diploma	2.2	2.3	2.3
Tertiary Higher National Diploma	3.2	2.1	2.7
Tertiary Bachelor's Degree	8.9	5.7	7.3
Tertiary Postgraduate Diploma	1.3	1.5	1.4
Tertiary Master's Degree	1.8	0.9	1.4
Tertiary Doctoral	0.3	0.1	0.2
Other	0.1	0.1	0.1

Source: Ghana Statistical Service 2021.

Observation from the various labour trends shows the dominance of the informal sector characterized by precarious work in which women are the majority. This calls for representations for substantive representation of gender since they can best address their needs as a member of a group. This possibility is also an opportunity for trade unions and other social movements to mobilise these groups for advocacy and representation. This brings to light how trade unions can position themselves in these groups to defend the vulnerable (women) who are the majority since trade unions serve as a mouthpiece for workers' rights and other negotiations.

Trade Unions in Ghana

The Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the Ghana Federation of Labour (GFL) are the two major unions in Ghana. TUC has eighteen national union affiliates which cut across major sectors of the economy which include: agriculture, mining, construction, trade, transport, finance, manufacturing, utilities, and community, social and personal services. The GFL has nine affiliates with an estimated membership of 48,000 mainly in the manufacturing and trade sectors (Trade Unions and Industrial Relations in Ghana, N.D.). "The Ghana Trade Union Congress (GTUC) was a central coordinating body for 14 union groups in 1945. The unions were registered under the

Trade Union Ordinance of 1941. In 1954, the union proposed that the local unions be amalgamated along industrial groupings to make the union strong. The proposal was approved in 1955. The union had 24 member unions in 1958 and was regulated by the Industrial Relations Act 56. (Ghana Trades Union Congress, 2022).

The mission of the TUC is "to unite all workers of Ghana into an independent and democratic organisation for improved working and living conditions through collective action, solidarity and social partnership based on the principle of fairness and justice." (Ghana Trades Union Congress, 2022). The GTUC is affiliated to the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) and OATUU as well as the Organisation of Trade Unions of West Africa (OTUWA). The GTUC also shares solidarity with other trade unions in Africa which include: The National Labour Congress (NLC) of Nigeria and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) of South Africa. In Europe the GTUC shares and gains assistance from FNV Mondiaal of the Netherlands, SASK of Finland, LO-FTF of Denmark and FES of Germany (Ghana Trades Union Congress, 2022). All its members are also affiliated with Global Union Federations which include Public Services International (PSI), International Transport Federation (ITF), Union Network International (UNI), Education International (EI), International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers' Unions (ICEM) and Building and Woodworkers' International (BWI). The membership of the organization is made up of all workers' groups. A local union is formed by any five members at a workplace. Various local groups which share common objectives form a national group - a local group. The local union upon formally registering with the TUC is admitted as a member of the group. (Ghana Trades Union Congress, 2022). The member strength of the union was about 350,000 members in 2007 then later increased to 479,270 by 2018.

Table 5: GTUC Membership

Union	Abbreviation	Founded	Membership (1985)	Membership (2018)
Cocoa Research Workers' Union	CRWU		*N/A*	1,000
Communications Workers' Union	CWU	1958	7,000	2,881
Construction and Building Materials Workers' Union	CBMWU	1954	39,553	10,000
Federation of Universities Senior Staff Association of Ghana	FUSSAG	1972		2,262
General Agricultural Workers' Union	GAWU	1959	100,000	50,000
General Construction, Manufacturing	GCMQWU		*N/A*	5,167

Union	Abbreviation	Founded	Membership (1985)	Membership (2018)
and Quarries Workers' Union				
General Transport, Petroleum and Chemical Workers' Union	GTPCWU	1967	29,185	7,500
Ghana Mine Workers' Union	GMWU	1944	27,018	20,000
Ghana Private Road Transport Union	GPRTU	1967	56,138	120,000
Health Services Workers' Union	HSWU	1965	30,000	28,811
Local Government Workers' Union	LGWU	1956	35,000	10,000

Union	Abbreviation	Founded	Membership (1985)	Membership (2018)
Maritime and Dockworkers' Union	MDU	1956	31,085	10,000
National Union of Seamen, Ports and Allied Workers	NUSPAW	1940	5,011	1,500
Public Services Workers' Union	PSWU	1959	63,000	24,000
Public Utility Workers' Union	PUWU	1967	20,000	10,288
Railway Enginemen's Union	REU	1951	898	300[7]
Railway Workers' Union	RWU	1926	8,955	1,342
Teachers' and Educational Workers' Union	TEWU	1962	40,000	60,000

Union	Abbreviation	Founded	Membership (1985)	Membership (2018)
Timber and Woodworkers' Union	TWU	1952	18,000	8,400
Union of Industry, Commerce and Finance	UNICOF	2003	*N/A*	12,000
Union of Informal Workers Associations	UNIWA	2013	*N/A*	87,000

(Ghana Trades Union Congress 2022).

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR WOMEN WORKERS IN GHANA

International Labour Organisation

International legislation governing Ghana's labour system is the International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions. The ILO has endorsed the ILO core conventions which includes the right to create or join trade unions, collective bargaining, abolition of forced labour and child labour (Trade Unions and Industrial Relations in Ghana,2012).

National Labour Legislation

Labour specific laws like the Constitution of Ghana and the Labour Act have regulated women labour rights with respect to gender pay gap, leave, etc (Britwum et al 2014). The Ghana Fair Wages and Salary Commission Act 737(2007) ensures fairness in wages and salary structures among all. Article 27 of the 1992 constitution of Ghana laws in relation to women labour states:

(1) "Special care shall be accorded to mothers during a reasonable period before and after child-birth; and during those periods, working mothers shall be accorded paid leave.

(2) Facilities shall be provided for the care of children below school-going age to enable women, who have the traditional care for children, realise their full potential.
(3) Women shall be guaranteed equal rights to training and promotion without any impediments from any person" (National Labour Law Profile 2011).

Chapter 6, Section 35 (6) requires the State to take appropriate measures to achieve reasonable regional and gender balance in recruitment and appointment to public offices. Section 36(6) the State affords equality of economic opportunity to all citizens, taking all necessary steps to ensure full integration of women into the mainstream of Ghana's economic development. (National Labour Law Profile 2011).

Labour Act 651(2003)

This Act localises the conventions of the ILO to enact laws to protect labour rights in Ghana. PART VI of the Act stipulates laws protecting women labour rights, in relation to night work or overtime by pregnant women. Section 55 (1) states "Unless with her consent, an employer shall not (a) assign or employ a pregnant woman worker to do any night work between the hours of ten O'clock in the evening and seven O'clock in the morning" (2) "The pregnant woman worker or the mother may present a written complaint to the National Labour Commission established under section 135 against an

employer who contravenes subsection (1)". This further states in section 57(1) regarding maternal, annual and sick leave that "A woman worker, on production of a medical certificate issued by a medical practitioner or a midwife indication the expected date of her confinement, is entitled to a period of maternity leave of at least twelve weeks in addition to any period of annual leave she is entitled after her period of confinement". (2) "A woman worker on maternity leave is entitled to be paid her full remuneration and other benefits to which she is otherwise entitled". PART 11 spells out Freedom of Association 79. (1) "Every worker has the right to form or join a trade union of his or her choice for the promotion and protection of the worker's economic and social interests" (National Labour Law Profile 2011).

The National Pensions Act (2008)

This Act supports payment of social security by workers as a form of pension plan. The social security payment is voluntary for the self-employed, and they can contribute based on their income. This has a 3-tier plan with the 1st and 2nd tiers being compulsory (National Labour Law Profile 2011). It specifies monthly payment of 18.5 percent of worker's gross pay. The employer pays 13 percent of the employer pays 5.5 percent. In the private and informal sector, it is compulsory for the employer to deduct the employee's payments and present it to SSNIT in a period of 14 days every month. Ghana labour laws are general and do not clearly specify formal and informal labour hence fail to accommodate the emerging trend in precariat form of works. This causes lapses in dealing with inequalities in the labor system in relation to representation.

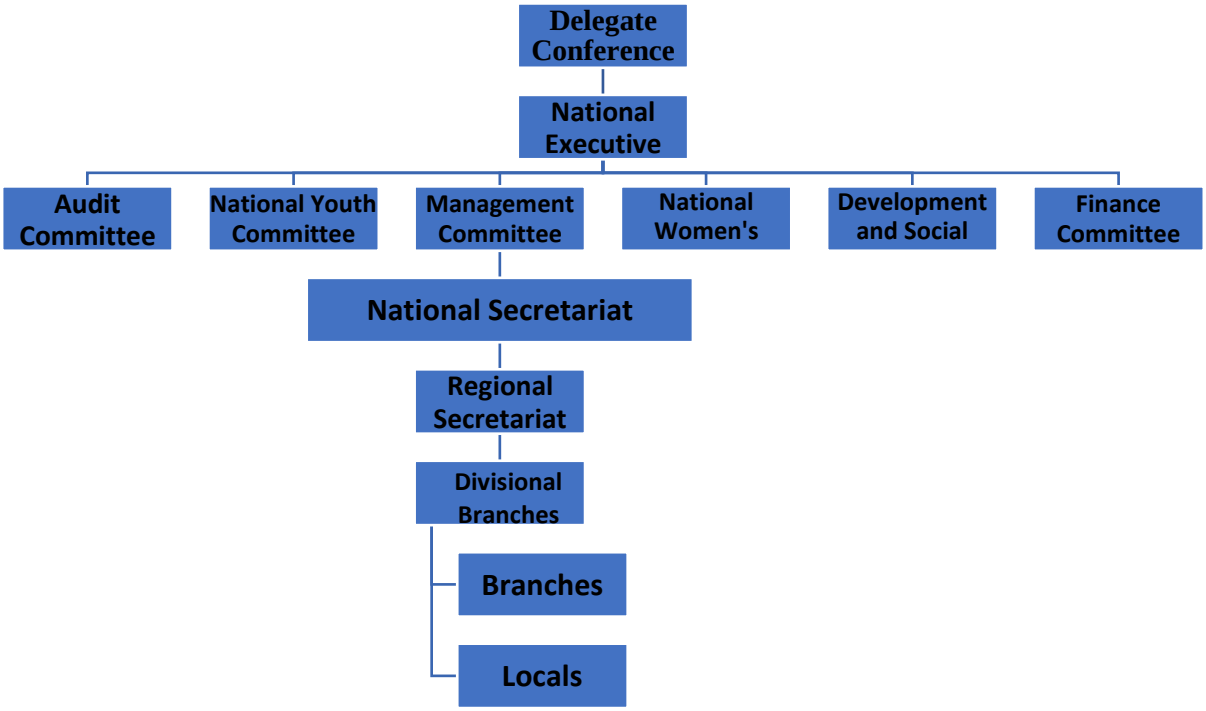
Public Services Workers' Union (PSWU)

The Public Services Workers' Union (PSWU) and Public Utilities Workers' Union (PUWU) is the utility sector union in TUC. The Public Service Workers' Union (PSWU) was formed in 1959. It brought together the Broadcasting Workers' Union, Customs and Excise Workers' Union, Produce Inspection Workers' Union, and the

Meteorological Workers' Union. The union was formerly called the Government Clerical and Technical Employees Union then later changed to PSWU. The two unions were divided in 1967 (Trade Unions and Industrial Relations in Ghana 2012).

