



Agenda Item 5

“Count Us In – Women in Leadership” campaign – preliminary results (oral presentation)

ITUC Gender Equality Survey 2017

The ITUC Gender Equality Survey, sent to all affiliates in June 2017 (appendix 1), aims to learn from the methodologies, experiences and challenges in reaching the goals of the Count Us In! – Women in Leadership Campaign¹. The campaign was adopted by the Women's Committee in April 2013 and endorsed at the ITUC Congress in May 2014 and aims to achieve the following goals:

- Eighty per cent of ITUC General Council members to have at least 30 per cent of women in their decision-making bodies by the 4th ITUC Congress in 2018.
- **A five per cent increase of women's membership** in each national centre that has subscribed to the “Count Us In!” Campaign by the 4th ITUC Congress in 2018.
- Building an economic agenda for women: Creation of decent jobs in the care economy, redistribution of unpaid care work, family-friendly workplace policies, extending social protection, introducing minimum living wages, closing the gender pay gap and ending violence against women at work.

The outcomes of the Survey will feed into the assessment and evaluation of the campaign at the FES – ITUC Count Us In! – Women in Leadership session (10 October 2017, San José, Costa Rica). Based on the outcomes of this meeting and discussions at the third ITUC Women's Organising Assembly, a final version of the Survey will be available later this year.

1. Eighty-six affiliates responded, representing 81.5 per cent of the total ITUC trade union membership:

Eighty-six ITUC affiliates (appendix 2) responded to the Survey and one Global Union Federation (UNI Global Union). More responses were received after the deadline for response and will be incorporated in the final version of this document. The 86 affiliates represent:

- Twenty-five per cent of all ITUC affiliates (the ITUC has 340 affiliates).
- Based on 82 affiliates who were able to provide the data: they represent 147,574,675 trade union members, which is 81.5 per cent of the total ITUC trade union membership (the ITUC has a total of 181 million members).

2. Average women trade union membership rates:

¹ <http://www.ituc-csi.org/count-us-in-flyer>

Eighty-two affiliates provided data. The data provided on total and women's trade union membership rates is not entirely comparable due to a number of factors: (1) affiliates provide a different year of reference for the trade union membership data provided; (2) affiliates do not have access to trade union membership rates from their affiliated unions; and (3) affiliates indicate that they do not have gender-segregated data available and/or provide an estimate of the data.

Eighty-two affiliates provided data:

- Based on the data of 82 affiliates: they represent 62,530,994 women members.
- The **average trade union women's membership rate stands at 42.4 per cent** (calculated by dividing the total number of members by the total number of women members). In comparison: UNI Global Union reports a similar average women's membership rate of 42 per cent (out of a total membership of 20 million, 2017).
- **By region, the average women's membership rates are:**

ITUC-AP	ITUC-Africa	PERC	TUCA
34.1%	45.4%	51.16%	44.2%

The 2017 Gender Equality survey of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) refers to an average women's membership rate of 43.6 per cent (based on replies of 38 ETUC affiliates). When adding data from the ETUC (of 32 ITUC affiliates who did not reply to the ITUC gender equality survey), the average membership rate for the PERC region is slightly lower: 49.59 per cent.

A few affiliates who are not part of the ETUC have very high total and women's membership rates (e.g., FNPR Russia: out of the 20 million members, 57.3 per cent are women).

3. Trends in total and women trade union membership:

Based on data of 82 affiliates:

Since 2014:

- The majority (37 affiliates) saw an increase of total and women's membership rates.
- More than one-third (**29 affiliates**) saw **no changes in the total and women's membership rates**.
- Of the 13 affiliates who saw a decrease of total and women's membership rates, eight are from the PERC region.
- Three affiliates saw a decrease of total membership rates and an increase in women's membership rates.

UNI Global Union reported a two per cent decrease of their total membership.

