BUILDING STRONGER UNIONS THROUGH WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

THESIS REPORT

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Abstract

This research focuses on women's leadership in trade unions in the Global South. For decades, women have faced patriarchal issues, which are central to gender inequality. Women are underrepresented in various environments, and consequently, their issues are also underrepresented. As a supportive labour organization, Mondiaal FNV promotes fair work globally, with gender equality as one of its main pillars. To increase gender equality, women's leadership development is seen as part of the solution. This research aimed to identify existing approaches to women's leadership development in trade unions, the factors that constrain or facilitate this development, and the most effective ways to increase women's leadership in trade unions through the development of the Comprehensive Women's Leadership Analysis Framework (CWLAF). This framework serves as an assessment tool for Mondiaal FNV to evaluate how well all indicators are considered. Additionally, it could serve as a design tool for new projects by Mondiaal FNV.

To provide an overview of what Mondiaal FNV has done so far regarding gender equality and women's leadership development, a table was created summarizing all the approaches used in the Gender Strategy Mondiaal FNV 2021-2025. This table also includes projects that are currently being implemented or are yet to start.

Triangulation (desk study, interviews, focus group discussions) was conducted for a case study in Uganda. These three methods were used to ensure reliability, with many interviews and FGDs conducted to understand the situation and perspectives of Ugandan trade unionists on this issue.

For the CWLAF, another framework and theory were combined, examining the three levels—individual, organizational, and societal—regarding their potential influences on women's leadership development. These three levels were also used to ensure that each project approach includes strategies at every level, to cover as much as possible.

From analysing Mondiaal FNV documents on projects related to gender equality and women's leadership development, twelve common approaches were identified: lobbying, advocacy, research, campaigning, training, workshops, seminars, capacity building, awareness creation, meetings, discussions, and FGDs.

Regarding factors that constrain or facilitate women's leadership development in trade unions, it was interesting to find that most factors identified by Ugandan research participants were constraining rather than facilitating progress. The top five influencing factors are self-esteem/confidence, cultural norms and gender stereotypes, (lack of) supportive network, institutional recognition and respect and lack of control over financial resources.

Based on the case study, the following approaches were found to be most important to implement according to the participants: capacity building, mentorship, constitutional change, building a support system to address harassment and violence against women and grassroots initiatives (empowerment at the lowest levels).

A multifaceted approach is needed to work towards gender equality through women's leadership development, as individual, organizational, and societal factors must be considered, and approaches need to cover all three levels to make greater change.

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List of acronyms

CWLAF – Comprehensive Women's Leadership Analysis Framework

ELSA – Executive Leadership on Sustainability and Alliance-building

FGD – Focus Group Discussion

FNV – Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging

GBV – Gender-Based Violence

Global Week – Mondiaal FNV Global Exchange Week

GUF – Global Union Federation

ILO C190 - International Labour Organization Convention No. 190

ITUC – International Trade Union Confederation

LISA – Leadership, Influence & Sustainable Alliance-building

MENA – Middle East and North Africa

NOTU – National Organization of Trade Unions

OSH – Occupational Safety and Health

TU – Trade Union

UWU – United Workers Union

WTO – World Trade Organization

Background

The structure of this thesis research begins with the chapter "Background," which introduces the research topic. Additionally, it includes a brief introduction to the commissioner of this thesis research. The following chapters elaborate on the "Problem Definition," "Research Objective," and "Research Questions." Next, the "Literature Review" provides a comprehensive overview of existing literature related to women's leadership development and gender equality in trade unions, including a conceptual framework. The "Methodology" chapter explains the research design and describes the data collection and analysis methods step-by-step. After that, the "Findings," "Discussion," "Conclusion," and "Recommendations" chapters follow. The "Findings" chapter presents the results of the case study conducted, and the "Discussion" chapter critiques some findings and compares them with existing literature. Finally, the "Conclusion" chapter answers the research questions.

This thesis report explores women's leadership development in trade unions in the Global South. Trade unions are bodies that "try to advance their members' interests in respect to wages and working conditions" and are "important actors in the labour market" (Schnabel, 2020). The context of this research is trade unions, with a focus on the crucial topic of women's leadership within these organizations. For decades, women all over the world have faced a variety of difficulties due to sexism, gender-based discrimination and violence, objectification, patriarchy, stereotypical judgments and images, wage gaps, work-family conflict, and many more. These factors represent the gender division of labour and are thus part of the development of the gender-role division in trade unions (Whitehead, 2014).

Women aren't just underrepresented in workplaces, society, and trade unions; they are also lacking in leadership roles within trade unions (Montague-Nelson, 2022). A gender gap between men and women in terms of formal power, authority, high status, and high incomes continues to remain (Billing & Alvesson, 2014).

The commissioner of this research, Mondiaal FNV, is associated with the largest Dutch union, FNV, and focuses on promoting fair work globally. Mondiaal FNV is a supportive labour organization that strives for democratic and inclusive unions through the promotion of gender equality, social dialogue and solidarity. Their work is centred in the Global South, encompassing a number of countries (see Annex 1). For almost fifty years, the organization has advocated for collective negotiation rights, liveable wages, social security, and safe working conditions. They believe in the right to work free from discrimination and violence, regardless of sexual orientation, gender identity, or characteristics. Mondiaal FNV focuses on skill development, union strengthening, and defending workers' rights in both formal and informal sectors. Gender equality is central to their mission. They provide financial support, expertise, and promote collaboration, while lobbying for improved labour conditions, stronger union positions, and increased female leadership. Their long-term strategy, extending until 2030, aims to improve social dialogue and labour conditions within specific supply chains, contributing to significant global change and empowering workers and unions worldwide (MondiaalFNV, 2024).

As stated in the Gender Strategy Mondiaal FNV 2021-2025 (hereafter referred to as the Gender Strategy), there is a lack of representation of women in trade unions and a shortage of women in the highest decision-making bodies of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) affiliates worldwide (MondiaalFNV, 2021). The main goal of the Gender Strategy is to focus on gender mainstreaming in all projects, with a specific emphasis on achieving equal representation of women in unions. According to Mondiaal FNV, gender mainstreaming involves integrating women's and men's concerns and experiences into policy design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation across all spheres to ensure equal benefits and prevent the perpetuation of inequality. In the context of humanitarian aid, gender mainstreaming integrates a gender lens at all levels of aid. Through gender

mainstreaming, gender equality can be achieved by making a clear distinction between the impact on and needs of men, women, girls, and boys (Ediae, et al., 2024).

As Mondiaal FNV already has projects focusing on women's leadership, my task was to create an overview of these projects and identify the various approaches used to achieve their goals. The development of the Comprehensive Women's Leadership Analysis Framework (CWLAF) will serve as guidance for Mondiaal FNV and their future projects aimed at women's leadership development in trade unions globally.

Problem Definition

Despite progress in addressing gender inequality, women continue to face challenges due to modern patriarchy. Female representation and leadership in trade unions worldwide remain insufficient, resulting in inadequate addressing of specific women's issues and contributing to gender inequalities across sectors. Mondiaal FNV has undertaken various gender equality projects but lacks a comprehensive overview of initiatives focused on promoting women's leadership in trade unions. Strengthening efforts to promote women's leadership is crucial, as it is expected to increase female union membership and advocate for their labour rights and gender equality, thereby fostering more inclusive trade unions. This research aims to explore the value of Mondiaal FNV's approaches to women's leadership development and the impact of various influencing factors.

Research Objective

By the end of August, 2024, a framework will be developed to serve as the basis for future projects implemented by Mondiaal FNV. This framework will classify the various approaches used by Mondiaal FNV to promote women's leadership in trade unions, considering both internal (individual) and external (organizational and societal) factors that may influence the outcomes. The objective is to identify Mondiaal FNV's approaches to women's leadership development and determine the most effective ways to support this development in trade unions in the Global South, while considering factors that may impact the effectiveness of these approaches. This will help reduce gender gaps and achieve equal representation of both genders and their issues within trade unions. Additionally, it will contribute to addressing gender imbalances by facilitating unbiased power and resource distribution, improving decision-making processes, and promoting women's empowerment and gender mainstreaming.

Research Questions

Main Research Question:

How do Mondiaal FNV's approaches to women's leadership development contribute to gender equality in trade unions in the Global South?

Sub-Research Questions:

1. What different approaches have been used in Mondiaal FNV's funded projects, ongoing projects, and new projects as part of the Gender Strategy Mondiaal FNV 2021-2025 to strengthen gender equality in trade unions through women's leadership development?
2. How is women's leadership interpreted in the Global South?
3. Based on the case study, which factors have constrained the development of women's leadership in trade unions?
4. Based on the case study, which factors have facilitated the development of women's leadership in trade unions?
5. What would be the most effective way to support trade unions in promoting more women's leadership?

Literature review

As there are certain key concepts that need more explanation, this chapter will clarify these concepts and provide foundational information for the research. It aims to delve deeper into the problem and guide the way forward.

Historically, women and men were restricted to gender roles: women were restricted to the role of housewives, responsible for household tasks and childcare, while men were the primary income source for the family. In other words, women were responsible for reproductive tasks, while men were responsible for productive tasks. This societal norm excluded women from the workforce (Gatrell & Swan, 2008), reflecting the long-lasting influence of patriarchy. Patriarchy is a social system in which men exert dominance and control over women and remains deeply rooted in society (Gatrell & Swan, 2008). Despite the desire for women to lead fulfilling lives and participate in the workforce, many face challenges such as long working hours and low pay, limiting their ability to care for their families or themselves. Gender stereotypes and inequality maintained by the patriarchal system contribute to these pressures. This system upholds men greater access to positions of power, leadership, authority, and privilege, reinforcing harmful gender roles and maintaining inequality (Montague-Nelson, 2022). The gender binary continues to play a central role in maintaining distinctions between masculinity and femininity to some extent across all societies (Whitehead, 2014).

Gender equality

Mondiaal FNV defines gender equality as follows: "*men and women having equal rights and equal access to resources and opportunities. It concerns not only the situation of women but also that of men, and both in relation to each other. However, as many women, including those who work, face greater risks and violations of rights, in practice there is more focus on women*" (MondiaalFNV, 2021).

As mentioned in the 'Background', women are underrepresented in trade unions as both members and leaders. This underrepresentation is caused by gender gaps that have continued globally over the last 20 years. Key gender inequalities include uneven participation in paid work: while 75% of men participate in paid jobs, only 48.5% of women do. Women also experience more violence in the workplace compared to men. Gender-based violence and harassment affect women's participation in employment and the quality of their work. This violence and harassment target individuals based on their sex or gender, or unfairly impact individuals of a specific sex or gender. It also includes sexual harassment. Further gender inequalities are related to unequal pay: on average, the gender wage gap is 23%, meaning women earn 77 cents for every dollar earned by men per hour worked. Globally, the prevalence of precarious jobs is increasing, with women being overrepresented in these roles, making them more vulnerable to economic crises and less protected against health risks. They are 75% of people who carry out unpaid labour and this influences opportunities for women's leadership. Lastly, women lack social protection as they do not have access to a social protection network. This system is designed based on the assumption of men being the primary breadwinners, thereby perpetuating stereotypical gender roles (MondiaalFNV, 2021).

Democratic inclusive trade unions

In 1919 the International Labour Organization (ILO) started with setting the most basic labour standards. In 1996, a debate involving the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the ILO took place to discuss the opportunities for designing a set of core labour standards to stimulate countries. The International Labour Organization (ILO), a part of the United Nations, primarily deals with labour issues. The main concepts of labour standards are based on four principles established during a number of important ILO Conventions, which are listed in Annex 2. These four principles include 'freedom of association and collective bargaining,' 'child labour,' 'forced labour,' and 'equality' (Roozendaal, 2020). It is the task of trade unions to stick to these principles and protect core labour standards as goals in their fight for proper working conditions, equal treatment, and fair agreements.

The idea of a trade union being democratic is argued by Sidney and Beatrice Webb in their analysis called 'Industrial Democracy.' They stated that a trade union is democratic, based on the principle of 'government of the people, by the people, for the people' (Hyman & Gumbrell-McCormick, 2020). In other words, the members of a trade union represent employees in a specific sector to fight for their rights and arrange fair labour standards that are humane. In the Gender Strategy, Mondiaal FNV intends to work on two ambitions, whereby democratic inclusive trade unions is one of them, as mentioned in the 'Background'.

Importance of women's leadership for trade unions

"The term leadership refers to the behaviours and qualities of persons in formally designated leadership positions" (Powell, 2014). Although women have some advantages in possessing leadership style and qualities that are associated with their gender by society, they often face disadvantages caused by scepticism about their leadership abilities. There is a general belief that women possess communal qualities, such as niceness, warmth, and friendliness, while leaders are expected to possess agentic qualities such as assertiveness, competitiveness and ambition. As these agentic characteristics are typically associated with masculinity, these impressions tend to disadvantage women as leaders and favour men (Eagly, et al., 2014). Industries and trade unions have been predominantly male-dominated and due to the characteristics of a leader are similar to the characteristics of men, it is challenging for women to take this role on them as well. Although it is crucial that more women are entering trade unions since more women are entering the working environment, so their demands need to be dealt with as well.

Many women feel they are not properly represented at the negotiating table or in leadership positions. Although some unions include women, their voices often go unheard due to gender stereotypes. Moreover, they fear losing their jobs if they join a union. Additionally, women in lower-wage countries often work informal jobs, making unionization more challenging. It's crucial to enable women to balance family responsibilities with their involvement in trade union activities (Montague-Nelson, 2022).

With more female leaders in trade unions, other women will be encouraged to also join the trade unions and it will challenge the patriarchal system (Montague-Nelson, 2022). In addition, Mondiaal FNV also focuses on addressing women's specific concerns within their particular sectors. By consistently addressing women's concerns in discussions, other women are more likely to be attracted to the trade union, knowing that gender equality is one of the key issues that the specific union fights for (MondiaalFNV, 2021).

When more women have leadership roles within trade unions, it can have a lot of positive stimulus for achieving the goals of the union. Some characteristics associated with women, such as the emotional intelligence, could result in an advantage that improves the idea of leaders' effectiveness for them. As representatives in legislative bodies, women are more likely than their male co-workers to push for reforms that benefit women, children, and families, and to advocate for public welfare in domains like healthcare and education. Furthermore, women are more likely than men to support ethical business performances (Eagly, et al., 2014).

Women's leadership development: existing approaches

Mondiaal FNV undertakes projects related to women's leadership (MondiaalFNV, 2024). However, there are also other organizations outside of Mondiaal FNV that are making efforts to promote women's leadership. This section of the literature review will highlight some of these initiatives and methods, as well as existing theories and frameworks that could support women's leadership development approaches.

Firstly, it is important to note that *training* women to become leaders is of significant importance in existing approaches. If women lack the necessary skills or knowledge to be effective leaders, there is

a high risk that these women will eventually leave the union when they would possess a leadership role. *Implementing labour inclusion policies* can ensure that such trainings are provided by unions. Another existing approach, *affirmative action* as an approach, is the following whereby the United Workers Union (UWU) in Australia, formulated a new set of regulations within their constitution to make sure that every elected representative and office included a minimum of 50% women. Furthermore, to reduce the patriarchal practices that men are still following can also reduce gender inequality. This could be done through *building solidarity* between workers (Montague-Nelson, 2022).

As the UWU has already implemented, *gender quota* is another tool to increase the number of under-represented groups. It is a tool that is effective for organisational change strategies. Gender quotas effectively result in a quick and considerable growth in the number of women within an organization. While quotas aid in increasing the representation of women in leadership roles, without related changes in gender-based processes within the organization, these women may eventually quit again (Benschop & Brink, 2014).

Another theory aimed at reducing gender inequalities is the *"small wins" theory*, also known as *post-equity theory*, created by Karl Weick (Benschop & Brink, 2014). This theory states that making small changes over time can slowly break down discrimination in deeply rooted practices and beliefs. Rather than focusing solely on women, this approach targets organizations as a whole. Benschop and Verloo (2011) propose a *two-dimensional model for change* (see Figure 1). The first dimension addresses societal structures and individual actions (individual-structural dimension), while the second dimension assesses the scope of the strategies for change, including inclusion, re-evaluation, and transformation (the inclusion-re-evaluation-transformation dimension) (Benschop & Verloo, 2011).