PSWU represents public sector workers in Ghana. It used to have two informal sector unions which include National Lotto Receivers' Association and Ghana Union of Professional Photographers as members but currently not a member because of the establishment of the National Lottery Act to organize and take charge of lottery agents in Ghana as well as the Informal Workers Union formation. PSWU has incorporated significant affirmative decisions into the decision-making structures of the union, including the establishment of the Women's Committee since 1993, and the Youth Committee in 2014. In 2001, the membership was 27,084 but presently, the PSWU represents twenty-eight thousand, two hundred and forty-four (28,244) members. The union's membership is spread over sixty-five (65) Public Sector Institutions known as Divisions. The presence of the Union is felt in all the administrative regions and almost in the entire Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assembly areas in Ghana. A divisional or sector union comprises five or more leaders depending on the number of workers at the sector in any of the regions. The Union is affiliated to Public Service International (PSI) which is the international federation of workers in public service. The Union is governed by its Constitution and Internal Regulations (PSWU 2020).

Figure 1: Structure of PSWU.



Source: Constitution of the PSWU, 2015

The Public Services Workers' Union secretariat is headed by the General Secretary and Assisted by the Deputy General Secretary and a team of other staff. They operate administrative duties of the union according to the constitution, the internal regulations, the delegates conference, the National Executive Committee (NEC). Furthermore, the union runs in accordance with policies approved by the National Executive Council (NEC). The Regional Secretariat represents the union in the regions, these union representatives report to the National Secretariat. The Management Committee oversees the affairs and business of the union in between meetings of the NEC. The management committee deals with any matter delegated to it by the delegates conference or NEC. It is the management of the union, and to that extent deals with all staff matters. The Management Committee is composed of National Officers, Regional Chairpersons, Chairpersons and Secretaries of the National Youth and

National Women Committees, Staff Representatives and Chairperson of the Finance Committee as an Ex-Officio Member (PSWU Profile 2018).

Table 6: PSWU membership distribution with Focus on women

No	Category	Number	Percentage (%)
1.	Total Membership	28,244	
2.	Men	20,645	73
3.	Women	7,599	27
4.	National Executive Council (NEC)	159	
5.	Men at NEC	110	69
6.	Women at NEC	49	31
7.	Management committee	26	
8.	Women in Management Committee	10	39
9.	National Officers	7	
10.	Female National Officers	3	43

Source: PSWU,2018.

There is a clear indication from Table 1 that most employees in the public service in Ghana are men. The Ghana Statistical Service (2019) reported that 51.4 percent of employable women and 48.6 percent of employable men enter the labor market; only 7 percent of employable women compared with 93 percent of employable men are selected for higher leadership roles despite equal education. Again, drawing from the second quarter of 2022, Eight out of every ten persons are employed in the private informal sector with females having relatively higher proportions (about 88%) than males (about 80%) (Ghana Statistical Service 2022) this calls for the need for women representation in union leadership. Even though women are underemployed in the public service (27%), there is significant women representation in PSWU leadership. The incorporation of gender democracy informed the forming of reserved seats for

women in the position of Vice Chairperson alongside the women's committee wing. Kirton and Healy (2008) in research in the UK context also reveals the importance of multi layered union leadership. The women's committee runs from the National to the local levels. They are visible in all the regions. "The National women's committee advice the NEC through the General Secretary on:

- Development and potential of women in union and their respective workplaces
- Affirmative action programmes for women at all levels in the union
- Means by which women's contribution in the union would be recognized and, mainstreamed and rewarded
- The collection and dissemination of information concerning women's involvement in the union,
- On other matters referred to by the NEC, Management Committee or National Secretariat. They meet at least once a year and submit reports of such meetings to the NEC through the General Secretary. Activities are coordinated by The Gender Officer" (PSWU Constitution 2015).

Anyemedu (2000,13) and Britwum et al. (2014) note the importance of delegating negotiating responsibilities to women. They also stated women leadership has played a leading role in raising awareness about the problem of discrimination at the workplace and championing adequate paid maternity leave. However, women leaders in Ghana had little knowledge of their rights and opportunities they have in their union. This caused failure to negotiate for women's demands although there are separate departments for women in the union (Britwum et al 2014). They address this with, "The Bargaining Agenda for Gender (BAG) set to address the questions: what is in the BAG? who draws up the shopping list? and who sits at the bargaining table?". This was successful in Brazil banking where "women's voices in their unions were loud in the

1970s and 1980s in demanding childcare, better working conditions and political participation" (Britwum et al., 2014:26).

The PSWU Constitution

This serves as internal regulations of the PSWU and was amended in 2015 at the 9th Quadrennial Delegates Conference. This explicitly stipulates all the affairs, functions, and committees in the union. Article 19 of the constitution spells out the functions and duties of The Women's Committee. It states "The National Women's Committee shall advise the National Executive Council (NEC) through the General Secretary on:

a) Means to promote the full development of the potential of women in the union and their respective workplaces.
b) Affirmative action programme for women at all levels of the union.
c) Means by which women's contributions in the Union would be recognized, mainstreamed, and rewarded.
d) The collection and dissemination of information concerning women's involvement in the union, other unions, and the public sector, and
e) Any other matters referred to by the National Executive Council, Management Committee, or the National Secretariat" (PSWU Constitution 2015).

Composition

a) Be composed of one female member from each region of Ghana.
b) Elect a Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, and a Secretary as its officers, two (2) of whom shall attend meetings of the Management Committee; and
c) The Gender Officer shall be the coordinator of the committee.

Meet at least once a year and submit reports of such meetings to the National Executive Council through the General Secretary" (PSWU Constitution 2015)

The Vice Chairperson position which is reserved for women duties are as follows:

a) "Assist the National Chairperson in the performance of all functions

b) Perform the function of the National Chairperson in his/her absence on rotational basis, and

c) Perform all such other functions as are assigned to them by this Constitution, and the Internal Regulations, and from time to time by the National Chairperson, Delegates Conference, National Executive Council, Management Committee and National Officers" (PSWU Constitution 2015).

Barriers and Enablement Strategies

A number of literature has drawn attention to the barriers and enabling strategies that influence women's ability to take up leadership positions in trade unions (Britwum et al. 2014; Kuye et al. 2012; Aina, 2012; Anyemedu 2000; McBride 2001; Kirton and Healy 2012; Ledwith 2012). These barriers categories can be broken down into two borrowing from The United States Glass Ceiling Commission (1995): "organizational barriers" (i.e. low protection, structure and union culture) and "social barriers" (i.e. patriarchal norms). These organizational barriers have been explored in the international context by research undertaken by the International Labour Organisation (ILO). For example, in Indonesia research on women and gender issues in unions shows that some women leaders in unions lack education and training about union activities and various negotiating opportunities to press for policies to meet women's demands (ILO 2006).

In a study in Zimbabwe, Britwum et al. (2014) show how societal patriarchal norms have restricted women from union leadership and collective bargaining. This was common in the railway's union leadership as women were excluded from the bargaining table. In addition to this, low protection of the union for women leaders who are engaged on a part-time basis was identified as an organisational barrier. Some union women leaders expressed job insecurities and reprisal from employers as they skip job activities for union meetings. They further narrated how some union meetings and

conferences conflicted with working hours. In the Ghanaian context, Britwum (2014), shows that a lack of knowledge of trade union regulations is an issue revolving around women leaders' experiences which has contributed to poor implementation and negotiations for women's policies. It has also pointed to inadequate support in terms of funding to organize training and educational programs for women in the union. All these studies illustrate the various organizational barriers that hinder women's ability to take up leadership positions and influence policy implementation.

Social barriers have also been identified by researchers. Britwum et al. (2014), for example, mention that religion, race, and culture about women are embedded in patriarchal norms. Kuye et al. (2012) show how in the Nigerian context, the societal notion of women as child bearers and home takers hinders women's routes of union leadership. In view of this, Aina (2012) states that in some communities in Nigeria it is taboo for women to take active roles in governance. Again, Kirton and Geraldine Healy (2008) and Britwum et al. (2014) emphasise the "gendered division of domestic work" to explain the work burden of women union leaders who combine domestic roles with work and union meetings. In addition, some women leaders are restrained by religion and race. This was seen in the case of India's caste division of labourers among women and Turkey's gendered roles characterized by religion (Britwum et al. 2014).

Despite all these barriers, women's representation in trade unions has been increasing. The researcher has shown that "reserved seats, official or staff appointments or their placement in visible union positions" have contributed to increased women representation in unions (Briskin, 2006; Britwum A. O., 2007a; Costello & Stone, 2001; Curtin, 1999; Cook et al., 1992). In addition to this legislation, ILO conventions and labour specific laws like the Constitution of Ghana and the Labour Act have regulated women's labour rights with respect to the gender pay gap, leave, etc (Britwum et al., 2014). For example, the Ghana Fair Wages and Salary Commission Act 737(2007)

ensures fairness in wages and salary structures for all. A third important factor is support and funding from international organisations to enable women leaders to address issues concerning women. These include International Trade Union Confederation, Labour Organisation-Norway. The barriers and enabling factors outlined in this section will be used in this study to assess the impact of women leaders in addressing women demands and Impact on women policies implementation.

Conceptual Framework

Behrens et al's (2004a) union capacity was used alongside McBride's (2001) idea of equality in institutions to appreciate affirmative policies in PSWU. Behrens et al's (2004a) union capacity focused on the women's committee as a separate wing and how they use this department to address women's demands. This also helps to determine gender influence and authority relationships that distinguish women's participation from men in PSWU. Here, women leaders will be assessed on negotiating skills and measure their influence on gender policies and implementation as well as the number of programs accomplished by these women leaders in the union for policy consideration (Britwum et al 2014). Effective representation depends on the capacity of the representatives to present and express the demands of their members (McBride 2001; Curtin 1999). McBride's (2001) idea of equality in institutions was used to appreciate affirmative policies in PSWU and used to trace channels of communication and negotiations. This will also examine the impact of strategies on women's demands and how women leaders set and implement demands in ways that counter the patriarchal norms surrounding women leaders in trade unions.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The mixed method that is qualitative and quantitative was adopted for the research. According to Punch (2000) qualitative research is similarly simply defined as "empirical research where the data is not in the form of numbers whereas quantitative research is numbers" (Punch, 2000:3). The purpose of this research is to measure the extent to which affirmative policies (gender mainstreaming, gender equality) lead substantive improvements in the position of women within the PSWU?

Sampling Technique

Purposive and Convenience sampling were used for my study (Lewin 2015). In purposive sampling interviewees are handpicked for specific reasons whereas inconvenient "sampling involves selection based on easy access and established relationship" (Lewin, 2015:219) with the group or institution understudy. This was because the research targeted specific people who have a direct link to the study, that is women leaders in the PSWU and key stakeholders. PSWU was selected based on purpose and my membership in the union which facilitated easy access to the data. Women leaders (46) at the NEC and National Officers (7) in the PSWU were recruited and the views of key stakeholders were examined, including men in National Officers.

