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**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

**INTEREST GROUPS IN EDUCATION: TEACHERS'
PERCEPTIONS OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE KENYA
NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS**

Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to explore teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) as a professional organization and trade union championing the interest of teachers. The premise from which the work begins is that KNUT as an interest group organization is guided in its role by the needs, desires and aspirations of teachers, both as individuals and members of the teaching profession. In this regard, its effectiveness (in terms of meeting or fulfilling its goals) is therefore central to the maintenance of its legitimacy among the teaching corps.

The study uses questionnaires and interview schedules to collect data from primary and secondary teachers located in the rural and urban regions of Nakuru and Kisumu districts in Kenya. The questionnaire survey consisted of a rating scale, which sought the opinion of teachers on the union's performance in a range of items in the two domains of its professional and socio-economic roles. In all, 224 teachers responded to the questionnaire survey. Using descriptive and relational statistics, the quantitative data from the questionnaire survey were analyzed using the STATA software package to establish the general and specific opinions of teachers on the effectiveness of the union in its various roles. This was then followed by an in-depth unstructured but guided interview, which focused on 14 teachers. The qualitative mode of investigation aimed at complementing the questionnaire data by establishing the underlying reasons for teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness.

The findings of this work show that on the whole, teachers viewed the union favourably in its role as a trade union organization, but distinctly less so as a professional body. Whereas teachers acknowledged that the union has been effective in 'pushing' for the improvement of most of their welfare or socio-economic needs, its role as a professional organization was seen to be 'wanting.' To a large extent, the failure of the union in most of its roles in professional domain was attributed to the structural/institutional factors that are in place and which limit its influence. A great deal of the union's role in the

professional area is therefore peripheral, supplementing only what the state itself has taken sole control over within its bureaucracy.

Amongst teachers, the urban, male, secondary and older groups express a strong negative rating of the union. For these groups of teachers, a number of factors account for their responses to the question of the union's effectiveness in a range of items. Urban teachers, unlike their rural counterparts are faced with demands and opportunities which are unique to their work places. These demands and opportunities seemed to have a major influence on the expectations of this group of teachers from the union, so that its failure to effectively perform some of its roles is seen more in the negative among urban than rural teachers. Male teachers also emerged as a group who are more involved with union activities than their women colleagues. Embedded in this group of teachers' active relationship with the union matters are high expectations which, as the study showed was not always forthcoming. Secondary school teachers were particularly dissatisfied that their interests were not properly catered for by the union because of their under-representation in the union management. For the older teachers, unlike their younger colleagues, their long experiences with the union seemed to have given them more insight into what the union was capable of doing and its limitations.

The conclusion to which this work comes is that interest groups wrestle with the state in the quest to satisfy their constituents' interests. Economic factors also influence the outcome of state-interest group contest for space. Thus, in a situation where the state controls most of the resources and the private sector is less developed, the influence of interest groups is low. This is the major challenge that KNUT is faced with.

In trying to represent a group of individuals, interest groups often ignore much of the diversity of their constituents' interests. They treat their members as if they are all the same, have identical concerns and interests. This approach provides fertile ground from which specialized smaller groups emerge to fill the void that larger interest groups tend to ignore.

Based on teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness and the divergent opinions which exist amongst them, it is necessary for a great deal more work to be done to understand the complexity of interest groups such as these. Specifically, there is need for more in-depth studies to be done to establish why some groups of teachers were more strongly negative and others more positive in their rating of the union's performance in its roles. This would provide more insights into the cause(s) for teachers' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the union's performance in its endeavours to serve its dual roles as a professional and welfare organization.

Further, since the issue of organizational effectiveness is a product of a number of factors which includes the efficacy of its leadership, the study recommends the need to investigate the influence of this factor on the union's performance in its roles. This would highlight the extent to which the union's ineffectiveness in the noted areas can be attributed to factors within the organization such as the competency of its leadership.

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University of Cape Town

DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted in whole, or in part for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in this dissertation from the work or works of other people has been duly acknowledged.

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Signed by candidate

Date: ~~November~~, 2002 .

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	(i)
Acknowledgements	(iv)
Declaration	(vi)
Table of contents	(vii)
List of Tables	(xi)
List of Figures	(xii)
Abbreviations	(xiii)

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Contextualization of the study	1
1.2. Background and Context of the Study	3
1.3. Setting of the Study	8
1.4. Teaching and state hegemony in Kenya	10
1.5. The Kenya National Union of Teachers	14
1.6. Statement of the problem	15
1.7. Objectives of the study	16
1.8. Research questions	17
1.9. Significance of the study	17
1.10. Operational definition of key terms	18
1.11. Scope of the study	18
1.12. Organization of the study	18

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction	20
2.2.1 Theoretical Framework	20
2.2.1. Pressure group theory	21
2.3. The need for interest groups	24
2.4. Effectiveness as a virtue of interest groups	28
2.5. Features of 'effective' professional associations	30

2.5.1. Professional associations in accounting	32
2.5.2. Associations in the engineering profession	33
2.5.3. Legal associations	34
2.6. Interest groups and the struggle for control in the educational sector	35
2.7. Themes in the contest for educational control	39
2.8. Teachers and job needs	43
2.8.1. Salaries	45
2.8.2. Workload	46
2.8.3. Decision-making	47
2.8.4. Teachers' relationship with the principal	48
2.8.5. Job security	48
2.8.6. Demographic characteristics of teachers and job needs	49
2.9. Interest groups and the state in the African context	51
2.10. Emergence of teachers' unions	57
2.11. Teachers' unions and professionalism in teaching	61
2.12. Role of Teachers' Unions in the enhancement of Job Satisfaction	65

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction	73
3.2. Research Design	73
3.3. Choice of the Research Approach	74
3.4. Attitudes and their measurements	78
3.5. Likert-type scale	79
3.6. The questionnaire	80
3.6.1. Structure of the questionnaire	81
3.6.2. Items in the questionnaire	83
3.6.3. Pilot study	84
3.6.4. Validity and reliability of the instrument	85
3.6.5. Interview schedule	87
3.7. The sample	88
3.7.1 Selection of schools and teachers	88

3.8. Data analysis procedures	91
3.9. Limitations of the study	92

CHAPTER FOUR: STUDY FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction	93
4.2. Characteristics of the respondents	93
4.3. Teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness	98
4.3.1. Teachers' perceptions of union's effectiveness in the professional dimension	99
4.3.2. Teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness in the socio-economic domain	109

CHAPTER FIVE: RELATIONAL RESULTS

5.1. Introduction	117
5.2. Respondents grouped according to locality of workplace	119
5.3. Gender difference and teachers' perception of the union's effectiveness	131
5.4. Teachers' age and opinion on the union's effectiveness	140
5.5. Teachers' professional qualification and opinion on the union's effectiveness	143

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION OF STUDY FINDINGS

6.1. Introduction	148
6.2. Teachers' view on the union's effectiveness	149
6.2.1. Findings from professional domain	149
6.2.2. Findings from socio-economic domain	162
6.3. Intra-group results	166
6.3.1. Results according to locality	166
6.3.2. Results according to gender	171
6.3.3. Results according to age	174
6.3.4. Results according to qualification	175

CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1. Introduction	178
7.2. Summary of key findings	180
7.3. Reflections from the study findings	185
7.4. Direction for future research	192

REFERENCES	194
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APPENDIX A: Questionnaire on the survey of teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of KNUT	207
APPENDIX B: Interview guidelines on teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness	209
APPENDIX C: Demographic statistics of the respondents	212
APPENDIX D: Statistical results of the respondents' perceptions of the union's effectiveness	215
APPENDIX: Statistical results on relational tests	219

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.2 (a): Respondents according to locality	94
Table 4.2 (b): Respondents according to gender	95
Table 4.2 (c): Respondents according to age	95
Table 4.2 (d): Respondents according to qualification	96
Table 4.3.1: Teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness in the professional domain	99
Table 4.3.2: Teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness in the socio-economic domain	109
Table 5.2.1: Rural and urban teachers' rating of the union's effectiveness in professional dimension	120
Table 5.2.2: Rural and urban teachers' rating of the union's effectiveness in socio-economic dimension	129
Table 5.3.1: Teachers' opinion according to gender on union's effectiveness in professional dimension	133
Table 5.3.2: Teachers' opinion according to gender on union's effectiveness in socio-economic dimension	138
Table 5.4.1: Age difference and the respondents' opinion on union's effectiveness in professional dimension	141
Table 5.4.2: Age difference and the respondents' opinion on union's effectiveness in socio-economic dimension	142
Table 5.5.1: Teachers' professional qualification and opinion on the union's effectiveness in professional dimension	144
Table 5.5.2: Teachers' professional qualification and opinion on the union's effectiveness in socio-economic dimension	146

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Kenya: country map and position in Africa	xiv
Figure 4.3.1: Teachers' opinion on union's effectiveness in professional roles	102
Figure 4.3.2: Teachers' perception of the union's effectiveness in socio-economic dimensions	114
Figure 5.2.1 (a): Urban teachers' perception of the union's effectiveness in professional dimension	127
Figure 5.2.1 (b): Rural teachers' opinion on the union's effectiveness in professional dimension	128
Figure 5.2.2 (a): Urban teachers' opinion on union's effectiveness in socio-economic dimension	130
Figure 5.2.2 (b): Rural teachers' opinion on union's effectiveness in socio-economic dimension	130
Figure 5.3.1 (a): Male teachers' opinion of the union's effectiveness in professional dimension	134
Figure 5.3.1 (b): Female teachers' opinion of the union's effectiveness in professional dimension	134
Figure 5.3.2 (a): Male teachers' opinion of the union's effectiveness in socio-economic dimension	139
Figure 5.3.2 (b): Female teachers' opinion of the union's effectiveness in socio-economic dimension	139

ABBREVIATIONS

KNUT: Kenya National Union of Teachers

TSC: Teachers' Service Commission

KIE: Kenya Institute of Education

KUPPET: Kenya Union of Post Primary Education Teachers

KMA: Kenya Medical Association

KNEC: Kenya National Examination Council

LSK: Law Society of Kenya

ZNTU: Zambia National Teachers' Union

ICAZ: Institute of Chartered Accountants of Zimbabwe

CA: Chartered Accountants

ACEB: Association of Consulting Engineers of Botswana

ICPAK: Institute of Certified Accountants of Kenya

NEA: National Education Association

AFT: American Federation of Teachers

ILO: International Labour Organization

Fig.1.1. Kenya: (a) Country Map and (b), its relative position in the African Continent.

Source: (a)- <http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ke.html>.
 (b)- http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=Africa



(a)



(b).

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Introduction

The education sector in Africa, as in most parts of the world has come to occupy a central position due to the perceived influence that it has on the economic and social development of any country. Colonial governments in Africa saw it as a tool for perpetuating their interests. The school curriculum as a result, was shaped to serve this purpose. Independent African states accorded education the same status, and so, like their colonial predecessors, they have sought to maintain a firm hand over this sector. This approach to education, from one historical era to another, occurred, because, as Bray and Lee (1997:82) assert, "the conclusion of colonial rule was marked by a lateral transfer of power, i.e. a shift of responsibility from one elite to another." This control was further enhanced by the fact that although personnel had changed, the major [institutional] structures remained (Betts, 1985).

Why education, as a terrain, is guarded so assiduously has everything to do with what different stakeholders believe it might or might not deliver for them. The state itself, parents, and teachers all have interests which they seek to protect and promote in this sector. The state in Kenya, through its established bureaucracy has always tried to maintain a firm grip on the education sector because it sees education either as a vehicle for national development or as a way of maintaining social control. Parents, individually and through their associations, see education as a site for advancement. Public teachers on the other hand see education as a space both for advancing and maintaining their interests and for facilitating their social mobility. Not unexpectedly as a result, education has come to be a heavily contested site. Within it are interest groups of parents, teachers and other stakeholders. This thesis is specifically interested in teacher unions.

This thesis investigates the extent to which teachers in Kenya perceive their union as an effective organization in promoting their interests among stakeholders in Kenya's education sector. Central to this research is the fact that, as the main players in education sector, teachers hold a pivotal role in the determination of the success or failure of any

education system. Their union's ability to advance their needs may therefore be seen as an indirect way of promoting education in the broader sense.

In an optimistic portrayal of the prospects of teacher organizations' influence on education, Smyke (1985) observed that "they will provide all that an individual needs to become a master of craft... [t]hat governments will contract out many of the functions that the professional associations can do more effectively" (p.26). Several years down the line, teachers' organizations in many parts of the world are yet to control the profession to the extent envisaged in Smyke's vision, and the problems that they were supposed to solve in teaching have continued to weigh down on the teacher. In an emphatic rebuttal of Smyke's prediction, Urbanski (1998) contends that: "if we were to design an occupation that would virtually guarantee isolation from one's colleagues, and would lack not only intrinsic rewards but also of the characteristics of a real profession, we could hardly find a better model than what teachers face today" (p.449).

Teachers, unlike other professionals tend not to have a collegial ethos invested with knowledge of their craft, which defines their identities as teachers. Control of their work tends not to be vested in their peers or even in the administrative elite of the profession. Rather, control over their work rest with agencies such as the employer or the state. This also extends to decisions concerning their conditions of work. This places teachers in a contradictory position as professionals. It also brings to focus the role of their associations in trying to represent their interests, both as employees and as members of a profession.

In this chapter, an attempt is made to clarify the basic problem of the study. The chapter lays the foundation for the approach used in the study. The object is (i) to highlight the factors prompting the need and motivation for the study, (ii) to define its aims and (iii) explain how these are addressed in the study.

1.2. Background and context of the study

A popular theory gaining currency in Africa and in many developing parts of the world is that a viable state and strong civil society (representing various interest groups) are necessary complementarities in the pursuit of social, political and economic development (Kasfir, 1998). This thinking presents a radical challenge in Africa where the state has been the dominant actor in the determination of the development agenda.

Colonial legacies in Africa contributed to the formation of strong centralized bureaucracies, able to assert their authority in nearly all facets of the developmental process (Woods, 1992, Kasfir, 1998). Lehman (1992) makes the point that the colonial powers sought to mould the state so that it would mirror and protect their interests. Ironically, when independence was achieved, this system was adopted and perpetuated by the new elites, leading to strong central governments with weak civil groups.

Interestingly, as Africa enters the 21st century, the basic governance structures and approaches of the colonial era remain in place. The preoccupation of the state in most African countries is to consolidate its authority. This is being effected by strengthening institutions of government, particularly the bureaucracy it has inherited from the colonial period. At the same time, while consolidating their authority at the centre, governments in Africa are having to deal with the most egregious problems left by colonialism. The new states are having to create institutions, such as parastatals, to cater for those social and economic needs which colonialism had almost deliberately neglected (Gyimah-Boadi, 1989). It was in the context of this that economic and social development was pursued under the banner of 'socialism,' 'state capitalism' or a combination of both in many African countries. Needless to say, this saw the state occupying the commanding position in the economy, directly involving itself in the creation of economic and social infrastructure, providing social welfare and establishing industrial capacity and in many cases, attempting to supplant the market itself.

Proponents of strong civil society, however, argue that despite the state occupying a dominant role in this region for a period spanning over a quarter century, the only visible

outcomes of independence have been persistent authoritarianism, low levels of state legitimacy and the failure of the African state to manage economic and social development in an effective manner (Nyong'o, 1988, Sandbrook, 1985). Thus, they contend, to curb this 'decay,' efforts must be made to reduce the size and the role of the state and promote a vibrant civil society. Strong civil society, according to this school of thought, is not only a viable but also an essential instrument in the quest for a democratic, transparent and accountable state in Africa. Civil associations are seen as the means through which the public can either confront authoritarian or support newly democratic states. Matanga (2001:5) notes that "while civil society intrinsically resists state encroachment, various interests within civil society also seek to influence the state in the exercise of public policy and the allocation of valued resources." This engagement may be either cordial or antagonistic.

The capacity of interest groups to influence policies in any part of the world is dependent on many factors, chief among which are their degree of autonomy from the state and critically also, the resources at their disposal. This is because while the state can erect structural or institutional constraints that impede interest groups' free operation and influence, lack of resources renders them vulnerable to its manipulation and control. Matanga (2001) aptly summed up this situation in the following way: "an aid created independent civil organization comes close to being an oxymoron, and unless it develops effective social roots and local resources of its own, it will die on the vine as soon as its patrons depart or lose interest" (p.23). Ideally, the state in a democratic system where interest groups thrive is neutral, playing an impartial mediating role in the promotion of social order through consensus. This consensus lies not only in the outcome of the process of resolving various interest groups' disputes, but also in the framework of rules governing conflict resolutions.

This upsurge of interest in the role of civil society emphasized, for me, how little we know, empirically, about the success or failure of civil society structures. Of particular concern to me has been the variability of professional organizations' effectiveness in promoting the interest of members and those of the professions they represent. As a

member of the teaching profession, I have been particularly keen to understand the reason underlying the uneven power and influence of organizations such as teachers' unions on one hand, and successful professional organizations such as the Law Society or the Medical Association of Kenya on the other. Despite the fact that the services of their members are in high demand, teachers' unions have not been able to represent their professional interests in the same way as the Law Society or Medical Association of Kenya have.¹

While some may advance the argument that the three professional groups cited above cannot carry the same influence because of the specialized training that medical and law practitioners receive, the unanswered question still stands as to why the teachers' union cannot argue for the same type of training for its members. Thus, in this study, I am concerned with understanding the factors that 'deny' teachers the status that other professionals in Kenya have gained mainly through their associations. Hopefully, this understanding will suggest ways that will lift teachers' status among professionals in this region.

Meaningful conclusions on the influence and prospects of civil society in Africa, however, require an understanding of the historical dynamics that have, over time, shaped their growth and development. A brief overview of the factors that suppressed the development of civil society and empowered state in the colonial and post colonial Africa is necessary for one to appreciate the inverse relationship that the two have had in their growth.

Analysts of interest groups' roles in Africa link the minimal impact of such organizations to two factors, i.e. governmental intervention and lack of capital. Gyimah-Boadi (1989) observes that "on the surface, most African countries contain enough associations to constitute at least a putative civil society... yet a closer look reveals serious deficiencies that sap their effectiveness as key agents in the long and difficult process of democratic

¹ These two professional bodies, unlike the Teachers' union in Kenya control admission of practitioners. They can also deregister errant members.

consolidation” (p.1). He argues that interest groups such as trade unions are highly vulnerable to repression and co-optation by the state because they are dependent directly or indirectly on government for all or most of their funds. In addition, members are recruited mostly from the public sector and therefore, African trade unions cannot afford prolonged anti-government protest.

This immature status of interest groups in Africa is partly attributable to the colonial legacy and partly also to the institutions that came into existence in the post-colonial era. For example, Sidibe and Venturi (1997) note that the slow growth of the African trade union movement is due to hostile colonial legislation and a small proletariat that has not grown significantly even after independence. In some cases, the establishment of ‘real’ unions was impeded by obstacles that were placed in their way by the colonial governments such as freedom of association, or requiring members to have a minimum level of literacy to set up a union. In other cases, colonial governments used racial discrimination to fragment groupings. Sidibe and Venturi (1997:21) point out that in colonial Africa:

Trade unions ran into numerous difficulties almost as soon as they were set up. For a long time, their financial base and ability to mobilize workers were undermined by low membership. This reflects not only under-industrialization and sluggish economic performance, but also fear of management reprisals. Furthermore, the lack of trained union officials proved a handicap in the context of drawing up basic union policy.

Colonial governments’ efforts to suppress unions inadvertently helped such organizations to forge alliances with other interest groups that were fighting for political emancipation. Sidibe and Venturi (1997), emphasizing this point, note that “pressures from early unions on colonial government paved the way for African nationalism, where ‘trusting’ relationships were forged between union and political leaders, brought together by a common struggle for political independence” (p.21). This alliance between political leaders and other interest groups, mainly trade unions which were fairly vocal at the time, was to endure even after independence, empowering the state and weakening interest groups. Nyong'o (1988) observes that several ideologies, ranging from African socialism

and 'humanism' to negritude and authenticity, were propagated by the new rulers to control dissent and project Africa as a homogeneous civil and social space.