	Inclusion	Re-evaluation	Transformation
Individual	Liberal, equip the woman, create equal opportunity	Managing diversity Value difference	
Structural	Radical structural equal opportunity		Gender mainstreaming Post-equity

Figure 1: Strategies for change (Benschop & Verloo, 2011)

Lastly, in the process of change, it is important to include men as well. While strategies focused on the individual level may create opportunities for empowering women to take leadership roles, it is equally important to encourage men to become aware of the issue and make room for female leaders. Reaching out to men and establishing contact with them is also crucial (Hearn, 2014).

Influencing factors

There are some factors that have a strong influence in constraining or facilitating the development of women's leadership, for instance, the processes of power and resistance (Benschop & Brink, 2014). Causes of gender inequality which are still maintained, as mentioned earlier, are also factors that could be taken into consideration as influences on the development of women's leadership in trade unions.

The Lean In Framework (Figure 2), developed by S.T.A. Phipps and L.C. Prieto (2020) and based on the Theory of Planned Behaviour, could serve as a tool to research which factors influence women's leadership development. The term 'lean in' refers to women proactively advancing in the workplace instead of withdrawing, as women often lack self-confidence and thus do not lean in. However, when women do lean in, they are often confronted a lack of support and barriers associated with patriarchal practices. The framework is useful for identifying influencing factors on women's leadership because it encompasses three forms of factors that may affect the promotion of women's leadership. These three forms of factors include internal (individual) and external (organizational and societal) factors

(Phipps & Prieto, 2020), which will be described below. Although this framework is based on research focused on the US and other industrialized countries, it will serve as a tool in this study to test whether these factors also influence women's leadership development in Mondiaal FNV's projects and their working environment.

The internal factors include ambition, motivation, self-efficacy, and risk-taking. These factors could be constraining women when they have a low self-esteem or self-confidence or when they have a negative self-image and are not open to taking risks in their careers. The organizational external factors include culture, support, communication and structure, which are elements of the work environment and influencing the success of women participating in trade unions, especially on the negotiation table where their voices are being silenced. The organizational factors mentioned will be facilitating women's leadership when the key support roles have a people-oriented, team-oriented culture. Lastly, the societal external factors include "elements of the larger, macro environment and include societal perceptions and expectations, as well as public policy" and public/trending role models. Public policy influences female participation especially through work-life balance (Phipps & Prieto, 2020).
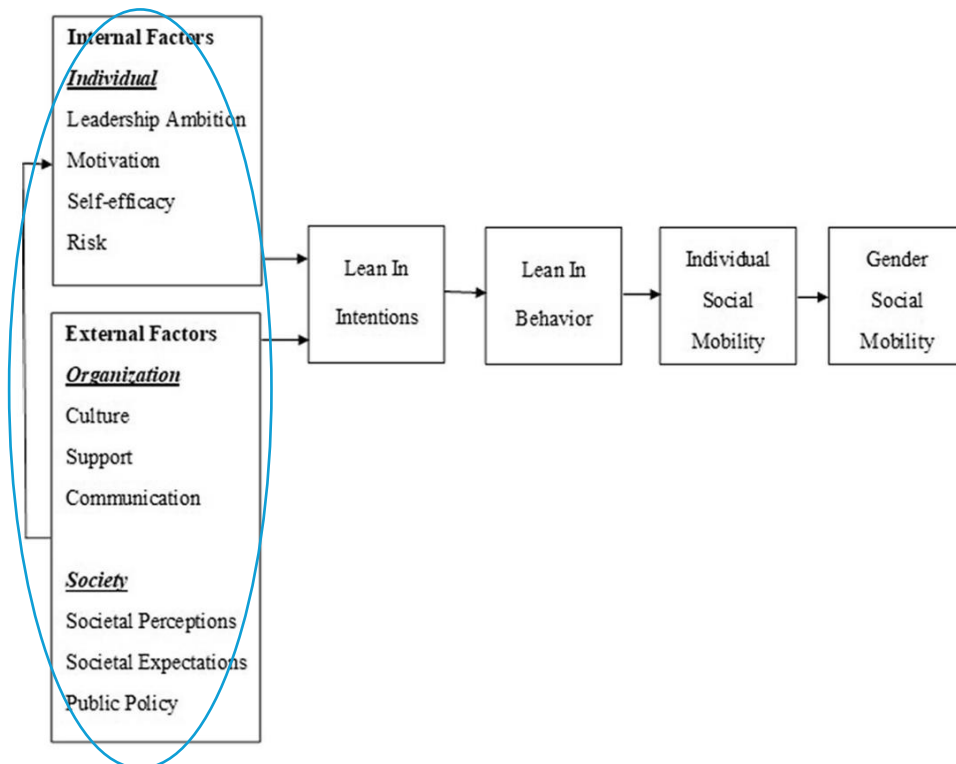

Figure 2: "Leaning in" framework linking internal and external factors to gender social mobility (Phipps & Prieto, 2020)

Women's Leadership Development in Trade Unions: The Conceptual Framework

In Figure 3, the conceptual framework on women's leadership development is shown. This framework, created based on the literature analyzed above, serves as a supportive tool to ensure that all elements necessary for answering the research questions have been considered.

As illustrated, implementing various approaches to promote women's leadership in trade unions is expected to lead to an increase in the number of female leaders and members. The scope of these approaches can influence their effectiveness and outcomes. The 'approaches to promote women's leadership in trade unions' and the scope that affects them are linked to sub-research questions 1, 2, and 5. The influencing factors from the 'Lean In' framework are integrated into this framework as 'external factors' and 'internal factors.' These factors may either constrain or facilitate Mondiaal FNV's approaches and are important not only during the implementation of approaches but also afterward, as they can continue to impact women's leadership in trade unions. The external and internal factors are linked to sub-research questions 3 and 4. Ethical considerations are crucial for this research due to the international scope of Mondiaal FNV's work, necessitating a focus on addressing ethical concerns throughout the research process.
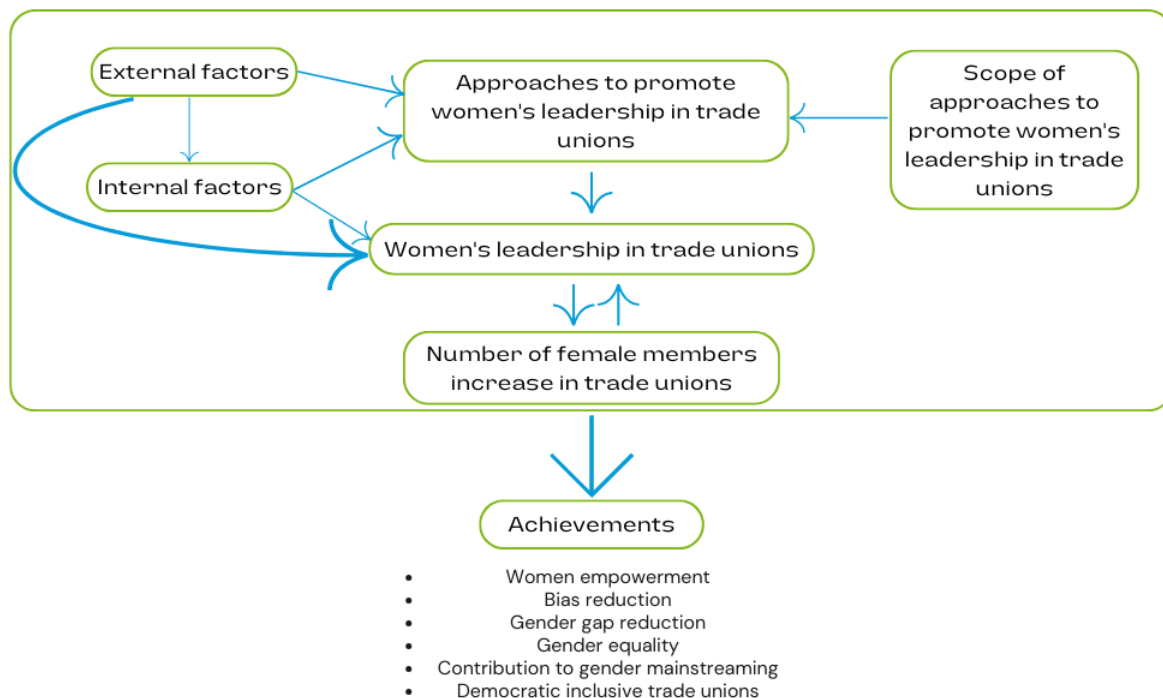
Figure 3: Conceptual Framework by P.H. Petter (2024)

Note that the relationship between the increase in the number of female members in trade unions and women's leadership in trade unions goes both ways, as each can motivate the other. Furthermore, the section on approaches to promote women's leadership will be expanded into a the CWLAF that includes the influencing factors. This framework will serve as a professional product for Mondiaal FNV's projects on women's leadership development and will specifically address sub-research question 5.

Methodology

To address the research questions, a qualitative approach was chosen, including multiple methods across three different research phases, including mapping Mondiaal FNV's approaches to women's leadership development, case study and creating the CWLAF. This chapter will detail these phases, providing a step-by-step explanation of the research process undertaken to answer the research questions. Below, Figure 4 presents the Information Matrix, which visualizes the various tools used and how they contribute to answering the different sub-research questions.

Sub-research questions	Desk Research	Key informants interviews	In depth interviews	Focus Group Discussion	Mondiaal FNV Global Exchange Week - validation session
1. What different approaches have been used in Mondiaal FNV's funded projects, ongoing projects, and new projects, as part of the Gender Strategy Mondiaal FNV 2021-2025, to strengthen gender equality in trade unions through women's leadership development?	X				X
2. How is women's leadership interpreted in the Global South?	X	X	X	X	X
3. Based on the case study, which factors have constrained the development of women's leadership in trade unions?	X	X	X	X	X
4. Based on the case study, which factors have facilitated the development of women's leadership in trade unions?	X	X	X	X	X
5. What would be the most effective way to support trade unions to promote more women's leadership?			X	X	X

Figure 4: Information Matrix

Mapping Mondiaal FNV's approaches to women's leadership development

The first phase of this research aimed to identify and map all Mondiaal FNV projects included in the Gender Strategy, focused on women's leadership development in trade unions. Initially, the scope included all projects on gender equality, but it was later narrowed to specifically address women's leadership, because sub-research question 1 was revised. The primary goal was to create an overview table containing essential data, including:

- Region
- Country (if applicable)
- Project number
- Project name
- Executing organization
- Date of implementation
- Implementation status (implemented; currently implementing; or not started yet)
- Target group (male and/or female leaders & members)
- Approaches
- Key concepts
- Additional notes (where necessary)

This table is intended for Mondiaal FNV's internal use (therefore, not included in this report) and is further explained in the 'Findings' and 'Discussion' chapters.

Data collection involved individual introductory meetings with Dutch policy officers of Mondiaal FNV. During these meetings, the policy officers were asked if they had worked on or were currently working on projects that included gender equality or women's leadership. These meetings resulted in summary documents of projects that focused on women's leadership and/or gender equality, or included these as part of a broader goal. Initially, the plan was to analyse all project summaries before proceeding with following research steps. However, due to the unexpectedly large number of projects, analysis was conducted at the same time with other research activities to stick to the time schedule. This change created some obstacles, such as time constraints, and feedback gathering.

The International Global Exchange Week, hereafter referred to as the 'Global Week', is an annual event hosted by Mondiaal FNV. During this week, all staff members gather with international consultants working with Mondiaal FNV to discuss ongoing projects, new developments, and future directions. This event, held at an external location, originally provided an opportunity to gather feedback on the findings of specific projects in the overview table, enhancing understanding of Mondiaal FNV's approaches to women's leadership development. However, due to the aforementioned obstacles, additional meetings were not scheduled during the Global Week. Nevertheless, during the Global Week, a session was held with all staff members and international consultants working with Mondiaal FNV (approximately 25 people) to present preliminary findings from the case study. Feedback was requested to determine whether the identified projects were comprehensive, based on the regions covered by Mondiaal FNV policy officers, project administrators, and consultants. This session aimed to ensure the validity of the data collected for the overview table.

The validity of this phase is ensured through cross-verification with multiple sources, including summary documents, interviews, and a feedback session. The collected data was systematically processed and organized into the overview table. The analysis of this table addresses sub-research question 1 and is presented in the 'Findings' and 'Discussion' chapters.

Case study

The second phase of the research involved a case study analysis focused on a specific leadership program, called the ELSA-program (Executive Leadership on Sustainability and Alliance-building program), which included a field visit to Uganda. Part of the data was gathered online, but the majority of the data examined in the 'Findings' chapter was collected in the field.

Initially, two case studies were planned, centred around projects aimed at enhancing women's leadership. Due to prior familiarity with the region and logistical considerations, the focus was narrowed to the ELSA program, implemented by Mondiaal FNV in Uganda. This project was chosen because it was completed two years ago and provided a substantial basis for analysis, as half of the participants were female and the program was a training specifically for leaders in trade unions. Practical factors also influenced the decision, including existing accommodation arrangements facilitated by my cousin residing in Uganda. The LISA-program (Leadership, Influence & Sustainable Alliance-building program), which was in its early stages during the field visit, was less explored due to limited information availability, as the program had just started. Although the original plan was to thoroughly investigate the LISA-program as well, the research ultimately involved only some desk research and interviews with key informants. These interviews included those involved in the organization of both the ELSA- and LISA-programs, as they were necessary for gathering comprehensive information about the ELSA-program. The ELSA- and LISA-programs were created by Mondiaal FNV and conducted in cooperation with the National Organization of Trade Unions (NOTU), a non-profit labour organization representing most of the trade unions in Uganda, with 38 affiliates currently (Bigirwa, 2024). Furthermore, the case study were originally intended for sub-research

questions 3 and 4. However, during the research, it became apparent that they would also be useful for sub-research questions 2 and 5.

To address sub-research question 2, primary sources were used to define women's leadership, including input from Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), as will be explained below. Additionally, I was advised to explore articles from the Global South to better understand how women's leadership is perceived in that context. Despite conducting desk research, it was challenging to obtain the interpretation of female leadership from the Global South. Many documents described female leadership in the contexts of the Global South but did not specify whether the studies were conducted by researchers from the Global South or provide their precise definitions of women's leadership. This limitation affects the validity of the findings for sub-research question 2. However, the effort to research secondary sources from the Global South adds value to the analysis by offering a perspective beyond a Western viewpoint.

Triangulation

Triangulation was employed to ensure a comprehensive analysis through multiple data collection methods, including desk research, interviews, and FGDs. Combining different data sources and methods ensured the validity of the data. During the research, interviews were categorized into 'key informant interviews' and 'in-depth interviews.' The in-depth interviews were part of the triangulation, while the key informant interviews, conducted during the preparatory phase, provided insights into Mondiaal FNV's work on women's leadership and the design of the ELSA- and LISA-programs.

Desk research

The desk research was mainly part of the preparatory phase to gain a better understanding of topics such as gender equality, trade unions, the importance of women's leadership in trade unions, existing approaches outside Mondiaal FNV to promote women's leadership, and the factors influencing women's leadership, as discussed in the previous chapter. This provided an initial overview of the issues at stake.

Additionally, further desk study was conducted to understand the structure and approaches of the ELSA- and LISA-programs, which were part of the triangulation method. This was essential for setting up the materials needed for the field visit to Uganda, where interviews and FGDs were conducted.

In-depth interviews

To delve deeper into the experiences and viewpoints of ELSA-alumni, all of whom were selected at the time based on their leadership positions in the trade union movement in Uganda, a series of in-depth interviews were conducted, including one with another trade union leader who did not participate in the ELSA-program. The interviews targeted almost all male and female ELSA-alumni, along with an additional female leader known for her strong stance on gender issues in Uganda's trade union movement. Initially, the aim was to interview every ELSA-alumna, but two did not participate. Additionally, while five trade union leaders were planned for interviews to gain insights on the advancement of the female ELSA-alumni from a result-oriented perspective, only one leader agreed to participate.