Table 7: Profile of respondents

	Category	Total Number	Number selected	Number of Responses	Tools
1	Women at NEC	46	46	37	Online survey
2	Men at NEC	110	20	15	Online survey
3	National Officers	7	7	4	Semi-structured interview

Source: Author's Construct,2022.

PSWU has 159 leaders at NEC, out of these total women are 49 and men are 110 but only 39 women and 16 men responded to the questionnaires. These include the national officers. From table 2, out of the 46 total women at NEC respondents, 37 women responded representing 66 percent, 15 out of 20 men at NEC responded to the online survey and 4 out of the 7 National Officers participated in the interview (3 women and 1 man). All respondents are National Executive Committee (NEC) members and seven are National Officers.

Research Instruments

Data were collected using survey questionnaires and interviews. Wesis (1995,1) describes interviews as qualitative tools that help to understand the experiences of people and to uncover the challenges that confront a group or an individual. A semi-structured interview guide was used to collect data from key stakeholders at the PSWU headquarters on the impact of women's leadership in policy making. From these interviews, the aim was to find answers to my research questions about how gender equality has been implemented in PSWU. The semi-structured interviews were standardised with questions framed differently for women leaders in the other departments and women's committee as well as key stakeholders who were men. The questions were open-ended, and the respondents had the chance to share their personal opinions (Lewin, 2015,220).

The selection was made through substantive representation that used women leaders in the mainstream PSWU structure. Permission was sought from PSWU to collect data and respondent consent was sought orally during interview sessions. Interview questions and consent forms were sent to selected respondents to understudy prior to the interview day. Due to distance and limited timeframe interviews were done online through zoom and WhatsApp calls due to software challenges. A total number

of twenty-eight structured questions for women leaders whilst fifteen structured questions for men. Interviews were audio recorded to serve as a reference and transcribed for the data analysis. The interviews lasted for 50 minutes maximum due to distractions in the workplace since all respondents agreed time for the interview fell within working hours.

The survey questionnaires were administered online through google forms. Lewin (2015,219) describes a questionnaire as a way of gathering structured data from respondents in a standardised manner. A total number of thirty-five structured questions were administered online using Google Forms. The research applied Lewin's (2015) data typology which is "nominal" and "ordinal "for quantitative data. "Nominal data can have no numerical meaning such as dichotomies" (Lewin 2015,222). This comprises variables such as age, marital status, and level of education to measure experience and challenge patriarchal norms in trade unions. Whereas "ordinal data have a rank order and are represented numerically but differences between valves may not be equal hence there is no true numerical meaning" (Lewin 2015:222). Data was gathered using Likert questionnaire units (1-4). The units include strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree, 1- low, 2-very low, 3- high, 4- very high. The data was extracted from Google Forms and analysed using Microsoft Excel. In addition to the questionnaires and interviews, the study also analysed data from union documents like constitutions and policy documents, complemented by secondary data sources such as articles, surveys and related research on workers in Ghana by organized labour.

Time and distance caused constraints in data collection. This resulted in four out of the seven National Officers being interviewed. Again, network challenges caused delays in filling out the online survey, but these constraints were overcome by restructuring online surveys and self-recording from national some national officers using the interview guide at their own convenience since they had busy schedules.

Despite these constraints, respondents actively participated because of their awareness of the Global Labour University Program and my membership.

Reliability and Validity of Instruments

"Reliability refers to the stability or consistency of measurements that is whether or not the same results would be achieved if the test or measurement was repeatedly whiles validity on the other hand, refers to whether or not the measurement collects the data required to answer the research question" (Lewin 2015,216). Reliability may be affected by error. These errors occur from coding, vague guidance to the respondents and questions, tiredness and bias. Data was triangulated, and a pilot survey was done to address ambiguity and other errors. Draft questionnaires and interviews were sent to the supervisor and ethics committee for review, also these were forwarded to a section of PSWU group platform for a test. Feedback was corrected, and simple language was used.

Ethical considerations

This research is aimed at providing useful knowledge to the Public Services Workers' Union, policymakers, and the public so ethical guidelines were seriously considered as defined by Anon (2018). Anonymity and confidentiality were assured by seeking consent from respondents (Silverman 2011). Permission was sought from PSWU for the data per conditions indicated in the guidelines for permission letters. The research is solely for academic purposes. The risk associated is minimal and was mitigated by using rating scales for demographics and performances. Questions were framed such that there were no suspicions or doubts. Trustworthiness was enhanced because of my membership with the union, respondents felt free with interviews since they are aware of the GLU program and what it seeks to achieve. Permission and consent were sought for interviews and questionnaires.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

This chapter discusses data charts, analysis, and interpretation. The research was conducted to measure the extent to which affirmative policies (gender mainstreaming, gender equality) lead substantive improvements in the position of women within the PSWU in Ghana. The focus of this study is on gender mainstreaming and women leaders in PSWU as gender and union activists since they exhibit the potential to have an impact on gender policies and the decision-making process. Demographic information of the respondents is discussed to give a profile of the respondents in terms of age, education, position, and role in the PSWU. These are discussed below:

Table 8: Profile of Respondents

	Category	Total Number	Number selected	Number of Responses
1	Women at NEC	46	46	37
2	Men at NEC	110	20	15
3	National Officers	7	7	4
4	**Total**		**73**	**56**

Source: Author's Construct,2022.

PSWU has 159 leaders at NEC, out of these total women are 49 and men are 110 but only 39 women and 16 men responded to the questionnaires. These include the national officers. From table 2, out of the 46 total women at NEC respondents, 37 women responded representing 66 percent, 15 out of 20 men at NEC responded to the online survey and 4 out of the 7 National Officers participated in the interview (3 women and 1 man). All respondents are National Executive Committee (NEC) members and seven are National Officers. It was observed that women constitute about

27 percent of the total labour force in PSWU. figure 2 shows that both women at NEC and National Office are not in mainstream positions.

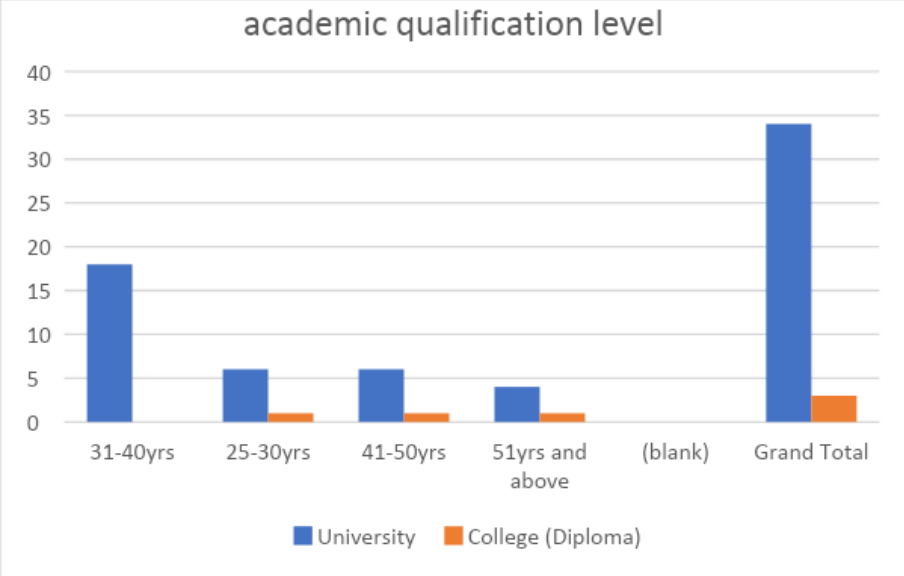
Table 9: Percentage Age Distribution Of Women Leaders In PSWU.

Age	Total	Percentage Total (%)
31-40yrs	18	47.4
25-30yrs	7	18.4
41-50yrs	7	18.4
51yrs and above	5	13.2
Grand Total	**37**	**100**

Source: Field Survey 2022.

Out of the total 37 women respondents About 47.4 percent of The PSWU women leadership is under 40 years, 18.4 percent are under 30 years ,18.4 percent are under 50 years and 13 percent are over 51 years. This shows a relatively young labour force. The leadership is generally youthful, with 60 percent aged under 40 years and 30 years as shown in the figure above.

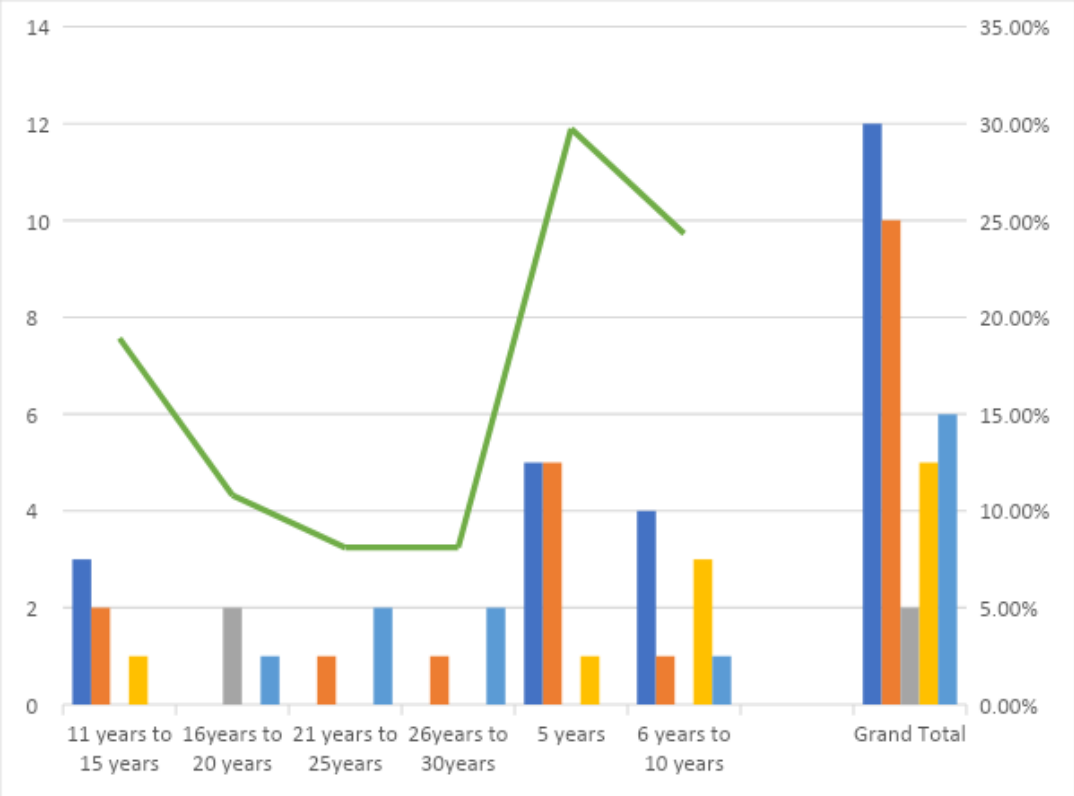
Figure 2: Educational Background of Women Leaders



Source: Field Survey2022.

The leadership is generally a young one, with. About 90 percent representing 34 women have a degree as their highest level of qualification and 8 percent attained a diploma. This cut across all age levels among women leaders in PSWU.