The democratic impulse which came with decolonization dramatically changed this situation. With political struggle shifting its focus from anti-colonialism, the space was cleared for groups previously aligned behind the freedom struggle to contest, with each other, what constituted the national good. Dominant political groups and the state saw the growth of interest groups created by the expansion of unions and professional associations as a threat. Nyong'o (1988) notes that many states imposed restrictions and co-opted the leadership of popular organization into policy-making institutions, and strengthened the prevailing patron-client relationship that existed between the state and civil society.

Independent African governments opted for systems in which the state determined the direction, policies and actions on behalf of the citizenry. In relation to the economy, increased governmental intervention saw a shift towards a more centralized government and a clientist and corporatist form of labour relations. This gave rise to institutionalized arrangements whereby capital, labour and state were jointly involved in the process of socio-economic policy formulation. Sycholt and Klerck (2000) observe that where there are corporatist state-labour relations, "trade unions agree to restrain the pursuit of their members' sectional interests in order to further the 'national interest,' [and] in return, accept concessions from the government" (p.208). Thus the government positions itself between the unions and the employers, thereby becoming a bargaining partner.

Outside the trade union movement, most other institutions, including the higher education sector found themselves in similar relations with the state and were subject to the same strategies of government control. Gyimah-Boadi (1989) notes that "in extreme instances, governments have dealt with recalcitrant unions, and student groups by simply banning them" (p.1).

The prevalent weak economic conditions in most African countries, coupled with the structural and legal constraints set up by the state, largely 'conspired' to hinder the growth and effective functioning of interest groups. Their weak financial and material bases and organizational capacities ironically, forced them to turn to government for support and to external donors, a compromising strategy that distorted the accountability they owe to members.

The lack of a strong private economic sector in many parts of Africa also helped to entrench state control. This is because, firstly, the majority of the working and middle class were, and still remain tied to governments through employment, and secondly, the private sector remains acutely dependent on government for contracts, and protection from foreign competition. Gyimah-Boadi (1989:5) notes that:

The middle class professionals and intellectuals who run key public institutions tend to be understandably preoccupied with their own economic survival, often preventing them from helping checkmate state control...[J]udges depend on government for appointments and for their operational budgets, and have few opportunities for lucrative private practice should they resign; they can scarcely afford to maintain a posture of strict independence. Private newspapers fear losing much-needed revenue from government advertisement and will engage in self-censorship rather than displease higher officials. Private businessmen, fearing the loss of profitable government contracts, may not place advertisements in private newspapers the government sees as insubordinate.

This gloomy picture is, however, changing. Gyimah-Boadi (1989) points out that though strong civil society has not taken root, patronage of these groups by the state is slowly being eroded by the emerging democratization of the political process in the region.

1.3. Setting of the study

Kenya (the setting of this investigation) is a fairly large country of 582,650 square kilometres in the eastern part of Africa. It is located between latitudes 4° 21' N and 4° 28' S and longitudes 34° and 42° E. To the east, it borders Somalia, to the south is Tanzania and to the west is Uganda. To the south east of the country is the Indian Ocean (figure 1.1).

Kenya's land area is characterized by diverse physical and climatic regions, varying from the arid north to the semi-arid plateaus in the south and the wet rolling highlands in the centre. There are seven main geographic regions in Kenya: the coastal region, the coastal hinterland and Tana plain region, the eastern plateau region, northern plain-lands region, the Kenya Highlands region, the Rift Valley region and the Western Plateau region (Nelson, 1983).

The coastal region lies along the Indian Ocean. Rainfall is sufficient for agriculture to be practiced in a narrow plain and low plateau area inland of the shore. The coastal hinterland receives little rainfall and thus, little agriculture is practiced except along the Tana River.

Further inland is the eastern plateau region with a series of plains. Here rainfall is unpredictable and relatively sparse. The northern plain is generally arid and is inhabited by nomadic pastoralists. The Kenya Highlands region which borders the east and the west side of Rift Valley in the western and central part of Kenya is characterized by relatively high altitudes, good soils, lower temperatures and high rainfall. It is intensively cultivated and many of Kenya's export crops are grown there.

The Rift Valley region is part of the 'Great Rift Valley' that extends through much of eastern Africa. The population is primarily pastoralist in the northern and southern sections, which receive little rainfall and are semi-arid. The central section receives greater rainfall and is suitable for growing grain crops. The western region is characterized by relatively good soils and sufficient rainfall for agriculture (Nelson, 1983).

Kenya's population according to the 1999 census averaged 29 million people and the estimated growth rate by the year 2001 was 1.3%.² The majority of the population lives in the rural areas, working on 17% of the land (National Research Council, 1993). Most

² The estimates are as found in the country data. <http://infoplease.com/atlas/country/kenya.html>. [site visited: 20th March, 2002].

of them are small scale farmers, but large scale farms dominate in the export oriented sector of agriculture, chiefly coffee, tea, cereals and livestock products.

The overall population density is 38 persons per square kilometre but the rich, high potential agricultural regions to the west and central regions show densities of 200-300 persons per square kilometre (National Research Council, 1993:11). The urban population is estimated at 23% of the population and more than a third of this is accounted for by the Nairobi metropolitan area.

It is generally accepted that independent Kenya did not effect a radical ideological or structural break with the colonial state and all she did was to expand the former colonial administrative and economic infrastructure (Ochieng, 1992). Kenya chose to pursue a market-oriented approach to development. Economic five-year plans were prepared (and still are) and the state undertook some types of economic activity directly. Private enterprise, local and foreign, was allowed and encouraged to participate in the economy. The government professed a socialist ideal for the nation but carried it no further than occasional rhetoric, a stand that stood in sharp contrast to its neighbours who collectivized and discouraged the private sector.

The main principles and strategies of Kenya's development after independence were laid in the 'Sessional Paper number 10 of 1965' entitled *African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya*. In this document, the government outlined its political and economic philosophies. It specified the role of the state in defining the objectives and managing the various sectors of the economy for the purpose of realizing developmental goals such as the need to achieve high income and growing per capita incomes equitably distributed among the citizens (National Development Plan, 1997-2001).

1.4. Teaching and state hegemony in Kenya

The relationship between the state and teachers as professionals in Kenya is typical of the state civil-society association that one might find in most African states as outlined above. This relationship dates back to colonial days in which inchoate working class

ideologies were subsumed by nationalism. As Zeleza (1992) notes, “at independence and after, it proved difficult to free these underdevelopment ideologies from the tight grip of nationalist ideology ...[t]he gradual disappearance of some colonial and racial antagonisms that used to colour so much labour-capital relations before independence only served to bolster the credentials of the post-colonial industrial relations regime” (p.363). The state driven by its own imperatives, however, had an immediate and partisan interest in influencing the evolution of the economy and development of the country because of its status as a major employer.

The centrality of the education sector in the quest for development, the need to eliminate all indigenous sources of power spawned by the monolithic demands of ‘nationalism,’ and the desire of the post-colonial state to have a planned developmental approach, meant that this sector was to be brought firmly under government control and direction. Education was seen as one of the primary sites for the reconstruction of the new state. A number of reasons forced the government to place this responsibility on education, chief of which was the need to correct those colonial policies which severely neglected the education of African people. Eshiwani (1990) notes that in colonial Kenya, “more resources and facilities were devoted to the education of non-Africans who represented 3% of the population, than were used to educate Africans, who represented 97% of the population” (p.2). Eshiwani concludes that colonial education was not only inadequate in quantity and scope, but its objectives were narrow and restrictive. Thus, at independence in 1963, the state was faced with a critical shortage of educated and trained local manpower for the economic and social development of the new nation. There was also a need to re-orient socialization processes and to change racial and ethnic prejudices to build a cohesive multi-racial society. Eshiwani (1990:3) concludes thus: “it was important to prepare a psychological basis of ‘nationhood’ and education was a significant instrument in doing this.”

In order to effectively respond to the newly independent state’s challenges, the government of Kenya saw the need for a new approach to the design, management and delivery of educational service in the country. The state had to take charge of the

educational system while at the same time continuing to welcome the participation of missions and other voluntary agencies” (Eshiwani 1990:3). The drive to have a co-ordinated education system in the country led to the enactment of various legal frameworks. These included the following:

- The Education Act (1968) which put the responsibility for education in the hands of the Minister for Education and instituted various organs for the organization and management of education at all levels.
- The Teachers’ Service Commission Act (1967) which established a single employer and unified the terms of service for teachers in public schools.
- The Kenya Institute of Education Act (KIE) (1968) which was established for the purpose of curriculum development, teaching and evaluation materials and co-ordinating educational research.
- The Kenya National Examination Council Act (1980) which established a national body to administer examinations which was previously done by the defunct East African Examination Council.

Through the above bodies, the government determined and controlled education in the country. An overview of the functions of each of the above provides more insight into how the state has achieved this.

The Education Act (1968) guides all the bodies concerned with the management of the education in the country. It provides frameworks for the regulation and progressive development of education. The Act entrusts the Minister for Education with the responsibility of directing bodies concerned with education in executing national policies on education. It also gives the minister power to oversee the registration of schools, their management and teaching. This places him/her in a pivotal position of regulating and directing education in the country.

The Teachers’ Service Commission (TSC) deals with the employment of teachers in public schools and teacher training colleges. Universities however, were exempted from this process. The TSC relies on the Education Act and the legal power vested in it to

determine whom to employ or who is qualified to teach in public schools in Kenya. According to KNUT (1994:20), in part, the TSC spells out the conditions for employing one to be a teacher as follows:

- One has to be a holder of a certificate, license or authority to teach, issued under the Education Act. Certificates issued before the commencement of the Teachers' Service Commission Act in terms of the Education Act are also recognized.
- He/she is deemed to be a qualified teacher in accordance with the Teacher's Service Commission Act, Legal Notice No 90/1967.
- A person who is issued with a license to teach in an unaided school, in accordance with section 7(d) of the Act, L.N. 117/1967.

In addition to setting the requirements for one to be employed as a teacher, the TSC assigns them duties, sets terms for appointment, promotion, demotion, conduct and discipline of teachers in its employ.

The Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) according to the Ministry of Education (1987:91), is charged with a range of responsibilities, which include:

- Conducting research and preparing syllabuses for the primary education, secondary, teacher education, special education, post-school technical and business education and adult and continuing education.
- Conducting research and preparing teaching and evaluation materials to support any syllabuses including the preparation of pupils' books, teachers' guides, mass media programs and similar materials.
- Conducting service courses and workshops for teachers involved in carrying out experiments and trials of any new syllabus and teaching materials,
- Organizing seminars on any syllabus and teaching materials for inspectors of schools and teachers and teachers training colleges.

The Kenya Institute of Education therefore plays a central role in curriculum development and development of instructional materials,

The Kenya National Examination Council (KNEC) is empowered to conduct academic, technical and other examinations within Kenya. It also awards certificates or diplomas to successful candidates in such examinations. The body is also empowered to “invite any body or bodies outside Kenya, as it may deem fit to conduct academic, technical and other examinations jointly with the council and to award certificates or diplomas to successful candidates in these examinations” (Ministry of Education 1987:100). In addition, the council makes rules regulating the administration of public examinations in the country.

The coordination of education through the above bodies reflects the firm grip of this sector by the state, making it a central player in the management and development of education in the country.

1.5. The Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT)

KNUT is one of the oldest teacher organizations in Kenya. Its history dates back to the colonial days when teachers were employed by various organizations such as the church and county councils. These employers determined teachers' conduct and terms of service. As such, those who were employed by the church, for example, had to adhere to their religious doctrines. In addition, teachers' pay was based on race so that African teachers were the least paid. These combination of problems culminated in the coming together of the local African teachers to form the union in 1957 (KNUT, 1994). The objective of the union was to engender justice to all teachers regardless of race, creed or gender (KNUT, 1995). It aimed at correcting the colonial policies in the teaching profession and its first step towards this was to fight for a single employer with common terms of service for all teachers. This goal was realized in 1967 when the Teachers' Service Commission (TSC) was formed and entrusted with the responsibility of employing teachers for public schools in Kenya.

To date, KNUT remains the largest teacher organization in the country, with a membership of about 240,000 out of an estimated 260,000 teachers in Kenya's public schools (*Daily Nation*, March, 9th 2001). The union's objectives have been to unite

teachers of all grades and qualifications, articulate their concerns and “participate in all matters calculated to lead to the improvement of education and to promote the establishment of a common system of education” (KNUT, 1994:3). To this effect, KNUT has always been at the forefront in petitioning the government for the improvement of teachers’ terms and conditions of employment. In addition, the union endeavours to serve as a watchdog in all matters affecting teachers and education in general.

The union’s ability to effect its noble objectives is largely dependent on various factors, chief of which is the overarching dominance of the state in the education sector. Teachers who form the union membership are employees of the state and their terms and conditions of service are set by the TSC which though it was formed as a result of KNUT’s initiative, is more answerable to the government or the state than the union. This presents one of the challenges that the union has to contend with in its quest to represent teachers as an interest group in Kenya’s education sector.

1.6. Statement of the problem

The foregoing exposition on the state-interest group relationship in Africa in general and Kenya in particular was necessary to show the disproportionately large power wielded over such groups by the state. The state has control over resources and is the main employer. In addition, the institutional frameworks that it has put in place ensures that the state’s interest, more than those of any other interest group, is safeguarded.

Kenya’s educational sector as shown above is characterized by strong state hegemony. Through the structural and institutional frameworks that are in place, the state is able to influence policies and control the direction of education in the country. It trains teachers and employs them through its agency, the TSC. The KIE develops curricula, which define the content of teachers’ work in schools, and the Kenya National Examination Council evaluates the students. Feedback from student evaluation provides a basis for curriculum revision with regard to educational objectives as defined by the state. Teachers, as an interest group in education rely on their union to champion their sectional needs. The union, as the professional and trade union organization that it claims to be, has

to champion these two causes on behalf of teachers. Thus, in fighting for teachers, the union is expected to influence the training of teachers, their registration, discipline, the content of their work, their terms of service and working conditions. Its constitution (1995) aims at achieving some 'selective' and 'collective' benefits on behalf of teachers both as individuals and as members of a profession. However, the union's effectiveness in serving its dual roles of being a professional as well as a trade union organization has not been documented. It is this gap that this study aimed at filling by tapping teachers' responses to the main research question: How effective is KNUT in serving its stated purpose(s)? By empirically establishing the extent to which teachers perceive the effectiveness of the union in living up to its stated interest, it was hoped that this would provide a basis from which one could draw conclusions on the prospects of interest groups' roles in Kenya and developing countries in general.

1.7. Objectives of the study

The study had the purpose of determining the effectiveness of KNUT as an interest group organization as perceived by teachers. It was also presumed that the results from the study would provide a basis, albeit indirectly, for drawing conclusions on the extent to which the union has succeeded in engendering the status of the teaching profession in Kenya. In broad terms, the main objectives of the study were:

- To evaluate teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of KNUT in fulfilling its stated objectives.
- To identify and relate any factors that may influence teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness.
- To offer suggestions, based on the findings, on ways of improving or maintaining the union's contribution to the realization of its aims. In determining the contribution of the union to the improvement of teachers' professional and socio-economic needs as perceived by teachers, the study aimed at providing answers to the question of the contribution of the union to the improvement of teachers' needs and educational development. It is from such findings that one can draw conclusions on the future of unions in developing countries as a means of raising the status of teaching among the professions.

1.8. Research questions

Given the gap in knowledge on the contribution of teachers' unions to the improvement of both teachers' job needs and education in Kenya, this study sought to solicit the views of the insiders, i.e teachers. It was thought that as stakeholders in education, they were better placed to make an assessment of the union's success in its roles. Thus the main research questions adopted for this study were:

- In the opinion of teachers, how effective is KNUT in representing their professional and welfare needs as stated in its objectives?
- What factors influence teachers' perceptions of KNUT's effectiveness?
- How can the union's role be improved or strengthened to serve teachers better?

1.9. Significance of the study

The dearth of research on interest groups in Africa is most clearly demonstrated in the lack of information about the impact of civil society in social development (Gyimah-Boadi, 1989). In Kenya, Ndegwa (1996:113) notes that "despite the resources at the disposal of the Central Organization of Trade Unions (a representative body of various labour organizations) and its affiliate branches, especially its mobilization capacities, it has not contributed to the strength of the progressive movement in civil society in Kenya. The general contention by researchers on interest groups in Africa (Sycholt and Klerck, 2000, Sidibe and Venturi, 1997, Matanga, 2001) is that interest groups (unions, professional associations, lobby groups) have not been effective because of a lack of resources. They also point out that in this region, the state controls much of the resources, and using neo-patrimonial strategies such as co-optation, represses such groups making them ineffective. Their conclusion is that in the absence of a strong private economic sector, most of the working and middle classes are still tied to government through employment and as a result key interest groups and their organization depend on government, making them vulnerable to governmental arm-twisting.

As one of the major interest groups in Kenya's civil society, KNUT's effectiveness in executing its stated purposes has not been documented. Thus, by investigating the

effectiveness of KNUT as one of the interest groups operating in an environment where such organizations labour under state structural, material and legal constraints, it was hoped that its findings would significantly contribute to the understanding of the potential of interest groups in fulfilling their members' needs and extending their influence in the developing world. Ultimately, the findings would also be useful for the union in its quest of broadening its legitimacy among members and in honing its strategies for serving them better.

1.10. Operational definition of key terms

For the purpose of this study, *effectiveness* of the union refers to the extent to which it is perceived to determine or influence the realization or 'achievability' of certain specific needs as seen by teachers. Thus, the more it is able to positively determine the outcome, the more effective it is.

Interest group refers to a body of individuals set up to advance the common needs, interest and aspirations of members.

Perceptions, on the other hand, refer to the individual assessment, judgement or evaluation of an organization's or individual's worth, performance or any other trait of interest. Thus, teachers' perceptions of the unions' effectiveness refer to their appraisals or assessment of the union's performance in specific areas,

1.11. Scope of the study

This research is not a study of KNUT per se. It is not an organizational history or even a study of the relationship between KNUT and the state. Rather, it is a study of teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of their organization. Its focus, thus, is limited to the extent to which it is effectively serving the intended purposes in the two broad domains of socio-economic and professional areas as seen by teachers.

1.12. Organization of the study

This study is organized into seven chapters. Chapter One presents an overview of the research problem, its objectives and significance as a subject of inquiry. Chapter Two reviews the literature related to the study and expands on the theoretical framework underlying the study. It traces the origins and the role of interest groups in civil society and education in particular. Emphasis is placed on the emergence of such interest groups in developing countries especially in Africa. Chapter Three presents the research methodology, including the sample selection, sample size, nature and source of data, and procedures used in data analysis. The chapter closes by highlighting the limitations of the study and the extent to which the finding may be generalized.

The results are presented in Chapters Four and Five. Chapter Four presents the descriptive results including the characteristics of the respondents. The fifth chapter focuses on the relationship between respondents' characteristics and their perception of the union's effectiveness and influence on their job needs. Chapter Six discusses and interprets the findings that emerged from the analysis of data. The final chapter summarizes the findings from the study, draws conclusions and makes recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews the theoretical and empirical literature focusing on the emergence of interest groups and their role in society. It traces the extent to which such groups represent the interests of their members and the ways in which they relate to other important social structures in society. The chapter is organized into a number of sections and sub-sections, each addressing issues that cumulatively provide an understanding of the dynamics that explain the need for such organizations and what makes some of them more effective than others.

The first section focuses on the theories that have been put forward to explain the emergence of interest groups, highlighting the presumptions underlying each theory. These presumptions are explored for the purpose of developing a theoretical perspective through which interest groups can be examined.

Subsequent sections and sub-sections seek to trace the need for different kinds of interest groups, their roles and the relationship between their effectiveness and the social status of the groups they serve. A review of selected professional associations, which, as interest groups, have had an impact in their sphere of influence and control, serves to highlight this linkage and provide an understanding of the salient features that make them effective.

2.2.1 Theoretical Framework

The objectivity of any research findings can only be realized if an appropriate theoretical framework is used, both to guide the formulation of research objectives and analyze the question of the study being undertaken. It is therefore important to provide an overview of the theoretical positions and approaches which relate to the question of interest groups.

In the following section, an attempt is made to locate the study within a framework that reflects the place of a union as an emerging phenomenon in the various stages of interest group development in Africa. Consequently, the dominant position that has been occupied by interest groups in this region, the factors that have kept them in a fledgling state, and the forces that are now revitalizing them as an important group in the society are highlighted.