Some interviewees were asked whether they would feel more comfortable conducting the interviews at an office or at an external location, to ensure a safe and comfortable environment during the sessions. Each session was designed to last between 60 and 90 minutes. The interviews followed a structured guide to ensure consistency but allowed for flexibility to explore responses in depth. I conducted the interviews, leading the conversation according to the interview guide (see Annex 3) and delving deeper into topics based on the participants' responses.

Interviewees were encouraged to discuss their personal experiences with the ELSA-program, including changes before and after participation, and to reflect on the program's impact on their lives. They were also asked to share their views on factors that either constrain or support women's

leadership at the individual, organizational, and societal levels, based on the 'Lean In' Framework (see Figure 2). Finally, participants provided suggestions for new initiatives to enhance women's leadership within trade unions, as inquired.

The interviews were recorded with the consent of the participants to ensure accurate documentation. Some recordings were transcribed for detailed analysis. Throughout the process, notes were taken, and summaries of key findings were documented after each interview.

Focus Group Discussions

To gain in-depth insights into participants' perspectives on women's leadership, three FGDs were conducted. Each FGD comprised 6-8 participants, selected based on their involvement in trade union activities. The first group consisted of the male ELSA-alumni, the second group consisted of the female ELSA-alumni and the third group consisted of the women's committee of NOTU (with one extra female leader). A conscious decision was made to split the ELSA-alumni into two groups based on gender to assure open and honest conversations, whereby everybody felt heard and respected, without unconscious pressure from the opposite gender.

The FGDs were held in a quiet, neutral location to encourage open and honest dialogue. Each session lasted approximately 2 hours and was facilitated by me and assisted by a local consultant to take notes and co-facilitate. The facilitator followed a structured guide (see Annex 4) to ensure consistency across sessions while allowing flexibility for spontaneous discussions.

Participants were asked to discuss their experiences and views on various topics related to women's leadership in trade unions. They were given post it notes to write down their responses to specific questions, such as " What does being a leader mean to you personally?" These notes were then collected and categorized during the session to identify common themes and start open discussions. During the FGDs three main topics were dealt with: the definition of women's leadership; factors influencing women's leadership development; necessary initiatives to promote women's leadership in trade unions.

Thematic analysis was conducted for both the FGDs and in-depth interviews to identify and interpret repeated themes and patterns in the data. Ethical considerations were crucial throughout the research process. All participants were assured of their anonymity, and the confidentiality of their responses was maintained to uphold the trustworthiness of the research.

Comprehensive Women's Leadership Analysis Framework

During the research process, the original sub-research question 5 was changed to better explore the needs of people in the field. This adjustment highlighted the importance of focusing on 'new initiatives' and 'a way forward,' which significantly enriched the investigation of this sub-research question. Consequently, the third phase of the research involved developing the CWLAF as a response to this revised question. This framework was created based on the insights gained from the 'Literature Review,' including elements of the 'Lean In' framework. It could categorize and structure the identified needs and initiatives from the field research, inspired by the model for change by Benschop and Verloo.

Global week

For phases two and three, addressing sub-research questions 3, 4, and 5, the Global Week played a crucial role in ensuring the validity of the data collected during the field visit. As mentioned in the description of the first research phase, a session was held to present the preliminary findings from the field visit to Uganda. During this session, the overview table, findings on influencing factors, and the identified needs for new initiatives were all verified and compared with data from other regions where Mondiaal FNV is active. The preliminary findings were presented, and participants, grouped by their regional expertise within Mondiaal FNV, compared the findings from Uganda to their particular

regions. They assessed whether the findings were consistent or if something critical was missing, considering different contextual factors. The questions asked during this review session were:

- 'Do these factors also influence women's leadership development in your region/country? Are there any important factors missing?'
- 'Would these approaches also promote women's leadership in your region/country? Are there any important approaches missing?'

The results of the session in the Global Week are added to the 'Findings' and some are also further discussed in the 'Discussion'. The forms of the exercises are included in Annex 5.

Findings

This chapter presents the results of the activities conducted during the field visit to Uganda, which are crucial for addressing the research questions.

## Mondiaal FNV projects promoting women's leadership

To provide a clear overview of the approaches used in Mondiaal FNV's funded, ongoing, and new projects as part of the Gender Strategy Mondiaal FNV 2021-2025, an overview table has been created, as explained in the 'Methodology'. This section highlights the major findings from this table to answer sub-research question 1.

Discovered during individual introductory meetings with Mondiaal FNV policy officers and project administrators, and expanded upon through the Global Week session, Mondiaal FNV staff have different responsibilities, primarily related to specific regions. The following regions are the areas where Mondiaal FNV is active, along with the number of projects identified that focus on women's leadership and gender equality:

- **Global**: 2 projects
- **Asia/Indonesia**: 14 projects
- **South Asia**: 6 projects
    - Bangladesh: 4 projects
- **MENA region (Middle East and North Africa)**: 7 projects
- **West Africa (Nigeria and Ghana)**: 2 projects
- **East Africa**: 11 projects
- **Colombia**: 0 projects

Regarding the distribution of projects across different regions, the following explanations have been drawn based on conversations with Mondiaal FNV staff members. Firstly, note that the global projects cover multiple regions and are mainly executed through Global Union Federations (GUFs). Secondly, an uneven distribution can be observed, with Mondiaal FNV having only two projects globally, two in West Africa, and none in Colombia that specifically focus on gender equality and/or women's leadership. For Colombia and South America in general, the absence of such projects could be explained by the fact that Mondiaal FNV is slowly ending projects in that region, since the partners can work independently. Another explanation for the zero projects in Colombia and the four in Bangladesh could be that in these countries, Mondiaal FNV partners with women-specific trade unions, such as CIPAME in Colombia. As a result, a specific focus on women's leadership or gender equality might not be explicitly mentioned in project summaries and thus excluded from the overview table.

Furthermore, as shown in Figure 5, out of the 46 projects, three primarily focus on women's leadership—two implemented in Asia and the third one to be implemented in Ghana. Twelve projects have women's leadership as a sub-goal or as one of the multiple project objectives. Twelve projects focus on gender equality as a whole or on gender-based violence (GBV). Ten projects focus on gender equality and/or gender issues but have integrated elements of women's leadership in their activities or outcomes of the broader goal. Lastly, eleven projects include topics related to gender equality, such as gender mainstreaming, as a sub-goal or as an objective of a broader project goal. There are two projects where both women's leadership and gender equality were sub-goals of a broader goal, which is why these projects are included twice in Figure 5. The distribution across the different regions where Mondiaal FNV operates is shown in Figure 6.
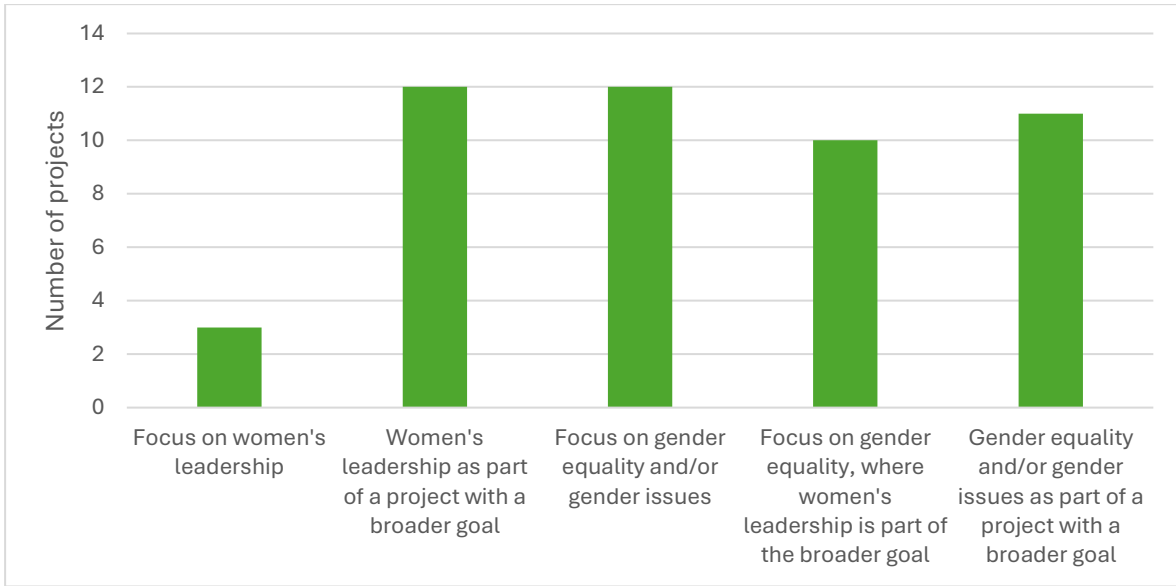
Figure 5: Bar chart - Project focus: women's leadership / gender equality
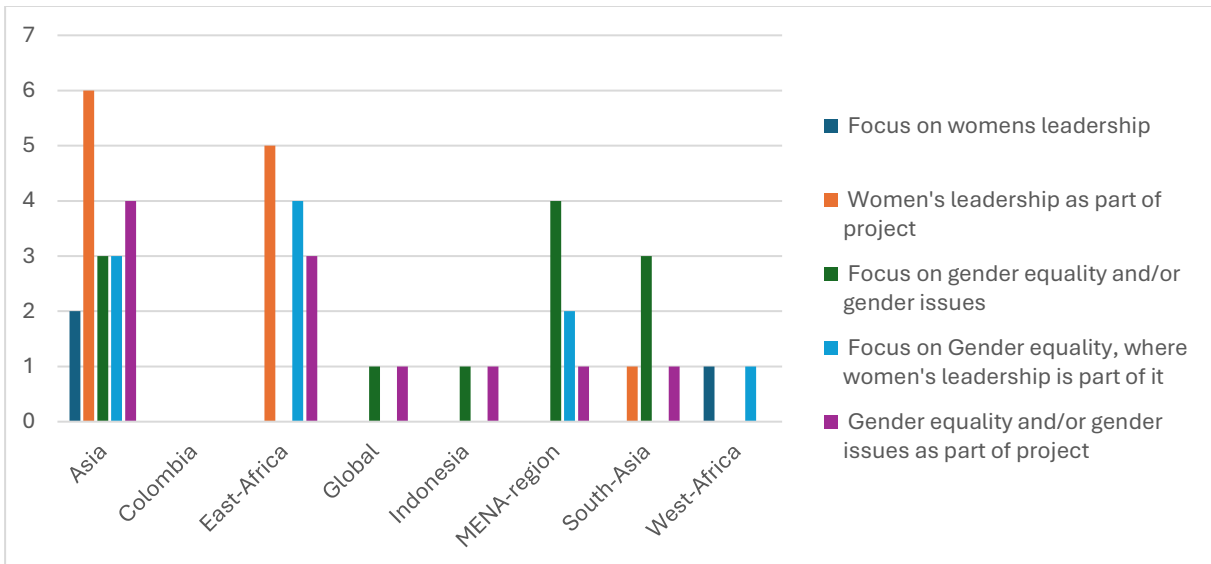
Figure 6: Bar chart - Project focus divided among the regions

The majority (28 projects) of the projects are currently still being implemented, however, many of the projects have already been completed (19 projects). The division in percentages is shown in Figure 7. There are five projects that are currently being implemented and are also listed in the implementation phase. This is because, in the overview table, some projects are listed as one due to sharing the same name; for example, one part of the project may be completed while another is still ongoing.
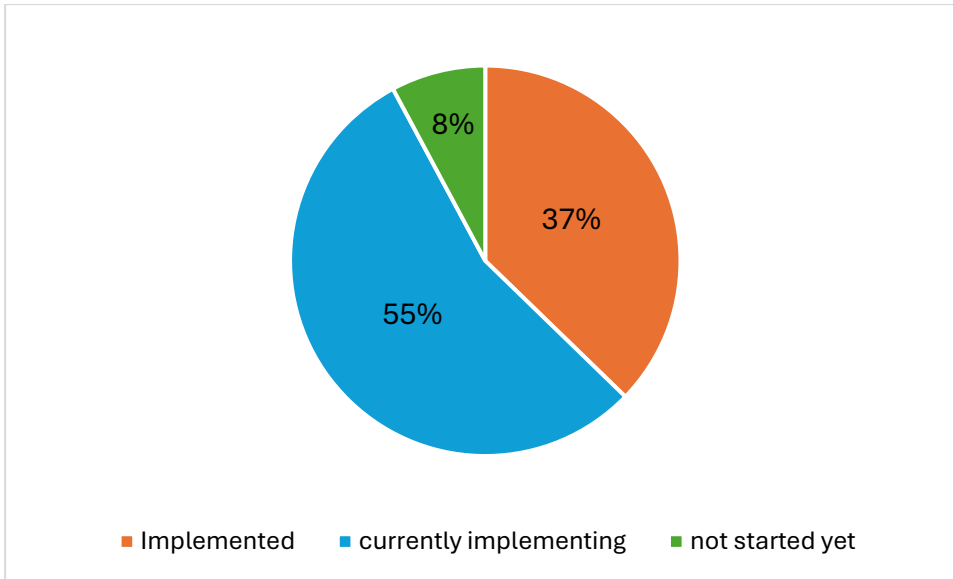
Figure 7: Pie chart – Project implementation status

The twelve most common approaches that Mondiaal FNV includes in their projects are lobbying, advocacy, research, campaigning, training, workshops, seminars, capacity building, creating awareness, meetings, discussions, and FGDs. Figure 8 shows the division of these different approaches.
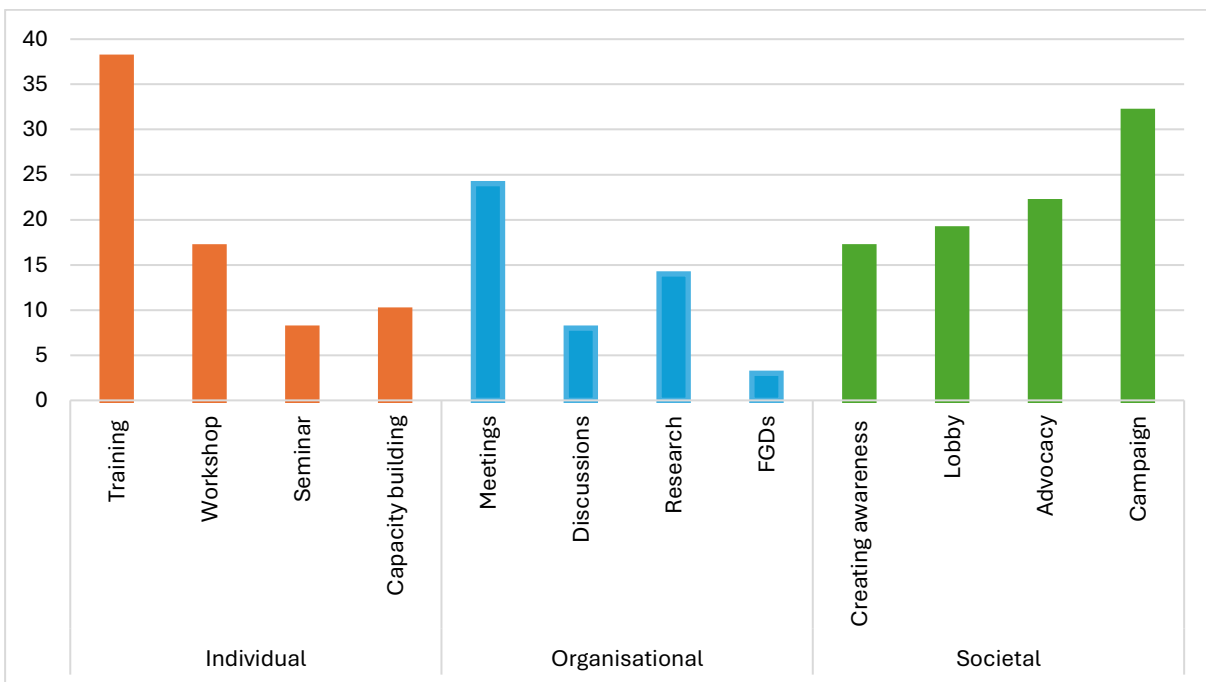
Figure 8: Bar chart - Most common approaches conducted by Mondiaal FNV

Lastly, as mentioned in the 'Background,' gender mainstreaming is central to Mondiaal FNV's Gender Strategy. However, this concept is only stated in seven projects in the overview table, despite the expectation that it should be included in all projects as stated in the 'Background' chapter. Another issue is that there is no guarantee that the requirements of gender mainstreaming are followed-up by Mondiaal FNV's partners. For example, in Uganda, it was noted that during meetings with only male participants, a woman (specifically hired for this role) might be called in to ensure female representation, even if she does not actively participate. While this may appear as gender mainstreaming on paper, it does not necessarily reflect effective practice, as simply having a woman present does not ensure that women's concerns are addressed. In other words, it meets the gender

quota but does not fully implement gender mainstreaming. Similarly, not all women's committees receive financial support from their trade union, causing difficulties to address women's issues effectively, as highlighted during interviews and FGDs. Besides the importance of gender mainstreaming, the Gender Strategy of Mondiaal FNV also emphasizes the significance of gender sensitivity and gender responsiveness (MondiaalFNV, 2021). Remarkably, only four projects in the overview table have gender sensitivity as an overall goal, and only one project mentions gender responsiveness.