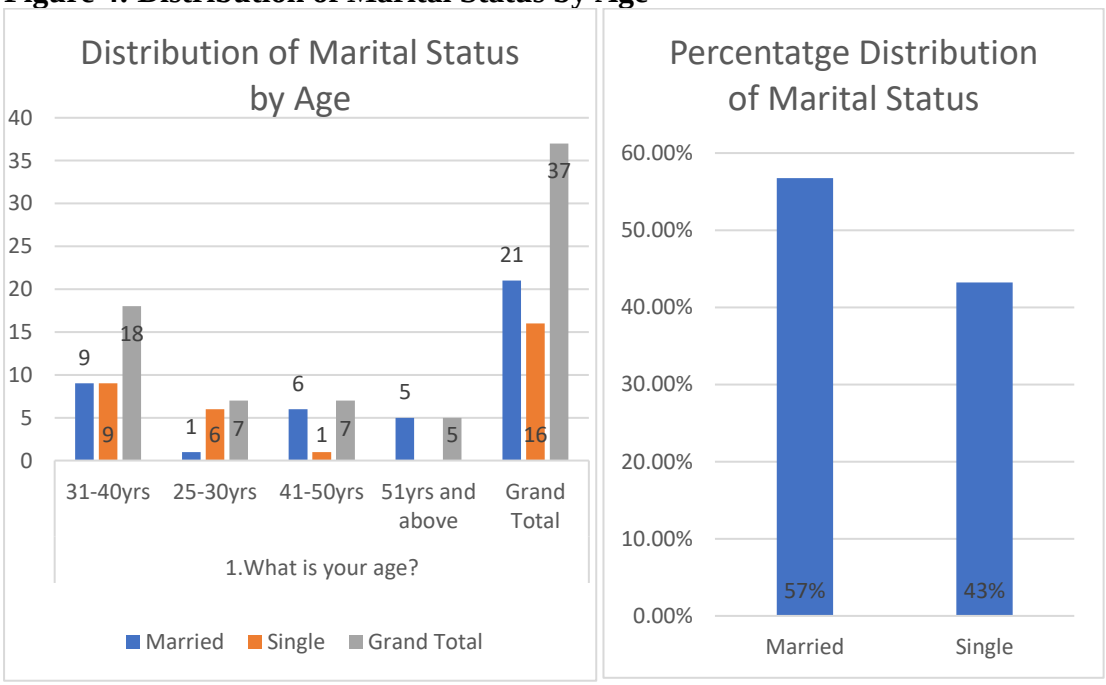
Figure 3: Average Number of Years of Membership in PSWU.



Source: Field Survey,2022.

Data from figure 3 were sought to establish the level of experience. About 30 percent of the total 36 PSWU women leadership are 5 years old, 25 percent are 6 years to 10 years,19 percent are 11 years to 15 years, 8 percent are 16 years to 20 years, 21 years to 25 years and 26 years to 30 years. Again, it can be observed that youth, women committee, and secretary with 5 years of experience recorded higher, this can be linked to opportunities available for potential women leaders as explained figure 14. All these shows there exist mentors who train new leaders and potential leaders about the regulations of PSWU. One woman leader interviewed said that "I see myself as a mentor to other young women in my unit and with over 15 years of experience in PSWU from grassroots to mainstream level I always have a lot to share with my members and I use these experiences in resolving conflicts and other similar issues".

Figure 4: Distribution of Marital Status by Age



Source: Field Survey,2022.

From figure 4, a little above 43 percent of the women are single and 57 percent of women are married. The number of married women runs through all age levels. This projects that there are women leaders who play double roles in the union and at home which affects performances and contributions to union affairs as stated by Kirton and

Healy (2008:4) in their research opined that "paid work and work in the home constitute a 'double burden' and trade union participation (and other such voluntary activities) adds another 'burden' for many women". According to one of the women interviewed, "travelling away from home and not being able to attend children's school meetings does not allow her to track children's performance and conduct at school". These elevate concerns about barriers in leadership roles in the union. Again, this implies that women are , are occupied with caring and housekeeping responsibilities.

Table 10: Percentage Women Aspirations for Higher Roles

Do you aspire for higher roles?	Total	Percentage Total (%)
Yes	29	81
No	7	19
Grand Total	**36**	**100**

Source: Field Survey,2022.

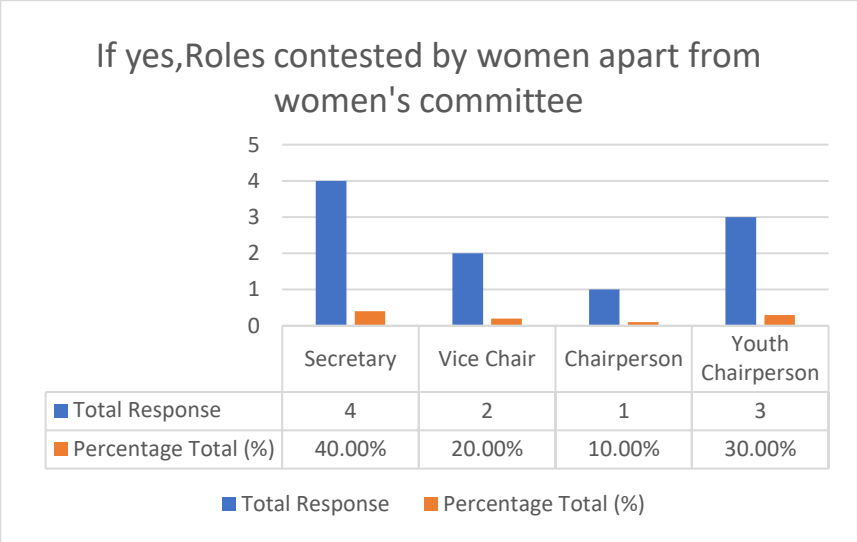
The research also sought to uncover the type of union responsibilities women in leadership hold to determine whether women are self-motivated and interested in leadership role to ascertain the usefulness of gender mainstreaming in PSWU. 81 percent representing a total of 29 women aspired for higher roles in PSWU leadership while 19 percent representing 7 women had no aspirations for higher roles. These 19 percent also include women who are over 51 years old and would soon retire as shown in table 3 below for the reasons why some women do not aspire for higher roles. This shows the willingness of women in PSWU to climb higher on the PSWU leadership ladder. Again, this reflects the importance of gender mainstreaming as an enabling factor for women participation.

Table 11: Interest to Contested Apart from Women's Committee and Reserved Women Position.

	Total Response	Percentage Total (%)
Yes	12	29
No	25	71
Grand Total	**37**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2022.

Figure 5: Percentage Distribution of Roles Contested by Women



Source: Field Survey, 2022

Related studies on women participation in union have observed that women are too comfortable with reserved roles and do not want to contest in mainstream or other roles (Britwum et al., 2014). The result of the survey in Table 5 indicates that 71 percent of the total 37 women responded that they have no interest to contest other positions aside the women committee and reserved women position (ie 2nd Vice Chair position) while 29 percent representing 12 women said they have interest. This reflects those women leaders preferred reserved seats and other sub-roles. That is 40 percent of women mostly contest for secretary followed by 30 percent for youth chair, 20 percent for vice chair and 10 percent for Chairperson. From a high-ranked woman unionist in PSWU, "women are too comfortable with the women's committee and reserved seats they do not want to compete for other positions contested by men ". With reference to

Table 10 as much as women aspire for higher leadership roles they are limited by barriers. This can be linked to gendered roles perception by women and women want to avoid name calling (arrogant and prostitute) by opponents to maintain a good reputation. Another woman unionist asserts that "women like backbiting, gossip and also allegations from male counterparts on sleeping with other high ranked male union officials deter some women especially the young women from contesting and even rising higher". One of the male officers asserts that "affirmative action has not been fully achieved because a lot of women do not want to contest in the mainstream".

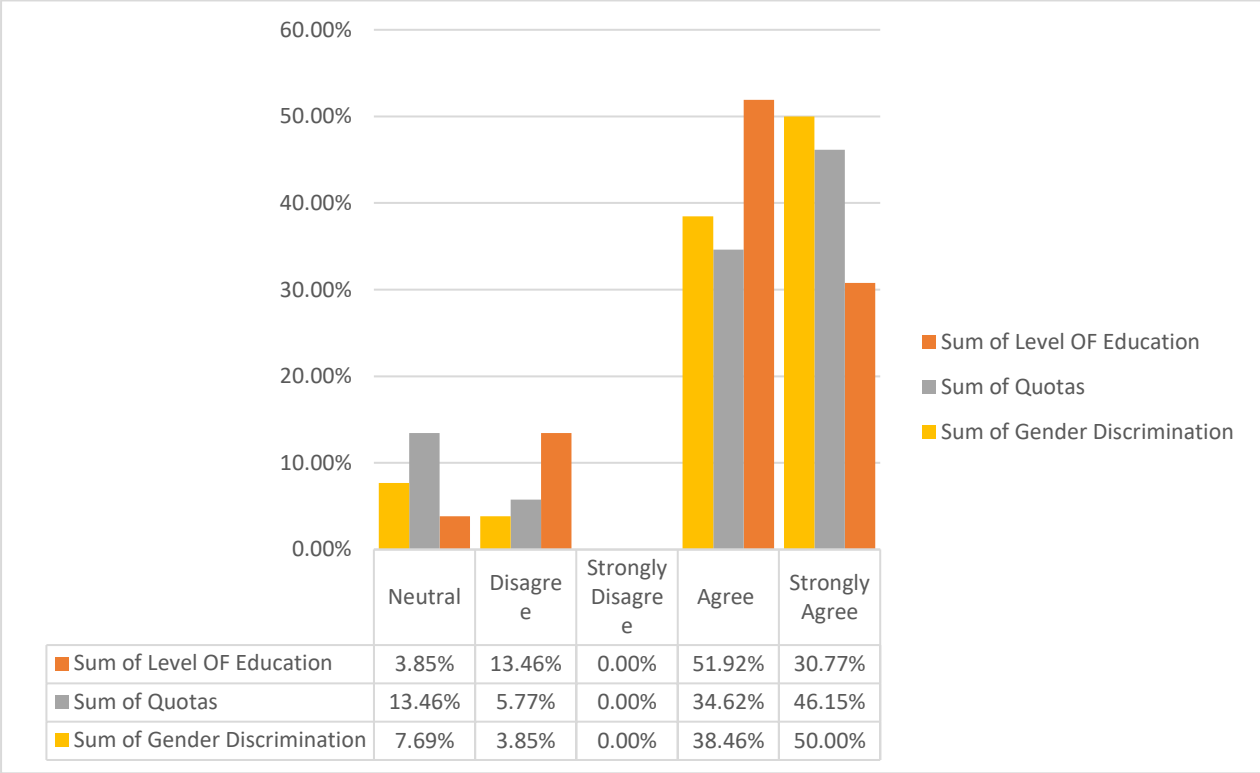
Table 12: Reasons for not contesting PSWU Leadership

Reasons	Total	Percentage Total %
Household Responsibilities	6	60
Retiring	3	30
Low Protection	1	10
Grand Total	10	100

Source: Field Survey,2022.