Sixteen affiliates reported a substantial increase in women membership rates since 2014:	
ITUC-AP: CMTU, Mongolia: 4.2%; Histadrut, Israel: 8.9%; CFL, Taiwan: 13.3%; CTUM, Myanmar: 18.3%; JSL, Bangladesh: 2%; GBFTU, Bahrain: 7% increase in the public sector (reported on another occasion, not as part of the Survey) ITUC-Africa: UNTA-CS Angola: 17% (22,724); and CGTM, Mauretania: 23% (3,400)	PERC: CGSLB Belgium: 2.5%; CFDT, France: 3.5%; ASI Iceland: 14%; TCO Sweden: 6%; CCOO Spain: 4%; Hak-Is, Turkey: 5.1% TUCA: CUT Brazil 15% increase of women membership rates in rural and public sector; and AFL-CIO: increase of 190,500 women members

4. Women's representation in the top two leadership positions:

Based on data of 82 affiliates:

- 7.3 per cent of women (six out of 82 affiliates) are represented in the top leadership position (either president or general secretaries).
- When looking at the top two leadership positions (presidents and general secretaries), 14.4 per cent are women (111 are men and 16 women) – a slight increase compared to findings shared at the ITUC women's committee in 2012: 12 per cent.
- The results by region:

	Total of presidents and general secretaries		Total of presidents and general secretaries as leaders	
	M	F	M	F
ITUC-AP: Data from 27 affiliates	45	3	26	1
ITUC-Africa: Data from 14 affiliates	19	0	14	
PERC Data from 25 affiliates	24	8	21	4
TUCA: Data from 16 affiliates	23	5	15	1
	111	16	76	6

5. Women elected in top-leadership positions

Based on data of 82 affiliates:

- Twenty-six per cent of women are among the elected top-leadership positions (presidents, vice-presidents, general secretaries, deputy general secretaries, treasurers). In numbers: out of 449 elected positions, 332 are men and 117 are women.
- The results by region:

Region: Gender:	ITUC-AP	ITUC-Africa	PERC	TUCA
Women	53 (27.3%)	13 (21%)	30 (30.3%)	21 (22.3%)
Men	141	49	69	73
Total	194	62	99	94

The ETUC Gender Equality Survey shows an average of 37 per cent of women in top-leadership positions (based on responses of 43 national confederations).

6. Representation of women in the highest decision-making body (between two Congresses):

Based on data of 84 affiliates:

- More than half of the affiliates who responded do not meet the 30 per cent quota: 58.3 per cent. Forty-nine out of 84 affiliates have between 0 to 29 per cent women's representation in the highest decision-making body. However, we get the same result: 58.3 per cent when **counting affiliates with 25 per cent or higher women's representation in the highest decision-making body.**
- Average representation rate by category and by region:

Average representation rate of women	0 (19%)	20 (29%)	30 (57%)
Global (84 respondents)	25 (29%)	24 (30%)	35 (41.6%)

ITUC-AP (27 respondents)	11	7	9
ITUC-Africa (13 respondents)	3	5	5
PERC (26 respondents)	6	6	14
TUCA (18 respondents)	5	6	7

- Twenty-eight per cent is the average representation rate of women in the highest decision-making bodies. Although the data in the following table is not entirely comparable, it does provide an indication that progress is being made in the average representation rate of women in the highest decision-making bodies since 2012:

	ITUC-AP	ITUC-Africa	PERC	TUCA
2017 ITUC Gender Equality Survey	24.9%	30.6%	30.4%	27.7%
2012 ITUC Desk Survey	13.1%	22.3%	24.1%	25.5%

Quota policy of ITUC:

The ITUC General Council has 44 per cent representation of women. When excluding the seats for the Women's and Youth Committee, it becomes 38.8 per cent. The ITUC has a quota policy of 40 per cent for the General Council, which is based on the progressive target of 30 per cent in article XIX (b) of the ITUC's constitution; a similar target has been fixed for the Executive Bureau in Article XIX(b):