2.2.2. Pressure group theory

The theories that have been put forward to explain the emergence of groups in society are many and varied. Seeking to explain why individuals organize themselves into groups, they often draw on social, economic and political factors to explain the formation of such groups. However, it is the goal or objectives that define the identity of any civil group that is or are important. Essentially, these goals or objectives relate to either fundamental (basic) or secondary interests and needs. The predominance of either of these types of interests reflects the level of economic development or 'modernization' of a given society.

The initial challenge that emerged in this study was to develop an appropriate theoretical lens through which one could assess the role and impact of an interest group in an economically developing region like Kenya. To begin with, it was recognized that such a theoretical framework would have to, simultaneously, be recognizable in the social sciences and reflect and speak to the institutional context in which the study was located.

With regard to the first challenge, the basis used was the principle that an organization such as a teachers' union represents a 'modern sectional group' whose constituents are defined by their occupational identities. Thus, a relevant theory would be one which seeks to explore interest groups in relation to their social, economic and political locations and how such groups managed to articulate their members' interests within societies structured in complex ways.

Key theories that have been used to explain the emergence of groups include communal, and pressure group explanations (Parelius and Parelius, 1987, Healley and Robinson, 1992). Each of these theories seeks to advance specific explanation focusing on the factors that lead to the formation and sustenance of such groups.

Communal theory, for example, postulates that groups arise out of the human instinct for herding together (Parelius and Parelius, 1987). The instinct is seen as the precipitating factor for the emergence of the divisions and sub-divisions that arise within the society. The theory also suggests that membership of such groups is based on kinship arrangements - the bonds of birth and blood or the ties that grow out of shared heritage. Conscious identification and mobilization based on rational choice seldom applies for such groups.

Communal theory, by the nature of its simplicity in explaining the emergence of groups, can be said to be useful mainly in seeking to understand primordial types of groups. According to Chabal (1994), communal groups espouse the “principles of social existence and conceive of the world as an interconnected whole rather than as the sum of discrete components” (p.83). Such principles rarely hold for modern interest groups where competition and individualism are the hallmark features. For modern groups, the focus is on ‘sectional’ interest and as such, while these groups may be part of the larger society, they seek to advance their own special needs. On the other hand, communal groups do not emphasize sectional needs more than the communal needs. This is because communal group boundaries, in terms of social, religious, political and economic groups are porous and fluid. Thus, given that teachers’ unions, like other associations of professionals, such as those of lawyers and doctors, can be classified as modern interest groups, communal theory, which explains the emergence of groups from the perspective of primordial interests, proved inappropriate for this study.

I sought, therefore, to position this study within a theory that explains the emergence of a group from forces that go beyond attributes such as kinship, religious loyalty, etc. As a

result, this study is positioned in the pressure group theory, which relates to how modern interest groups position themselves in complex social structures. A note of caution should be sounded, however, in how 'modern' is understood. As scholars working in the liminal spaces of the post-colonial world are making clear (see Comaroff, 1985; and Fabian, 1998) while modernity is ubiquitous, it is inflected and given life in very different ways in different parts of the world. Following this line of thought, the fact that this theory presumes that interest groups operate in relatively stable democracies is cause for some pause for thought. Kenya, the focus of this work, is what one could describe as a nascent democracy. It is theoretical challenges such as these that this study hopes to shed some light on. While this is not the central focus of this study, hopefully, some insight will be gained on the usefulness of pressure group theory in the African context.

Pressure group theory, derived from the state-civil society debate, posits that individuals that form an interest group are capable of making rational decisions (Pross, 1975). Thus, people, as they are faced with the everyday needs and challenges of life, are compelled to seek ways and means of fulfilling their needs or countering those challenges which impede the fulfillment of their needs. Macdonald (1995) notes that "social groups engage in social closures in the course of furthering their interests and they both attempt to exclude others from their group and to usurp the privileges of other groups" (p.27).

Pressure group theory as put forward by Pross (1975) posits that individuals regard groups as the best means by which they can protect their needs and bargain for better benefits. Thus, an interest group, according to pressure group theory, operates as an intermediary between the competing interest of the individual and the state, exerting pressure on the latter for the benefit of the former. The theory sees groups as collective entities operating in the public sphere, providing its members with a forum for expressing their demands, interests, passions and ideas. Thus, in a democratic system of governance, well organized societal interest groups seek to influence public policies so that such policies reflect of their preferences (Ham and Hill, 1984).

The pressure group paradigm argues that individual members of a group make several assumptions about the influence of the group. These assumptions relate to empowering, educative and advocacy roles and responsibilities that the interest group will carry. According to the theory, individuals believe that groups will give voice to their demands and so articulate their collective interests and take action on their behalf. They also believe that the groups they join will empower them by fulfilling common needs. A group is thus expected to pursue their members' collective interests and at the same time respond to any attempts by others to secure an advantage at their expense.

Pressure group theory advances the idea that interest groups are organized around economic, social and political or cultural interests (Ham and Hill, 1984). Such groups compete for power and resources for the benefit of the members. In this respect, members define the goals of interest groups and their role is to exert pressure on the state or those in authority in order to satisfy their needs.

It is worth noting that while the mode of operation of a teachers' union in a developing country such as Kenya may not be a replica of what a pressure group located in the developed world is, the presumptions of the theory provide sufficient basis for its use as a point of departure for studying contexts such as that of Kenya. The principles that the pressure group theory puts forward, as the main factors that make people come together and the approaches that such groups use to advance their cause, provide a basis from which the emergence of a teachers' union can be explained and upon which objective analysis of its effectiveness can be made. From this, it is possible to advance the specifics unique to the environment under which an organization operates.

2.3. The need for interest groups

The origins of interest groups, invariably, are traceable to the needs of their constituents. They emerge to fill the void which official or state structures are not able to address. Within the confines of a nation state, they operate as alternative sites of authority to the state. This raises the issues of their legitimacy. Why, the question is posed of 'interest

group,' if a legitimate state exists, is there need for interest groups. As a result of this suspicion of groups outside the state, it has always been in the more open systems of governance, where democratic ideals are embraced, where interest groups have flourished.

Nearly all interest groups have both universalistic and particularistic roles. Cohen (1981:xv) observes that for health, the profession "is strictly organized to ensure standards of knowledge, training, skills, and ethics among its members in the interest of the public. At the same time, it is organized to develop and maintain its own sectional interests by establishing itself as a monopoly and maximizing its own material rewards and privileges." The two roles are intertwined both in the interest of the members and the public at large. A failure of an interest group to give sufficient attention to its particularistic interest, for example, may weaken the profession and consequently, the universalistic role may suffer.

An interest group can be any group that articulates a demand to the authorities in a political system or sub-system. Interest groups do not necessarily seek positions of authority; rather, their interest centres on the fulfilment of their needs in competition with those of other groups or group representatives in the mediation for adjustment and allocation of resources or power (Healley and Robinson, 1992).

In typical democracies, governments and interest groups represent competing stakeholders in relation to the question of the public good. It is out of these competing processes that policies and decisions emerge. As one of the many stakeholders, government takes the position of a competing participant. According to Richardson and Jordan (1979), in a democratic system of governance, the only feature that distinguishes the government from the other interest groups is the designation, 'official' which is the sign indicating that the bearer is authorized by social understanding to exercise, in relation to all groups and individuals, certain powers which they may not be able to exercise against it.

Interest groups can either be formal or informal. Cohen (1981) notes that interests that cannot be advanced by formal associations are usually articulated through 'communal relationships,' i.e. kinship, friendship and a host of other relationships. Interest groups are thus represented in every sphere of life. Cohen contends that interest groups are inevitable phenomena in the lives of individuals. He sums up this point thus: "if they (interest groups) do not already exist, they are soon developed on the basis of common interests, duties and sentiments in the course of intensive interaction within series of overlapping, intimate, exclusive gatherings. A common culture will thus develop both to express and to uphold the group's corporate interest" (p.xvi).

Interest groups use pressure to advance their needs and, as such, most of them have been conveniently referred to as 'pressure groups.' Proponents of interest groups advance the theory that they provide a means of enhancing democracy due to 'overlapping membership.' The overlapping membership suggests that members could be having several interests and thus, when a member is participating in any one group, he or she will be aware of the other interest, which may be conflicting. The effect of this is to force the individual to be more rational about his or her claims.

In a democratic system of government, the power of the interest groups and the authority of the government agencies are relatively dispersed. Heinz *et.al* (1997:396) note that in democratic systems, "participation involves many groups and policy outputs are distributed broadly in character, spreading around the benefits or deprivation." Thus, democratic systems ideally provide a means for spreading out resources and power among different claimants in the society.

Pross (1975) sees interest groups as a necessary link in the process of communication that binds governments and people. Seen this way, interest groups provide a means of creating day-to day links between public officials and private citizens, alerting both to new trends and facilitating the implementation of decisions. Their success in effecting these depend

on the strategies they employ, which often include the force of group opinion, threat of economic sanctions and the logic of well-prepared arguments.

Interest groups have been broadly classified according to their roles as 'sectional' and 'cause' groups (Grant, 1995). Sectional groups represent a section of the community. Their function is to look after the common interests of that section and their membership is normally restricted to their section. 'Cause' groups, on the other hand represent some belief or principle, which they advocate or seek to advance. Theoretically, membership of the 'cause' group is not restricted at all and anyone can join if he or she subscribes to its principles (Grant, 1995).

Sectional groups rely on numbers for their influence and, as such, they seek to recruit as large a proportion of their eligible members as possible. Their standing with the government depends to a large extent on the validity of their claim to speak for a particular industry, group of employees or profession.

The demands of the above two types of interest groups tend to vary. The sectional groups often try to advance some limited specific goals, which, as they are likely not to conflict with those of the society in general, may easily be acceded to with minimum controversy. This contrasts with the 'causal' groups who often deal with technical issues, which may not be easily appreciated by the public. In essence, it is often the sectional groups that are likely to succeed or get public support, especially in the developing world where most people are preoccupied more with their day-to-day needs rather than the abstract points of principle or principles. Healley and Robinson (1992) note that in Africa, broad based organised interest groups are still relatively weak because they "lack resources to command leverage and interact with government" (p.73).

Interest groups of various types have come to play an important role in the everyday lives of many people, influencing their behaviour. Johnson, (1997:4) from a sociological point of view, sees the resilience of groups in human life thus:

...the ubiquitousness of groups and the inevitability of being in them makes a group one of the most important factors in our lives. We live in groups, learn in groups and spend most of our leisure time in groups. Our personal identity is derived from the way in which we are perceived and treated by other members of our group.

The group then becomes the nucleus for the formation of all interest groups. It provides a means for the socialization and development of common appeals, which makes its members share common interests.

The influence of a group on an individual can therefore be enormous, and most people soon develop faith in their power to push for their needs. The group becomes a source of power, protection and a means of extending the individual's limits of control or influence. As Hardy (1976) puts it, groups take riskier decisions which individuals comprising them would not have done, had they been acting independently. As such, a group provides a sense of shared responsibility or risk taking 'within limits.'

2.4. 'Effectiveness' as a virtue of enduring interest groups

The sustenance of membership by an interest group has been attributed to its ability to serve the members' needs. The ability of an interest group to bargain with the state, employers, etc, over a range of its constituents' needs reflects its effectiveness.

Hoy and Miskel, (1982) see organizational effectiveness as the ability of the group representatives to generate pressure and to exercise such pressure in the pursuit of better fulfilment of the economic, social or professional needs of their members.

The discourse of 'effectiveness' is replete with indicators, which are based on the aims or goals of the organization. Thus, to talk about organizational effectiveness in general without reference to specific aims is not enough. There is a need to qualify or define the criteria used. On this, Hoy and Miskel (1982) caution thus:

Effectiveness is not one thing; hence a one-dimensional definition is not adequate. An organization can be both effective and ineffective, depending on the criteria used which may be independent of one another. Without a theoretical model as a

guide, it is not possible to state that one organization is more effective than another, or to say that a given indicator is a measure of effectiveness. (p.320)

Effectiveness theory advances two approaches that can be used to assess organizational effectiveness, namely, the 'goal model' and the 'resource model.' Each model reflects the intended expectations from the organization.

The goal model approach according to Hoy and Miskel (1982) defines organizational effectiveness in terms of goal attainment, where goal is seen as the desired state of affairs the organization aims at achieving. Thus an effective organization is one whose observable outcomes of its activities meet or exceed organizational goals. Goals are reflected in the organizational purpose and these are often used to secure support and legitimacy of the organization from the public.

The goal model approach to effectiveness is based on two basic assumptions which include the following:

- A rational group of decision-makers in the organization has goals it wishes to achieve.
- Goals are few enough in number to be administered and are defined clearly so that members can understand.

These assumptions are supposed to be used by decision makers in assessing organizational effectiveness and in developing measures that assist in determining as to how well the goals are being achieved.

The systems resource model of organizational effectiveness refers to the organization's ability to secure an advantageous bargaining position in its environment and utilize such a position to acquire scarce resources. The concept of bargaining implies that specific goals cannot serve as ultimate criteria of effectiveness, but rather, attention is given to the more general capacity of the organization to procure assets. It thus focuses on continuous endeavours to acquire scarce and valued resources.

It is imperative that the degree of effectiveness for any organization is a function of its internal variables and the social and political climate from which it arises and operates. Nevertheless, it must be able to meet or fulfil most of the desires, beliefs and aspirations held by the group in order for it to sustain its membership and support. To this end, a number of professional organizations have adopted measures that make their professions competitive and thus earn them a vantage position among other stakeholders in the society. Such measures can be many and they vary according to the profession. However, for most professions that have succeeded in positioning themselves competitively in the society, the pervasive feature is the demand for, and the guard for specific standards of knowledge or skills. These virtues are reflected in the policies that govern the professions highlighted in the next sub-section.

2.5.0 Features of 'effective' professional associations

The brief outline on the need for interest groups discussed above suggests that an umbrella organization representing members of an occupation is a manifestation of an attempt by various individuals in that occupation to articulate their interests or needs. Such needs represent an array of priorities, which may be broadly grouped as either social, economic or professional needs. Some professionals can be preoccupied with pecuniary interests, aimed at protecting their economic domains, pursuit of upward collective mobility and of the consolidation of their class position.

More established professional associations, however, have acquired 'power' which exceeds their narrow interests in pecuniary advancement and the enhancement of status. Some have taken it upon themselves to propose legislation in a number of spheres related to the delivery of their specialist services. They can push to influence or veto proposals that might undermine their occupational advantages.

Halliday (1987) notes that the power of a profession rests on expertise, knowledge or skills, intellectual technique, acquired as a result of long and specialized training that

gives it a capacity to control even the direction of political decisions in a country. Halliday summarizes such influence thus:

The rapprochement of expert knowledge and political power, especially as is manifested by the professions represents an enduring conundrum in which excess in either direction destabilizes democratic institutions. An excess of knowledge, particularly if it is monopolized by small elite occupations, disenfranchises effective political participation... expert authority, as it is extensively mobilized by professions, confronts representational authority as it is lodged by the electorate. (p.27)

The power or the ability of a professional association to influence issues in the direction it perceives to be right or desires is, first, dependent on the skill or area of knowledge it represents. Secondly, its overall organization as reflected in the ability to enforce rules and regulate the internal affairs, maintain solidarity and discipline among its constituents goes a long way in explaining why some associations are more effective than others.

A brief overview of the roles of some established professional organizations may serve to confirm that knowledge or specialized skills, vested in their field is one of the salient features that may account for their influence. The associations' efforts are largely expended on measures that foster the growth and preservation of such privileges, including the vetting of those entering the profession, vigorous enforcement of ethical conduct and an emphasis on continuing education. The resultant effect has been to place their professions way ahead of others in their social status and effectiveness in advancing the cause of their members.

The impact of professional associations like accounting, legal and engineering has been noteworthy especially in Africa where most interest groups are still in their fledgling stages, trying to disentangle themselves from the controlling arm of the state. These professions have managed to command high status in the society and attract rewards, which are well beyond the average commanded by most other professions in this region. This is because such professions have managed to enforce strict controls and thorough adherence to standards in the admission process. This creates some kind of monopoly in

their provision of service. Common characteristics of these group organizations are as outlined hereunder.

2.5.1 Professional associations in accounting

Halliday (1987:29) observes that “for all professions, the ability to exert collective influence depends, first on knowledge mandates, and second, on collegial mobilization.” The knowledge mandate of a profession represents its capacity to exert influence by virtue of the substance, form, transmission, efficacy and legitimacy of its cognitive core. The special characteristics of the knowledge possessed by professions provide the principle component of their distinctive identity. The emphasis for most accounting associations pivots around the contention that knowledge is “the core-generating trait” of professionalism.

An overview of the operation of a few examples of such organizations may serve to confirm the embedded theoretical assumptions which bind such associations. These include the accounting, engineering and legal professions. The Institute of Chartered Accountants of Zimbabwe (ICAZ) has a set of rules and regulations that are binding on all chartered accountants (CA): “The rules are enforced to ensure [that] the high professional standing of CAS is maintained.”¹ The association emphasizes that for students to be eligible for admission to the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Zimbabwe, they must meet certain conditions which they spell out. These include:

- Serving under a training contract with an accredited training office.
- Satisfying the institute’s training requirements in regard to minimum practical experience.
- Passing a qualifying examination.

The stringent measures ensure that those who manage to get into the profession have the relevant skills and potential to perform.

¹ The outlined rules governing ICAZ are as spelt out in its Policy document “Institute of Chartered Accountants of Zimbabwe: Admission to the Institute.”[On-line], http://www.org.zw/admission/adm_index.htm [site visited 14/4/2001].

The Institute of Certified Accountants of Kenya (ICPAK) has the same goals as ICAZ in many ways. Its mission statement spells out the following as its core objectives:²

- Promote advancement and relevance of accountancy in business and as a source of information about economic activity.
- Maintaining members' competence through regular and relevant training.
- Maintaining high standards of practice and professional conduct among members.
- Setting standards for entry into and retention of membership that will ensure the enhancement of the value of qualification.
- Regulate the professional activities of members through the enforcement of disciplinary procedures.

The organization sets and enforces standards of professional practices. It also monitors ethical behaviour and adjudicates in cases involving indiscipline through a disciplinary committee. It also provides mechanisms through which the training of accountants can be improved.

2.5.2. Associations in the engineering profession

The engineering profession commands a high status and influence in most parts of the world. Much of the status and power associated with this profession is attributable to the specialized skills possessed by its members.

The preoccupation of most established associations is the improvement of their members' skills and preservation of such professional virtues for the purpose of fostering their influence and status in the society.

The Association of Consulting Engineers of Botswana (ACEB) represents, for its members, "a body that promotes their common interest and a quest for quality assurance to its clients."³ The assurance of quality implicit in the service of members is

² Details of the policy document on this are as outlined in the ICPAK Mission Statement: [on-line] <http://www.icpack.com/mission.html> [site visited 14/4.2001]

³ The objectives of the Association are stated in the "Association of Consulting Engineers of Botswana: Byelaws (2000)." [on-line] <http://www.ifo.bw/aceb/about/byelaws.html> [site visited: 14/4/2001]

underwritten in the measures that ensure strict entry controls and adherence to a continuous training scheme. The ACEB specifies that a consulting engineer should be a person with necessary qualifications and experience to practice in one or more of the various branches of engineering. The association spells out clearly the conditions required for entry to membership, the ethical conduct required of members and expected standards to be maintained in the service provision. These efforts are meant to enhance the status and value of the profession, in addition to rendering quality service to the clients.

2.5.3. Legal associations

The law profession has managed to exert collective influence mainly through its various modes of control in the profession. These include strict entry controls and maintenance of ethical and professional standards among the members

An overview of the functioning of one such association clearly shows the emphasis on rules that control entry and attempts to improve educational standards. The object is to dignify the status of the profession and foster its influence or power in the society.

A good example of how law associations operate is provided by the Law Society of Kenya (LSK). Among its objectives, the association spells out that it has to maintain and improve standards of conduct and learning in the legal profession in Kenya.⁴ It thus emphasizes the continuing education of its members. In addition to the above broad objectives, the society has the overall mission of promoting the common interests of attorneys who are employed to practice law by corporations and private sectors. It does this by supporting collegiality and engaging in advocacy on behalf of its members and in the process the society seeks to maintain the status of the profession through a strict control of admission criteria and a set of operating values that guide its strategic efforts and shape of service delivery.