Reality of women's leadership

The following findings are based on the case study (FGDs) of the ELSA-program in Uganda, including insights from local female trade union leaders and their interpretations of women's leadership. This section focuses on the perspectives of Ugandan participants.

As mentioned in the 'Methodology', during the FGDs, participants were asked to write down their general definition of leadership from their perspective. The following explanations summarize the three main definitions provided by the participants, based on their answers written on post it cards (see Figures 9, 10 and 11) and the subsequent discussion:

- **Influencing others towards a goal**: multiple definitions emphasized the core aspect of leadership as the ability to influence and guide/direct others towards achieving a common objective or goal. It involves providing direction, setting goals, and working collaboratively with others to accomplish tasks.
- **Setting an example and motivating others**: some definitions highlighted the personal qualities of a leader, such as being a role model for others and motivating TU members and a leaders' team. It is about representing others and put their interests as priority number one.
- **Mentorship and development**: different definitions emphasized the role of leadership in mentorship, coaching, and capacity building. It involves empowering others, promoting growth, and ensuring inclusivity and diversity in leadership roles.
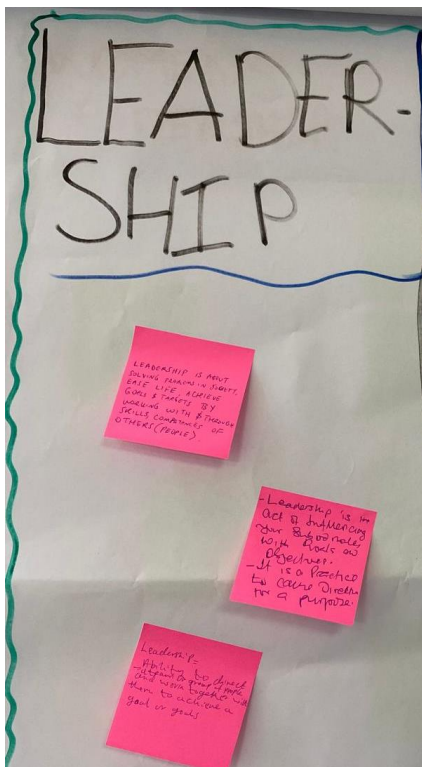
Figure 9: Leadership definition according to male ELSA-alumni
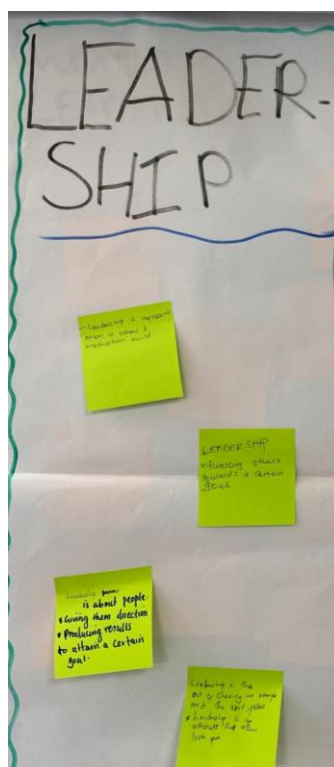
Figure 10: Leadership definition according to female ELSA-alumni
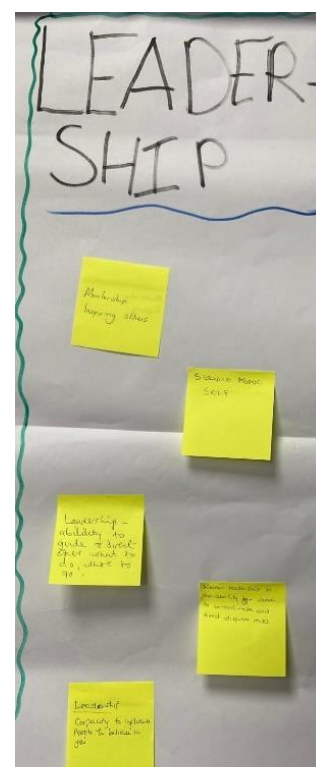
Figure 11: Leadership definition according to women's committee of NOTU

After writing down their definitions of leadership, the facilitator showed the participants the leadership characteristics listed in Annex 6. Using those characteristics as examples, the participants were asked to write down on post-it cards what they thought were the three most important characteristics of a good leader (in a trade union). In a group discussion, the participants then needed to decide whether the characteristics written down belonged more to female or male characteristics. Figures 12, 13, 14 show the results of this activity.
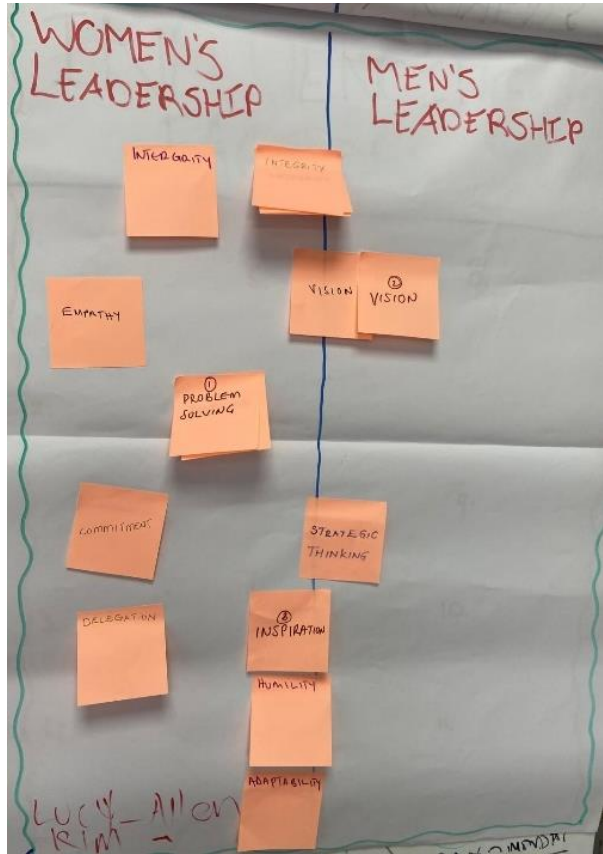
Figure 12: characteristic division from FGD with women's committee of NOTU
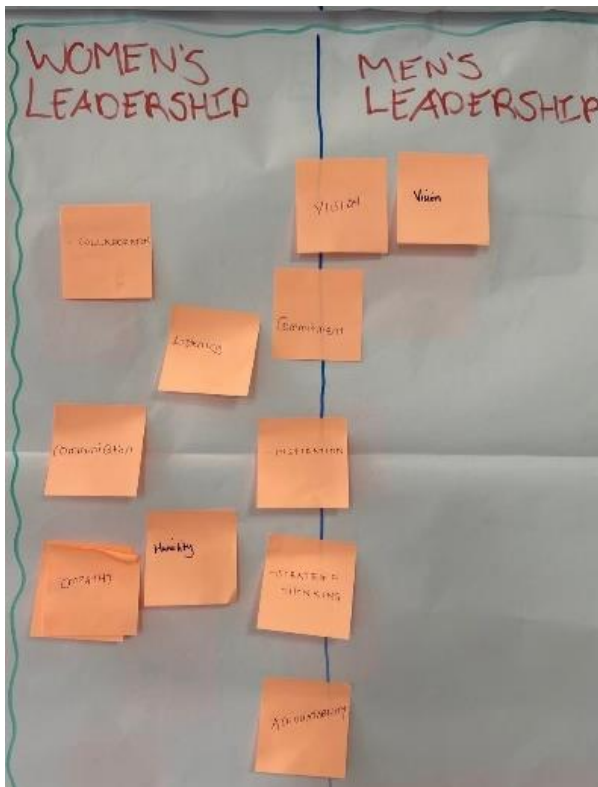
Figure 14: characteristic division from FGD with female ELSA-alumni

Figure 13: characteristic division from FGD with male ELSA-alumni

Comparing the figures with each other, it is evident that Figure 14, which shows the results from the FGD with the male ELSA-alumni, indicates that almost all leadership characteristics are placed in the middle, representing both men and women. Out of the 20 characteristics provided as examples during the activity, the top eight shown in Table 1 were identified based on the frequency with which they were mentioned across the three FGDs:

Characteristic	FGD with male ELSA-alumni	FGD with female ELSA-alumni	Women's committee of NOTU	Position of characteristic in comparison (female; middle; male)
1. Vision	X	X	X	Middle
2. Commitment	X	X	X	Middle (/Female)
3. Empathy		X	X	Female
4. Accountability	X	X		Female
5. Inspiration		X	X	Middle (/Female)
6. Integrity	X		X	Middle (/Female)
7. Strategy Thinking		X	X	Middle (/Male)
8. Humility		X	X	Female (/Middle)

Table 1: Leadership characteristic classification from FGD activity on Women's Leadership

As shown, 'vision' and 'commitment' are the only two characteristics mentioned by all three groups. Another observation from these findings is that only 'Strategic Thinking' is categorized under 'male characteristics', while almost all the other characteristics are categorized under 'female characteristics'. This pattern is evident not only in the top eight characteristics listed above but also in Figures 12, 13, and 14, where only one characteristic—'Vision'—is consistently placed on the 'male characteristics' side by all three FGDs.

After completing the first two steps of the exercise related to defining women's leadership, the participants were asked to write down their definition of women's leadership on a post-it note. Due to time limitations, this final step was not conducted with the third group, which consisted of the women's committee. The results of the definitions collected from the other groups are shown in Figures 15 and 16. The major findings, based on these definitions and the discussions from the FGDs, are listed below. Although these definitions are similar to those related to leadership in general, the inclusion of a gender dimension makes a distinction. A female leader is more likely to focus on gender issues, whereas a male leader may focus on these issues less. Additionally, female leaders often show greater commitment.

- **Influencing change and breaking stereotypes:** this idea highlights the influence women have when they possess a leadership role. This idea highlights the impact women can have when they hold leadership roles. As a female participant noted, women's leadership is defined by "the ability of women to influence change and encourage more women to break stereotypes."
- **Inspiring and motivating towards goals:** women in leadership roles often focus on collectively achieving goals. They are perceived as more accountable by both men and women, which is linked to the inspiration they provide. This, in turn, motivates other women to pursue leadership positions, as discussed during one of the FGDs.
- **Commitment and vision:** According to one of the FGDs, women tend to have a longer-term perspective compared to men's more short-term goal orientation. This suggests that women in leadership positions demonstrate greater commitment. Setting and achieving long-term objectives requires clear goals, which aligns with many participants' definitions of women's leadership during this exercise.

Figure 15: Women's leadership definition according to female ELSA-alumni

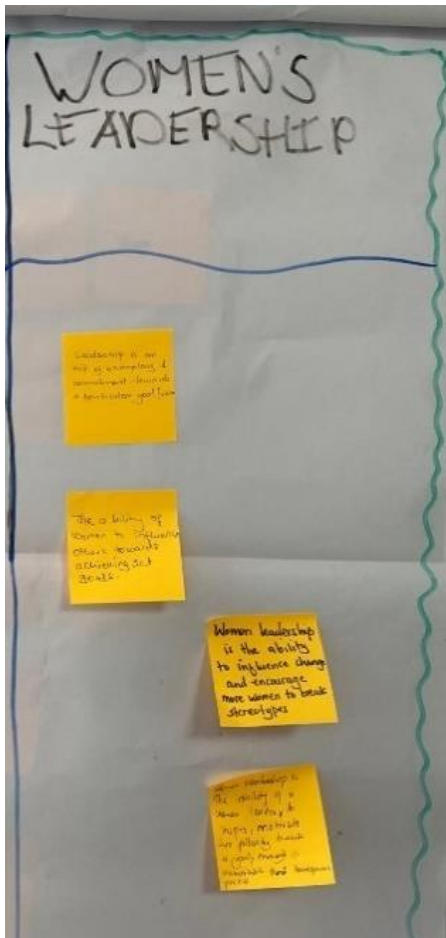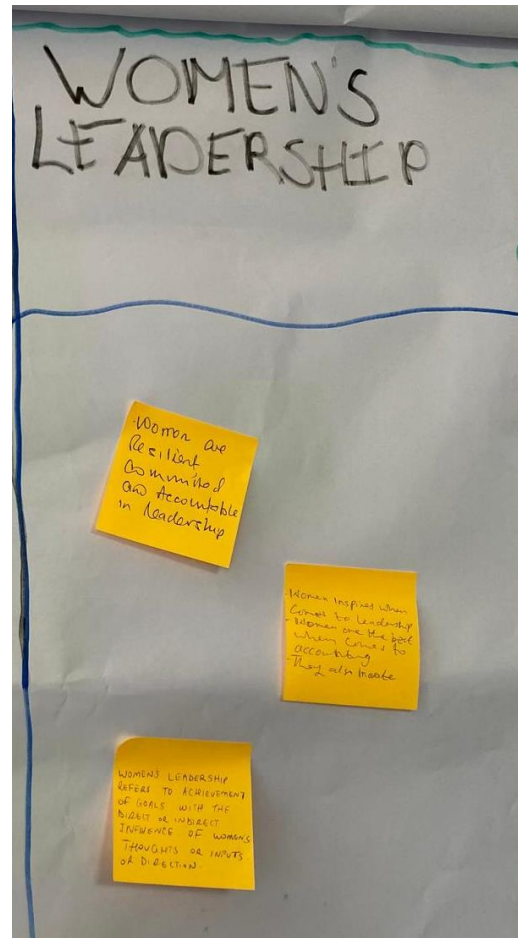**Figure 16: Women's leadership definition according to male ELSA-alumni**

The ability of women to inspire and motivate, combined with a more collective approach, allows them to effect greater change regarding gender stereotypes. Lastly, observations confirmed by both male and female ELSA-alumni indicate that Ugandan women who already hold leadership positions in trade unions are notably empowered. They use their voices confidently and do not show fear of backlash, as explained by a female participant. However, this level of empowerment is lacking among many female members, as noted by several research participants.

Factors influencing women's leadership development

Case study

As mentioned in the 'Methodology', the factors influencing women's leadership development were identified through triangulation. The 'Lean In' Framework, discovered during the desk study, provided a basis for analysing factors at three levels of influence, which were then used in the interviews. During the interviews, all identified factors were analysed (see Annex 7) and used in the prioritization activity during the FGDs to determine which factors were constraining or facilitating women's leadership development, and to assess the importance of addressing each factor.