"Taking into account the aim to actively promote gender parity, the General Council shall set a progressive target before each Congress, starting at 30 per cent, for minimum women's membership on the Council. The Congress shall ensure that, in addition to the members nominated by the Women's Committee, each region contributes fairly to the achievement of this target. This provision shall apply to titular and first and second substitute membership of the Council."

https://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/ituc_constitution.pdf

The ITUC Constitution has included as one its aims to *"make the trade union movement inclusive, and responsive to the views and needs of all sectors of the global workforce"*, that is:

"It shall advance women's rights and gender equality, guarantee the full integration of women in trade unions and promote actively full gender parity in their leadership bodies and in their activities at all levels." (page 8 of the ITUC Constitution)

Quota policy of UNI Global Unions: UNI Global Union's Executive board has 37 per cent representation of women. By region: Asia-Pacific: 38 per cent; Americas: 39 per cent; Africa: 38 per cent; and Europe: 41 per cent. Their 40 per cent quota policy applies to all decision-making bodies and trade union activities – at all levels.

7. Trends in adopting a quota policy:

Based on responses of 86 affiliates:

- Slightly more than half (45 affiliates) have adopted a quota policy.
- Since 2012: 34 affiliates have adopted or plan to adopt a quota policy:

- Seventeen affiliates adopted a quota policy since 2012.
- Seventeen affiliates plan to adopt a quota policy between 2017 and 2025 (three plan to adopt a higher quota policy).
- Twenty-four affiliates do not plan to adopt a quota policy:
 - Nine of them have 30 per cent or more representation in their highest decision-making bodies.
 - Fifteen are below or far below the 30 per cent quota.
- **Affiliates adopted or plan to adopt different quota policies for women's representation in decision-making bodies:**
 - 30 per cent quota: 21 affiliates.
 - 40 per cent quota: 10 affiliates.
 - 50 per cent quota: six affiliates.
 - Reserved seats for women in the highest decision-making bodies: seven affiliates.
 - Proportional representation: three affiliates.

A number of affiliates explicitly indicate that their quota policy applies to both the highest decision-making body as well to all decision-making structures (e.g., CUT, Brasil; CGIL, Italy; CFDT, France; DGB, Germany) or to all activities (e.g., KSBSI, Indonesia; GEFONT, Nepal).
- A substantial number of affiliates referred to specific strategies which led to the adoption and enforcement of the quota policy. These include:
 - Organising a critical mass of women members.
 - Adopting a policy at the Congress (as a resolution and/or as an amendment to the constitution).
 - Encouraging women pro-actively to engage in policy debates and collective bargaining.
 - Creating stepping stones for women in leadership by creating supportive women networks and structures.
 - Carrying out surveys and gender audits.

The next section provide more details about these strategies.

8. What has changed since the endorsement of the Count Us In! - Women in Leadership campaign since 2014:

➔ *“There has been an increase in the participation of women in all areas. Much more remains to be done to achieve true equality, especially in trade unions. Much has been done and changes are beginning to emerge: adoption of gender parity at our Congress and 30 per cent representation of women in all activities. Today we have women in key positions at the national centre level: vice-president and secretary-general.” CUT Brazil*

Affiliates from all regions reported to have initiated Count Us In! - Women in Leadership campaigns: from education and awareness-raising tours among their affiliated unions to initiating regular debates with the trade union leadership to support activities to organise more women and to endorse a quota policy. Furthermore, the responses indicate that key strategies used to increase women's representation in leadership positions are centered around organising, building women networks, adoption of a quota policy (including among affiliates of national centres) and tools to measure progress and to build trade union capacity on integrating gender equality policies in the trade union agenda.

8.1 Organising: There is a link between increased women membership rates and generating support among trade union decision-makers and leaders to support pro-active gender equality and women in leadership positions.

UNTA-CS, Angola: Women membership rates went up from five to 40 per cent since the creation of the women's committee in 1998. It paved the way for engaging men and women in

reforms of structures and policies (in parallel with education programs and gender audits). In 2015 they adopted a 40 per cent quota and are very close towards its effective implementation: now 35 per cent of women are represented in the General Council.