⁴ The objectives of Law Society are spelt out in its policy document "Law Society of Kenya (2000). [online]:<http://www.kenyalaw.com/lawsocietyofkenya.htm> [site visited:14/4/2001]

The society seeks to maintain the status of the profession through a strict control of admission criteria and a set of operating values that guide its strategic efforts and shape of service delivery.

In summary, professions such as the ones reviewed above have earned high standing in the society, because of the specialized skills associated with them. Capitalizing on this advantage, their associations have taken measures to ensure that they maintain the 'exclusiveness' of their professions.

The exclusiveness approach, by which membership is controlled through standards and rules, has enabled professional associations to achieve a monopoly after winning governmental delegation of powers of self-regulation and licensing. These have advanced their power and influence beyond a narrow interest in pecuniary advancement and enhancement of status.

It is worth noting that the outline of the presumed effective professional groups given above is based on their policy papers which in a way may not reflect what the actual practice is as concerns their operation. This goes further to show the extent of the research gap on interest groups in Africa. Rakner (1992) notes that "very little is known of the nature and actions of African civil organizations as the scholarly debate has focused predominantly on the role of the State" (p.2). As argued below, the education sector provides a fertile field for study of the ways in which different stakeholders have attempted to exercise control using various means including interest group representation.

2.6. Interest groups and the struggle for control of the educational sector

The importance of formal education in society is evident in the many stakeholders which contest what goes on in the school. Reimers (1999) observes that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948 recognized education as a right necessary for the preservation of basic humanity. Educational opportunities, as such, have come to be perceived in the collective consciousness of most people as a fundamental right and as

a gateway to social opportunities. Meritocratic societies also allocate social status on the basis of educational attainment.

Apple (1982) contends that because of the importance of education to the society, schools have become terrains of 'contestation' in which various interest groups try to gain hegemony. Thus, each group tries to win active consensus over others. On the other hand, contrary to Apple's portrayal of schools as sites for the perpetuation of hegemony, Carnoy and Levin (1985) emphasize the democratic possibilities that may arise from school. Thus, Carnoy and Levin (1985:76) argue that:

...the educational system is the principal public institution organized for shaping youth into working adults, but schools are subject to conflicting forces over purpose and operation. Public education both reproduces the unequal hierarchical relations of the nuclear family and capitalist work place, and also presents opportunities for social mobility and extension of democratic rights.

The importance of education to the society thus explains the enormous investment in it by most countries. Smyke, (1991) best summarizes the significant place that the educational sector occupies in most countries in Africa when he observes that:

The education sector throughout Africa is the largest employer of trained personnel. It uses the majority of national resources and is a preoccupying concern to many. It touches more citizens than any other sector... parents view it as a means of providing their children with a better life regardless of their social position. Children soon learn that it is a way to the future. Administrators see it as a job to be done, while politicians use it as a vehicle to perpetuate power. Churches look on it as a means to inculcate ethical and spiritual values; development aid agencies sees it as a source of trained manpower for modernization. Teachers see it as a means of employment. (p.21)

Implicit in the above observation are the assumed benefits from education that spur social development. First, there is a belief that youth will gain skills relevant for the economic needs and technological advancement of the society. This places the school in a position to influence the process of allocating people to specific occupational roles. Secondly, school is expected to accomplish the process of inculcating societal norms and expectation. Both processes place the school in a crucial position in the social development of the society.

The relationship between earnings and educational levels is well documented globally and it is widely accepted that education is the single greatest predictor of one's levels of earnings. This is because education arms people with cognitive skills, social skills and credentials and expands their choices of opportunities (Smyke, 1991). Skills raise peoples' productivity and chances of better paid jobs and the possibility of adapting new practices and facing new challenges.

Stakeholders in education use various methods and organizations to advance and protect their interests. Willie (1999) notes that all social organizations put effort into 'preventing' or warding off harm or threats to their interests. Such groups may be aptly referred to as interest groups. Ball (1993) sees such groups as social aggregates that have cohesion and shared aims, always attempting to influence decision-making processes.

Interest groups give educational systems a dynamic force as they pursue their particular sets of educational interest. Mashele and Grobler (1999) see interest groups in education as having a legitimate interest, and indeed having a primary goal, in supporting the management of the school in order to enhance the culture of teaching and learning. It is also true that interest groups employ various approaches to safeguard their interests. These approaches range from a pursuit for power, personal gains and achievement to a desire to protect the learners and the institutions.

Stern (1970:4) notes that schools are systems of pressure, practices and policies intended to influence the development of students towards the attainment of institutional objectives. Some stakeholders or interest groups seek to influence school policies with the aim of equalizing disparities and outcomes, while others seek to use school policies for more sectarian purposes.

Spring (1988) observes that individuals and groups want the site of education to serve particular goals and needs. In this regard, interest groups such as teachers' unions want

higher salaries, and a work place organized to enhance their professional autonomy. Corporations want schools to be efficient and to produce skilled personnel, while politicians use education for their own political mileage. In all these cases, each interest group has a stake to advance or safeguard. Parental concern for example, addresses the policy of equity and equal opportunity. Tartar (1998) notes that the main objective of parental involvement in schools is the desire to make a difference in their children's education outcomes. He explains that literature supports this understanding and that there is a positive correlation between parental involvement and children's school performance.

The state is another stakeholder or interest group in education. Smith (1993:49) observes that "state actors have interests of their own, and, in certain circumstances, the ability to transform these interests into policy." He notes that in determining public policy, the preferences of the state are at least as important as those of the civil society, but often the state will act according to its own preferences even when this diverges from the demands of the most powerful groups in civil society.

The interests pursued by agencies of the state may not always reflect the demands of groups or classes but are "products of state agents' perception of their interests and how they perceive particular problems and solutions" (Smith, 1993:51). Consequently, state actors may propose policies, which counteract the interest of other stakeholders in the school system.

Teachers constitute another major stakeholder group in the school organization. They have concerns, interests, and needs which they strive to safeguard or advance. Fleet (1991) lists factors of interest to the teacher in the school set-up as salaries, promotion opportunities, work itself and relationship with colleagues and superiors. Poole (1999) supports Fleet's view when he claims that one of the prime motivations for teacher unionization in America during the 1960s was the potential for unions to help influence education policies pertaining to issues like class size, preparation time, teacher evaluation, promotions, transfers and the length of the school day. Corwin (1974:232)

notes that “among the non-monetary issues frequently negotiated have been reduction of school year... reduction of class load, compensation for overtime, and ‘due process’ protection through grievance procedures, all arbitration for discipline, dismissal, and demotion.”

The centrality of formal education and schooling to any country is therefore clearly manifested by the multiple constituencies represented by interest groups, each trying to assert itself in the definition of goals and operation of schools. Each group attempts to have a voice in matters that affect it. Sarason, (1990:61) observes that “when a process makes people feel that they have a voice in matters that affect them, they will have greater commitment to the overall enterprise.” It follows then that the absence of such involvement will alienate a group from an organization.

Attempts to bridge the gap between alienation and ‘incorporation’ of stakeholders in most organizations has forced them to organize themselves into pressure groups in the form of unions, associations or other types of interest groups such as lobby groups. The challenge of such organizations is mainly to articulate the needs and concerns of their constituencies. Their ability to meet such challenges reflects their effectiveness, which is central to their survival since membership loyalty is always pegged on their ability to claim what they need.

2.7. Themes in the contest for educational control

The centrality of the educational enterprise in any society as outlined above makes it the single most contested field in the struggle for control by all interest groups. Such groups understand and acknowledge the potency of education in shaping the society and how its policies affect them directly or indirectly.

In most countries, the state influences the structural and normative conditions of teaching, setting expectations, formalizing obligations specifying assignments and allocating resources. The state, in many developing countries employs teachers, designs the

curriculum for schools and, in essence, commands control over schools in the country. Its execution of these responsibilities is often backed by authority, which empowers it to control and direct the means of doing the work. In the Kenyan case for example, the state relies on the Education Act, 1968. Part of that Act states that:

The minister (for education) shall appoint officers with authority to enter and inspect any school such officers may enter the school at any time with or without notice and report to the minister with respect to the school on any aspect thereof. (p.13)

The Act gives the state a wide latitude of control over what goes on in the school. It has the machinery to effect such controls and the legal dimension in the Act gives it authority to effect what it deems to be necessary or good for the nation.

Abagi (1994) notes that in Kenya, the state directs education on behalf of other interest groups like parents and business concerns. He sums up the reasons underlying the dominant role of the state in control of education thus:

Government of Kenya's commitment to control and development of education is based on the premise that education is perhaps the most sensitive area in which the government operates. It is both politically and socially sensitive. Politically because the government would like to expand education opportunities at all levels to appease the masses, and socially because education is seen as a major determinant of economic development. The argument is that apart from providing the country with skilled and specialized human resources, education leads to the achievement of basic social policy objectives such as reduction of fertility rate, improvement of nutritional status, child care and better standard of health, greater social mobility and equitable distribution of income. (p.1)

The perceived benefits of education thus account for why the state seeks to exercise increased control over education and why so many reviews of educational policies have been undertaken since independence in 1963. Abagi (1994:2) points out that the three major inquiries that the Kenyan government has set up over the period to look into ways of addressing the issues of access, relevance, quality and efficiency in education include the following:

- Kenya Education Commission (Ominde Commission) of 1964.
- National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policy (Gachati Report) of 1976.

Presidential Working Party on the second University (Mackay Report), 1981.

While the first National Education Commission aimed at reorienting educational policies to serve the newly independent country, subsequent Commissions aimed at building on it with the objective of making education relevant to the needs of the country. Thus, the Ominde Commission recommended, *inter alia*, the decolonisation of the educational system in the country by removing colonial racial segregation in schools and also the expansion of secondary and tertiary educational institutions to meet the demand of trained human resources (Republic of Kenya, 1964). The Gachati Report of 1976 focused on the issue of increasing access, relevance and cost of education while the Mackay Report addressed the demand for higher education. Through all these, the government sought to provide direction for education and a tight control over all aspects of schooling.

Despite these noble goals of trying to meet the needs of the society in general, the government's mediation in education may not always adequately address the needs of all interest groups in education. Aronowitz and Giroux (1985), while questioning the assumption of state control on education, note that its proponents "fail to provide any major insights into how teachers, students and other human agents come together within specific historical and social contexts to both make and reproduce the conditions of their existence" (p.70). Teachers, for example, have needs which may not be catered for through the actions or policies of the state. Their grievances, as noted by Hargreaves and Goodson (1996:1), "have always revolved around more pay, higher status, greater autonomy, increased self-regulation and improved standard of training." These themes have always underscored the individual and collective struggles of teachers.

Teachers are increasingly demanding greater powers of discretion in many decisions with and on behalf of the learners since they know them better than most other interest groups in education. They also want to have a voice in resource allocation and the determination of purpose and value of what they teach and how they teach (Fullan and Hargreaves, 1992).

The expectation from the teacher in any dynamic society is always growing. The changing class compositions in sizes and special needs have implications not only for discipline but also for the complexity of planning and preparation. Fullan and Hargreaves (1992:9) note that teachers “are overloaded with responsibilities, greater accountability, and have to deal with a wider range of abilities and behaviours in their classrooms.” Teachers are therefore constantly struggling to change policies that seek to regiment and regulate their actions, constrain and contract their opportunities for discretionary judgement and those which standardize the process and product of learning. Teachers, like other professionals have things they value and want to achieve in their work. They also have things they dis-value and opinions about aspects of education, which they feel, will not work or do harm to the children in their charge.

The concerns and needs of each of the interest groups has therefore given rise to organizations that seek to advance the concerns of each group. Government uses its established machinery and agents to effect its needs and those for the society in general. Parents have also come up with associations that serve to protect their interests. Teachers on the other hand, have formed unions whose goals are mainly to advance teachers’ needs and those of education in general. As such, it is through the advent of modern interest groups that most individuals have found means of pursuing their needs well beyond the levels once envisioned. For effective professional associations such as those of lawyers and accountants discussed earlier, this has meant the enhancement of social status of their occupations. Implicit in these achievements is the promotion of job satisfaction among the members of these professions. This is because the members’ needs define the tasks of such organizations. As highlighted in the section that follows, for teachers, these needs are many and varied. Nevertheless, like all other professionals and individuals, it is the fulfillment of these needs that forms the core of what provides them with job satisfaction, and hence their organizations need to take cognizance of these factors when they are striving to advance their cause. The ability of interest groups to advance members’ needs

in the sites of 'contestation' and resistance reflects their effectiveness. It is this which constitutes the core of this research.

2:8.0. Teachers and job needs

Teachers, like all professionals have needs which influence their work motivation. These needs can be manifested in various ways, and include commitment to work, job efficiency or productivity. Kaplan (1990) argues that individuals evaluate the objects and conditions that confront them, using their value standards and from this, their attitudes are determined.

According to Hellriegel and Slocum (1979), job attitude refers to workers' feelings about various aspects of the work setting. The level of satisfaction may not be measured directly, but it can be inferred from the objectives that one may consider being descriptive of the job. Thus, the higher the congruence between one's job expectation or needs and the possibility of fulfilling them, the higher the level of one's job satisfaction.

Teachers' job satisfaction has been noted as an important factor for educational planners and managers as well as the general public because it informs them of the work items that result in teacher satisfaction. Steyn and Wyk (1999) note that if teacher satisfaction or dissatisfaction is to be improved, it is necessary to pay attention to the kind of work environment that enhances teachers' professionalism and decreases their job dissatisfaction.

Job satisfaction is derived from peoples' feelings towards various aspects of their work, which may include pay, supervision, promotional opportunities and work itself. Such feelings may be referred to as attitudes. Attitudes represent affective responses, cognitive responses and behavioural acts. Hellriegel and Slocum (1979) note that satisfaction is an end-state resulting from the attainment of some goal. It represents workers' affective responses to the job aspects of the job situation.

In trying to understand teachers' job satisfaction, one has to explore aspects of teaching that influence teachers' attitudes to their work. Hellriegel and Slocum (1979:392) note that a worker's attitudinal response to a questionnaire or some other research instrument that is designed to measure factors affecting a worker's job are often called 'facets of job satisfaction.' Every profession has a wide array of such facets which are linked to the content or accrue as a result of one working in a particular profession.

In a study of effective principals, Blaise and Kirby (1992) highlight several factors which effective principals use to positively influence teachers' attitudes to their work. These include involvement in decision-making, granting professional autonomy, defending or 'leading by standing behind them,' and praising them for their efforts. Blaise and Kirby noted that teachers reported that such strategies had many positive effects on their thinking, attitudes and their behaviour. This, they note, resulted in enhanced self-esteem and confidence, greater sensitivity to student needs, job satisfaction, commitment and loyalty among the teaching staff.

Lewis (1973) sees two types of need, which are necessary for teachers to perform and to be satisfied. These, he refers to as maintenance and motivational needs. Maintenance needs are listed as salaries and fringe benefits, job security, status and privileges, social and physical needs. On the other hand, motivational needs encompass factors of growth in terms of competence, achievement, responsibility and recognition. Lewis (1973) observes that an effective administrator perceives teachers as having such needs and he/she strives to provide them to teachers in order to enhance their human potentialities.

Gonzalez (1995) identifies the commonly cited reasons for teacher attrition as the following: lack of administrative, collegial and parental support and insufficient involvement in decision making. This observation concurs with those of Blaise and Kirby (1992), who concluded that administrative, parental and collegial support are critical factors for teachers in the profession.

Kim and Loadman (as cited in Shann,1998) on the other hand, identified factors that are statistically significant in predicting teachers' job satisfaction as being interaction with students, interaction with colleagues, professional challenges, professional autonomy, working conditions and salaries.

Dinham (cited in Shann,1998) separated the various sources of teacher satisfaction that are human and affective, (for example pupil achievement) from factors that are related to school structure, such as class size, resources, educational policies and procedures. His argument was that separate measures are needed to assess all of the factors that are largely mutually exclusive. Dinham also found out that the sources of teacher satisfaction varied with gender, experience and position in the job hierarchy.

Other authors that have written on job satisfaction include Miller, Brownell, and Smith, (1999), Chivore, (1990), Taylor and Tashakkori, (1995), and Fritz, *et.al.* (1995). Variables that have recurrently been identified as predictors of teachers' job satisfaction include salaries, work itself, career prospects and involvement in decision-making. Other factors include teacher relationship with the head-teachers, job security, sense of personal efficacy, status of the profession, and parent-teacher relationship.

2.8.1. Salaries

In a study of factors influencing the recruitment and retention of professionally qualified teachers in Zimbabwe, Chivore (1990) noted that salaries were an important factor. He observed that salaries not only determined the status of the profession but also whether or not they would attract and retain enough professionally qualified teachers.

The linkage between salaries and social status was reiterated in a 1978 International Labour Organization (ILO) report which pointed out that remuneration reflects the social importance of the teaching profession. The same report also noted that inadequate pay levels adversely affect recruitment and create frustration among teachers and give rise to militancy. This observation agrees with the position of Chivore (1990) who concluded

that the greatest problem of teachers is not that of raising their initial training but of keeping teachers in the field interested, active and efficient. In this case, the financial and social difficulties rather than educational or professional inadequacies are crucial.

2:8.2. Workload

The amount and content of work in teaching can play an important role in determining teachers' job satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Teachers' role in the school can be seen in quantitative and qualitative terms. The quantitative aspects of teachers work refer to the amount of work to be done in a given time period. The qualitative aspect of work refers to the level of skill required to perform a certain task.

Teachers, in the course of their duties, are often faced with both quantitative and qualitative job demands. Fullan and Hargreaves (1992:9) in summing up the challenges of a modern school teacher conclude:

Teachers and head teachers are dangerously overloaded. More 'social work' responsibilities, greater accountability and having to deal with a wider range of abilities and behaviour in their classrooms are now all part of the teacher's lot. Also because of the knowledge explosion, and because what we now expect teachers to cover in the curriculum, the values and style of the one classroom-one teacher tradition are no longer relevant.

The implication is that two pertinent issues, which are interrelated in teaching at the moment, are both the amount and the quality of the workload. Any effort to sustain teachers' job satisfaction therefore calls for deliberate steps to lessen the workload of teachers and improve their skills in order to enable them to cope with the emerging challenges in the profession.

Improvements in teachers' skills imply a deliberate effort to foster competence among teachers in their work. Xin-Ma and MacMillan (1999) see professional competence as a key contributor to job satisfaction for teachers. They argue that teachers who are satisfied with their job state that they feel positive about what they know and that how they teach does matter in the education of their students.

Beck and Murphy (1996) observe that teachers who are professionally competent are satisfied with their work and such teachers recognize the importance of on-going professional development. They conclude that, without a sense of professional competence, let alone growth, some degree of professional unease may result in feelings of dissatisfaction with teachers' instructional success over the short term, and if such sentiments persist, with their jobs.

Maclean (1992) in his study on teaching as a career, found that the majority of his respondents are attracted to it because they regard school teaching as an occupation that offered the possibility of pursuing a career. Sifuna (1994:31) also concurs with this linkage when he emphasizes that "many ambitious youth are easily discouraged from entering a profession, which lacks prospects for promotion and upward mobility." This is further supported by Fritz *et.al* (1995) who note that programmes that help to increase teachers' skills and hence teaching efficacy improve a sense of competence and satisfaction with teaching.

2:8.3 Decision making

Another factor related to job satisfaction, which has been cited as crucial in teachers' decision to join and remain in the teaching ranks, concerns the opportunities for participatory management within the school setting. Brodinsky (1984) believes that participatory management practices, defined as meaningful involvement in decision making process, build and maintain teachers' morale.

Goodlad (1984:176) observes that "studies have shown that supportive conditions such as sensitive leadership by the principal, availability of help and involvement in school-wide decisions, tend to be associated with greater enthusiasm, professionalism and career fulfillment on the part of the teachers."

Shreeve *et al* (1987) in their study on the principal's role in the enhancement of teacher job satisfaction found that teachers appreciate principals' leadership but they also want involvement in the decision making process. Shreeve *et.al* conclude thus: "those principals who loosen the reins of power to invite teachers into a larger management role may well find their positions enhanced and simultaneously may improve the job satisfaction levels within their buildings" (p.18).

2:8.4. Teacher relation with the principal

Principals in schools are the most immediate supervisors for teachers. Principals affect instructions independently through principal-teacher communication associated with supervision and evaluation. They also control staff relations through verbal communication.