As shown in Annex 8, the separation of prioritized factors into facilitating and constraining factors is visualized from the three FGDs. Each FGD identified 4-6 factors that support women's advancement into leadership positions, compared to approximately 17 factors that constrain women's leadership development. Table 2 illustrates the ranking of these factors as established by the FGD participants.

NOTU's women's committee	Female ELSA-alumni	Male ELSA-alumni
1. (lack of) Self-esteem	1. Self-Esteem / Confidence	1. Discrimination; Victims of exploitation
2. Bias; Social Culture; Gender stereotypes; Chances for Backlash from other unionists – older men, older women; Patriarchy; Lack of sensitisation; Gender Pay Gap	2. Supportive network	2. Lack of sensitisation in society; lack of knowledge/awareness from society; gender roles; gender stereotyping
3. Lack of Finance; Women's Access to resources (Networking, workshops, training); Lack of Knowledge and awareness; Individual lack of knowledge	3. Lack of respect from elders; Gender stereotypes; role models	3. Corruption
4. Role models	4. Male-dominated industry; Cultural norms; Patriarchy	4. Lack of support from community, family, colleagues, friends, etc.; supportive network
5. Organisational Culture; Male dominated leadership	5. Lack of Finance	5. Women access resources; unequal rights
6. Double/Triple burden	6. Normalisation of corruption	6. Individual's character; (lack of) self-esteem/confidence (shy)
	7. Lack of support systems for harassment and violence	7. Culture; male-dominated industry; opportunities to get position; double/triple burden
	8. Internal conflict	8. Women are biggest enemies of women hatred; lack of respect from elders towards young people; gossips
	9. (Social) Media	9. Support system for harassment and violence
		10. Illiteracy percentage is decreasing
		11. Communication

Table 2: Prioritisation of factors influencing women's leadership development

Despite the small differences, there are quite some similarities and patterns that come back in all three priority lists.

'Self-esteem / confidence' was ranked as the most important factor for getting women into leadership positions during the FGDs. Since this factor consistently appears at the top of all three priority lists, it indicates that internal confidence can significantly influence one's ability to assume a leadership role.

On the other hand, a lack of self-esteem can be a major barrier to become a female leader. According to female participants, women who are confident and influential are labelled as aggressive by men. In contrast, male FGD participants described some of such women as 'strict and unreasonable' when interacting with other women.

'Cultural norms' and 'Gender stereotypes' also appear at the top of all three lists. As discussed during the FGDs, gender roles and stereotypes contribute to discrimination and exploitation by the ideology that women as less worthy. The lack of role models was also identified as an issue connected to these stereotypes. For example, a female participant noted that female leaders almost never receive awards, unlike their male colleagues. Cultural norms and gender stereotypes could highlight how societal expectations and deep-rooted patriarchy hinder women's progress in leadership.

Furthermore, the role of 'Supportive networks' was also frequently discussed during the FGDs and interviews. Supportive networks can be beneficial for women in leadership roles, as they provide encouragement and sometimes resources. However, a lack of support from family, community, friends, colleagues, etc. can highly hinder a woman's ability to chase and achieve her goals. As one of the female participants said: 'It's difficult for a beginner. It creates fear if there is no support.'

Another important factor influencing women's ownership of leadership roles is the lack of institutional recognition and respect. The trade union movement is male-dominated, as mentioned before, gender roles are strongly maintained. This results in a widespread lack of institutional recognition and respect for female leaders and their potential.

From a facilitating perspective, male leaders or trade union members often speak positively about women in the trade union movement and their contributions to promoting gender equality and gender mainstreaming. However, when speaking with women in the trade union movement, it becomes evident that they are not as enthusiastic about these initiatives. Additionally, not only men but also older women sometimes look down on younger women, which can negatively impact the self-esteem of potential young female leaders.

The last important influencing factors is related to financial barriers and access to resources for women. Participants argued that to realise a leadership position, one must be elected. To run an effective election campaign and reach out to people, financial resources are necessary. Since the trade union movement is highly political, women face additional challenges due to their disadvantage in lacking these resources.

Global Week

Based on the verification session during the Global Week on the preliminary findings of the case study conducted in Uganda, the following findings emerged regarding the validity of the influencing factors for other regions where Mondiaal FNV operates.

In the MENA region, family support and education for women were recognized as similar influencing factors. The MENA group also identified unpaid work as a factor. However, if unpaid work refers to household responsibilities, this is already covered by the double/triple burden, which was also noted during the FGDs in Uganda but ranked lower on the list. Similarly, the lack of policy, mentioned as an influencing factor during the FGDs in Uganda, was ranked lower on the priority list. On the other hand, time constraints emerged as a new factor.

The top five factors shared with the participants (see Annex 5) were recognizable for the group representing Bangladesh. The only difference was that in Bangladesh, there is no issue related to a lack of resources. The participants confirmed that role models and the double/triple burden remain significant issues in Bangladesh. They also emphasized education and social acceptability as additional factors. Another interesting addition was the presence of male characteristics among female leaders, which will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Regarding the East- and West-Africa regions, the case study reflects the influencing factors for these areas, as confirmed by one of the consultants.

For South Asia, the top five influencing factors were also relevant to their region. An interesting and applicable addition for South Asia is the caste system , which continues to marginalize groups in the countries within the region. The group representing Indonesia found the factors to be the same, but with a different ranking: self-esteem/confidence was ranked third, while (a lack of) supportive networks and role models were given the highest priority. They highlighted that the lack of resources in Indonesia is significantly impacted by inadequate infrastructure, which increases resource shortcomings.

Lastly, an additional factor that emerged from discussions during the Global Week is the 'freedom of association'. It was noted that without the freedom of association, individuals may be unable to join the trade union movement. This poses a challenge for increasing female membership, as women may be restricted by their country's, religion's, culture's, or family's limitations on this freedom. The term "freedom of association" originates from democratic societies and began with the "right of association" (Emerson, 1964). As a democratic mechanism, it explains why it is an influential factor. Many countries are not yet democratic, and non-democratic nations still experience issues such as "corruption and favouritism" (Rose & Mishler, 2002). This was evident during the field visit, where participants confirmed high levels of corruption during election times for new TU positions in Uganda. For instance, one interviewee provided an example where favouritism led to the use of corruption to prevent a particular person from securing an election spot.

Interview

Another term similar to the triple-burden is the glass ceiling. This concept was discussed during an interview with a key informant before the field visit, who emphasized that 'there is no single ceiling, but multiple ceilings at different levels.' The glass ceiling refers to an invisible barrier in the workplace that hinders women's opportunities for promotion, despite their skills and qualifications. These barriers are primarily experienced by women but can also affect other marginalized groups, including men (ÇİTİL, 2022). In other words, factors that negatively impact the promotion of women's leadership often originate from a range of individual, organizational, and societal influences. The interviewee noted that such barriers could lead to "issues with recruiting women due to these glass ceilings," which can affect the outcome of programs aimed at promoting women's leadership development. In the case of the ELSA-program, one woman left her country due to the glass ceiling, despite her significant potential and talents.

Observation

A general observation from the facilitators' perspective is that during the FGDs, participants tended to blame the opposite gender for the lack of women in leadership positions within the trade union movement. For example, in one of the discussions with the male ELSA-alumni, the men were victimizing themselves, claiming they were already becoming the minority. On the other hand, in one of the FGDs with women, it was mentioned that the trade union movement is still too male-dominated. Despite this, the male participants also acknowledged that the male-dominated industry does not make it easier for women to secure a leadership positions, which is contradicting their earlier statement.

This form of victimizing from men towards women is referred to as the 'zero-sum game'. Nowadays, people often believe that if someone gains something, it comes at another's expense. The advancement of women in leadership is seen as it is at the expense of men. This perception leads to resistance from men who feel that what women gain, they lose. However, gender equality is not one in favour of women at the expense of men. In fact, it benefits both genders. It is scientifically proven that countries and workplaces with the highest gender-equality rates are the most successful,

productive, and happy (SBN Staff, 2016). When the term 'gender equality' is mentioned, people often think only of women, as noted by one of the FGD participants. However, this idea should be changed.

Needed initiatives

Case study

As mentioned in the 'Methodology', during the in-depth interviews, the interviewees were asked about their ideas on promoting women's leadership in trade unions. Additionally, the interviewer inquired about their opinions on the possibility of an extended version of the ELSA-program or another program similar to the ELSA-program, given that almost all interviewees were ELSA-alumni.

All the first ELSA-alumni the interviewer spoke with were very enthusiastic about the program. It supported them thoroughly on an individual level by enhancing their personal skills as a leader, and on an organizational level by teaching them how to secure sustainable financing and negotiate effectively. As a result, interview questions were included for following interviews focusing on long-term program planning, with an emphasis on program sustainability, with the ELSA-program as an example. This could involve developing a continuous training curriculum in collaboration with organizations like NOTU, as well as ensuring long-term funding and national-level support.

As mentioned earlier, there is also the LISA-program, where the leadership training provided to current leaders is extended to young potential leaders. One of the individuals involved in both programs described it not as a direct follow-up to the ELSA-program, but rather as a next step. The LISA-program has been slightly modified to better match the knowledge and skills level of the target group, while still covering both hard and soft skills, which are equally important.

An interesting addition to the LISA-program is the incorporation of mentorship, where four ELSA-alumni are trained to mentor LISA-participants throughout the program.

Additionally, one of the FGD participants stated, 'Women leaders should concentrate on the bottom to influence the top.' It was argued during one of the FGDs that influence from female leaders can begin at the grassroots level because there are more people at this level than in top management. The LISA-program was mentioned as a good example, as it focuses on building capacity for individuals who are still in the early stages of the trade union movement.

Furthermore, many interviewees agreed that greater male involvement is necessary when addressing gender issues. It is not only a women's issue; men also play a crucial role in this context, as highlighted in the 'Literature review' as well. Building allyship was suggested as an initiative to implement. Another idea proposed was developing programs to educate and sensitize men in the workplace about the importance of gender equality in leadership. This helps create a supportive environment and reduces resistance to women's leadership. Additionally, promoting role models and sharing success stories could inspire others and change perceptions about women's capabilities, benefiting not only women but also men, as will be elaborated in the 'Discussion' chapter.

According to some interviewees, tailored training approaches are useful to implement, with training methods that suit different learning styles and backgrounds. For example, using visual aids, entertainment, and practical examples can make training more accessible and effective for certain TU members. However, this depends on the trade union's sector.

Figure 17: Female ELSA-alumni ideas to go forward
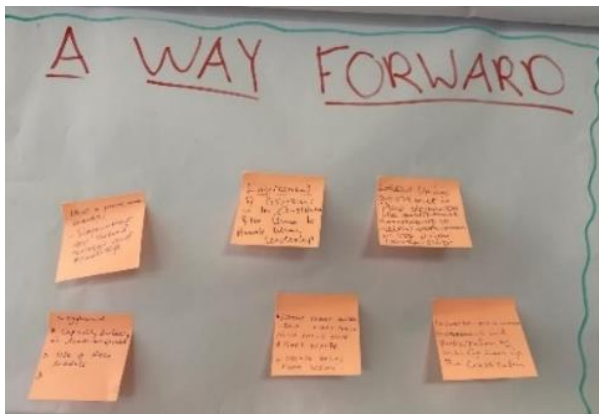
Figure 18: Male ELSA-alumni ideas to go forward
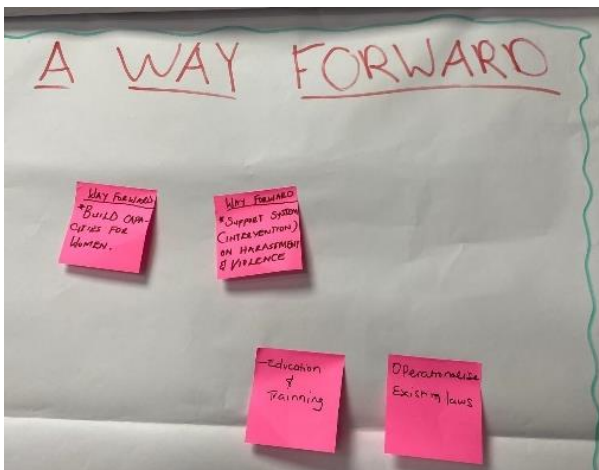
Figure 19: women's committee's ideas to go forward

As mentioned before, in the FGDs, the final activity focused on 'a way forward,' where participants were asked to write down what they believed could support promoting more women into leadership roles within the TU movement. Figures 17, 18, and 19 show the ideas written down by all FGD participants.

As shown in Figures 17, 18, and 19, the FGD participants had numerous ideas on how to effectively promote women's leadership in the trade union movement. All three groups emphasized the importance of incorporating capacity building and mentorship into training programs for women. These programs should help women build their self-esteem and teach them how to guide others in the right direction, as mentioned during one of the FGDs. The trainings were explained slightly differently by each group: one group emphasized equal training opportunities and comprehensive education on workers' rights, while the other stressed realistic capacity building from grassroots levels. As previously mentioned, the LISA-program already includes a mentorship element, but this is not only for women; it also extends to young men. Thus, mentorship is not only desired but is also slowly being implemented by Mondiaal FNV.

In the FGD with the male ELSA-alumni, great emphasis was placed on constitutional change. They specifically discussed modifying constitutions to ensure gender balance in leadership positions, since it is still lacking nowadays. In contrast, the women's committee FGD highlighted the need to operationalise existing laws and policies both within organizations and at the societal level to support women. The Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) policies or the non-discrimination policies for example.

Furthermore, the FGD with the women's committee, as well as several interviews, emphasized the importance of building a support system to address harassment and violence against women. This issue was also briefly discussed in the other two FGDs. An example of the problem given by a female FGD participant is that when a woman reports (sexual) violence or harassment by someone in a high

hierarchical position within her company or union, she risks backlash. The perpetrator may discover that she reported the issue and, due to power dynamics, might respond by firing her, for instance.

Lastly, discussions about grassroots and home influences occurred in the FGDs with both male and female ELSA-alumni. The female ELSA-alumni stressed the importance of grassroots initiatives and empowerment from lower levels, while the male ELSA-alumni emphasized that change begins at home, with parents encouraging their children to share household tasks rather than adhering to traditional gender roles.

Global Week

Based on the validation session held during the Global Week regarding the preliminary findings of the case study conducted in Uganda, the following results were observed regarding the validity of these new approaches to other regions where Mondiaal FNV operates.

The MENA-region group emphasized the importance of the role of government and policies. They stated: "Trade unions should lobby the government to implement policies" and "the role of trade unions in organizing care functions." Their ideas about creating awareness among members and the public (both male and female) and exposing existing role models were also supported by the case study.

For the group representing operations in Bangladesh, they stressed the need for policy development and enforcement. While mentorship is not yet implemented, they aim to introduce it, and gender mainstreaming is practiced but not integrated across all programs.

Although the case study somewhat represented West and East Africa, the group representing these regions proposed an additional idea: 'earmark funding: money goes to leadership development funding'.

For South Asia, the approaches shared during the activity (see Annex 5) were also valid. They added that capacity building should consider adult learning processes, emphasized that "women should be part of the discussion," and suggested going beyond mentorship to "look at women who can take up leadership roles."

Finally, according to the group representing Indonesia, the term "capacity strengthening" should replace "capacity building," and mentorship (with the right individuals) should be the top priority in their situation.