CGTM Mauretania: After doubling the trade union membership rates of women workers in the informal economy, women ceased the momentum to take up and create leadership positions for women. In 2011 they adopted a 50 per cent quota policy and achieved 55.5 per cent women's representation in the highest decision-making body. FTUC, Fiji debated the Count Us In! campaign goals at every council meeting leading to the recognition of women as leaders and an increase of the recruitment of women (since 2014).

8.2 Stepping stones to leadership: women's networks: Women's committees, networks and online platforms are created at all levels as a strategy to provide a space for women to enhance their leadership skills and where women support women to take part in policy debates, collective bargaining and/or to stand for elections. This was a consistent response from affiliates of all the regions (e.g., KSBSI, Indonesia; CTUM, Myanmar; FKTU, South Korea; KSPI, Indonesia; CSAC, Cameroun; UNTA-CS, Angola; SNTUC, Singapore; CTTC, Comores; and GTUC, Georgia. ASI Venezuela has created a national network of female trade unionists to empower women in the whole country with a campaign aimed at achieving gender parity in executive committees. While ASI endorsed a 30 per cent statutory quota, the public sector union achieved gender parity in decision-making, and the education sector elected a women as leader (a historical change since men headed the union for 50 years). CLC Canada offers education and mentorship opportunities for women leaders and activists with multiple and intersecting identities, and has developed leadership education for workers from specific equity-seeking groups. CSA Senegal **created a young women's movement** of women who are trained in leadership skills and connected to the women's movement (2014)

8.3 Tactics used to achieve the adoption of a quota policy: Tactics included either progressively at each following Congress (UGT Spain: has now a 40 per cent quota; CUT Brazil has a 50 per cent quota) adopting a quota policy after the government adopted reforms on women's representation in decision-making bodies (e.g., GEFONT, Nepal; CCOO, Spain; CGIL, Italy), or campaigning for a legislative provision in the Industrial Relations Act which guarantees proportional representation of women workers in the trade union executive board (PWF, Pakistan).

Some affiliates point out that the decision-making body of the national centre is composed of leaders/representatives elected by their affiliated unions. In this case, campaigns are focusing on affiliated unions, encouraging them to elect more women to top leadership positions. This way they aim to achieve 30 per cent or more representation of women (e.g., FKTU, South Korea; KSPI, Indonesia; SERC, Thailand; CNUS, Dominican Republic).

8.4 Tools: Measuring progress and building trade union capacity on gender equality: Awareness and capacity building programs for women and men on gender equality as well gender equality surveys, gender audits and collection of gender segregated data are used as strategic tools to either build support for the adoption of gender-equality policies (including a quota policy) or to monitor their implementation (e.g., KSBSI, Indonesia; FNPR, Russia; UNTA CS Angola; and COTU Kenya).

9. What are persistent challenges that prevent women from attaining leadership positions in unions?

The majority of the responses of affiliates (from all the regions) refer to two key challenges:

- The triple challenge: combining work, union activities and care/family responsibilities. Due to a lack of care infrastructure and absence of policies to encourage men to take up care responsibilities too, women are pressured to be the primary persons responsible for taking up unpaid care responsibilities (e.g., UGT, Spain; FPU, Ukraine; INTUC, India; COTRAF, Rwanda,

NTUC, Singapore, FKTU, South Korea). The triple challenge forms as well a barrier to women participating in trade union meetings especially when planned during the evening or when the event is planned for multiple days requiring an overnight stay.

- Patriarchal trade union culture and gender stereo types prevent women from taking up leadership positions. As one affiliate indicates, patriarchal perceptions in our union culture consider union leadership as a position for men only. Another affiliate mentioned that male members of the highest decision-making body deliberately removed from the agenda a proposal to vote for a quota. Another affiliate mentioned that a number of their affiliates report lower numbers of women members to avoid adherence to an existing 30 per cent quota policy. And another affiliate mentioned that women often lack the confidence to break through male-dominated power structures when considering to take up leadership roles.