Implicit in the communication network between the principals and the teachers, is the concept of communication satisfaction. Reyes and Hoyle (1992) see communication satisfaction as the "summing up" of individuals' satisfaction with information flow and this occurs when expectations have been fulfilled. They suggest that indicators of such standards will include explanation of policies, advance notice of changes, freedom to make suggestions, recognition and expression of appreciation for good performance and the adequacy of information on matters regarded as relevant by the employee.

2:8.5. Job security

Teachers' security of tenure is another factor that has been cited as one of the explanatory factors in teachers' choice of their profession. In a survey of teachers' attitudes regarding the attraction of various facets of teaching as an occupation, Maclean (1992) noted that job security was one of the most highly rated factors.

Chivore (1990) observes that there are a number of studies that confirm that people choose to be teachers because it is a secure profession. On the same issue, Lenahan (as

cited in Chivore, 1990) observed that one of the advantages is job security, security of employment and security of income.

What comes out clearly in all these factors is that teachers remain largely committed to the profession because of its assured safety in terms of earning and continuity. In this case, they may be ready to overlook other factors like low pay, or esteem of the profession in order to ensure that they remain in stable employment.

2.8.6 Demographic characteristics of teachers and job needs

Personal and environmental factors may come into play when it comes to job satisfaction. In this case, what may appeal to one individual may not command the same weight with another individual even when he or she is exposed to the same conditions. On the other hand, different environments may pose varying challenges or needs. It is therefore necessary to highlight the various factors that account for individual variations in their job needs.

Studies on teacher job satisfaction reveal wide-ranging differences in what contributes to job satisfaction according to demographic differences. Such factors can be associated with age, locality of the work place, experience of the teacher, qualification and gender.

Shann (1998), in a study on job satisfaction among urban teachers, found that many graduates are reluctant to take teaching positions in the inner city. She also found out that many of the teachers who do come to urban schools do not stay, and that many of the highest teacher attrition rates were in urban districts. Reasons cited by teachers for leaving include cost of living, the unique discipline cases posed by children as a result of urban lifestyles and lack of collegial and parent support.

Chivore (1990) in a study of students' attitude to their profession also noted that there was a difference between male and female pupils. His conclusion is that, "as a profession,

teaching seems to be a refuge for the females who are subjected to discriminatory practices in the world of employment” (p.158).

A number of studies indicate that age is another factor that influences employee attitudes and job expectations. Mottaz (1987), in his study of job satisfaction among accountants found that there is some association between employee age and job satisfaction. He noted that younger accountants placed significantly greater importance on intrinsic rewards and challenging jobs as compared to older workers, who are more concerned with extrinsic rewards such as pay and fringe benefits. He also found that older workers consider rewards, like interesting work, autonomy, and promotion as less important and more difficult to attain than younger workers do. Their demands of the job are therefore relatively smaller compared to those of younger workers.

The variation in teacher job needs according to age implies that their degree of job satisfaction may vary according to how each group perceives their work conditions. It is therefore not possible to make a ‘blanket’ generalization in trying to provide job conditions that appeal to teachers without taking into consideration their special group needs.

What emerges from the above studies further confirm the factors which influence teacher job satisfaction. The importance of each factor is dependent on the individual teacher’s ranking and priorities. Teachers’ unions build their objectives around these needs in order to attract teacher membership. Their contribution to the fulfillment of teachers’ needs may be seen as a measure of their effectiveness. Teachers’ perceptions of a union’s effectiveness therefore reflect the extent to which they feel that the union contributes to the realization of such needs. This linkage, to a large extent, may be taken as one determining factor in teachers’ decision to become members of a union.

2.9. Interest groups and the state in the African context

As pointed out earlier in the theoretical framework, the flourishing of interest groups is often linked to democratic systems of governance. The presupposition in this claim is that for groups to be effective, or to make any meaningful impact in the society, open systems that allow relatively unfettered competition must be in place. Such situations have always been associated with the industrialized countries.

The situation which exists in most developing parts of the world is not always democratic or open. In these countries, especially in colonial and post-colonial Africa, there has been a deliberate and systematic attempt to dis-empower or even remove organizations that present any form of dissent with respect to state opinion and/or state structures. The motives for this are best captured by Cohen and Rogers (1995) when they note that:

...the central role of the state is typically defined as one of defending the legal framework of formal liberty itself and securing the prerequisites of competitive market operation. To play this role, the state does need to regulate and restrict choice in order to protect property, enforce contracts, secure a stable money supply, curb anti-competitive behaviour, mandate that property be relinquished when market power is unduly concentrated; because all these are necessary to securing a competitive market order that respects choice. (p.13)

Thus, proponents of the legitimacy of state intervention advance the argument that it protects liberty and secures the general welfare for the majority. Commenting on this, Huntington (1968) points out that, “following political instabilities, ethnic rivalries, civil wars and limited economic development in many developing countries, theoretical approaches emerged in the late 1960s which perceived unchecked participation to be an obstacle to economic development” (p.4). The state saw itself as having the obligation to subjugate social groups in order to achieve economic growth and unity.

The same school of thought argues that, on attainment of independence, most African countries have tried to suppress or absorb into party structures some of the pre-independence groups under the pretext that any societal cleavages were not healthy for the young nations. Evidence abounds on how the majority of countries have deliberately tried to eliminate the power of interest groups. Manuh, (1993:125) comments thus:

independence groups under the pretext that any societal cleavages were not healthy for the young nations. Evidence abounds on how the majority of countries have deliberately tried to eliminate the power of interest groups. Manuh, (1993:125) comments thus:

Given its interest, particularly in the third world, in eliminating centres of power, to achieve hegemony, government resorts to political centralism and co-opt independent labour organizations and professional associations. Other times, it pre-empt the formation of such organizations by creating state alternatives. In addition, it possesses regulatory mechanisms, which act to discourage voluntary initiative and to induce apathy and withdrawal.

Analysts of interest groups in Africa often point out that many such groups, in theory, claim to be founded on the principles of autonomy, voluntarism and activism, and act on behalf of disadvantaged members. However, it is argued that most of the interest groups in these regions have developed under the protection and privileged support of the elite. It is noted that the governing elite maintains power by seeking a coalition with groups who will support them in return for benefits and privileges. The conclusion is that the state hegemony that permeates most interest groups precludes any meaningful influence of such groups. This brings to the fore the question as to what accounts for the seemingly strong state and weak civil organizations in this region. In trying to address this question, it is imperative to trace the origins and the construction of the state in Africa from the colonial days in order to appreciate the influence of this legacy on post-colonial state-civil society relation in Africa.

The project of constructing a strong state in Africa began in earnest with the advent of colonialism and was nurtured by the post-colonial regimes. Chabal (1994) has summed up this thus: "if the post – colonial state looked like the European state, it was because it had been designed thus – the 'official statement' made by the colonial power at the end of decolonization, rather than a reflection of the realities of community and accountability in independent Africa" (p.69). The colonial states put in place the legal and political superstructure to control and manage the colonial territories, which were acquired through conquest. The principles of governance were also characterized by force and were aimed at establishing imperial sovereignty on the conquered territories. As such, they

sought to legitimate their rule and ensure their subjects' allegiance through force. To achieve this, administrative infrastructures were set up in order to 'civilise' the colonial subjects in the image of the colonizer (Mamdani, 1996). The colonial state was thus a conquest state and it rested on force despite its pretence to rule by consent. As Chabal (1994) aptly observed, "the colonial state was the architect of the political community. It defined boundaries of the community, created its political infrastructure and invented the rules of the game, which could always be arbitrarily changed to suit the situation at hand" (p.74).

Centralization of power by the colonial state extended to the economic lives of the colonial citizens. Through the introduction of currencies, levying of taxes, and the introduction of new crops, the state controlled the internal and external trade. In addition, the colonial state tried to integrate the economies of the colonies into the imperial economy and by so doing, it positioned itself as the arbiter and the main agent of economic activity (Azarya, 1994). This weakened any growth of a viable civil society that could challenge its dominance.

Through its entrenched bureaucracy, the colonial state made laws, implemented them, and made decisions governing the subjects. Chabal (1994) notes that "the bureaucracy [colonial] defined the identities and occupations of the Africans and determined what their lawful activities were or could be" (p.75). The colonial state's legitimacy relied on its ability to control and manage the political community it had created rather than enabling representation of its constituents. The constituents' way of life was therefore defined by the state rather than the latter being defined by the former as is the case in modern democracies.

The overwhelmingly dominant position of the state in the colonial order provided the primary purpose of independence by nationalists from colonialists. The vision was to capture the state and thus, acquire the means of creating a nation – state, i.e. to shape a 'modern' African political community according to new principles of political

accountability as was defined in by colonial leaders. In essence, the nationalists, whatever their political inclinations, could not dispense with the machinery of the colonial state in order to create a new state *ab initio*. In this therefore, lay the continuity of the colonial policies of centralization of power and weakening of civil society. Chabal (1994:77) captures this thus:

What was wrong with the colonial state was that it fulfilled the colonial mission, not that it was bureaucratic. Change the mission, and its machinery could be used for nationalist, [African] purposes. In such belief, it has been argued, the nationalists were misled, in fact the reverse happened: the nature of the colonial state over - determined the nature of post - colonial state.

Independent African nations thus inherited the colonial state, which, although they tried to reform it in their own fashion, exhibited the autocratic tenets of colonial regimes. In Mamdani's (1996) view, two distinct systems of governance emerged in Africa: the 'conservative' and the 'radical.' He argues that the conservative system of administration maintained the hierarchy of the local state apparatus from the chiefs to headmen. On the other hand, the radical independent African state attempted to "discard a constellation of tribally defined laws and replace them with a single law transcending tribal boundaries" (p.25). Despite the bifurcated approach in the construction of independent African State, the outcome was the same. Mamdani (1996) brings out this clearly when he observes that:

Whereas the conservative regimes reproduced the decentralized despotism that was the form of the colonial state in Africa, the radical regime sought to reform it. The outcome, however was not to dismantle despotism through a democratic reform; [but] rather, it was to reorganize decentralized power so as to unify the 'nation' through a reform that tended to centralization. The antidote to a decentralized despotism turned out to be a centralized despotism. (p.25)

The point made by Mamdani in the above argument implies that the strategy of administration adopted by the 'conservative' and 'radical' regimes was basically a continuity of the colonial state, with little change in the nature of power. This is more apparent when he asserts that: "the conservative states removed the sting of racism from the colonially fashioned stronghold but kept in its place the Native Authorities, which enforced the division between ethnicities... [t]he radical state went a step further, joining de-racialization with de-tribalization" (p.26).

The post – colonial African State thus, historically, emerged before the ‘nation’ and, given its hegemonic construction, it has always attempted to determine the ‘texture’ of politics of civil society. As Cabal (1994) points out:

The politics of civil society [in Africa] are often not registered or not understood simply because they are not intelligible to the political language of the state. Similarly, the state defines the boundaries of political legitimacy, so that the political action(s) of civil society are almost inevitably confined to the realm of political illegitimacy. (p.185)

Civil society control was reinforced by the fact that the state, unlike other players in the economic sectors, was disproportionately advantaged in the control of resources. Such resources could be used to extend the state’s dominance over the citizenry through the provision of employment. Citing the Kenyan case, Zeleza (1992) underscores this point thus:

The public sector has been the main engine of employment creation since independence... [t]he government adapted the policy of guaranteeing employment to trainees of government training institutions and university graduates. Job seekers were attracted to the public sector because it provided relatively greater security and higher wages on average than the profit conscious private sector. Public sector employment continued to be dominated by the central government, whose share in 1987 stood at 44%. (p.348)

With legal and institutional structures in place to entrench its dominance and its unbridled access to economic resources, post – colonial African states were able to tighten their grip and control of civil society. It was able to narrow representation, increase coercion, bureaucratization of society and buttress its power. In the process, while the civil society’s influence over the state was drastically reduced, the latter “grew larger, more all encompassing, economically more dominant and politically more powerful – the ‘totalisation’ of society” (Chabal, 1994:89).

Despite the colonial and post- colonial African states’ determined efforts to eliminate the growth the emergence of civil society, the furthest they could achieve was to enfeeble them. Civil society has been slowly but steadily taking root in this region. Healley and

Robinson, (1992) observe that in Africa several sectoral and class based organizations which cut across ethno-regional divides came up during the colonial period as a result of urbanization and commercialization. Such organizations developed and over time became strong enough to make significant contributions in the struggle for independence.

Bearing in mind the discussion on communal and consensus groups above, besides modern interest groups which are organized around economic social and professional issues, Africa has traditionally-based communal organizations which are based on kinship, region and ethnicity. The relationship between such old loyalties and more modern organizations is complex. Heally and Robinson (1992) argue that some modern associations derive their impetus from traditional institutions whose role was to protect the collective interests of special groups.

Further, the trends of the 1990s that set the pace for institutional liberalization in the hitherto strong central systems of governance are pointers to a new revitalization in interest group participation public life in such regions. This brings to the fore the urgency of the need to look into the role of interest groups as a new order favouring their growth takes root.

Halfani (1993) notes that substantial growth of associational life outside the ambit of the state has been growing in Africa, pointing out that "civil society is also changing significantly as the basis of social organization transcends the traditional areas of welfare or even primordial identities" (p.200). Reiterating the significance that civil groups are adopting in Africa, Osaghae (1994) notes:

... the individual in Africa does not stand alone in relationship with the state... [a]s a student, he presses his demands on, and performs his duties through student bodies and other organized groups. As a worker, he uses trade unions, workers or professional groups as instruments; as an artisan, he relates through the guild; as a market woman, through the formal or informal market associations and groups; as a farmer, through several formal and informal groups. What all these add up to is that the civil society, which aptly summarizes the intervening groups between the individual and the state, is vibrant Africa. (p.3)

The emerging political dispensation in Africa has been attributed to the realization that the subjugation of interest groups has not served the intended economic growth of such countries. Rakner (1992:4) points out that “as the economic recession in Africa approached crisis level, it became evident for most observers outside and within Africa that centralized state structures had not generated economic development. On the contrary, state monopolies had in many instances opened up a political culture of corruption, unaccountability and fraud.” Thus, attention has shifted to the social forces outside the state domain, focusing on voluntary associations, which have been seen as alternative sources of state regulation.

The revitalized associations in Africa are embracing a diverse range of activities spanning from gender concerns to industrial relations, legal systems, education and civil rights. Halfani concludes: “within the African context, where growth of civil society was constricted or reversed by the domineering tendencies of the colonial and post-colonial states, this recrudescence of community and associational life marks significant progress” (p.200). Thus, there are signs that interest groups are slowly taking root in Africa, bringing with them a new dimension in the approach to public management and resource allocation among all stakeholders.

2.10. Emergence of Teachers' Unions

Teachers, like all professionals in their respective sections expect their job and places of work to be interesting and fulfilling. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. Fullan and Hargreaves (1992:23), in noting the problems faced by teachers make the point that:

The problem (facing teachers) is not one but many. It is a problem of promotion blocked teachers in mid career, who are losing energy and morale as classroom challenges gradually fade into repetitive routines. It is a problem of new teachers struggling to survive alone in the classroom, regressing to safety and mediocrity as they try to ward off possibly adverse judgment from their colleagues... a problem of narrowly in-servicing teachers in particular skills without taking into account the total teacher in terms of age, gender and personal values.

The challenges facing teachers in their profession are thus many and diverse. There is the issue of teaching being a changing job and so generating wider and more diverse

expectations amongst its practitioners. Teachers need sufficient preparation time in terms of training. They also need autonomy and involvement in decision making. There are also issues touching on remuneration and rationalization of personnel policies so that all teachers are governed by the same rules.

Ginsburg *et. al* (1988), in a study of teaching as a profession in India found out that teachers were accountable to several parties in education. These include the state bureaucracies, parents and students. However, of all the constituencies to which teachers are supposed to be accountable, they argued that the state commanded a disproportionately large part of teachers' attention. This, they concluded, was because the regulations governing teachers' work are drawn up by state bureaucrats and that this bound them to the state which was also doubling up as the employer. Further, they noted that teachers were bound in their work by curricula designed for them by state bureaucrats which they had no power to change. Expounding on the state-teacher power relationship in most parts of the world, Shalem (1990:1) points out that:

The history of teaching all over the world has been a history of struggle against the control of both the state and the capital over teachers' practices, a control which developed from direct personal rule, through bureaucratic indirect rule to the more recently emerging regime of technical control.

This state of 'proletarianisation' deprives teachers of the benefits of working as professionals in that they cannot initiate and execute their work independently, and this often accounts for their low status in the society.

Despite the seemingly overwhelming challenges facing teachers, they have one major advantage in that their service remains one of the most pervasive and indispensable in any society. The economy of any country relies on its skilled personnel and it is only realizable through their service. The necessity of teachers' services and the fact that most societies and states have never found it prudent to commit their efforts to minimizing the challenges facing teachers in their profession is contradictory. This scenario is forcing teachers in many countries to look for ways of asserting themselves in the quest for what they feel are their rightful demands as professionals. Bullough (1987) points out that

teachers often adopt strategies which may challenge state control and enhance their professional interests. One such strategy has been to organize themselves under the umbrella of a union.

The emergence of teachers' organizations in the form of unions can be attributed to the needs of the teachers as an interest group in education. In general, teachers have three sets of inter-related concerns, namely:

- a) Those common to all employed persons.
- b) Those unique to being members of a profession.
- c) Those related to a particular aspect of teaching.

The above concerns of teachers are interrelated. To be an employee raises issues of economic welfare; while to be professional raises issues of continuing education, personal development, rights and responsibilities. On the other hand, to be a specialist calls for continuing competence in academic skills.

Teachers' unions have emerged as organizations whose aims and purposes are to address the needs of their members in the above three broad areas. Sifuna (1994: 32) observed that teachers' unions have a duty to:

Vigorously press for the improvement in the occupational status of teachers and resist the callous efforts by authorities to take advantage of teachers' goodwill by paying them less than what they are worth.... they should propose ways in which the teaching profession could set its own standards of competence and conduct and enter into partnership with authorities in supervision, monitoring and evaluation. By pursuing greater teacher professionalisation and a wholehearted commitment to all aspects of teachers' welfare, teachers' organization will fulfill their potential for leadership of a dignified teaching profession.

Most teachers' unions embrace a complex mix of teacher welfare and educational interests. They also push for educational reforms. Poole (1999:702) notes that some established unions have research committees with representations from teachers and university professors whose role is to foster educational research.

Sarason (1990) notes that teachers' unions have emerged to restrict the range and substance of those with legal authority for the school system. In articulating the centrality of power as a factor in the emergence of teachers' unions, Sarason (1990) explains that teachers have been in unequal power relationships with policy makers in most countries. He postulates that "teachers have not been regarded as professionals because they have little power or no control over the rendering of their service and that they are paid to do what they have been told to do" (p.12).

Unions have dual roles: a) the pursuit of the economic needs of teachers and, b), the development of quality teachers and quality education. Progress in each domain may be seen as an indicator of a union's effectiveness. On the other hand, emphasis in any one domain may be an indicator of the degree of the union's preference towards either of its concerns or its identity. Professional issues include such factors as the class size, duties of the teacher and opportunities for improvement of one's competence. The trade union emphasis, on the other hand, concentrates on teachers' economic needs and teacher protection.

Karugu (1986) notes that in Kenya, teachers often argue that there are no distinctions between economic and professional issues in education. They advance the argument that if students are to have optimal conditions for learning, then teachers must have optimal conditions for teaching. Vadi (1993) supports this argument when he points out that for teachers to form a trade union and fight for professionalism is not mutually contradictory. Khalanyane (1995), arguing for the same, concludes thus: "whether teachers organize themselves into a union or professional association, they still have to follow a particular code of conduct and discipline in order to enhance their professional state and the image of their profession" (p.20). Adam (1982:197) also notes that unions are important to legislatures and education bureaucracies because they give these decision-makers "better knowledge of operating conditions in schools, and provide automatic feedback on innovations." This second opinion is needed to supplement whatever official information gathering mechanism the authorities may devise.

In short, what this implies is that teachers' unions, whether small and less influential or established or more forceful in articulating teachers' and educational issues, have a responsibility to protect teachers and schools. They have a duty to speak and press for a more generous allocation of society's resources for the education of their children.

2.11. Teachers' unions and professionalism in teaching

The dual role of teachers' unions in serving the economic and professional needs of teachers is influenced by the nature of teaching as an occupation. The nature of the occupation of members has been noted as a major determinant of any union's effectiveness. Occupations have been classified as 'professions' or 'craft guilds.'