Comprehensive Women's Leadership Analysis Framework

 Based on the Lean In framework and partly on the two-dimensional model for change proposed by Benschop and Verloo (2011) in the 'Literature Review', the concept of the CWLAF came into existence, as shown in Figure 20. In addition to the overview table, the CWLAF has been created to ensure that all three levels of influencing factors are considered during all stages of a project—designing, implementing, and evaluating—across specific regions, as Mondiaal FNV requested clear insight into their actions related to women's leadership development. Furthermore, the Framework integrates all three levels from the 'Lean In' Framework concerning influencing factors and approaches as part of a larger initiative, thereby increasing the chances of successfully implementing change through projects.
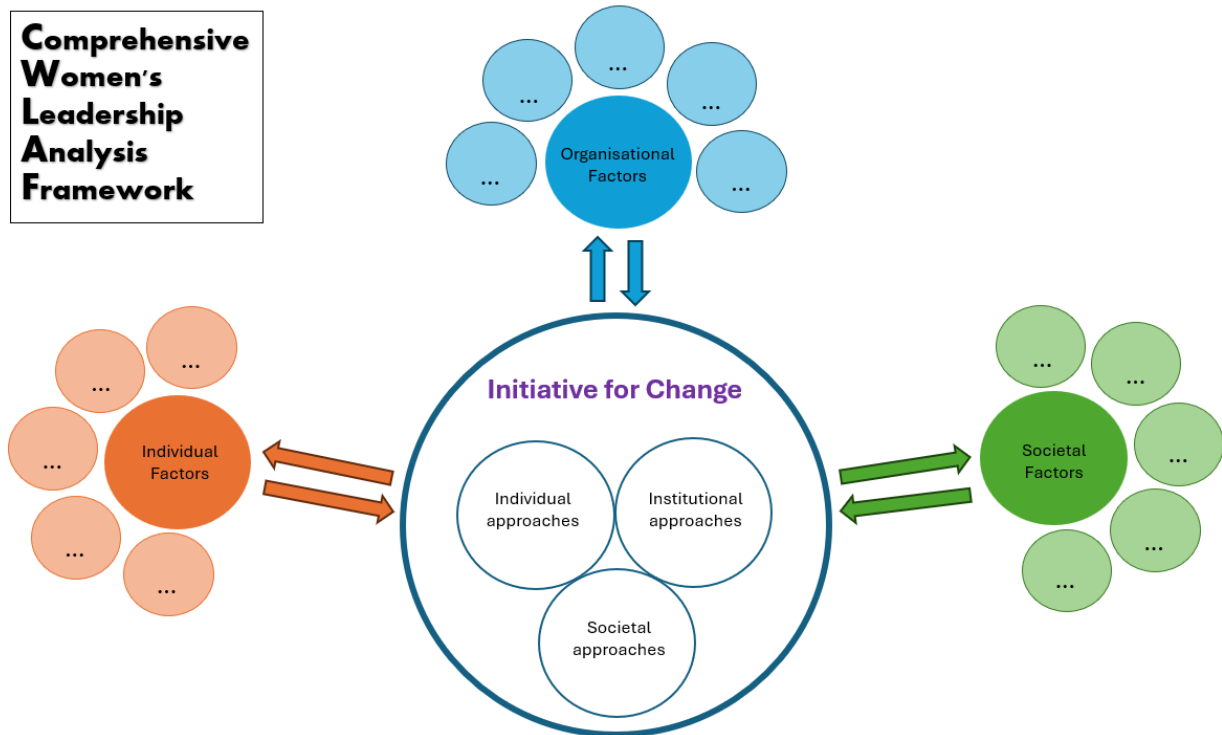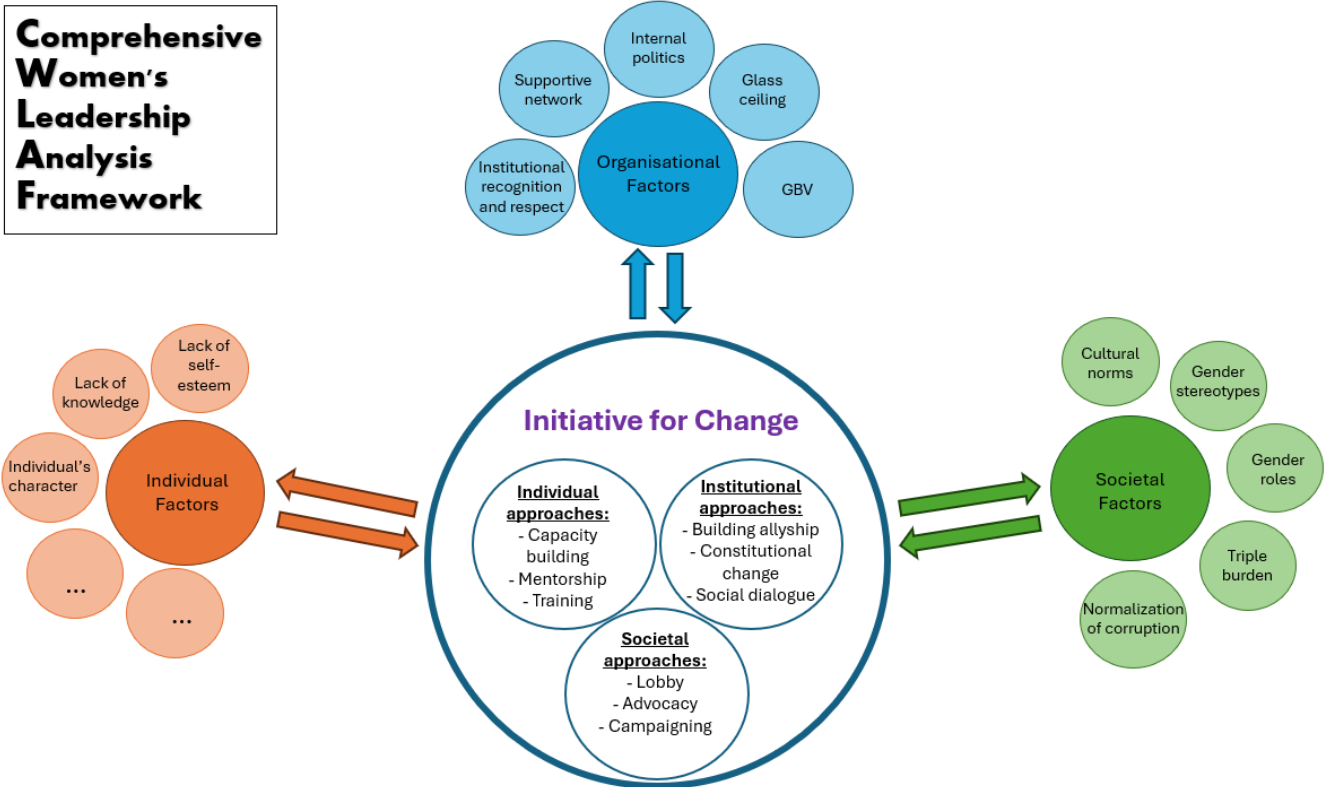

Figure 20: Comprehensive Women's Leadership Analysis Framework – CWLAF

As shown, the outer circles in orange, blue, and green represent the influencing factors on the three levels. The large circle in the middle represents an initiative, with the three smaller circles representing the scope of the initiative. This setup can help identify the balance between the three scopes of the different approaches within the initiative. However, the large circle in the middle can also represent a cluster of initiatives, where the approaches stated in the framework can be seen as initiatives to balance the scopes of all projects on one specific topic. Figure 21 exemplifies the CWLAF based on the information gathered through the case study in Uganda. The influencing factors are shown in the small orange, blue, and green outer circles, and the needed approaches/initiatives, according to the FGD participants, are placed in the large circle in the middle, where the balance between the three scopes is visible. Lastly, this framework could also serve as an assessment tool to reflect on Mondiaal FNV's overall contribution to women's leadership development and to identify areas for improvement.

Figure 21: Comprehensive Women's Leadership Analysis Framework (CWLAF) – Case study

As stated earlier in this chapter, gender equality is essential for trade unions globally as it enhances employee happiness and boosts organizational productivity. As stated at the beginning of this report, Mondiaal FNV is committed to gender mainstreaming and has a mission for gender equality. For Mondiaal FNV, women's leadership development is not just an important issue but also a strategy that contributes to gender equality and is an end in itself. However, the lack of an overview of their progress has been an obstacle. With this research and the CWLAF, Mondiaal FNV now has new guidelines to follow in order to improve women's leadership in trade unions in the Global South.

Discussion

In this chapter, we will further explain the findings from the previous chapter, discuss the limitations of the research, and highlight and critique certain findings based on additional literature.

The first point to note is the scope of the research. Although the official scope is the Global South—where all Mondiaal FNV's partners are located—the research was not conducted in all the countries where Mondiaal FNV operates. To delve deeper, a case study was chosen, focusing on Uganda. To assess the reliability of this case study's findings and their applicability to other countries, a verification session during the Global Week was held. This session added value to the research but was based on the knowledge and experiences of Mondiaal FNV staff and consultants from abroad. A key question is how representative these individuals are of the target groups in the partnership countries. Nevertheless, the findings from the case study regarding the influencing factors and necessary approaches for women's leadership development were acknowledged by both Mondiaal FNV staff and consultants. However, the interpretation of the concept of women's leadership was not addressed during the validation session at the Global Week.

Critique on overview table

As mentioned in the 'Methodology,' the overview table was created to analyse all projects focusing on gender equality as a whole. Eventually, the decision was made to focus on women's leadership for sub-research question 1. However, due to this change, the overview table includes more information than is relevant to this research. Furthermore, it is notable that only three out of the 46 Mondiaal FNV projects focus on women's leadership, despite its importance being highlighted in their gender strategy, as stated in the 'Background.'

Note that eight projects have not yet been included in the overview table. These projects belong to the East-African region, but due to a shift in focus from gender equality to women's leadership, they have not been included. The missing projects have already been shared with Mondiaal FNV.

It is important to note that all information in the overview table, as well as the findings derived from it, are based only on project summaries based on project designs. This choice was consciously made, since the idea was to map all the approaches used in projects of the Gender Strategy. Additionally, as shown in Figure 7, more than half of the projects included in the Gender Strategy are still ongoing and have not yet been completed. This highlights the limitations of this research regarding the validity of the findings about the success of the outcomes achieved by Mondiaal FNV so far.

Approaches used by Mondiaal FNV to promote women's leadership

As shown in the previous chapter, a top twelve of approaches has been identified that add value to the Gender Strategy. Some of these overlap with the approaches that Mondiaal FNV employs nationally in the Netherlands, such as lobbying, advocacy, campaigning, and research, which are included in their policy (MondiaalFNV, 2021).

It is worth discussing that gender mainstreaming is an ongoing process, and its inclusion in every project may not always be feasible. Mondiaal FNV has agreements with their partners to implement gender mainstreaming in their strategies (MondiaalFNV, 2021). However, it remains critical to assess the extent to which gender mainstreaming is actually integrated into all projects identified in the overview table. Moreover, even if Mondiaal FNV's partners incorporate gender mainstreaming into their strategies, the outcomes must be visible.

As mentioned in the 'Literature Review,' training is crucial for providing women with the knowledge and skills needed to become leaders. Figure 8 clearly illustrates that this approach has been adopted. However, since only three projects focus primarily on women's leadership, it raises the question of whether the training provided is specifically targeted at women's leadership and gender equality, or if it covers a broader range of topics not directly related to these areas.

Concept 'Women's Leadership'

Sub-research question 2 is addressed from the Ugandan perspective in the 'Findings' chapter. The study "Women Leadership, Culture, and Islam: Female Voices from Jordan" by T. Koburtay et al. (2022) highlights that various studies compare different components of female leadership. In countries with Arab cultures, the Islamic religion often plays a significant role. Some studies argue that specific Islamic texts suggest differences between the sexes are acceptable and could lead to broader strategies for enhancing diversity and combating gender discrimination and inequality. On the other hand, other studies interpret these texts as advocating for treating males and females differently, but not unequally. Additionally, some studies discuss concepts such as "men's custodianship over women" (Koburtay, et al., 2022).

Nevertheless, when comparing the work of T. Koburtay et al. (2022) with the findings from the field research, it was agreed in discussions that incorporating certain female characteristics from women could provide trade unions with broader, long-term strategies. This approach could positively impact the future and sustainability of the trade union while also reducing gender inequality. Although treating men and women differently has been discussed as acceptable, the key is to ensure that women are not treated unequally. As shared during the FGDs, some communities in Uganda still maintain the societal norm where women are responsible for household duties, which reflects the notion of men's custodianship over women mentioned earlier.

However, an abstract from another article highlighted that "women in Central Asia have to navigate several contradictory sets of gender expectations" (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2019). This statement aligns with findings from interviews and FGDs conducted in Uganda and was confirmed during the Global Week by Mondiaal FNV staff and consultants from South Asia and Indonesia.

The purpose of the FGD exercise, where participants were asked to classify leadership characteristics as either male or female, was to determine whether the general description of a 'good leader' aligns with the description of a female leader. This exercise aimed to explore how leadership characteristics are viewed for different genders, based on participant perspectives. As noted in the 'Background' and 'Literature Review,' leadership characteristics are often associated more with men.

Criticizing the findings on defining 'women's leadership,' it is observed that many characteristics are placed in a grey area between male and female traits. This suggests that participants were unsure about how to classify these characteristics. During the interviews and FGDs, it became apparent that classifying characteristics between genders was challenging, as many were seen as general rather than gender-specific. The lack of a clear distinction between male and female leadership could support the idea of focusing more on a new form of leadership: transformative leadership.

During the Global Week, one of Mondiaal FNV's consultants conducted a session highlighting the crucial importance of integrating transformative leadership into Mondiaal FNV's Gender Strategy. As has been shared during this session, transformative leadership seeks to drive positive change, enhance organizational performance, and improve the well-being and development of individuals within the organization through "shared power, control of resources, decision-making" (MondiaalFNV, 2021). Further steps on this topic will be detailed in the 'Recommendations' chapter.

When comparing the general definitions of leadership with those specific to women's leadership from the FGDs, both share common themes of influence, vision, and motivation. However, women's leadership is distinguished by additional dimensions of societal change, ethical accountability, and emotional intelligence. These attributes reflect a broader and more inclusive perspective on leadership, one that is essential for fostering empowerment and advancing gender equality.

An additional factor that has an influence on women's leadership development mentioned by one of the Mondiaal FNV staff members was the male characteristics associated with female leaders, as noted in the previous chapter. The statement from Eagly & Karau (2002), "agentic women leaders are

penalized for violating gender norms of communality, and women considered for leadership positions are evaluated as having fewer leadership qualities than men, even when objectively equal" (Eagly & Karau, 2002), supports these observations. As discussed in the 'Literature Review,' characteristics perceived as male are often linked to the concept of leadership. These arguments make it challenging for women to build confidence and disregard others' opinions, which can have a significant impact. Nevertheless, based on the classification exercise during the FGDs, it can be concluded that leadership characteristics are not exclusively related to men but are more centred towards women. This contradiction highlights the complexity and significance of the concept.

Additionally, the third group did not complete the final step of the exercise. This resulted in missing data that could have been valuable for comparison. Therefore, due to the lack of a clear division between male and female characteristics and incomplete data, the outcome of this exercise is less valid.

Factors influencing women's leadership development in trade unions

Besides the explanation of the findings provided in the previous chapter on factors influencing women's leadership development in trade unions, it is necessary to highlight some factors for further clarification. These factors are explained below. In addressing sub-research questions three and four, it is important to note that the findings for these questions have been combined. This decision was made because only 4-6 factors were identified as supportive, while approximately 17 factors were identified as constraining based on the field visit. Emphasis is placed on the importance of these factors and how they influence women's leadership development, given that the majority have a negative impact.

Triple-burden

During the FGDs this term came across as influencing factor on women getting a leadership role. One of the participants highlighted that women in Uganda also have a triple-burden and not a double-burden, because they have the responsibility as a 'mother, employee and leader'. In an article written by A. Intesar & Md S. Parvez (2024) on the triple-burden experienced by urban slum women in Bangladesh, the three burdens they identify are 'reproductive burdens', 'productive workload' and 'community workload' (Intesar & Parvez, 2024). These three burdens are quite similar to those mentioned during the FGD. Although the context differs, the meaning of the term remains similar and so could be applicable to other contexts as well. As previously discussed, societal expectations place a significant pressure on women.