The survey sought to determine factors that influence women to rise higher to establish whether there is a link between the level of education, quotas, legal support, statutes; and leadership ladder in PSWU by using a Likert - scale with strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree. This is shown below:

Figure 6: Factors Influencing Women's Leadership



	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Sum of Level OF Education	3.85%	13.46%	0.00%	51.92%	30.77%
Sum of Quotas	13.46%	5.77%	0.00%	34.62%	46.15%
Sum of Gender Discrimination	7.69%	3.85%	0.00%	38.46%	50.00%

Source: Field Survey, 2022.

From the survey, the majority 51.92 percent and 50 percent strongly agreed on the level of education and women's eagerness to fight gender discrimination as factors that influence rising higher on the leadership ladder. This is followed by quotas and legal support such as the constitution of Ghana, The PSWU constitution that explicitly states the functions of the women's committee and vice chair and the formation of subcommittees all in Articles 14,18 and 19 respectively. The minority that disagreed is 13.46 percent, 5.77 percent and 3.85 percent reflecting the views of women who occupied the national position that they rose through the grassroots and gained experience and knowledge. This shows that the level of experience and institutional structure of the PSWU, which runs from local to national as shown in the organogram, also influences women's leadership. From a high-ranking woman unionist, "my experience from grassroots and involvement in all union activities facilitated my chance of rising to a higher rank in the PSWU". Another woman interviewed said "because I

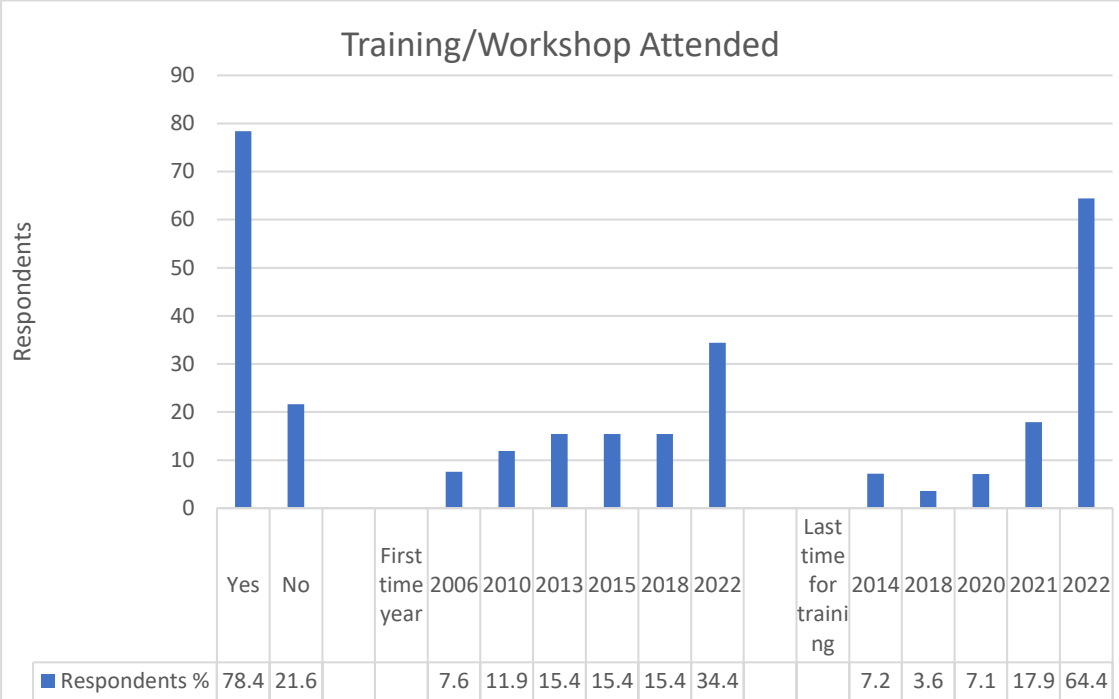
realized a woman should lead now". Other factors that push women to participate in decision-making are shown below:

Table 13: Other Push Factors of women leaders in participation in decision making

What other factors push women leaders' participation in decision-making?
Deliberate policy to curb gender stereotyping, women friendly environment & policy, family and social support, and re-orientation of society about the role or place of women in society and work
Their commitment to their various roles
Equal opportunity and equity
Credibility
Gender discrimination and inequalities
Support from loved ones and the zeal to change
Gender equality
Knowledge
Labour rights and responsibilities

Source: Field Survey,2022.

Figure 7: Responses on training/workshop attended by women leaders in PSWU.

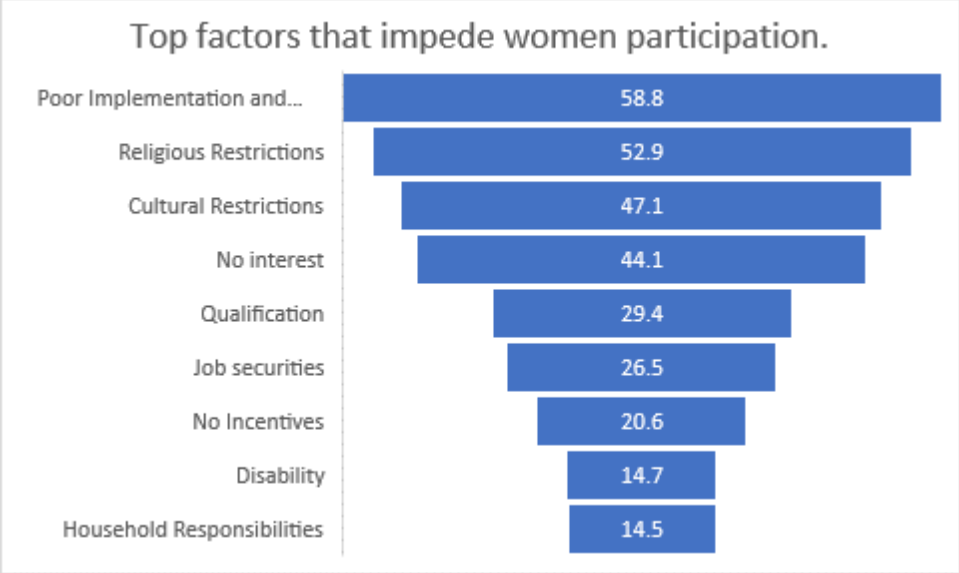


Source: Field Survey,2022

From Figure 7, 78.4 percent of women leaders in PSWU have been trained with 21,6 percent with no training. Among the 78 .4 percent of women, 7.6 percent received their first-time training in 2006 with 11.9 percent receiving training in 2010 and 2013 with an increase of 3.5% in 2022. From 2019 to 2021 there was no physical training and workshops, and meetings were done online. According to one of the women leaders, "in March 2020 the PSWU issued a circular to suspend all trade union meetings and activities which involved more than fifty persons hence there were less meetings. Members were advised to use zoom and other social media platforms for meetings". Covid-19 negatively affected participation and decision-making because of inadequate training and network accessibility. Some of the women leaders complained about poor internet connectivity which served as a barrier to online meetings and workshops. Some of the members preferred physical meetings because of the traveling and out of station allowances of physical meetings and feared people recording them and security of information discussed during online meeting sessions. Again, this trend also shows how

women's interest in union activities has developed over time. Training and workshop programs that were mentioned by women leaders interviewed include Members of the TUC Women's Council meeting every June and December, the GLU engaged program and the regional capacity building workshop. Another woman mentioned that "this year was the first time PSWU participated in the Labour Note Conference June 2022". She further stated that "these conferences train them on the formation of unions, collective bargaining and shared experiences from other unions".

Figure 8: Frequency of top factors that impede women participation by percentage.



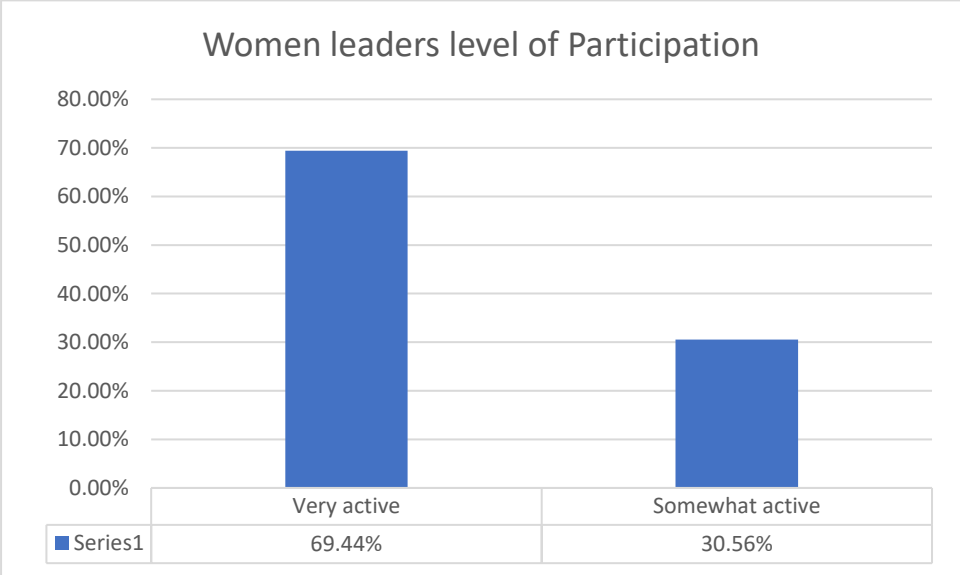
Source: Field Survey, 2022.

The survey aimed to identify challenges in terms of women's leadership efforts in decision-making in PSWU. Figure 8 analysed poor implementation and support recorded highest frequency with 58.8 percent ranked 1st, 2nd religious restrictions (52.9 percent), 3rd cultural restrictions (47.1 percent), 4th no interest (44.1 percent), 5th qualification (29.4 percent), 6th job security (26.5 percent), 7th no incentives (20.6 percent), 8th disability (14 percent), and household responsibilities as top factors. Other women's interviews trend around travelling away from family to attending union meetings and name-calling. One of the male leaders interviewed revealed a report from one chairperson who did not want to participate in union activities because of name-

calling. One male interviewed mentioned inadequate funds as a major challenge to the union which also affects the women's department in policy and project implementation. He further touched on support for women leaders with disability and mentioned that "one of the chairpersons from a local division is very vibrant and vocal despite her impairment".

The existence of gender mainstreaming structures shows a level of gender equality. The study sought to measure equality by asking women at NEC to rate their level of participation in PSWU decision-making structures. Figure 9 shows the level of participation of women at NEC in PSWU.

Figure 9: Level of Women Leaders Participation by Percentage.