Maclean (1992:16) sees professions as occupations that have a body of knowledge or theory that defines an area of expertise. The development of professional associations helps increase group identity and develop appropriate codes of behaviour for those in the occupation and a commitment to clients. More specifically, professions are said to possess the following features:

- The provision of a specialized, unique service, essential to the society.
- The possession of intellectual capacity and skill techniques.
- They offer specified periods of training and socialization for their members.
- They seek to have a high degree of group and individual professional autonomy.
- They have independent means of social control through enforcement of codes of ethics.
- They demand a high level of commitment in which work and leisure hours are not easily demarcated.
- They offer a lifetime calling within a career structure.
- They encourage a pursuit of research, the diffusion of knowledge and in-service training.

Corwin (1970:8) echoes Maclean's view of a profession, when he describes it as an organized work-group that has a legal monopoly to establish procedures for recruiting and policing members and for maximizing control over a theoretical body of knowledge and applying it to the solution of a special problem. In embracing professionalism therefore, individuals and groups of various vocations are essentially trying to wrest control of their occupation from groups that have traditionally controlled them. It represents an effort to free a profession from lay control.

Gitlin and Labaree (1996) note that what characterizes a profession is 'authority'. Authority is seen as what is earned by 'professionals' in exchange for confidence and trust in their abilities, skills and more importantly, their knowledge about a particular endeavour. Regulations that are imposed on the conduct of the individual in a profession, the limitation of entry by emphasizing on certain qualification all serve to empower the profession and raise its status in the eyes of the public.

The main features of a profession are thus the specialized competence and a strong commitment to a career. Sykes (1987:23) sums up these features in the case of teaching as "a theme in search of policy initiative and a social meaning appropriate to the teaching circumstance." It is a means by which members of an occupation institutionalize their power. Kihn (1993) argues that unions are central in the quest to professionalize occupations like teaching in addition, to providing a forum for members for expressing their belief, identity and getting solidarity among members.

Most craft societies or guilds, on the other hand, have no such restriction. Such occupations are often lacking in specialized skills, standards of performance and self-regulation. Because of their lack of special skills, it is often posited that craft occupations unlike professions have low status or esteem in the society. They are also weak in commanding autonomy, due to lack of authority.

According to Hargreaves and Goodson (1996), the struggle of teachers for professional recognition and for the associated working conditions and rewards has been a long and chequered one. Recurrent themes in their struggles have been cited as higher pay, status, greater autonomy, increased self-regulation and improved standards of training.

In their struggle for professionalism, teachers use their unions. The effectiveness of such unions is partly dependent on the degree of professionalisation of teaching. Hargreaves and Goodson (1996:1) observe that: "teacher professionalisation has been a historically precarious project: resisted by governments, bureaucracies and business interests without, and undermined by ambiguities of loyalty, strategy and identity within."

In many parts of the world, however, there seems to be a determined resolve to sponsor teacher professionalisation. Hargreaves and Goodson (1996) note that a National Board of Professional Teaching Standards has been established in the United States which teachers can choose to join by having their knowledge and skills inspected by their peers. In Kenya, career ladder structures for teachers award modest increments of pay for merit award as attested by the reports from school inspectors.

Teacher professionalization, therefore, is a way of improving the status of teaching and education in general. It can also be seen as a complementary step to achieving what teachers' unions are supposed to be fighting for on behalf of teachers. This is because a union representing professionals might find it easier to assert influence and advance members' needs more effectively than any other occupation lacking in professional traits. The reasons for this can easily be discerned. In the first instance, due to specialized skills demanded in a profession, its members can restrict access to their ranks. This monopoly raises the status of the 'service givers' and in this way, their value in the occupational market due to the scarcity of personnel with such skills.

Bascia (1997) points out that associations representing professionals have effective power in their negotiations on their members' behalf due to their control of occupational training

and entry requirements. They also maintain and enforce a code of occupational ethics and conduct.

Seen in the above perspective, unions play a complementary role in the quest for professionalism. The search for professionalism in teaching involves improving the skills of teachers, increasing their authority and autonomy and their status in the society. Unions also have the task of improving the welfare of the teachers, and the standards of teaching profession. In most cases, unions have tended to emphasize teachers' welfare above those of their professional demands. Sifuna (1994:32) while acknowledging the dilemma in the roles of teachers' unions, observes that:

Teachers' unions and associations have a crucial role to play in improving the status of the teaching profession. It is often suggested that unions tend to alienate public sympathy by selfishly campaigning for improvements in members' salaries and conditions of service without addressing themselves to their professional aspects.

The success of a teachers' union or its effectiveness is therefore dependent, first, on the nature of teaching as an occupation, and secondly, on the support it will get from its members. Gress (1976) has put forward factors that predict teachers' support for unionization. These include teachers' demographic characteristics and individual's perception of potential of the union. Duryea and Fisk (1975) cite other factors determining teacher support or rejection of a union as the status of a school and its geographical location.

Bascia (1997:445) observes that within the school setting, the grade levels, subject areas, students and programmes with which teachers are affiliated engender different experiences and perspectives in influences, access and status. This diversity poses a challenge to any assumption of teachers' interest. It also makes it difficult for a teachers' union to establish a standard representation pattern. Bascia concludes that "whether unionism is a viable option for teachers is a question that can only be answered

conditionally, by considering the particular contextual features of a place and the actual people who live and teach there” (p.451).

The challenges for unions in trying to address the needs of the teachers therefore start with the issue of professionalization of teaching. As is indicated in the above characteristics of a profession, a profession’s ability to control its operations and entry places it in a vantage position as a monopoly. The monopolistic status of a profession therefore strengthens its bargaining position among other competitors in the market for the needs of their members. Thus, the ability of a teachers’ union to meet the needs of its members is closely tied to its ability to ‘professionalize’ it.

2.12. Role of teachers’ unions in the enhancement of job satisfaction

Given the significance of teaching as a profession in any society, and judging by the number of teachers in its employ, the number of clients involved and the consequent costs invested in it, it would be reasonable to expect results that justify the costs involved. The realization of any meaningful educational objectives however, is dependent on teachers’ commitment. Commitment on the other hand is dependent on job satisfaction.

Commitment is a derived virtue, coming as a result of an individual seeing meaning and getting satisfaction from his or her job. It would therefore be worthwhile to explore the extent to which teachers’ unions can engender a sense of satisfaction and self-fulfillment among teachers in their profession. How have the teachers’ interests and needs been addressed by their unions in order to make them feel important, wanted, and, like other professionals, experience a sense of status in their work, in addition to other rewards? As a way of approaching such questions, an attempt will be made to examine what researchers have put forward as factors that determine teachers’ job satisfaction and how teachers’ unions can promote or enhance the realization of such valued job facets.

Any attempt to bring out the best from teachers’ efforts can be futile if no effort is made to identify and reward or improve what the teachers value or what goes into making them

satisfied. This means that unions must expend efforts in deliberately trying to establish what the teachers want in the work place so that they can be able to fight for what actually pulls the teacher to the profession.

In trying to fight for teachers' needs as highlighted above, unions inevitably 'bridge' the welfare-professional dichotomy in order to advance their constituents' cause. The ability of a union to 'fuse' the dual roles of welfare and professionalism largely depends on its stage of development. As such, fledgling ones tend to concentrate more on immediate needs which fall in the socio-economic domain, while established ones go beyond this to address professional needs.

The evidence of teachers' unions' roles in 'extending the boundaries' that tend to limit the realization of their members' job needs are well documented. Sadker and Sadker (1991:34), in acknowledging the influence and role of America's two major teachers' unions, namely: the National Education Association (NEA) and American Federation of Teachers (AFT), note that:

In the past, being a teacher meant meagre wages, conformity to a strict moral and social code, and relatively little professional autonomy. The struggle for teachers to attain full professional status has been a long but increasingly successful one.

As a result of the acknowledged NEA and AFT roles, Ayers (1992:17) points out that "over 80% of public school teachers are either members of AFT or NEA." This may be taken as a pointer to teachers' faith in their unions' ability to perform. What may not be construed from such statistics, however, is the extent to which teachers feel that their union is effective in other facets of job satisfaction.

Unions also strive to engender professionalism in teaching. This may be seen as a means of raising the status and rewards of teaching, attracting skilled and able people into the field and allowing greater control over the content and conduct over their work. Barber (1992) argues that professionals hold rare skills and knowledge that are esoteric and powerful. The skills and knowledge earn the professional status in the society and the

benefits that go with it. Sergiovani *et. al* (1980:26) observe that there is always a high public trust and confidence in the profession and in individual practitioners based upon a professional's demonstrated capacity to provide service markedly beyond that which would otherwise be available.

In Zambia, Mwanakatwe's study (cited in Khalanyane, 1995) found out that the Zambia National Teachers' Union (ZNTU) was influential in fighting for socio-economic and professional issues. He reports that the union successfully lobbied for higher salaries and teachers' competence. Khalanyane (1995) notes that "ZNTU was officially recognized in 1962 and was responsible for the increased professionalism in teaching. The union won the right for teachers to be involved in educational policy and planning as well as in development of Subject Committees" (p.22).

A union's ability to press for professionalism in teaching serves two purposes: raising the status of the profession and enabling the public to get service from the most qualified individuals. Further, because a profession demands a collegial censorship in terms of work performance and conduct, the status of the teaching profession will be enhanced and this may consequently encourage teachers to feel satisfied and more committed to their work.

Smith (1995:55) sees the linkage between a union's role and enhancement of members' professional needs when he stresses that:

Teachers want their unions to collectively and with conviction, represent the corporate ideals, aspirations, the conscience and the voice of their profession.... teachers certainly do not need a plethora of self-appointed think tanks to stand as the confident, respected, but accountable professional guarantors of their visions' validity, achievability and delivery.

What can be extrapolated from the above contention is that teachers who have faith in their unions expect them to determine and influence their quest for professionalism.

In their outline of the characteristics of a profession, Sadker and Sadker (1991) stress that the profession has agreed upon performance standards for admission to it so that the individual practitioners are characterized by a strong service motivation and a lifetime commitment to competence. This definition demands that members of a profession must be autonomous in the way they operate and in their decisions on what they deem is relevant for the profession. A union's effectiveness in engendering such pertinent demands of a profession is a good measure of its enhancement of members' job satisfaction.

Kimborough and Nunnery (1983) noted that NEA and AFT have had much influence on educational policies in America. They observe that the two organizations engage in research and have produced results that have provided the bases for the establishment of important commissions that make influential reports on educational policies.

Perry and Willman (1970) studied urban, medium and small rural schools in California which were involved in professional unionism and found out that through such organizations' interventions, there was an increase in absolute and relative size of the total amount of resources allocated to teacher compensation. Khan (1979) also found out that unions have a significant influence on wages both in the short and long term. His conclusion was that unions make a difference in the salary levels of teachers who are represented as opposed to those who are not.

Karugu (1986) in stressing the importance of salaries in teachers' job satisfaction observes that it is not easy to instill professional ethics and discipline in teachers who are 'hungry'. To this effect, unions have a role to mediate between teachers and all interest groups, which have a stake in the teaching profession and the promotion of education in general.

According to a working party on education and training (1988), the Kenya National Union of teachers (KNUT) has always been represented by its secretary general on the

task forces and investigative committees set to consider policy changes in education. Such a body is supposed to resist any legislation, which fails to accommodate its members' interests.

Nyambala (1981) notes that in its professional role, KNUT has put a lot of effort to influencing the improvement of professional standards. He points out that KNUT has always been involved in the running of in-service courses as a means of improving academic and professional levels of many serving teachers. This reflects an attempt to promote competence and skills in the profession.

At the continental level, Itotah (1982) observes that the All Africa Teachers' Organization (AATO) which is the umbrella organization of teachers' unions in Africa, has objectives which reflect the needs and aspirations of the teachers. The AATO aims at promoting a closer relationship among teachers' organizations in different countries of Africa. It also aims at improving curricula and teaching methods and engaging in the promotion of academic and professional training of teachers. These areas of concern by AATO are what have been cited as factors of interest in teachers' job satisfaction. One may therefore safely assume that the effective execution of stated aims by AATO could go a long way in influencing the realization of teachers' job needs and enhancing their status as workers and educators.

Other areas of concern to the teacher's unions include issues on teacher involvement in decision making and professional autonomy. Altenbough (1987) provides some lead questions, which can be used to define the kind of involvement and autonomy desired and valued by teachers. This includes the following:

- a) Who defines what constitutes the work of a teacher?
- b) What form of 'surveillance' and discipline are used to focus power relationships that are embedded in the texture of teaching?

As implementers of school curricula, it is imperative that teachers would value being involved in designing what they are supposed to effect in schools. They would also feel

comfortable working in an environment where their skills are recognized and valued. Hartshorne (1992) points out that implementation of school programmes will not succeed if there are “attempts to control teachers... to tell them to do and how to do it, but by respecting the persons and rights of teachers so that it is possible for them to act as educators rather than as employees” (p.280). A situation that permits a wide latitude of independence in areas where the teacher is an ‘authority’ will go a long way in enhancing his or her satisfaction with the profession.

What seems to be coming out from this discussion is that, teachers, like other professionals have identifiable valued job expectations. The emergence of unions is a response to these needs and expectations. Unions emerge to occupy a gap that is necessary in the linkage between teachers and other interest groups. Unions aim at championing the concerns of the teacher and in the process, help in building an attitude of the teacher to his or her profession. A positive attitude to the job is expected from a teacher if the union manages to secure most of what the teacher values in the work place. A union’s ability to influence and make the most of what is desired realizable can be seen as its effectiveness. Effectiveness, on the other hand, as noted by Cameron (1986), is a multi-dimensional construct. Nevertheless, as a construct, effectiveness can be contextualised in order to get a measure of some specific domains.

Unions have specific roles and objectives, which they are supposed to play and strive to effect. These roles and objectives are derived from what the teachers value and desire. Unions are thus meant to serve their interests and those of the teaching profession in general. From the various roles that the union plays, it is possible for the teacher to assess its effectiveness in all or specific areas. In the same way, teachers can rank or prioritize the factors that they value most in their job and can rate the influence or contribution of the union in enhancing or making them realizable. If these valued factors are what contribute to job satisfaction, it will be possible to measure the union’s influence on job satisfaction.

Adam (1982:202) in his analysis of the future of teachers' unions concludes thus:

...there is no real alternative to the unions. Teachers, like all other employees, need spokesmen on industrial matters. Unions are also important to legislatures and education bureaucracies, giving decision-makers better knowledge of operating conditions in schools and providing and automatic feedback on innovation.

From the literature surveyed, it emerges that teachers, like all other workers in any occupation, have needs which attract them to the profession or discourage them, depending on whether such needs are accessible to them or not. These needs may loosely be classified as either welfare or professional needs. The welfare needs can be exemplified by salaries and working conditions. Professional needs cover the characteristics of the profession, for example, level of autonomy, curriculum and the status of the profession.

Among the stakeholders in education, teachers always struggle to protect or advance their needs and the needs of the profession. In this quest, teachers' unions have emerged purposely to assist teachers in fighting for the fulfillment of such needs.

The ability of unions to advance their members' needs is crucial for two reasons:

- It will guarantee their membership support,
- It will enhance teachers' job satisfaction by ensuring that teachers' job needs are addressed.

To this effect, it is imperative that teachers' unions play an effective role in their efforts of providing alternative means of devolving powers from lay persons to the professionals in matters that affect their occupation. It is also through their influence that other job satisfaction needs of the members may be realized. In this respect, professional associations, which, as pointed out in the literature review, are beginning to take root in Africa, have the opportunity to bolster the powers of professions and provide a strong counter-force to various agencies that seek to curtail or regiment their members' positions and role in their professions.

In spite of the widely held belief that interest groups can positively contribute to the determination of policies and decision-making in their areas of concern, this area has attracted little research in Africa. The overt deficit in scholarly works in this area has often been attributed to the presumption that these organizations either operate informally or are not independent from the state and as such, they have little impact in the society. Healley and Robinson (1992) note that most interest groups in this region are characterized by informal approaches to lobbying processes and this precludes any understanding of their representation. In Rakner's (1992) view, it is difficult to distinguish between interest associations from the state since most of them lack autonomy and consequently, there are few effective associations capable of imposing controls on their professions and advancing their members' interests.

To this end, scholars on interest groups have found justifications, which, though not without basis, are not substantial enough to authoritatively warrant a lack of interest in this area. In tracing the role and impact of teachers' union in Kenya, this study seeks to empirically document the significance of one of the hitherto least explored organizations in this region. In its own small way, it will contribute to the understanding of the extent to which emerging professional organizations can contribute to the advancement of their members' needs and those of the professions they serve. Specifically, the findings will provide the basis for drawing conclusions on the extent to which KNUT is perceived to be effectively serving its dual role of fostering professionalism in teaching and enhancing the realization of teachers' socio-economic needs.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the procedures that were used to gather the research data and analyse them. It is organised into six sections. Sections One and Two describe the research design used in the study and the justification for its choice. Section Three outlines the design of the instrument used in the data collection. This outlines the structure of the instrument, construction procedure and the steps taken to ensure its validity and reliability. Description of the sample selection procedures and data analysis is presented in Sections Four and Five respectively. The final section focuses on the limitation of the research design, highlighting the limits to which generalisation of the findings can be made.

3.2. Research design

Research design refers to "the plan and structure of the investigation used to obtain evidence to answer research question" (Mcmillan and Schumacher 1993:30). The design describes the procedures for conducting the study. It details when the study was done, from whom and under what conditions the data were collected. In essence, designs show how the research is set up, that is, how what happens to the subjects and what methods of data collection are used. Research design, therefore, provides answers to the research questions. Since there are many types of research questions and many types of designs, it is important to match the design with the question. Mcmillan and Schumacher (1993) point out that research design is a very important part of an investigation, since certain limitations and cautions in interpreting the results are related to each design, and also because the research design determines how the data should be analysed. Schulman (1988:15) adds that, "selecting a research design based on the goals of the research necessitates that we must first understand our problem and decide what question we are asking then select the mode of disciplined inquiry most appropriate to those questions."

In the preceding chapter, a survey of teachers' job needs and the role of unions in serving these needs was conducted. In order to achieve the aims of the study, the empirical focus centred on the following areas:

- Teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of the union in serving teachers' socio-economic needs and their needs as professionals.
- The relationship between the demographic characteristics of the teacher and his/her attitude towards the union's effectiveness in its multi-faceted roles.

The objective of this study was to explore the nature of teachers' attitudes towards their union's effectiveness in its role of serving its members and enhancing the cause of teaching as a profession. In the study, it is assumed that the attitudes, just like the term 'effectiveness' of an organisation are multi-dimensional in nature and that the attitudes of teachers are expected to differ for different groups. Thus, in addition to investigating teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness in general, the study explored the relationship between teacher characteristics (in terms of age, locality, gender and qualification) and their responses to the research tool on the union's effectiveness.

In this chapter, the research approach selected as the most appropriate to achieve the objectives of the study is described. Description of the methods of data collection, sampling procedures and techniques of analysis are given. Steps taken to ensure adequate reliability and validity of data are explained and the factors that are likely to limit the generalisability of the results/findings are highlighted.

3.3. Choice of the Research Approach

As stated above, the study focused on teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness and enhancement of the realisation of their job needs. The research questions sought answers as to how teachers perceived the union's effectiveness in the two domains of its role. The research investigations therefore sought data on an attitudinal construct.

Measures of attitudes, beliefs and opinions are best investigated using survey research (Mcmillan and Schumacher, 1993). In this approach, samples of subjects are selected,

and questionnaires are administered and or interviews are conducted in order to collect data.

Mouly (1978) also observes that the survey research method aims at determining the status of a given phenomenon rather than isolating causative factors accounting for its psychological and sociological variables. Best (1977) further explains that the survey research method gathers data from a relatively large number of cases at a particular time and that it is not concerned with characteristics of individuals as individuals, but rather, it is concerned with the generalised statistics that result when data are abstracted from a number of individual cases.

Given that the question of the research in this study was to establish teachers' perceptions of their union's effectiveness, it was found that the survey method would be most appropriate. This is because the nature of data sought, as Best (1977) explains, can be 'abstracted' using a survey method. The results from the survey can also be generalised for the larger population.