'Access to' and 'control over'

Access to resources was identified as an influencing factor during the FGDs and also appeared as important in one of the exercises. However, there was some confusion about what exactly was meant by 'access to resources.' During one of the FGDs, this was illustrated with the example of land ownership. A male FGD participant explained that while women may have 'access to' land (as they are the ones managing it), they do not have 'control over' it. They cannot make decisions about the land because they lack ownership. A study on access, use, and control over communal land by women in Mexico also emphasizes the distinction between women's 'access to' land and their 'control over' financial and biological resources (Soto-Alarcón & González-Gómez, 2021). This distinction was not made very clear during the FGDs. Therefore, the factors 'lack of finances' and 'lack of access to resources' can be combined and rephrased as 'a lack of access to and control over resources, including financial resources.'

Internal politics

An issue that hasn't been discussed with as much attention in this report, but frequently came up during the FGDs, is the internal politics of trade unions in Uganda. During one of the FGDs, it was mentioned that internal conflicts can sometimes be supportive. However, in the other two FGDs and

during the interviews, it was made clear that due to internal politics, where corruption also plays a role, the industry remains male-dominated, and competition can damage relations. This creates a challenging environment for women to grow in. The internal politics actually cover many different influencing factors, as shown by the results of the prioritizing exercise in the FGDs.

Since corruption is also a factor in internal politics, women may be disadvantaged due to limited access to and control over resources, including financial ones.

Gender-based violence

As mentioned in the 'Literature Review', part of gender inequalities includes GBV. It is interesting to observe that 18 out of the 46 projects listed in the overview table include ILO C190, which is the 'Violence and harassment Convention' from 2019 (No. 190) (International Labour Organization, 2019). Additionally, GBV was addressed multiple times in relation to women's leadership during interviews and FGDs. As a new initiative during the FGDs, building a support system for harassment and violence against women was also mentioned. All of this together emphasizes the importance of addressing GBV for women's leadership development. Although it was not placed high on the priority lists regarding its influence, as a sub-topic, it is one of the most important ones due to its high frequency of appearance during the research.

New initiatives

Regarding the approaches that Mondiaal FNV already uses, certain connections can be made with the new ideas proposed by research participants. Firstly, tailored training approaches were mentioned in one of the interviews, matching with the extensive number of trainings Mondiaal FNV provides to their partners. However, the number of trainings does not necessarily reflect their quality or whether they meet the specific needs of their partners.

Additionally, while building allyship was suggested and could fall under workshops, the same concern about the quality and relevance of training applies here. Capacity building was frequently mentioned by research participants and is already part of Mondiaal FNV's projects, although mentorship, though included, is mentioned less often.

Interestingly, the emphasis on lobbying from the MENA-region discussion can be linked to the results showing that lobbying is already a significant part of the approaches used by Mondiaal FNV.

When addressing gender inequality, research participants highlighted the importance of considering the differences between public and private sectors, as well as formal and informal environments. This insight was confirmed by other participants and is crucial for developing effective projects.

The ELSA-program

As mentioned in the 'Findings', there was significant interest in extending the ELSA-program. However, creating a continuous training curriculum in partnership with organizations like NOTU could present risks, as noted by one of the interviewees. Nearly all ELSA-alumni experienced a strong sense of trust between participants and facilitators/trainers during the program. This trust was generated by the fact that the facilitators were external. Participants felt secure and were not afraid of potential backlash. However, if NOTU were to provide these trainings, it was suggested that participants might become less open and honest due to increased fears of backlash, which could reduce the program's success.

As an alternative, I proposed that a national external party, rather than an international one, provide the program to enhance local trade union partnerships. Localization could add value to trade union strategies (Fairbrother, 2000). Although Fairbrother's article focuses on British trade unions in 2000, it underscores that localization can offer opportunities for trade unionism. The challenge here is finding the balance between localization and maintaining international connections. This principle is likely applicable not only to British trade unions but also globally.

An interesting and positive similarity between the proposed new initiatives and the ELSA-program is that both emphasize capacity building and mentorship, which were mentioned during the interviews and are also core components of the ELSA- and LISA-program. This suggests that extending the ELSA-program could be a beneficial initiative. During some in-depth interviews, participants were asked if they would be willing to train others using the skills and knowledge they gained through the ELSA-program, and all responded with a unanimous 'yes'. One of the program creators emphasized that balancing soft and hard skills is crucial for effective leadership. This balance is incorporated into the ELSA-program and is supported by Tang Keow Ngang's analysis of leadership soft skills (Ngang, 2012). Ngang's analysis suggests that while one skill set may come more naturally, it is important to learn how to balance these with skills that need further development. This analysis strengthens the importance of balancing hard and soft skills.

Conclusion

This research aimed to answer the main question: How do Mondiaal FNV's approaches to women's leadership development contribute to gender equality in trade unions in the Global South? The findings from the sub-research questions provide in-depth insights into this main research question.

1. What different approaches have been used in Mondiaal FNV's funded projects, ongoing projects, and new projects, as part of the Gender Strategy Mondiaal FNV 2021-2025, to strengthen gender equality in trade unions through women's leadership development?

Approaches used in Mondiaal FNV's funded projects, ongoing projects, and new projects, as part of the Gender Strategy Mondiaal FNV 2021-2025, to strengthen gender equality in trade unions through women's leadership are listed in the 'Approaches' column of the overview table. The three projects that specifically focus on women's leadership make use of training, campaigning, network building, research, and lobbying specifically for women.

Most projects on women's leadership development take place in Asia, where the majority focus on gender equality rather than women's leadership. Finally, the approaches primarily used by Mondiaal FNV include lobbying, advocacy, networking, training, and capacity building.

2. How is women's leadership interpreted in the Global South?

Based on the findings from the FGDs, the concept of women's leadership in Uganda is interpreted as a varied and inclusive way of leadership caried out by women that emphasizes the ability of women to influence change, inspire others, and break down gender stereotypes. Women in leadership roles are perceived as more accountable and committed to long-term goals, which motivates others, particularly women, to pursue leadership positions.

Every country, culture, industry/sector, and work environment requires a unique set of leadership skills to address the issues women may face, so there is no single way to define how women's leadership is interpreted in the Global South. Nevertheless, combining the quote from Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova (2019) mentioned in the previous chapter with how interviewees and FGD participants described women's leadership, we can conclude that in the Global South, women's leadership is interpreted as requiring them to fight against patriarchal norms, including gender stereotypes, judgments, biases, and expectations, in addition to the general concept of leadership.

3/4. Based on the case study, which factors have constrained / facilitated the development of women's leadership in trade unions?

As mentioned in the 'Discussion,' the majority of factors influencing women's leadership development are constraining. The top five influencing factors are:

- Self-esteem / confidence
- Cultural norms and gender stereotypes
- (Lack of) supportive network
- Institutional recognition and respect
- Lack of control over financial resources

Self-esteem and confidence are at the individual level, while institutional recognition and respect, along with a supportive network, are at the organizational level. Cultural norms and gender stereotypes are societal-level factors. The lack of control over financial resources is more complex; it could be considered organizational when it influences elections, for example, but it may also belong to the societal level due to its roots in gender norms and expectations.

Based on these outcomes from the FGDs, it can be concluded that these factors have the highest potential to influence women's leadership development, as they were also confirmed to be important during the Global Week session. However, the list in Annex 7 should still be considered and not overlooked. It is important to address the identified factors to increase women's leadership development. This is exemplified by the glass ceiling, which is influenced by factors at the individual, organizational, and societal levels. In conclusion, the factors influencing the promotion of women's leadership not only impact women's leadership development but also interact with each other, making the situation complex.

Addressing these issues requires a multifaceted approach that combines individual empowerment, institutional reforms, and societal change.

5. What would be the most effective way to support trade unions to promote more women's leadership?

As stated above, the most effective way to support trade unions in promoting more women's leadership involves a multifaceted approach, there is not one most effective approach, since you want to bear in mind as many as possible influencing factors as well as you want to make a change with as many scopes as possible, including individual, organisational and societal. However, potential new initiatives such as expanding existing programs (e.g.: ELSA-program), ensuring sustainability, fostering organizational change, engaging men, and utilizing creative training methods are all crucial steps. Additionally, capacity building, mentorship, constitutional change, building a support system to address harassment and violence, grassroot level changes and home influences, lobbying, integration of gender mainstreaming in all projects were some of the initiatives that are already there and seen as effective to support trade unions to promote more women's leadership and also including some new effective ways to do so. Overall, these initiatives rely on active participation, dialogue, and collaboration, making them interactive in nature.

By following and using the CWLAF, Mondiaal FNV could implement new initiatives whereby they tackle as many constraining factors as possible and consider change on three major levels. With the approaches that Mondiaal FNV is already implementing or have implemented, they could use this framework as assessment tool and to see where improvements are laying. Additionally, Mondiaal FNV could use this framework to classify their approaches to see how they have balanced the division of their approaches and if they consider factors on all three levels. Lastly, when the subject is known, supportive factors can be identified and based on those facilitating factors an initiative could be created, while still considering the constraining factors related. It is a multifunctional tool which supports the implementation of initiatives from Mondiaal FNV.

How do Mondiaal FNV's approaches to women's leadership development contribute to gender equality in trade unions in the Global South?

To conclude and answer the main research question, Mondiaal FNV's approaches to women's leadership development contribute to gender equality in trade unions in the Global South primarily by supporting women in becoming more aware of their rights and how to advocate for them, as well as providing them with the necessary skills and resources. Additionally, although to a lesser extent, these approaches include raising awareness among men about the importance of women's leadership and lobbying for this cause.

However, while there are some approaches to women's leadership development, there is often a lack of emphasis on this topic within projects, as gender equality and women's leadership are frequently part of a broader goal. Although the approaches currently in use are useful, there is a noted lack in adopting a multifaceted approach. Increasing the focus on women's leadership development is essential to encourage further progress towards gender equality through women's leadership development.

Recommendations

Based on the conducted research and to support Mondiaal FNV's mission of promoting gender equality and ensuring that gender mainstreaming is integrated into all projects, the following activities are recommended for consideration.

Comprehensive Women's Leadership Analysis Framework

Implementing the CWLAF is a major recommendation for Mondiaal FNV. Since Mondiaal FNV is focused on the future, it is recommended to conduct more in-depth research into the influencing factors to better understand and reduce the risks that a project may face during implementation. This research could be integrated into the designing phase of a project, allowing Mondiaal FNV to gain a clearer understanding of the situation and ensure that all three levels are properly addressed in their project planning. Additionally, it is recommended to use the CWLAF as an assessment tool for evaluating incoming projects from partners and for initiating new projects. The Framework could also be used to analyse the influencing factors across the different regions where Mondiaal FNV operates, or to classify projects within the larger inner circle. This would help determine the balance between the three levels of project implementation.

Mondiaal FNV's approaches

Regarding the use of project summaries to create the overview table, it is recommended to conduct a follow-up study focused on the results of the different approaches used for the Gender Strategy.

Based on the overview table and the proven importance of women's leadership for the trade union movement, it is evident that the division of projects on gender equality and women's leadership is unbalanced. Therefore, it is necessary to increase the number of projects that focus primarily on women's leadership. This could be achieved by setting a goal for a minimum number of projects dedicated to women's leadership development. Additionally, if Mondiaal FNV considers it important to include the eight projects from the East African region that address gender equality as mentioned in the 'Discussion,' they should add these projects to the overview table themselves.

Mondiaal FNV could strengthen its existing gender-related requirements for international partners by adjusting them based on context and potential risks, ensuring consistent implementation both internally and in project outcomes. When a women's committee is established, financial resources should be made available to support it, and evaluation visits can help ensure its effectiveness, for example. Further research can be conducted on evaluation and reflection documented data, as it was previously mentioned that this research focused only on documents from the design phase of the projects.

Common understanding

Not only for the concept of women's leadership, but also for concepts such as 'gender mainstreaming,' a common definition and understanding would be good to be established among Mondiaal FNV and its partners. Although Mondiaal FNV already has a definition of 'gender mainstreaming,' it appears that what is documented is not fully implemented in practice. Creating a common understanding of these concepts is crucial to ensure everyone is on the same page. Given that the definition of women's leadership is based on the case study conducted in Uganda, it is recommended that Mondiaal FNV also research this concept in other regions where they operate to determine whether the definition provided by the Ugandan participants is representative of other regions.

An alternative approach is not to define the concept of women's leadership, but rather to introduce and establish a shared understanding of transformative leadership, as described in the 'Discussion' chapter. Emphasizing transformative leadership could be beneficial for advancing women's

leadership development, offering a new way to discuss gender equality at the leadership level without making distinctions based on gender.

Furthermore, the general society's mindset could shift from viewing gender equality as simply a women's issue to recognizing it as a universal concern. It is a topic that requires the attention of all genders. Educating people on this issue is crucial to reducing the zero-sum game and increasing progress toward a gender-equal world. Mondiaal FNV could incorporate this into their projects by conducting awareness sessions in communities, as well as through campaigns, social media, and visits to schools, for example.

Independence

To stimulate the independence of Mondiaal FNV's partners, it is important to explore how projects, such as the ELSA- and LISA-program, can be made as sustainable as possible with a long-term and local perspective.

For specific women's support, it is crucial to boost self-esteem and create a safe and confidential environment where women have the opportunity to express themselves. This could be achieved by building communities within trade unions or specific industries, enabling women to support each other with personal and professional issues. This idea was proposed during conversations during the field visit in Uganda, and it is recommended to explore how it can be further developed. A bottom-up approach would be a good starting point. Not only for this initiative but also generally, a bottom-up approach is seen by some research participants as effective, as mentioned earlier. Research and discussions could be conducted to explore how to build from the bottom. Close cooperation with partners on the ground is crucial for this idea. Additionally, the bottom-up approach can be used to evaluate trainings provided or sponsored by Mondiaal FNV to ensure they meet the needs of the target group and, if necessary, make them more localized so that they are sustained by the partners themselves in their country or region.

A way forward

Since capacity building focused on building self-esteem and leadership characteristics, such as setting long-term objectives, ranks highly among effective approaches for women's leadership development, it is recommended to incorporate it into more programs. This could be included in the strategy for women's leadership as suggested earlier, or it could be established as a required element for Mondiaal FNV projects, given that only ten projects currently include capacity building.

As mentioned in the 'Discussion' chapter, it is also recommended to research the differences between public and private environments, as well as formal and informal ones, in the field.

Another potential idea for women's leadership development is to create one strategy for all regions, taking into account contextual differences such as ethical and cultural variations, and to implement this strategy across all regions. This approach may be more effective than simply integrating a gender mainstreaming element into various projects, where the outcomes might not be guaranteed. Be aware that while the overall strategy remains the same, the approaches may need to vary and be adjusted depending on the specific context in which it will be implemented. The CWLAF could be of good use for this.

Implementing the recommendations mentioned above will help Mondiaal FNV make a greater impact on gender equality by placing more emphasis on women's leadership and addressing the various aspects discussed.

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Annex 1

List of countries in which Mondiaal FNV is operating:

- Ethiopia
- Cameroon
- Uganda
- Tanzania
- Ghana
- Kenya
- Rwanda
- Zimbabwe
- Pakistan
- India
- Myanmar
- Bangladesh
- Indonesia
- Nepal
- Colombia
- Peru
- Joran
- Lebanon

(Mondiaal FNV, 2024)

Annex 2

ILO Conventions:

- No. 87 (on freedom of association and protection of the right to organize);
- No. 98 (on the right to organize and collective bargaining);
- No. 100 (on equal remuneration);
- No. Ill (on discrimination in employment and occupation);
- No. 138 (on minimum age);
- No. 29 (on forced labour);
- No. 105 (on the abolition of forced labour); and
- No. 182 (on the abolition of the worst forms of child labour)

(Roozendaal, 2020)

Annex 3 – In-depth Interview Guide

Questions for men

- **How did you feel when you were first elected as a leader?**
- **What were your greatest takeaways from the ELSA program?** (What did you get out of the ELSA-program? What have you learned regarding personal and professional skills?)
    - *The idea behind this question is to find out what kind of leadership characteristics the interviewee gained due to the program (more male or female leadership characteristics?)*
- Which module did you like the most?
- How do you link it to your personal life?