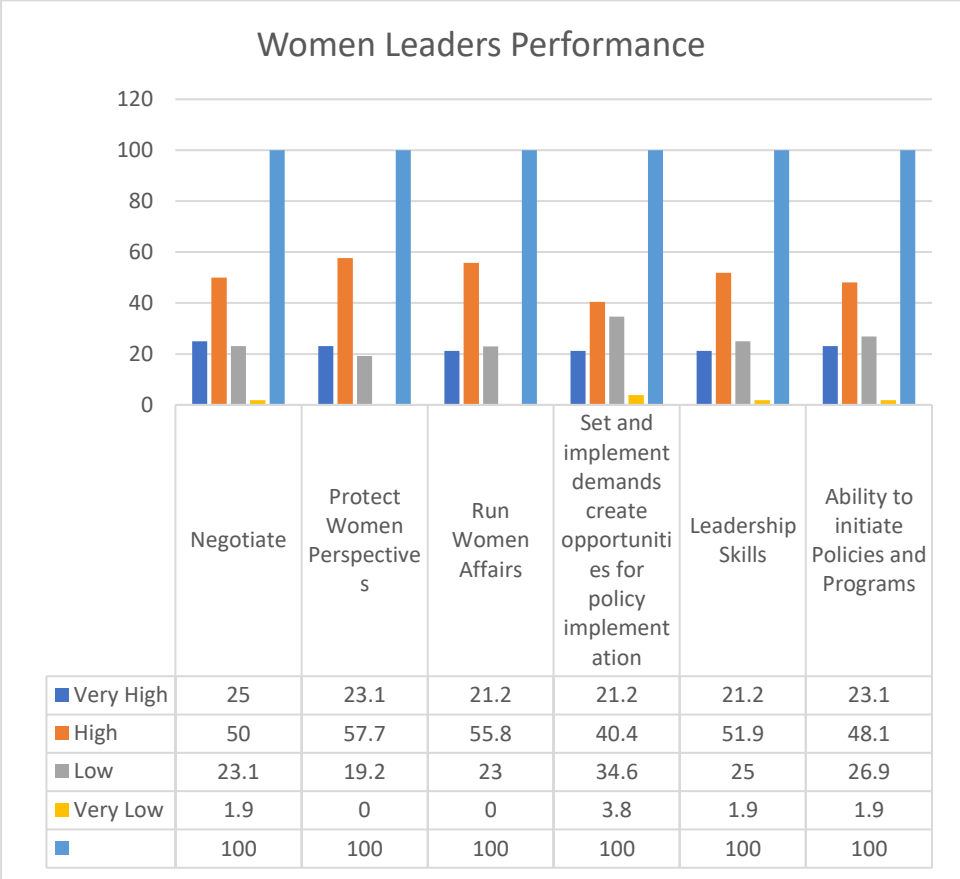


Source: Field Survey, 2022.

Figure 9 indicates that women are actively involved in decision-making, this also contests stereotypes about women not devoting time for union activities because of household responsibilities and marriage. 69 .44 percent of the total 37 women appraised themselves as very active, and 30.56 percent were partially active. The reasons for being partially active are because of the barriers such as household, official

work responsibilities and other factors stated in the figure that hinder women from participating fully in union activities. According to one woman interviewed "I do not only represent women, I serve as a national committee member and again serve on other committees such as the development of the social service fund committee and Board member of PSWU Hotel. Again, "I do a rotational performance that is chairing national and regional meetings".

Figure 10: Women leaders performance by percentage.



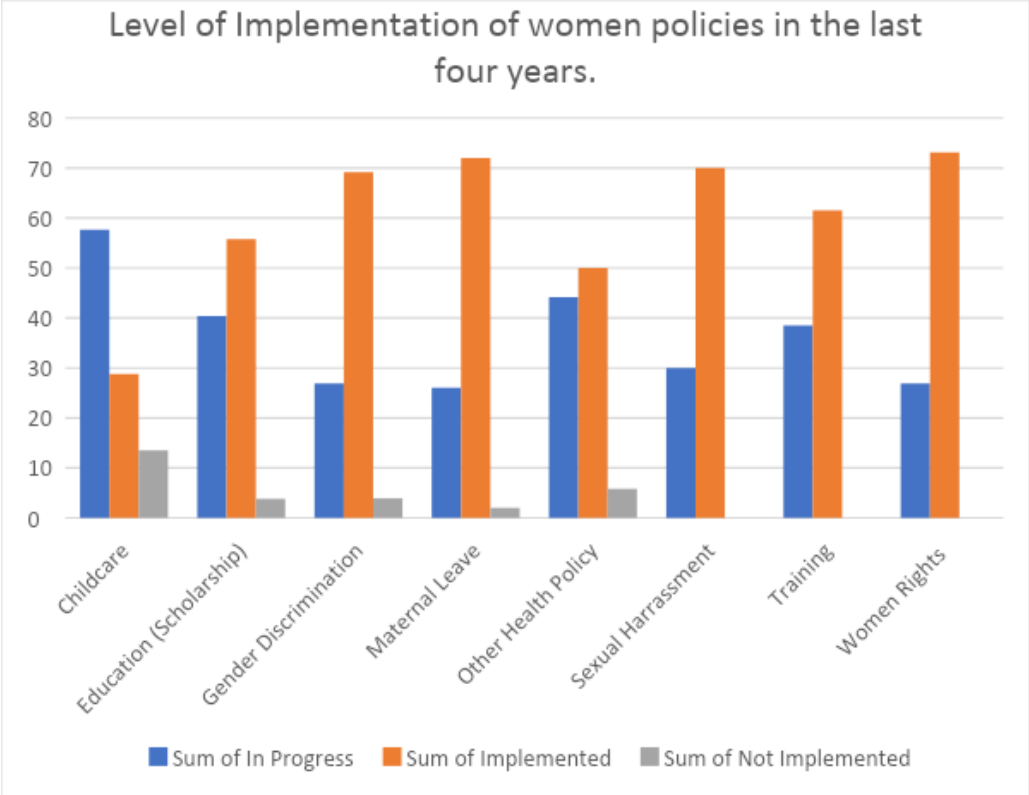
	Negotiate	Protect Women Perspectives	Run Women Affairs	Set and implement demands create opportunities for policy implementation	Leadership Skills	Ability to initiate Policies and Programs
Very High	25	23.1	21.2	21.2	21.2	23.1
High	50	57.7	55.8	40.4	51.9	48.1
Low	23.1	19.2	23	34.6	25	26.9
Very Low	1.9	0	0	3.8	1.9	1.9
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey, 2022.

The study focused also on how female leadership progress was monitored and maintained as an important aspect of achieving gender mainstreaming thereby requesting the respondents to rate the level of women leaders' performance in PSWU. Figure 10 shows that women are actively participating in union activities and have a greater influence on women's demands negotiation. In figure 12, trade union skills in

protecting the rights of women (57 percent), running women's affairs (55 percent high), leadership skills (51 percent), negotiating (50 percent high), setting, and implementing demands (40 percent high) and ability to initiate policies and programs (48 percent) are of vital characteristics of a trade union leader. However, protecting the rights of women (19 percent) low, running women's affairs (23 percent low), leadership skills (25 percent low), negotiating (23 percent low), setting, and implementing demands (34 percent low) and ability to initiate policies and programs (26 percent low). This shows the barriers affect women's leadership skills negatively.

Figure 11: Frequency of Level of Implementation of Women Policies by Percentage.



Source: Field Survey, 2022.

Policies listed above are implemented by women leaders and the entire union office. Policies at implemented stage means they have enforced and operational whereas in progress means they are within initiating stage and are being reviewed to make them better, not implemented on the other hand means aspects of the policies were proposed at conference and are yet to be implemented. Women rights policies

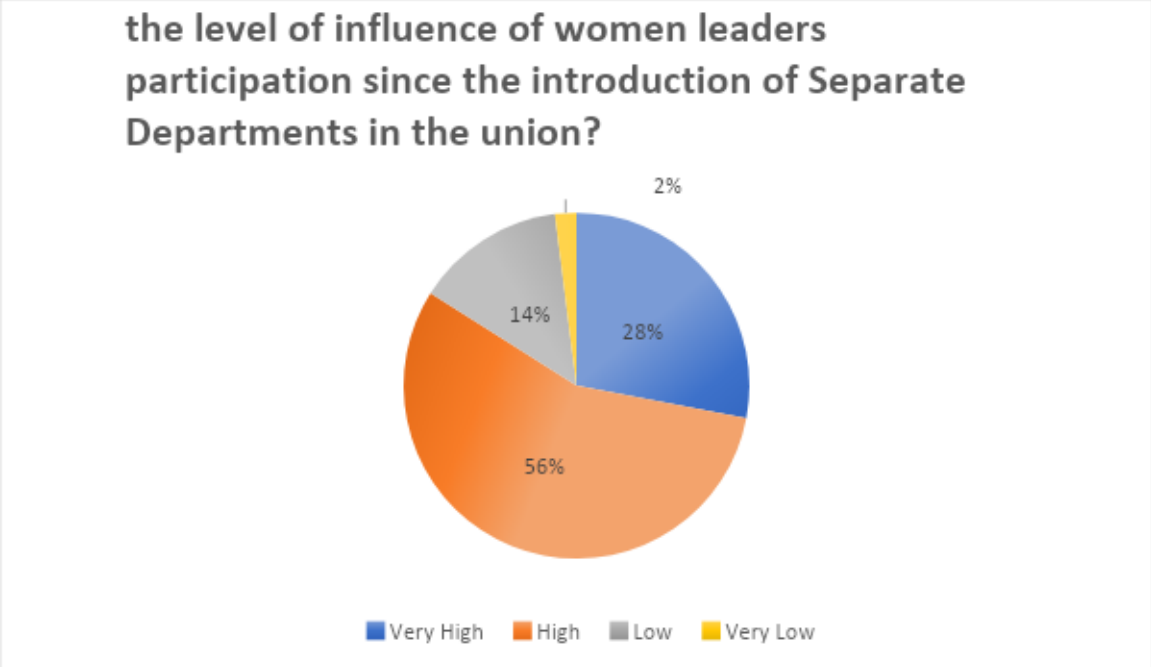
recorded 73.1 percent implemented, Maternal leave recorded at 72 percent implemented, sexual harassment at 70 percent, gender discrimination at 69.2 percent, training, education (scholarships) at 55.8 percent, and childcare at 28.8 percent implemented. It was observed that union policies (women's rights, maternal leave, sexual harassment, gender discrimination) that were in conformity with the national policies achieved a lot of progress whiles education (scholarships), and childcare was part of the PSWU Strategic plan (2020-2023) which are still in progress. Policies in progress include Women's rights recorded at 26 percent, Maternal leave at 26 percent, sexual harassment at 30 percent, gender discrimination at 26 percent, training at 38 percent, education (scholarships) at 40 percent, and childcare at 57 percent and other health policies at 44 percent. According to one female leader "our term, we have been able to organise cyber training for women after being locked down in 2021. In this training women especially, mothers were taught to monitor their children's usage of mobile phones to check examination malpractice because some people appear as examiners and sell papers to those writing entrance exams which affects the performance of these students. Again, kidnappers use Facebook and other social media platforms to trap children. Women were also educated on cyber laws and safety."