Survey designs are basically of two types, namely: longitudinal and cross-sectional. Longitudinal studies collect data that spans over a period of time. These are done at different points in time. A longitudinal design can be further classified as a trend study or a cohort study. In a trend study, a general population is studied over time while a cohort longitudinal study specifies a group for the study rather than a general population. A cohort study draws random samples at different points in time rather than including the entire population.

A cross sectional survey design, according to Wiersma (1991:168), involves the collection of data at one point in time from a random sample representing some given population at that time. This implies that a cross-sectional design cannot be used to measure change in an individual because an individual's response is only taken once.

From the foregoing exposition of survey design, it is clear that the present study, which aimed at measuring teachers' perceptions and attitudes at a given point in time, can be appropriately investigated using cross-sectional survey design. One advantage of using such a design in the present study is that, although the data are collected once, they can be used for the purpose of describing and determining relationships through time (Babbie, 1995).

Cross-sectional survey design was therefore chosen in this study, for, as Ballantyne (1986:93) points out, its approach in conjunction with the judicious use of statistical techniques can enable one to extrapolate meaning from the information without undertaking years of longitudinal research.

Under survey design, information about a large number of people or population can be inferred from the responses obtained from a smaller group of subjects or samples. Mcmillan and Schumacher (1993:36) note that surveys are used for a wide variety of purposes, which include the following:

- Describing the frequency of demographic characteristics or traits held.
- Exploring relationship between different factors.
- Delineating the reasons for particular practices.

Survey design is both 'exploratory research' in that it seeks to gain insights, and 'descriptive research' in its describing characteristics and allowing prediction to be made.

In order to assess the use and appropriateness of the method, and techniques of data collection, literature concerning the use of survey and questionnaires was consulted (Wiersma, 1991, Mcmillan and Schumacher, 1993, Rubin and Babbie, 1993, and Bailey, 1994). Their exposition on the uses of survey research, construction of questionnaires and presentation of research findings proved useful for this study. Further, all concur that surveys allow widespread opinion to be ascertained and are a common and scientifically accepted means of studying individuals under natural conditions.

The choice of survey design, and the broadly based nature of the study, involving many subjects, led to the selection of a questionnaire technique in preference to interview.

According to Mcmillan and Schumacher (1993), the questionnaire is the most used technique for obtaining information from the subjects. The reasons advanced include the following:

- Questionnaires are relatively economical.
- They have standardised questions.
- Can ensure anonymity
- Questions can be written for specific purposes.

According to Fink and Kosecoff (1985:13) a survey questionnaire is “an appropriate research method when an investigator wants to collect information directly from people about their feelings, opinions, motivations, plans and beliefs.” Tuckman, (1994) notes that a questionnaire makes it possible to measure what a person knows, likes or dislikes and what he/she thinks. A questionnaire can be used to discover what experiences have taken place and what is occurring at the present moment.

However, despite the advantages of the questionnaire in data collection, certain disadvantages associated with this method necessitated exploring other methods to supplement it. One drawback of the questionnaire when used as a data gathering method is that it only seeks either factual information or opinions, attitudes and interests. Since the study aimed at obtaining the opinion of as many respondents as possible and at the same time seeking to establish the reasons behind such opinions, it was subsequently decided to supplement the questionnaire with interviews. By combining the two approaches of data collection, it was believed that the shortcomings of using one method would be overcome. This is because, from the interview schedule, it was possible to obtain more details of the reasons behind teachers’ responses to the questionnaires. Thus the two methods were found to be appropriate as they complemented each other, making it possible to collect data, analyse and draw valid conclusions for the study.

3.4. Attitudes and their measurements

Attitudes can be seen as an organised system of evaluative, affective expectations about an individual's environment that predisposes him or her to act in certain ways (Couper, 1982:8). This definition makes clear that an attitude is a derivative of cognitive, affective and behavioural predisposition.

The behaviour component of an attitude includes the verbal expression of an attitude. In this case, opinions are verbal expressions of an attitude and can be seen as intervening variables between abstract or hypothetical concepts and empirical situations.

Attitudes are no more hypothetical than psychological phenomena such as intelligence, aptitudes and ability. The whole claim of the 'measurability' of attitudes is based on the fact that they are made tangible through certain indicators, such as behaviour or the expression of opinion (Couper, 1982).

A further assumption regarding attitudes that has important implications for their measurements concerns the cognitive component. Attitudes are organised in hierarchical groups or sub-group systems. These subsystems are interrelated with one another to form the total attitudinal system of an individual.

Measurement of attitudes involves the use of standardised questionnaires to enable individuals to be placed on a dimension indicating degree of 'favourability' towards the object in question (Burns, 1997). The assignment to a position on the dimension is based on the individual's agreement or disagreement with a number of statements relevant to the attitude object.

The ability to measure attitude is based on the assumption that a series of verbal propositions dealing with the same general social issue can be assumed to be more or less equivalent, or at least to be closely related, so as to permit prediction from a knowledge of a subject's attitude on one issue to his/her attitudes on other aspects of the same issue.

Thus, a specific opinion towards a defined issue from an individual's environment could easily be ascertained through a simple process of requesting his or her opinion regarding the issue. On the other hand, more abstract attitude subsystems can only be solicited indirectly through the individual's response to a collection of opinion statements concerning the hypothesised domain of the content of the attitude. Couper (1982) refers to such a collection of statements or items as an attitude scale. The goal of attitude scale is the development of a measuring instrument that is both valid and reliable, i.e. which measures accurately and consistently that which it was designed to measure.

Numerous techniques for the construction of scales for the measurement of attitudes have been suggested. Such scales are developed according to strict procedures which ensure that several responses can be summed up to yield a single score representing an independent attitude domain.

3.5 Likert-type rating scale

The Likert Scale assumes that attitudes are not necessarily arranged naturally along a single continuum. Rather, they are often discrete and highly independent (Wiersma, 1991). Under such a scale, no attempt is made to assign items to positions along the attitude continuum.

Likert's method is based on the assumption that an attitude towards a given object has many different, but related components, and that an individual's responses to the various components can be summated to elicit his or her response on the attitude sub-system itself. Another assumption is that each item has equal weight or a contribution to make to the attitude structure being measured in relation to other items. In this method, a large number of attitude statements are collected. According to Wiersma (1991), guidelines for collecting data using likert's scale includes the following:

- Statements should be the expression of the desired behaviour and not statements of 'fact'.
- Each statement should be clear, concise, and straightforward, avoiding any possible ambiguity.

- It is desirable that statements elicit responses spread through the attitude continuum rather than clustering around the neutral point.
- Each statement should involve only a single attitude variable and not several such variables.

Having compiled a wide range of attitude statements, one then asks a sample of respondents from the target population to respond to each item on a five point scale ranging from strongly agree through agree, undecided and disagree to strongly disagree.

To obtain an individual's score on the attitude scale, numerical weights are assigned to the categories of each item. The total score is then the summed weights over all items for the respondents. Likert's approach is said to have an advantage due to its flexibility and ease of measurement. Another advantage is that the Likert method makes allowance for the measurement of the intensity of expression of an attitude. Mckenell (1977) notes that an advantage with the Likert scale is that it can be adapted to attitudes of any degree of generality or specificity ranging from highly abstract domains such as alienation or authoritarianism at one extreme, to attitudes towards very specific stimulus objects such as a particular occupation.

3.6 The questionnaire

In order to undertake this research, it was necessary to develop an instrument. The development of the instrument or questionnaire was done in three phases. Firstly, items were developed. Secondly, a procedure for administering the questionnaire was selected before a pilot-run was done.

In item development, two methods were employed, namely: a) a review of previous research work on teachers' job-related needs, and (b) a critical analysis of the union's constitution in order to identify its roles and objectives.

The aim of reviewing previous research work was to gain an understanding of the factors that have been identified as crucial for attracting and retaining people into the profession

of teaching. It was also hoped that through this approach, the researcher would be able to generate items for the questionnaire that were related to teacher job needs as documented in research work on related subject.

An earlier design on measures of job satisfaction by Hellriegel and Slocum (1979) was taken as a point of departure in the construction of the questionnaire. In addition, the work done by Mashele and Grobler (1999) was found to be useful as a guide in building the core items for 'capturing' the data for the study.

Two broad areas were identified as the main sources of teachers' job needs. These were professional dimensions and socio-economic needs of the teachers. On the basis of these two broad areas, items were formulated. These items were to be the basis for the initial pilot questionnaire in the stages of instrument development.

The second source of items for the questionnaire was the union's constitution. The objectives of the union were used as the bases from which items for measuring its effectiveness were drawn. As in the factors forming teachers' job needs, identified from the literature review, the services and objectives of the union can be broadly divided into professional and socio-economic roles. This is because the union, aiming at serving teachers' interests develops its objectives from the two areas of teachers' concern.

3.6.1. Structure of the questionnaire

The contents of the questionnaire were divided into two sections, namely: A and B. Each section reflected the major research areas which included:

- i) Demographic characteristics of the respondents
- ii) Respondents' rating of the union's effectiveness.

The guidelines outlined by Mcmillan and Schumacher (1993) on the steps of constructing a research instrument were useful in the designing of the instrument for this study. Their suggestions requires that the researcher:

- Becomes acquainted with common approaches of measuring the trait or behaviour of interest.

- Writes out specific objectives of the instrument.
- Brainstorms several items for each objective.
- Consults professionals who are knowledgeable in the assessed area to review the items, for clarity, bias and ambiguity.
- Revises the items as necessary and find samples of individuals that are similar to those that will be used in the actual study and administer the instrument.
- Revises, deletes, or adds items where necessary depending on the feedback from the sample subjects.

In addition, Mcmillan and Schumacher (1993) caution that in the questionnaire:

- Questions should be clearly stated in the simplest terms.
- Questions should not be 'loaded.'
- Negative questions should be avoided, and that,
- Questions should produce responses that represent a firm position on the individual being questioned.

Following the above guidelines, the questionnaire was designed, piloted and revised before it was used for data collection.

The questionnaire consisted of closed-ended questions. This format was chosen in order to allow for uniformity of responses. Again, this was advantageous in that using such a format, responses can easily be coded and this simplifies data analysis. Bailey (1994:121) observes that closed-ended questions should be used "when the answer categories are discrete, distinct and relatively few in number, while open-ended questions are used for complex questions that cannot be answered in a few simple categories but require more detail and discussion."

Having identified content areas and question format, question items were constructed. In this process, care was taken to ensure that question wordings were as clear and unambiguous as possible.

3.6.2. Items in the questionnaire

i) Demographic data

Items in this section included questions on the locality of the school where the respondents work. The purpose of this was to assist in the categorisation of the subjects into the two broad geographical regions of urban and rural areas.

Other details in this part of the questionnaire included the following:

- Gender of the respondents
- Chronological age of the respondents
- Professional qualification

The inclusion of the above details on respondents' characteristics was meant to serve two broad purposes. These included investigation on whether respondents of different groups had different perceptions in terms of the assessments of the union's effectiveness. Secondly, it was meant to assist in establishing whether there was any significance in the respondents' characteristics and their perception of the union's effectiveness and influence on job satisfaction. Niblett (1981) notes that the predominating modes of perception of any generation are a product of a number of factors. One of the objectives of the study therefore was to establish whether such difference in characteristics of respondents is reflected in their responses or opinions. An effort was made to include the major characteristics, common to all teachers, individually or as a group.

ii) Domains of the union's role

The content of this section of questionnaire was drawn from the literature survey and the union's constitution (1995), which spells out what the union aims at doing or correcting in the service of teachers and education in general. In total, 19 items were developed covering the union's roles. Generally, the items covered two broad areas, viz, the professional and socio-economic roles of the union.

The professional roles covered issues that affect teaching as a profession, such as selection of trainees into the profession, improvement of teachers' skills, school inspection and designing of curriculum. The socio-economic roles of the union included items ranging from the union's role in the determination of teachers' scheme of service,

improvement of teachers' working conditions to defending teachers in the course of their duties.

The items listed solicited responses from teachers on how they perceived the effectiveness of the union in the items that defined its role. The responses were measured on a five point Likert Scale with 5 representing a "strongly agree," 1 representing "strongly disagree" and 3 representing the neutral point i.e "no opinion," while, 4 and 2 represented "agree" and "disagree" respectively.

The objective of spreading the domains into specific items of the union's role was to tap responses on each aspect of the role domain. This is because the term 'effectiveness' is a multi-dimensional construct and can only be meaningfully measured when specific aspects are referred to. This means that each item was measured independently, so that in the end, it was possible to make comparison on the effectiveness of the union in its professional and socio-economic roles.

3.6.3: Pilot study

A pilot test on a research instrument such as a questionnaire is necessary in order to make adjustments or revisions based on the results of the test (Tuckman, 1994). In addition, since the pilot test uses a group of respondents who are part of the intended population but who will not be part of the sample, their responses will help in establishing whether the questionnaire items possess the desired qualities of measurement and 'discriminability.'

The pilot study was administered to a group of 80 teachers in urban and rural schools of Nakuru and Kisumu districts in Kenya. The subjects were drawn from a similar population on which the study was going to be done, i.e it reflected teachers of all grades, age, gender and localities.

The majority of the sample for the pilot study were under 40 years of age. This was reflected in the characteristics of the respondents in the final study. The purpose of the

pilot study was to ensure that the items were clearly understood, were relevant and covered all domains of teachers' job needs and the role of the union. It was also necessary to estimate the time needed to administer the questionnaires and expect them back.

Participation by respondents was voluntary. After explaining what the study was about, and assuring them of the confidentiality for all the information given, most participants agreed to participate. A few adjustments were made to the research instrument after the pilot study, for example, some statements were rephrased to remove ambiguity. In other instances, some items were added. These were mainly on the factors of job satisfaction section of the questionnaire. The additional factors were incorporated immediately after the questionnaires were received back by the researcher. From this, the final questionnaire was now developed.

3.6.4: Validity and reliability of the instrument

McMillan and Shumacher (1993:171) see validity as "the extent to which the inferences made on the basis of scores from an instrument are appropriate, meaningful and useful." It is a judgement of the appropriateness of a measure for specific inferences or decisions that result from the scores that are generated. In short, it refers to the degree to which the instrument measures what it purports to do. Reliability on the other hand, refers to the consistency over time. In this case, reliability can be achieved if the instrument attracts the same response or carries the same meaning to an individual or group of people over time.

In all the steps of constructing the instrument, effort was made to ensure that it was both valid for the research question and reliable. In the former case, the items chosen for the questionnaire on teachers' perception of the union's effectiveness were derived from the roles of the union as defined in its constitution (1995) and the literature survey explaining factors of interest to the teachers and from which unions' objectives are built. Secondly suggestions obtained from teachers during the pilot study were incorporated in order to construct a comprehensive and relevant instrument for the study. From the pilot testing the instrument was revised and from this, it was hoped that its validity was enhanced.

Wiersma (1991) sees reliability as the consistency of measurement. This refers to the extent to which the results are similar over different periods of data collection. The objective of reliable measure then is to minimise or eliminate the influence of chance or other variables not related to the intent of the measure. Mcmillan and Schumacher (1993) list the possible sources of instrument unreliability as:

- Ambiguity in wording
- Lack of motivation
- Reaction to specific items
- Ability to comprehend instruction.

Reliability is hampered if there is ambiguity in the question items. This is when the questions are not clear or attract several responses. In this particular study, colleagues and the supervisor, reading through the draft and giving useful suggestions corrected any ambiguity in the construction of the instrument. These inputs were incorporated before the instrument was piloted. After the pilot-run, question items that were not clear to the respondents were corrected by re-wording or re-framing and clarifying before the final instrument was compiled and used.

Motivation as a factor in reliability is said to occur when respondents are unwilling or reluctant to respond to the questions in the instrument (Best, 1977). In this case, if they do respond, they may not give honest answers or serious attention to the questions in the instrument. Lack of motivation has been attributed to the relevance of the study to the respondents or the length of the questionnaire. If the respondent feels that the study does not benefit him or her in any way, it may be necessary to look for ways of arousing their enthusiasm. Again, if the respondents feel that the questionnaire is too long and time consuming, he or she may be reluctant to concentrate on it and give honest answers. This hampers reliability.

In this particular study, the question of relevance did not prove to be an issue since the information sought concerned the role of the union in serving teachers and enhancing their job needs. The length of the questionnaire was also kept to the minimum possible,

confining its items to the official role of the union and factors known to be sources of interest in the teaching profession.

Other sources of unreliability like reaction to specific items come about when items are included which cover issues which the respondents feel uncomfortable to answer or find too personal. In this regard, such a potential problem was overcome by ensuring that the respondents remained anonymous. This was meant to ensure that the respondents would provide their honest responses without feeling that they would commit themselves to anything that they deemed contentious or sensitive.

The issue of ability to comprehend instruction is related to the understanding of the directions in the questionnaire by the respondents. This comes about when the respondents fail to grasp what the questionnaire demands. In this study, such a problem was avoided by keeping the questions short and clear. Again, the target population composed of respondents versed with the issues in the questionnaire and abilities to comprehend anything given in the questionnaire, therefore, did not pose any problem.

3.6.5 interview schedule

As stated earlier, questionnaires when used as data gathering tools have limitations. It was noted that the Likert Scale described above could only capture individual opinions on specific items in the questionnaire. The reasons or factors underlying such opinions could not be tapped by the questionnaire. Thus, an interview schedule was found to be necessary to fill this gap.

The interview schedule was developed in the second phase of data collection for the study. Questions included were derived from the preliminary analysis of the data gathered using the questionnaire. As stated above, descriptive and relational analysis had shown that in some domains of the union's role, teachers exhibited strong negative feelings. In other cases, they were more positive, while in a few cases, significant difference was noted in the response of various groups to the union's effectiveness in specific items. To

obtain the insights into the cause for such responses, the interview schedule focused on these results.

The interview format adopted consisted of semi-structured questions. In this case, the interviewer provided the direction to interview so that the content focused on the specific issues of the study. It was hoped that this approach would permit greater flexibility than close-ended type and would permit a more valid response from the respondents' perceptions of reality. It was also presumed that dialogue would assist in revealing all the subtleties and personal interpretations of the issues in question. As Ary *et.al* (1990) explain, the advantages of the interview as a way of collecting data lie in its flexibility and the fact that:

The interviewer has the opportunity to observe the subject and the total situation in which he/she is responding. Questions can be repeated or their meanings explained in case they are not understood by the respondents. The interviewer can also press for additional information when a response seems incomplete or not entirely relevant...[p]ersonal contact increases the likelihood that the individual will participate and will provide desired information. (p.418)

This follow up phase of data collection focused on fourteen subjects.

3.7 The sample

3.7.1 Selection of schools and teachers

Ideally, research into peoples' attitudes from a defined population should cover all the target group of the subjects. Practically, however, such a study is impossible in that it would demand enormous resource inputs in terms of capital and time. Daunting difficulties in the administration of the research and interpretation of the results also makes it impracticable.

Given the problems incurred in trying to use a given population, researchers often use samples for a study and make inferences which can be generalised for the whole population. Bailey (1994:83) defines a sample as a subset or portion of the total population which must always be viewed as an approximation of the whole rather than as a whole in itself.

In an attempt to have a representative sample of the target population, a stratified random sampling procedure was adopted for this study. According to Cohen and Manion (1992), stratified sampling involves dividing the population into homogeneous groups, with each group containing subjects with similar characteristics. The choice of the sampling approach was dictated by the need to have a good representation of respondents from the major categories of interest in the study. In this case, the broad groupings of the target population included the following:

- Urban and rural teachers
- Female and male teachers
- Professional qualification.

The other category of age was not found to be crucial in determining the selection of respondents since distribution of teachers is not structured according to age. As such, this was only determined after getting the responses from the teachers.

Having identified the catchment area or strata from which the subjects could be drawn, the next task was to randomly select the schools from which the respondents could be drawn. As defined earlier, schools located within a town's municipal boundaries were delineated as urban, while those outside this geographical confines were taken as rural.

After identifying the study units, the next task was to reach respondents. It was found that the distribution of teachers by gender was uneven, especially in the urban schools. The ratio of women teachers was relatively higher than those of men teachers in urban schools. Such imbalances were, however, not common in the rural schools. Further, because of the need to draw samples from urban and rural areas, it was necessary to assess regions in Kenya with fairly well developed urban areas. To this effect, two districts were chosen, namely Nakuru and Kisumu. The criteria for choosing the two districts were based on the following:

- The two districts have a relatively large number of teachers in urban areas which provided a good range for drawing sample of respondents. Nakuru and Kisumu districts' teacher-pupil ratio were higher than the National average of 1:40 (Nakuru

District Development Plan, 1997-2001, Kisumu District Development Plan, 1997-2001).