Questions about influencing factors (focus more on individual level, so fgd can be about the other two) → Say: "we are going to explore influencing factors at 3 different levels…" (That way we get to tackle each level until its exhausted before we move on to the next.)

- **What do you believe are constraining or facilitating factors to (women's) leadership?**
    - Individual level: Leadership Ambition – Motivation – Self-efficacy - Risk
    - Organisational level: Culture (within organization) – Support – Communication
    - Societal level: Societal Perceptions – Societal Expectations – Public Policy
    - *Go more into depth regarding the individual level (since I want to come back on the other two levels during the FGD)*
- **Did these factors made you doubt to be in a leadership position or maybe encourage you to fight it?** What impact do the factors mentioned above have on Intentions to lean in and behaviour to lean in, ~~individual social mobility and Gender social mobility~~?

About the type of program and potential new/other programs

- **Do you have any thoughts on increasing women's leadership in trade unions?**
    - To achieve more *women's* leadership in trade unions, should there be more than the ELSA-program and/or should the ELSA-program be implemented with more individuals?
    - Would you attend the same sort of program or another one which would have a different form? *(to prevent women leaving, for example, is already more regarding organizational level, so maybe FGD) – LISA good follow up?*
- **Would you be interested in building allyship with women?**
- **Would you be able to give a training by yourself?**

- Potential additional question: **What are differences between challenges in men and women?**

Questions for women

- **How did you feel when you were first elected as a leader?**
- **Do you have the feeling that are taken serious by male leaders in decision-making processes? Are you even part of decision-making processes?**
- **What were your greatest takeaways from the ELSA program?** (What did you get out of the ELSA-program? What have you learned regarding personal and professional skills?)
    - ***The idea behind this question is to find out what kind of leadership characteristics the interviewee gained due to the program (more male or female leadership characteristics?)***
- **Which module did you like the most?**
- *How do you link it to your personal life?*

Questions about influencing factors (focus more on individual level, so fgd can be about the other two) → Say: "we are going to explore influencing factors at 3 different levels…" (That way we get to tackle each level until its exhausted before we move on to the next.)

- **What do you <u>believe</u> are constraining or facilitating factors to (women's) leadership?**
    - **Individual level: Leadership Ambition – Motivation – Self-efficacy - Risk**
    - **Organisational level: Culture (within organization) – Support – Communication**
    - **Societal level: Societal Perceptions – Societal Expectations – Public Policy**
    - *Go more into depth regarding the individual level (since I want to come back on the other two levels during the FGD)*
- **Did these factors made you doubt to be in a leadership position or maybe encourage you to fight it?** What impact do the factors mentioned above have on Intentions to lean in and behaviour to lean in, ~~individual social mobility and Gender social mobility~~?
- **Are you afraid of backlashes? (fear to speak?)**
- **Have you ever felled unsafe in your work environment (linked to harassment and violence in the TU)**

About the type of program and potential new/other programs

- **Do you have any thoughts on increasing women's leadership in trade unions?**
    - **To achieve more women's leadership in trade unions, should there be more than the ELSA-program and/or should the ELSA-program be implemented with more individuals?**
    - **Would you attend the same sort of program or another one which would have a different form?** *(to prevent women leaving, for example, is already more regarding organizational level, so maybe FGD) – LISA good follow up?*
- **Would you be able to give a training by yourself?**
- **What do you think is more important? Empowerment for women or creating more awareness among men regarding the issue? (or 50/50?)**
- **Would allyship be useful you think?**
- **Are longing to a support system (when something happens?)?**

- Check the following if time allows**: 'Being alone without a man, no limitations, independent. A woman can feel more empowered to have that open space. - Married woman will have another perspective (religious, societal (cultural))' → what is your situation and your perspective regarding this?**
- Potential additional question: **What are differences between challenges in men and women?**

Annex 4 – FGD Guide

Agenda overview

Time	Topic	Questions	Activity	Outcomes	Materials
9.00-9.30 am	Walk in & Introduction	• What are the ground rules?	• Walk in • Introduce goal of session • Go through ground rules of session	Create a comfortable and open environment	• List of ground rules printed out
9.30-10.00am	Defining leadership	• How would you define women's leadership? • Which characteristics and skills do you need to have to be a good leader? • What is difference in women's leadership and men's leadership? (which characteristics belong to which sort of leadership?)	Cluster / classify characteristics below women's leadership or men's leadership.	Gain a better understanding on how the participants would define leadership in general and how they see a difference in women's and men's leadership.	• Post-It notes • Flip chart • Pencils • 'female leadership' and 'male leadership printed out
10.00-10.30am	Influencing factors	• Are there any influencing factors missing or should some be deleted? • Are the factors constraining, facilitating or both?	• Cluster into constraining or facilitating. • Prioritize / rang orde list regarding strong influence or less	Have a list of the most important influencing factors. (separating constraining and facilitating factors)	• Influencing factors identified from interviews printed out separately and 'constraining' and 'facilitating' separately as headings.
10.30-11.00am	A way forward (Initiatives)	• What are your ideas on promoting women's leadership in the TU movement? (or what are you already implementing related to this topic in your TU?)	• Brainstorm (individually) • Create a top 10	Gain input on initiatives from FGD participants that could be implemented by Mondiaal FNV.	• Post-It notes • Pencils • Flipchart

Walk in

"welcome to this group session about women's leadership in trade unions"

To do's:

- Sign the consent for making pictures
- Give a bottle of water
- Mention planning

Introduction

Before we start I want to highlight some points:

- As I also mentioned during the interviews with you, everything that will be said will stay confidential. You don't need to be worried or afraid that we will spread the things that will be said during the session publicly. This conversation is just meant for me to get a better understanding about the current situation regarding women's leadership in trade unions for my research.
    o Personal stories and experiences are welcome
    o Since the goal is to improve the trade union movement, don't be here as a representative of your TU, but be yourself, since I am looking for your honest opinion during this session.
- if something nice is said: ask if I can quote them on that sentence for my research.
- The environment that the discussion is about is women's leadership in trade unions and not in the work environment.
- Explain the role division
    o Augustine will make photo's, make observing notes and helps put things in place when necessary.
    o I will guide/facilitate the session

When participants ask for funding tell them: with achieving the goal of my research there might be the chance that more organisations may be interested in funding Trade unions in Uganda, since there is a more diverse approach to achieve goals within the TU's movement and since the end program will be useful to implement for funding organisations as well, since they have tool to assess project proposals.

<mark>Go through Ground rules for FGD</mark>

Defining leadership

Outcome: Gain a better understanding on how the participants would define leadership in general and how they see a difference in women's and men's leadership.

In your experience, what do you think would help you? (based on text books we have this, but ...)

- How would you define leadership?
- Which characteristics and skills do you need to have to be a good leader?
- What is difference in women's leadership and men's leadership? (which characteristics belong to which sort of leadership?)
- How would you define now women's leadership?

Activity 1

1. Individually: Give the participants 2/3 minutes to write down on a post-it what they think is the definition of women's leadership.
    a. Ask men: What does being a leader mean to you personally? (if times allows: Based on your experience in your current role, do you believe your role could be handled by a woman? Regardless of the answer, a follow up explanation would be "Can you explain?")
    b. Ask women: What does being a woman in leadership mean to you?

2. Individually: Give the participants 2/3 minutes to write down on post-its what they think are the 3 most important characteristics of a good leader (in a trade union).
3. As a group: Cluster / classify characteristics below women's leadership or men's leadership.
4. Individually: Give the participants 2/3 minutes again to write down on a post-it what they think is the definition of women's leadership.
5. Compare the answers of step 4 with the answers of step 1.

Materials needed
- Post-It notes
- Flip chart
- Pencils
- For step 1 & 4: write on a flipchart on the left side leadership and on the right side women's leadership definition and a line to divide the flipchart in 2 sides, so the left side can be the post it's for step 1 and on the right side the post its of step 4 can be placed.
- For step 2 & 3:
  - 'female leadership' and 'male leadership' written down on a flip chart page (make a line in between to separate)
  - List of leadership characteristics as inspiration for activity 2

Influencing factors
Outcome: Have a list of the most important influencing factors. (separating constraining and facilitating factors)

- Are there any influencing factors missing or should some be deleted?
- Are the factors constraining, facilitating or both?

Activity 2
1. Go through the list of factors and check with the group if any factor needs to be added or deleted.
2. When everybody is satisfied, mark all factors that everybody thinks is constraining red and the facilitating factors green. The once that they find equal or don't know stay white.
3. Prioritize the importance / strength of the factors on the flipchart.

Materials needed
- Have the list of factors (from interviews) on a list to go through with participants.
- Have a flip chart where to put on the post its
- Have a green and red marker

A way forward (Initiatives)
Outcome: Gain input on initiatives from FGD participants that could be implemented by Mondiaal FNV.

- What do you think can help promote more women taking leadership roles in the TU movement?

Activity 3
1. Hand out 3 post-it cards per person
2. Give participants 3 minutes (approximately) to write down on each post-it card one initiative to promote women's leadership in trade unions. (whereby they think it is the best way to promote women's leadership in TU's)
3. Collectively: make a top 10 of the best initiatives written down.

Materials needed
- Post-It notes

- Pencils
- Flip chart

Ending

- Fill in the transportation form with costs.
- Any feedback?
- What will be done with the results of the interviews and FGD? → the information gained form today's session will add value to answer my sub-research questions.
- As mentioned in the beginning, all personal information will remain confidential and will be transformed or put in a general sense that no body will know that a certain statement came from you specifically.
- Thank you, appreciation, pleasure…

Annex 5 – Global Week: exercise forms on preliminary findings of the case study

Region:

In your region group, please review the **factors** below. Do these factors also influence women's leadership development in your region/country? Are there any important factors missing?

- Factors influencing women's leadership development:

    1. Self-esteem, confidence

    2. Gender stereotypes, patriarchy, societal culture, biases, lack of sensitization in society

    3. (A lack of) Supportive network, role models

    4. Lack of access to resources, lack of finances

    5. Organizational culture / Internal politics (male-dominated, corruption), internal conflicts (competition)

Write down your answers below:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Region: _____

In your region group, please review the **approaches** presented. Would these approaches also promote women's leadership in your region/country? Are there any important approaches missing?

- Approaches needed to promote women's leadership:
    1. Capacity building
    2. Empowerment training, mentorship
    3. Emphasize the importance of including women in decision-making processes
    4. Policy implementation
    5. Establish a support system on harassment & violence (100% confidential)

Write down your answers below:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Annex 6 – Leadership Characteristics (material for FGD)

Leadership   Characteristics

Integrity Adherence to moral and ethical principles; honesty.	**Inspiration** Ability to motivate and inspire others to achieve their best.
Accountability Willingness to accept responsibility for one's actions.	**Adaptability** Flexibility in adapting to changing circumstances and challenges.
Empathy Ability to understand and share the feelings of others.	**Delegation** Ability to assign tasks and responsibilities to others effectively.
Communication Clear, concise, and effective exchange of information.	**Creativity** Capacity to think outside the box and innovate.
Vision Ability to set a clear and inspiring direction for the future.	**Humility** Acknowledgment of one's limitations and appreciation for others' contributions.
Resilience Capacity to recover quickly from difficulties; toughness.	**Strategic Thinking** Ability to plan for the long-term and foresee potential challenges and opportunities.
Decisiveness Ability to make decisions quickly and effectively.	**Emotional Intelligence** Awareness and control of one's emotions and the ability to manage relationships judiciously and empathetically.
Confidence Belief in one's abilities and judgment.	**Collaboration** Ability to work effectively with others towards a common goal.
Problem-Solving Proficiency in identifying solutions to complex issues.	**Courage** Willingness to take risks and face challenges head-on.
Commitment Dedication to the organization's goals and persistence in pursuing them.	**Fairness** Treating everyone equally and making unbiased decisions.

Annex 7 – Identified influencing factors on women's leadership development from interviews (material for FGD)

Individual level
1. Self-esteem / confidence
2. (lack of) Knowledge
3. Individual's character

Organisational level
4. Culture (within organization): The values, beliefs, and behaviors that characterize the trade union's environment.
5. Internal politics
6. Supportive network
7. Lack of support from community, family, colleagues, friends, etc.
8. Gossips
9. Women: Access to resources (network, workshops, trainings, etc.)
10. TU lacking systems that increase the work tempo (not only systems but also equipment)
11. Lack of finance (financial independence)
12. Chance for backlashes (from other unionists)
    a. Older men
    b. Older women
13. Lack of respect from elders (towards young leaders)
14. (internal culture) lack of understanding
15. Judgemental behaviour
16. Corruption
17. Stereotype: 'too aggressive'
18. Discrimination (women are seen as less worthy than men)
19. Unequal rights / inequality
20. Gender pay gap (societal and organisational)
21. Role models
22. Male-dominated industry/culture
23. Support system (for harassment and violence)
24. Gender roles (e.g.: women making notes in meetings)
25. Competition (in TU's) (leaders fear to loose their positions (selfish) → lack of collective mindset)
26. Communication (systems)
27. Opportunities (to get a position)

Societal level
28. Biases
29. Gender stereotypes (women belong in the kitchen) / cultural expectations
    a. E.g.: women are too emotional
30. Double/triple burden (mother role, employee, …)

31. Cultural norms/practices (husbands don't allow women to become a member of a TU, since that is not her role in society)
32. Normalization of corruption
33. Patriarchy
34. Visibility of the TU to the public (risk: loose power)
35. Safety (going home at night is or not allowed or not safe for a woman, so night jobs are too risky for women). E.g.: you don't really see tv hosts during night shows.
36. Societal perception putting women into a corner
37. Illiteracy percentage
38. Societal expectations towards women (not a lot expected)
39. Lack of sensitization in society
40. Grassroots movement (lack or should go to national level?)
    a. Definition: A grassroots movement is one that is driven by the constituents of a community or organization rather than being orchestrated by traditional leaders or top-down approaches. It involves the ordinary people in a society or community working together to achieve a common goal or address a shared issue.
41. Lack of knowledge / awareness among society

Annex 8 – factors influencing women's leadership development in trade unions categorised during FGDs

Facilitating Factors	Constraining Factors
Male ELSA	**- alumni**
Gender roles	Victims of Exploitation
Supportive network	Discrimination (women are seen as less worthy than men)
Individual's character	Individual's character
Opportunities to get position	Lack of respect from elders towards young people
Culture (organisational level)	Lack of sensitization in society / lack of knowledge/awareness from society
Illiteracy percentage (is decreasing)	Corruption
	Lack of support from community, family, colleagues, friends, etc.
	Unequal rights
	Women access to resources
	Lack of self-esteem / confidence (shy)
	Gender stereotyping (women are seen less worthy)
	Double/triple-burden (mother, employee, leader)
	Male dominated industry
	Gossips
	Women are the biggest enemies of women hatred
	Support system for harassment and violence
	Communication
Female ELSA	**- alumni**
Self-esteem / confidence	Self-esteem / confidence (+lack of knowledge)

Supportive network	Lack of supportive network
Role models	Lack of respect from elders
(internal conflicts / internal politics)	Lack of role models
	Gender stereotypes (2x)
	Patriarchy
	Cultural norms
	Male-dominated industry (2x)
	Lack of finance
	Internal conflicts / internal politics
	Normalization of corruption
	Lack of trade union visibility to the public (2x)
	Lack of support system for harassment and violence
	Lack of sensitization in the society
	Double/triple burden
	(added) Lack of female representation in media
Women's committee of NOTU	
Self Esteem	Lack of Self Esteem
Social Culture Bias	Bias, Social Culture, gender stereotypes Chances for Backlash from other unionists – older men, older women Patriarchy Lack of sensitisation Gender Pay Gap Double/Tripple burden
Lack of Finances	Lack of Finance, Women's Access to resources (Networking, workshops, training) Lack of Knowledge and awareness Individual lack of knowledge
Role Models	
Organisational Culture	Organisational Culture Male dominated leadership
Double Tripple burden	Double triple burden