Another woman interviewed stated "We have been able to organise breast cancer screening and education, eye screening and educate women periodically about PSWU internal regulations during our conferences. I am also a member of the management committee implementing the current PSWU Mutual and Health Fund. One of the male leaders also stated, "we have been able to provide nursery facilities during meetings and conferences for women where the PSWU creates a nursery facilities and resting area for kids and also caters for the allowances and expenses for every nanny". All women interviewed acknowledged the support of men at the national level and attributed inadequate funds to the policies that were not implemented since

PSWU's major source of income is from the dues from members. Another male leader revealed that these policies are monitored by reports from Industrial Relation Officers who are based in regions and delegates' conference reports. Interviews from women acknowledge collaborative assistance from the General Secretary

Related studies have shown that "reserved seats, official or staff appointments or their placement in visible union positions" have contributed to increased women representation in unions (Briskin, 2006; Britwum A. O., 2007a; Costello & Stone, 2001; Curtin, 1999; Cook et al., 1992). Separate departments are one of the gender mainstreaming mechanisms adopted by unions to ensure democracy and address women needs. The existence of separate departments and reserved seats shows an improvement in institutionalisation of PSWU and the level of autonomy/influence of the women's committee as a separate department. Figure 14 indicates the extent to which this mechanism has influenced women leaders' decision making below:

Figure 12: Responses on the level of women's influence since the introduction of separate departments.



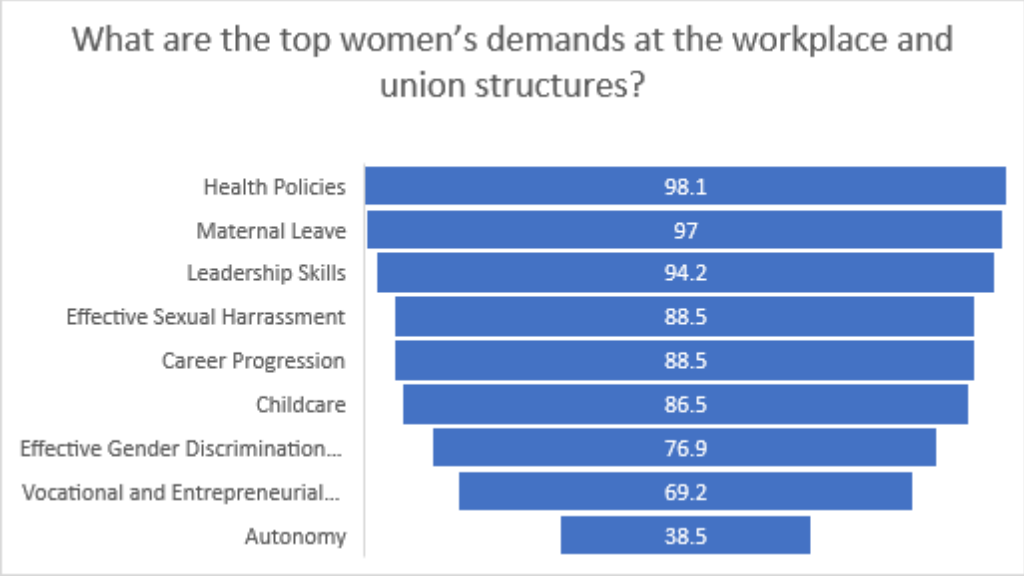
Source: Field Survey, 2022

The study focused also on organising as an important component of leadership therefore sought the respondents to rate the influence of the introduction of a separate

department to establish whether it is a precondition or effective in its operations to deliver gender needs. The figure above demonstrates that since the introduction of a separate department in the union that is the women's committee there has been improvement in women's participation and implementation of women's needs. 28 percent very high influence, 56 percent high influence and 14 percent low influence. This shows that women have been given a large platform to run women's affairs to enhance gender mainstreaming. This also reflects figures 2 and 11 on the level of implementation and experiences.

One male cited that "the introduction of the women's committee has enhanced women's request for paternity leave for their spouses". He further added that, "these actions have seen an increase in the minimum quota of female participation in the PSWU's education and training programmes increase from 30 to 40 percent. These actions also led to Mrs. Georgina Opoku Amankwah becoming the first woman Chairperson of the Ghana Trade Union Congress (GTUC) from PSWU in 2012 (Daily Graphic, 2012). Currently the National Vice Chair position which is not reserved but rather contested among men and women is occupied by a woman. All these justify the Gender Award 2021, in recognition of PSWU's efforts at championing gender equality within the trade union movement by the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations in Ghana.

Figure 13: Frequency of top women's demand by percentage

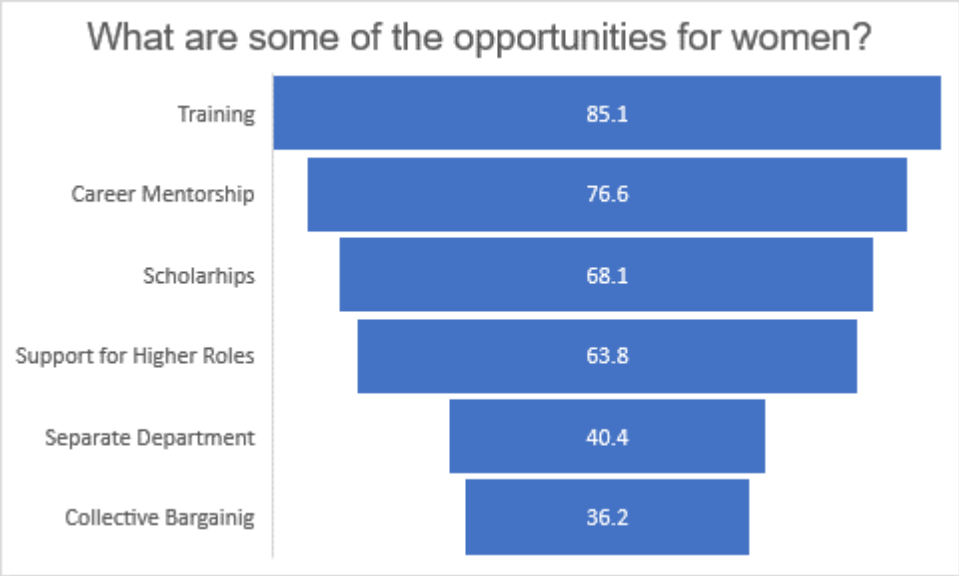


Source: Field Survey, 2022.

In figure 13, health policies recorded at 98.1 percent highest demand by women followed by maternal leave at 97 percent, leadership skills at 94.2 percent, effective sexual harassment at 88.5 percent, and career progression, and childcare at 86.5 percent. The pressing needs of health, maternal and childcare in PSWU reflect the implantation of The PSWU Mutual and Health Fund was launched in March 2022. Low demand for autonomy (38.5 percent) shows the level of independence and influence in decision-making. One woman interviewed revealed that "women are calling for vocational and entrepreneurial skills training which has been halted since 2014. This includes such as: "clothing, food processing, beading and start-up capital to serve as a secondary stream of income to meet their needs and support family". She further stated that "since 2012 attention has been on education and capacity building of women to build on their consciousness but now, we have realised the increasing improvement so we will consider the vocational and entrepreneurial training demands". Another male leader revealed in an interview the plans of PSWU leadership to unionise informal workers in the public sector. He stated that "have realised a sudden trend in the increasing number

of precariat labour in the public sector who are normally casual employees and work as: artisans, labourers, clerks, among others with no protection.

Figure 14: Frequency for Opportunities for Women by Percentage.



Source: Field Survey, 2022.

From the survey, both men and women leaders at NEC assert that there has been progress in developing women's leadership in PSWU because of the above opportunities that exist in the union. Training recorded the highest at 85.1 percent, career mentorship at 76.6percent, scholarships at 68.1 percent, support for higher roles to contest in the mother union TUC at 63.8 percent, the existence of a separate department to manage women's affairs at 40.4 percent and collective bargaining all served as strength for women leaders and upcoming leaders.

With reference to age structure in figure 2 the level of experience and existence of long-serving leaders who serve as mentors to their subordinates and new women leaders. Two of the female leaders interviewed revealed their tenure of service in the union, one said she has been serving in the union for 22 years and the other for 15 years. According to one male "leader the union has established a women and youth mentoring program in 2022 with the goal of training 240 women and youth who will be organised to serve as activists for the union from the grassroots". He added that "they will be trained on labour laws, PSWU internal regulations, trade union ideology to lift their

consciousness". In relation to scholarship and training, he mentioned the GLU program, PSI (bilateral programs) and the TUC. He also mentioned budget policy where special allocation is made for women and youth programs annually.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

From the findings, women are under employed in the public sector where men dominate, women constitute 27 percent, men 73 percent in the public service employment. 46 representations of women at the NEC out of the total 159 also projects the notion that women are relaxed and do not want to push further to contest in other positions apart from the reserved women seat and the women's committee position. This has contributed to the under representation of women in the mainstream. This is justified by the 71 percent women response in the survey that they do not want to contest any position apart from the women's committee and the about 60 percent of the women contested for sub roles such as secretary, deputies, and vice chair roles. The result of the survey proves that there is a connection between PSWU gender equality and mainstreaming approaches to enhance increase in women's participation since they are minority in the union. This proves an argument in a similar study by Britwum et al. (2014) that when women are significantly represented in leadership especially in the mainstream there is a possibility of achieving negotiations for women related issues that is perceived as cost to the organisation. This cost includes childcare facilities and additional maternal/paternal leave (Britwum et al., 2014). Substantial representation of women in union leadership promotes gender issues both in organization, national and labour policies to achieve equality as highlighted in literature definition as 'standing for women' and is perceived as an enhancing factor where women are 'acting for women' (Celis and Childs, 2008: 420).

The research also indicates that reserved seats, women's department/committee, constitution, and other legislative enactment depicts that there are national, international, and union structures that exist to protect and enhance women

representation. This brings to light Behrens et al's (2004a) dimension of union power resources and McBride's (2001) notion of redistribution of power to oppressed groups in representative institutions which focus on separate departments, power influence and channel of communications in organisation. Another cited examples for the factors that push women leaders from the survey include family and societal support, reorientation of society about the role/place of women in the society and work. Regardless of the PSWU efforts to improve gender equality and mainstreaming there are still barriers that impede the progress in achieving this objective. Among the cited examples from the survey includes discrimination in the form of name calling, false allegations; lack of interest and no time for union activities/meetings because women are involved in household responsibilities and official work duties. However, there was a possibility of women related policies not being fully implemented as shown in the results of level of women policy implementation. There is the need for PSWU to actively advocate for women participation and employment.

The study also established that relationships between gender mainstream and women participation are reciprocal i.e. women's participation in the union resulted in improved gender policy and interventions, these improved gender policies led to further participation of women through substantive representation. The research revealed that despite these challenges the few women that are represented in the PSWU leadership occupied mainstream positions and were involved in key decision committees such the management committee implementing the current PSWU Mutual and Health Fund, the development of the social service fund committee and Board members of PSWU Hotel. This shows that there are still women who are willing to climb higher and compete to ensure gender equality hence the need to reinforce gender mainstreaming. This also highlights the relevance of gender mainstreaming adopted by the PSWU to enhance women representation and policies.