In comparison, these were two key findings as well in the ETUC Gender Equality Survey of 2016.

Another challenge mentioned is the low engagement of women to take up leadership positions, either due to a lack of confidence or because of a lack of interest to take up a leadership position and/or take part in policy debates related to social- economic policies.

Another challenge – particularly related to the highest decision-making body – is that a number of national centres have no influence on the composition of their highest decision-making bodies, since affiliates are autonomous as to who they elect as a member of the highest decision-making body. KSBSI Indonesia and CLC Canada pointed out that at the Confederation level they cannot intervene in the election/nomination process of their affiliates since they have their own constitution and governance structures. JTUC-Rengo Japan points out that the success of its action plan – aimed at adopting a union wide quota policy by 2020 – is dependent on the engagement of all its affiliated members.

Remaining challenges mentioned were: young women with leadership potential lack a platform to interact with seasoned women trade unionists because there exists no structured mentorship program; categories of women workers who have no right to join a union; and lack of capacity building programs – leadership and skills training, and bargaining.

- ➔ *“We will continue with this process of transformation in order to guarantee the greater participation of women (achieving gender parity) as well young workers in decision-making/leadership positions at all levels and their participation in political and trade union debates (and not only related to the feminist agenda).”* CTA, Argentina

Appendix 1: ITUC Gender Equality Survey

Appendix 2: List of affiliates who responded before the deadline

ITUC-AP: 27 affiliates - Australia, ACTU; Bangladesh, JSL; Bangladesh, BLF; Cambodia, CCTU; Cook Islands, CIWA; Fiji, FTUC; India, HMS; India, INTUC; Indonesia, KSBSI; Indonesia, KSPI; Israel, Histadrut; Japan, JTUC-RENGO; Jordan, General Federation of Jordanian Trade Union; Malaysia, MTUC; Mongolia, CMTU; Myanmar, CTUM; Nepal, GEFONT; New Zealand, NZCTU; Pakistan, PWF; Palestine, PGFTU; Singapore, SNTUC; South Korea, FKTU; Sri Lanka, CWC; Sri Lanka, NTUF; Taiwan, CFL; Thailand, SERC; Vanuatu, VCTU

Africa: 14 affiliates - Angola, UNTA CS; Benin, CSPIB; Benin CSA; Comores, CTC; Cameroun, CSAC; Congo, CSC; Gabon, CGSL; Ghana, TUC; Kenya, COTU; Mauretania, CGTM; Rwanda, COTRAF; Senegal, CSA; Togo, UGSL; Zimbabwe, ZCTU

Americas: 18 affiliates - Argentina, Central de Trabajadores de la Argentina Autónoma; Argentina, CGTRA; Bermuda, BIU; Brazil, CUT; Brazil, UGT; Canada, CLC; Colombia, CUT; Colombia, CTC; Costa Rica, CTRN; Costa Rica, CMTC; Dominican Republic, CASC; Dominican Republic, CNTD; Dominican Republic, CNUS; Mexico, UNT; Panama, CS; US, AFL-CIO; Venezuela, CTV; Venezuela, ASI,

PERC : 27 affiliates - Albania, BSPSH; Azerbaijan, ATUC; Belgium CGSLB; Belgium, CSC; Bulgaria, CITUB; France, CFDT; France, CGT; Germany, DGB; Georgia, GTUC; Hungary, Liga; Iceland, ASI; Italy, UIL; Italy, CGIL; Italy CISL; Kazakhstan, FPRK; Latvia, LBAS; Luxembourg, LCGB; Moldova, CSNM; Norway, Unio; Romania, BNS; Russia, FNPR; Serbia, TUC Nezavisnost; Sweden, TCO. Spain, CCOO; Spain UGT; Turkey, Hak-Is; Ukraine, FPU

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