From all indications, PSWU has been able to improve gender gap in union leadership and has allowed women to benefit from gender mainstreaming in the union as the few women employed in the public sector are substantially represented with a greater space for participation and implementation of gender policies in the union. Despite the enabling strategies and institutional framework that exist to support women and women leaders, men still dominate in the public sector employment as well as leadership positions. Women are still comfortable with the reserved seats and find it a challenge to compete in other positions. On the other hand, women who compete for positions outside the reserved roles/seats contest in sub roles and rather than main roles for flexibility reasons. This shows that women's domestic responsibilities are link to their inability to contest mainstream and actively participate in union activities. The survey also projects that there are women leaders who play double roles in the union and at home which affects performances and contributions to union affairs as stated by Kirton and Healy (2008:4) in their research opined that "paid work and work in the home constitute a 'double burden' and trade union participation (and other such voluntary activities) adds another 'burden' for many women". Even though women involvement in decision making has increased, there are still women involved in low paid and low protection jobs in the public sector who work as temporary employees and on waiting lists to be employed.

The overview of Ghana's labour force clearly depicts that women who are the majority of the population in Ghana are underemployed and majority of the employed are engaged in informal activities and unpaid family work. In this case it will be ideal for the PSWU to advocate for equal employment with equal skills for women considering the incremental improvement in women level of education and enrollment or even negotiate a quota for women for every job interview just as the PSWU strategy for quota of 40 percent women for every training and capacity building program. The

trend of domestic or household responsibilities should be carefully studied and used as a tool to address the issue of women's lack of interest and commitment to union activities and other leadership roles. In this regard, an increase in women's representation increases women's consciousness about their demands and strives to realize them.

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APPENDICE

Interview Schedule

WOMEN LEADERSHIP IN UNION, A CASE OF GHANA PUBLIC SERVICES WORKERS' UNION.

Semi-Structured Interview Guide

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: NATIONAL OFFICERS (WOMEN)

Background Information

1. Please give a brief introduction of your role in PSWU? when did you join PSWU? What is the mandate in the department you work in? Do you hold other position(s) aside PWU role? and what is your current role?

Participation

2. Why did you contest the elections?

3. How do you feel about being a leader in PSWU?

4. How did you finance your campaign? (By who /from? Relationship of the sponsor?)

5. Did you have enough resources to support your election campaign? (Logistics, finance and other forms)

6. To what extent do you think gender played a role in your election?

7. What major challenges did you face in contesting the election?

8. Why do you think it is a challenge?

9. Would you contest again?

i. If yes, why?

ii. If no, why?

10. Do you think there are constraints that prevent women from being elected to any position aside from the reserved women roles and women's committee?

11. How often do you attend union meetings?

12. How are you invited to union meetings? What form of invitation? (i.e. Sms,email,telephone,memos ,others)

13. Do you obtain permission from your employer before attending union meetings? (From who and how is the response?)

14. Do you participate actively at union meetings?

15. What are the channels for reporting women's demands and strategies for implementation?

16. Have any of these demands been achieved or resolved?

Ideas Generation and Policy Implementation

17. Have you led any gender-related policy discussions at union meetings? What led to the discussion? How was it received by other members, especially male counterparts?

18. Was it accepted? If yes, how? If no, why?

19. Have you been able to implement any gender related policies during your term? If yes, what policies? When? If no, why?

20. Compared to a few years back, are there now more opportunities for women in your position to become influential actors in how PSWU is governed? YES or NO (specific changes in attitudes and behaviours since the last two (2) years).

Policy and Interventions Recommendations

21. What (in your opinion) is the impact of women in a leadership position on union policies (in terms of gender policies: sexual harassment, maternal policies, health, education, skills generation)?

22. How can women's demands be better represented in PSWU Leadership?

23. Are there actors and actions from stakeholders to promote greater involvement of women in PSWU? If yes, what are they? Is there any policy support for women leaders in terms of performance, skills generations, family life, education and health in relation to discrimination and work benefits?

24. Have you personally ever attended union training or a workshop? If yes, which year was the first time? Which year was the last time you attended or participated in union training or workshop?

25. What do you think about the introduction of a specific quota for women's representation in PSWU? Can this be improved? If yes, how? If no, why?

26. Do you have any specific recommendations for PSWU on the issue of women in leadership (substantive representation)?

Wrap Up Questions

27. Is there any other information that you feel is important for me to know?

28. Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you for your time

WOMEN LEADERSHIP IN UNION, A CASE OF GHANA PUBLIC SERVICES WORKERS' UNION.

Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Interview Questions: National Officers (Men)

Background Information

1. Please give a brief introduction of your role in PSWU? when did you join PSWU? What is the mandate of the department? and what is your current role?

2. Do you think the current elected women in the PSWU are adequate? Why?

3. Is there any support offered to women aspirants in PSWU to become leaders? What are the specific types of support offered to women aspirants? How are they obtained?

4. Are there constraints (barriers) for more women to be elected to PSWU? If yes, what are these?? Or group if any (names and rationale). If no, why?

5. In your opinion, what challenges do women face contesting an election?

6. How can these challenges be addressed for more representation of (elected) women in PSWU?

Policy And Intervention

7. Has PSWU taken steps to encourage affiliated organisations to collect data on the sex of its members? If yes, what are the steps? If no,why?

8. Have you been able to implement any gender related policies or changes during your term? If yes, what policies? (list)When? Status of implementation

If no, why?

9. Does PSWU monitor the changes in female membership in the various trade unions affiliated with it? If yes, how often are observations made? If no, why? How is this monitoring done? (Evaluation form, website, organizational visits, reports)

10. Are the monitoring mechanisms successful? If yes, what makes them reliable? If no, how can they be improved?

11. What is the impact of women in leadership on the union's policies (in terms of gender policies: i.e. sexual harassment and maternal policies)?)

12. Compared to a few years back, do you think there are now more opportunities for women to become influential actors in how the PSWU is governed? YES or NO

Probe: for specific changes in attitudes and behaviour over the last two (2) years).

13. Are you aware of any specific demands of women in the union? what are the specific demands? How can they be addressed? What is being done?

14. Is there any policy support for women leaders in terms of performance, skills generations, family life, education, and health in relation to discrimination and work benefits?

15. What do you think about the introduction of specific quotas for women's representation in PSWU? Can this be improved? If yes, how? If no, how?

Wrap Up Questions

1. Are there any other information that you feel is important for me to know?

2. Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you for your time.

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is part of a series of data collection events on **WOMEN LEADERSHIP IN UNION, A CASE OF GHANA PUBLIC SERVICES WORKERS' UNION.** Your contribution is valuable, and I hope you will feel comfortable and can be open and honest in your responses. This questionnaire is for academic purposes and would be used as such. Confidentiality and anonymity is highly assured. Please select your answer by using a tick (√), circle, underline against any of the multiple choices and write your opinion(s) in the spaces provided.

Demographics

1. What is your age ? a) 25-30yrs [ ] b) 31-40yrs [ ] c) 41-50yrs [ ] d) 51yrs and above [ ]
2. What is your marital status? a) Single [ ] b) Married [ ] c) Windowed [ ] d) Separated [ ] e) Divorced [ ]
3. What is your academic qualification level? a) College (Diploma) [ ] b) University[]
4. Name of your institution……

5. What is your position in PSWU?
a) A Chairperson
b) Vice Chair
c) 2nd vice chairperson
d) Secretary
e) Deputy Secretary
f) Trustee
g) Women's Committee member
h) Youth Representative

6. How long have you been a member of the union?
a) 5 years b) 6 years to 10 years c)11 years to 15 years c) 16 years to 20years d) 21 years to 25 years e)26 years to 30 years

Routes Into Leadership Positions –Barriers/Enabling

5. Do you hold any position aside from PSWU leadership in your organization? YES or NO
    i. If yes, what is your position in the organization? ……
6. In the past years have you contested for any leadership role in the union apart from the women 's committee? YES or NO
    i. If yes, what was the role?
    ii. Did you win? a)Yes b) No

7. What motivated you to contest?

8. Do you aspire for a higher role in future? a) YES b) NO
9. If Yes, what role and why?

   If No, why?
10. Please indicate how you agree or disagree with the statement that Women **Levels of Education** have a statistically significant influence on the women's rising to higher leadership in the union??

a) Strongly disagree ( ) b)Disagree ( ) c)Neutral ( ) d)Agree ( ) e)Strongly agree ( )

11. Please indicate how you agree or disagree with the statement that **Quotas** have an influence on women's participation in the decision making process in PSWU.

a). Strongly disagree ( ) b)Disagree ( ) c)Neutral ( ) d)Agree ( ) e)Strongly agree ( )

Please show how you agree or disagree with the statement that **Gender discrimination influences** women participation in the decision making process in union.

a)Strongly disagree ( ) b)Disagree ( ) c)Neutral ( ) d)Agree ( ) e)Strongly agree ( )

12. What other factors push women leaders' participation in decision making?
13. What other factors impede women leaders' participation in decision making?
14. Have you personally ever attended a training or a workshop? YES or NO

    IF YES:

    i. Which year was the first time you attended or participated in training or a workshop on this subject?.....
    ii. Which year was the last time you attended or participated in a training or a workshop on this subject?.....

Experience In Leadership Positions – What Leadership Actually Involves

15. Do you think the number of women in leadership roles is sufficient? (a) Yes (b) No
16. Please list top factors you think contribute to the number of women in leadership?

a. Do other union leaders seek your opinion on other issues aside from women related issues?

a)YES b)NO

If yes, name specific issues If no, why?

17. How would you describe your level of participation? a. Very active ( ) b. Somewhat active ( )c. Not active ( )
18. What is the mode of communicating used to set up union meeting times? a. E-Mail ( ) b. Permission Letter ( ) c. Oral ( ) d. Text Messages ( ) e. others, specify…….

19. Do you obtain permission from your employer before attending union meetings? a. Yes b. No

State reason for answer above.....

20. How often do you attend union meetings? a. Monthly ( ) b. Quarterly ( ) c. Yearly ( )

    d. when needed ( )

21. Have voted on any motion in the last 12-24 months? a)Yes b)No
22. IF yes, what was the motion?.....
23. If not, why?
24. Imagine that you did not agree with a decision made by other members of PSWU leadership about an issue, to what extent do you think you can change their decision?

a) Not at all b) To some extent c) To a large extent.

Impact On Gender Policies (Substantive Policies)

25. Please list top women demands at the workplace.
26. Please list in order the level of implementation of programs/policies for women in the last four years?

a. Please indicate how you will rate the ability of a women leader's implementation based on the following activities in the union using the four-point-rating-scale given?

1-Very High 2- High 3- Low 4- Very Low

i. Negotiate to address women's demands. a) Very High b) High c) Low d) Very Low

ii. Protect the women's perspectives. a) Very High b) High c) Low d) Very Low

iii. Run your affairs. a) Very High b) High c) Low d) Very Low

iv. Set and implement demands create opportunities for policy implementation. a) Very High b) High c) Low d) Very Low

27. In the past 2years, have you contributed any time to help implement or negotiate any women policy (maternal, salary, allowance, discrimination,etc) a) Yes b)N0
28. Please indicate how you will rate the level of influence of women leader participation since the introduction of the Separate **Department** in the union?

a) Strongly disagree ( ) b)Disagree ( ) c)Neutral ( ) d)Agree ( ) e)Strongly agree ( )

Please list the top sources for funding for programs and policies implementation?

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS – What Could Be Done To Improve Things?

29. Compared to a few years back, are there now more opportunities for women in your position to become influential actors in how PSWU is governed? YES or NO

30. Mention some of these factors?
31. What should be done to improve implementation of women's policies (maternal, wage, working conditions) at the workplace?