- Their degree of urbanisation is relatively high compared to most other towns in Kenya. Kisumu is the 3rd largest town in Kenya (Kisumu District Development Plan 1997-2001:13), while Nakuru Municipality, by the year 2001, had a population of 293,516 (Nakuru District Development Plan 1997-2001:15) making it one of the major towns in the country. They also have extensive rural regions. This provided ample catchment areas for urban and rural respondents. Both regions are also relatively equal in their levels of developments as rural or urban districts. As such, it was considered prudent to categorize the respondents as urban or rural without separating them as groups from any of the two regions.

The choice of schools from which the respondents were drawn was influenced by :

- The locality of the school i.e. whether urban or rural as per definition given above.
- The distribution of teachers.
- Accessibility of a school by road.

In total, questionnaires were delivered to 288 teachers in urban and rural schools of the two districts. This was done in the third term of the school calendar, that is, between September and November of 1999. Prior to that, a pilot study had been done in the month of July. During the month of August, which is normally a school holiday, in Kenyan schools, time was taken to reflect on the pilot responses. The pilot data were quite useful for the modification of the questionnaire. It was also possible to gauge the amount of time required to distribute and expect feedback from the respondents.

As stated earlier, a 'delivery and collection' method of data collection was adopted instead of the alternative approach of mailing. The preference of this method was because there was a need to ensure equal representation by gender and this could not be done using mailing system. This meant selectively and deliberately controlling the number of respondents from any one group in order to control for this possible source of bias at this stage. The method adopted in distributing questionnaires was also meant to improve the return rate. Since it was possible to reach most of the respondents, it was

assumed that the approach would be much better than the 'impersonal' postal or mailing approach in terms of encouraging respondents to fill the questionnaires. The total return rate for the filled questionnaires came to 224, which represented 84% of the research questionnaires that were issued for the survey.

Samples for the interview were drawn using purposive sampling procedure. The results from the teachers' responses to the questionnaires showed that teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness varied albeit, in varying degrees, according to teacher characteristics, i.e., age, gender, locality, and qualification. Such characteristics became the guiding factors in the method adopted for the selection of the 14 respondents for the interview. Thus the sample of 14 teachers were purposively selected to represent the said categories of teachers.

3.8. Data analysis procedures

Data analysis or tests provide the basis for making interpretations or deriving meaning for data. Statistical tests also enable the researcher to compare and make comparisons of data in order to determine relationships or differences between variables under study.

Before data analysis was done, the descriptive information of the subjects and their responses were coded. Charles (1995) notes that data that describe or provide characteristics of the subjects are best coded under a nominal scale to which is ascribed a numerical code but which has no ranking or value. For the present study, all the demographic variables were coded using a nominal scale since these were categorical variables or variables that described the subjects. The responses from the subjects were coded under an ordinal scale, since this represented a measure or rank of position (Tuckman, 1994).

After separating the field data into nominal and ordinal scales, the responses were then entered into Microsoft Excel, then transferred to the STATA statistical programme for analysis. Using descriptive statistics (percentages and frequencies) analysis was done to determine teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness in specific areas of its role.

Further, analyses using non-parametric tests (chi-square/Fischer-exact tests) were also carried out to determine if there was any significant relationship between the demographic characteristics of the respondents and their perception of the union's effectiveness. Factor analysis of data was however not carried out for this study because the main object was to determine the total contribution of the union in its dual role as perceived by teachers, rather than its contribution to specific items in either of the two domains. The details of this analysis are as presented in the chapters that follow.

3.9. Limitations of the study

Survey method of data collection, which this study used, has been noted to be concerned with the generalised statistics that result when data are abstracted from the number of individual cases at a particular time, (Best, 1977). The findings of such studies may, therefore, not necessarily reflect an enduring opinion of the respondents and this is true also for this study. This is the caveat that one has to note when drawing conclusions from the findings presented in this study.

Since the study seeks to establish and describe teachers' perception of an organisation's effectiveness in its role within a pressure group theoretical understanding, the design of the instrument reflects this theoretical bias. In addition, while the categorisation of respondents into urban and rural regions was meant to investigate their opinions on the union's effectiveness and influence as distinct groups, it is possible that the majority of the respondents at one stage or another must have had a 'lived experience' in any of the two regions. Such experience could have a 'residual' effect or influence in their perception of the union's role effectiveness.

Finally, the focus of this study is the evaluation of the union's effectiveness in its contribution to the realisation of teachers' socio-economic and professional needs as perceived by teachers. Whilst there is a need for respondents to have a clear understanding of the role and limitations of the union in order to make an objective assessment, such factors are assumed in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

STUDY FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter falls on the responses of teachers to the main research question of how Kenyan teachers perceive their union's effectiveness. It begins with an exposition of the quantitative data gathered during the years 2000 and 2001. This data is then used to set the scene for the chapters which follow.

A number of different expository approaches are used in this chapter. Through frequency tables and percentages, the trends in teachers' responses to the major research questions are delineated. These figures are supplemented with the use of bar graphs. This preliminary analysis provides the basis for further analysis presented in Chapter Five. The data is presented in three major sections, each addressing specific issues in the research.

The first section focuses on the descriptive results of the study and has four subsections. The first sub-section presents the descriptive characteristics of the respondents. These include the sample size, the proportions of respondents by gender, age, locality of their workplace, and professional qualification.

Section Two presents the empirical results of teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness in the two major domains of its role; namely, the professional and the socio-economic.

4.2. Characteristics of the respondents

One of the objectives in investigating teachers' perceptions of the Kenya National Union of Teachers' (KNUT) effectiveness and influence on teachers' professional and socio-economic needs was to establish whether their personal characteristics influenced such perceptions. The results of this relationship are presented in the next chapter. In this

section, a summary of the characteristics and distribution of the main groups of the respondents sampled in the study is given.

Tables 4.2 [a-d] summarise the distribution of the respondents according to the main characteristics identified for the study. On the basis of the responses from the 224 people surveyed, the following generalisations can be made: Respondents from rural regions form a simple majority of the sample (51.34%), relative to those from urban regions, who make up 48.7% of the total respondents. This distribution is indicative of the general distribution of teachers between the two regions in the study. According to the Nakuru and Kisumu Districts Development Plans, (1997-2001), the majority of teachers are located in the rural regions. This is attributable to the larger number of schools in rural areas as opposed to those in urban areas.

Table 4.2 (a): Respondents according to locality.

LOCALITY	Percentages in Parenthesis (N= 224)
Rural	115 (51.34)
Urban	109 (48.66)

With respect to gender, there were slightly more women than men in the sample viz, 54.47% women as opposed to 45.53% men. Although at the national level, the National Economic Survey shows that there are more male than female teachers (133,169 and 94,384 respectively), the trend in training shows that this gap is closing, (Republic of Kenya, 2000). The same survey, for example, indicates that teacher enrolment in primary training colleges in 1999 consisted of 3,484, (52.17%) women and 3,194, (47.8%) men.

Table 4.2 (b): Respondents according to gender.

GENDER	Percentages in parenthesis (N=224)
Male	102 (45.43)
Female	122 (54.47)

The bulk of the teaching force 60% was below 40 years of age, while those above this age made up 40% of the total sample. Age distribution also appeared to correlate with teacher qualifications. The majority of teachers under 40 years of age (64%) held primary teaching certificates, while only 36% within this age group had secondary teaching certificates. Amongst those who were 40 years and older, 58% were qualified to teach in the primary school as compared to the 42% who had secondary teachers' qualifications. Significantly, the spread of qualifications in the older group was more pronounced than amongst younger teachers who tended to cluster in the primary teachers' group. This may suggest that more primary school teachers are entering into the profession than secondary school teachers or a higher proportion of those who are older from the primary teachers' group are leaving the teaching profession.

Table 4.2(c): Respondents according to age

Age	Percentages in Parenthesis. N=(224)
Less than 40 years	135 (60.27)
40 years and above	89 (39.73)

The relatively small proportion of the respondents who were 40 years and above may be attributed to the fact that the mandatory retirement age for civil servants in Kenya, including teachers, is 55 years. One is however, eligible to apply for retirement upon

attaining the age of 50 years. Griffin (1994) reports that recent developments in government policy allow employees to retire when they reach the age of 40.

In terms of professional qualification, the proportion of teachers with primary teaching certificates was higher than those with secondary teaching qualifications. This may be attributed to the high number of primary schools relative to secondary schools in the country. The Nakuru District Development Plan (1997-2001:55-56), for example, shows that the number of primary schools in the district was 448, as compared to 108 secondary schools only. There were, consequently, relatively high numbers of primary teachers compared to secondary school teachers (6,626 and 1,742 respectively).

Table 4.2 (d): Respondents according to professional qualification

Professional Qualification	Percentages in Parenthesis (N=224)
Primary teaching certificate	138 (61.61%)
Secondary teaching certificate	86 (38.39%)

In terms of regional distribution of teachers by gender, slightly more male teachers were located in the rural as opposed to the urban areas (54% and 46% respectively). This distribution was slightly different for female teachers, where a simple majority (51%) was located in the urban areas. A possible reason for the relatively greater representation of female teachers in urban areas is that most of them relocate to the workplaces of their spouses who may not necessarily be teachers. Given that most of the employers are concentrated in urban areas, this gender imbalance in terms of teacher distribution is fairly predictable.

The distribution of teachers according to age and locality of the workplace shows that most, (64%) of those who were 40 years and above were teaching in the rural areas while a minority of them (36%) were teaching in the urban areas. In the relatively younger age groups, i.e. under 40 years, the majority taught in urban schools (54%), with those who taught in rural schools making up 46%. Overall, teachers were almost equally divided in

number between the urban and the rural areas (51% urban and 49% rural). The data also shows that the majority of those in the urban areas were relatively young, with 67% of the urban cohort being under 40 years of age. This may be a consequence of the fact that urban areas provide better social amenities than the rural areas and that this may appeal to younger teachers.

The distribution of teachers according to professional qualification and locality of workplace shows that the majority, (62%) of secondary school teachers were located in rural areas while those who were in urban areas formed the minority (38%) the majority of teachers in urban areas were primary school teachers. While, on the whole, there were more primary school teachers than secondary school teachers, this difference was more pronounced in urban than rural areas. This may be attributed to the larger number of primary schools relative to secondary schools in the urban areas. According to the Nakuru District Development Plan (1997-2001:55-56), urban Nakuru had 22 secondary schools with 502 teachers and 44 primary schools with 1203 teachers. This trend would also be expected for the case of Kisumu, where the total number of primary schools were 611 and those of secondary schools were 81 (Kisumu District Development Plan, 1997-2001:37).

The majority, (63%) of female teachers in the sample was under the age of 40 while those who were older constituted 37%. This was also true for male teachers, where 57% were under the age of 40 years. The distribution of teachers according to gender and age showed that the majority of female teachers were relatively young, while for males, although the majority were also young, the proportional difference in number between the young and older teachers was not as significant as those of female teachers. This may suggest that more young female teachers are joining the profession or a larger number of the older teachers from this group are leaving the profession than those from the male group.

Professional qualification and the age of the teacher tended to correlate. A substantial proportion of primary school teachers (64%) were younger than 40 years of age. For

secondary school teachers, although the younger group (under 40 years) formed the majority (56%), the proportion of those who were young relative to the older group was not as high as that within the primary school. This may be as a result of the fact that primary teachers take a shorter period of time to qualify relative to secondary school teachers. Thus more of them enter the profession at a relatively younger age compared to secondary school teachers.

In terms of gender and professional qualification, the bulk of teachers, (64%) with primary teaching certificates are female, compared to their male colleagues, (36%). This representation however, is reversed at the higher levels of qualification. For example, male teachers represent 60% of those with secondary teaching certificates, compared to female teachers who formed 40% of those with the same qualification. These findings indicate that there is still an imbalance in the representation of women at the higher levels of qualification. It also concurs with the Economic Survey of Kenya Report, (Republic of Kenya, 2000), which indicates that by 1999, of the 24,419 graduate teachers in the country, 15,271 or 63% were male and 9,148 or 37% were female.

The above sample reflects not only the distribution of teachers from different localities, but also distribution in terms of qualification, age, and gender. Given this, it was hoped that their responses would make it possible to capture, not only the general perceptions of the union's effectiveness, but also to establish whether, and how teacher characteristics influence their opinions.

The chapter now moves on to look at teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of the union.

4.3. Teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness: overall trends

This section summarises the views of teachers with regard to the union's effectiveness in its service to teachers and the cause for education in general. A total of 19 items were used to evaluate teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of the union in executing the

roles represented in the items. The items can be dichotomised into two major areas, namely: professional and socio-economic factors.

4.3.1 Teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness in the professional domain

Items 1-11 in the questionnaire sought to ascertain teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness in its professional roles. Items 12-19 related to the union's socio-economic roles. The number of teachers responding to a five point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5, (strongly agree) represent their perceptions of the union's effectiveness in each of the items in the professional dimension. These are represented in Table 4.3.1.

Table 4.3.1: Teacher's perceptions of the union's effectiveness in the professional domain. (Percentages in parentheses).

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
Selection of trainees	83 (37.05)	73 (32.59)	19 (8.48)	46 (20.54)	3 (1.34)
Refresher courses	68 (30.36)	85 (37.95)	17 (7.59)	52 (23.21)	2(0.89)
School inspection	58 (22.32)	90 (40.18)	12 (5.36)	58 (25.89)	6 (2.68)
Staff evaluation	53 (23.66)	97 (43.30)	17 (7.59)	53 (23.66)	4 (1.79)
School curriculum	32 (14.29)	49 (21.88)	11 (4.91)	81 (36.16)	51 (22.77)
Student evaluation	52 (23.21)	85 (37.95)	28 (12.5)	55 (24.55)	4 (1.79)
Teaching resources	50 (22.32)	94 (41.96)	22 (10.71)	50 (22.32)	8 (3.57)
Staffing of schools	14 (6.25)	24 (10.71)	5 (1.34)	136 (60.71)	47(20.98)
Teacher workload	13 (5.8)	27 (12.05)	4 (1.79)	129 (57.59)	51(22.77)
Class size	37 (16.52)	59 (26.34)	16 (7.14)	95 (42.41)	17 (7.59)
Code of conduct	1 (0.45)	4 (1.79)	4 (1.79)	91 (40.62)	124 (55.36)

The aims of questions 1-11 were to determine the extent to which teachers perceived the union as a professional body in the way it served the professional needs of teachers and those of education in general. This includes the control of entry into the profession and the definition of the content of teaching and how it is delivered to the clients. As Ozga and Lawn (1981:4) note, "professionals need to control an occupation so that colleagues, who are in a formal sense equal, set up a system of self-government and this involves a restriction of entry to the occupation through the control of education, training and the process of qualification."

Generally, a substantial number of teachers were negative (strongly disagree, 37% and 33% disagree) that the union played an effective role in the selection of teacher trainees. On the other hand, a relatively small proportion of teachers were positive, (21% agrees and 1% strongly agrees) that the union does influence the selection of those who train to be teachers in Kenya. Only a small minority (8%) had no opinion about the union's role in this dimension.

What this implies is that teachers in Kenya were strongly negative about the effectiveness of the union in determining the selection of those who wish to train as teachers. One of the main characteristics of a profession as defined by Fullan and Hargreaves (1992) is that it must have a mechanism of controlling the entry of members into its ranks e.g. through some laid down qualifying criteria. This is meant to ensure that those who enter into the profession are competent enough according to its standards. The response of teachers in this particular aspect of the union's role indicates that teachers hold the feeling that the union was not doing enough to enhance professionalism in teaching by influencing and controlling the selection of the prospective teachers. This confirms Sifuna's (1994) observation that unions have tended to put more emphasis on teachers' socio-economic needs than their professional demands. The same view was recently echoed in a local daily newspaper where it was pointed out that:

...it is a high time the union [KNUT] moved to professional issues. The teaching service for instance operates without rigid entry requirements. Unlike law or medicine where there are clear entry requirements and members take an oath,

anybody with basic academic papers can be employed as a teacher. (*Daily Nation*, 9th May, 2001)

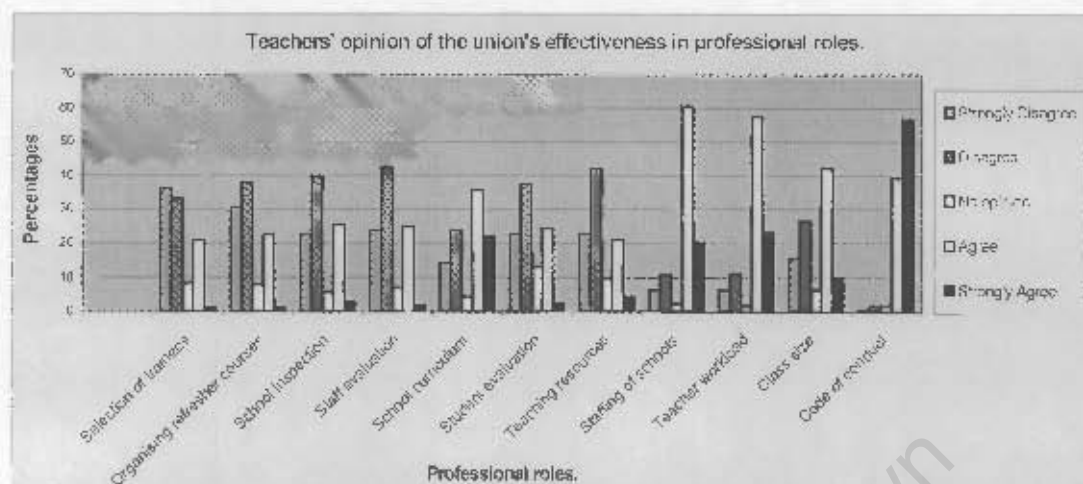
With respect to the union's effectiveness in organising refresher courses, teachers tended to be generally negative. In a dynamic profession like teaching where knowledge boundaries are always extended through research, teachers need to keep abreast with new information and modes of communicating the same to the learners. In this respect, it is imperative that teachers constantly undergo refresher courses in order for them to be effective in their work. Thus, it would be expected that the union takes this role as one of its core duties if it is to operate effectively as the professional body it claims to be.

A relatively high proportion of teachers (30% and 38% respectively) 'strongly disagreed' and 'disagreed' that the union was effective in organising refresher courses for teachers. 23% agreed and only 1% strongly agreed that the union was involved in organising teachers' refresher courses. A small percentage (8%) of the respondents had no opinion on the role of the union in this particular dimension. The finding shows that the majority of teachers were clear on what they expected of the union in this role. Only a negligible minority had no opinion. What the majority of teachers appeared to be saying was that the union had not done much to enhance professionalism by organising refresher courses. The responses underscore a strong feeling among teachers that the union was not effectively facilitating training and professional growth.

Successful professional organisations like the Law Society of Kenya reviewed in Chapter Two place continued education of members as one of its main objectives. Teachers' negative opinion about their union's role thus suggests a failing in one of the cardinal roles of an organisation that aims at improving the status of its members in the society and the quality of their service to the clientele.

The teachers' responses to the union's performance in the above professional areas are graphically illustrated in figure 4.3.1, below.

Fig. 4.3.1.



With regard to school inspection, some 40 % of teachers 'disagreed' that the union played any significant role for the benefit of teachers and education in general. A corresponding proportion of 26% 'agreed' that the union positively influenced the determination of school inspection procedures. Other responses to the same item showed that 26% of the respondents 'strongly disagreed' that the union was effective in influencing school inspection procedures in Kenya, while only 3% 'strongly agreed' on the same issue.

The procedures of school inspection begin with the selection and appointment of school inspectors. This is particularly important in that inspectors play a central role in school improvement. That teachers felt that the union was not doing much to safeguard the crucial part of their professional service delivery is a pointer to a major weakness of the union. The finding confirmed the recent admission by the Chief Inspector of Schools on the problems facing school inspection when he made the following observation:

Lack of a clear policy of identifying suitable school inspectors is partly to blame for the apathy facing school inspectors ... [l]ack of recruitment policy has made it easier for unsuitable persons to find their way into the inspectorate and put the integrity of some officials into question. (*East African Standard* July, 30th, 2001)

Staff evaluation is used in most professions to ensure individual efficiency and to facilitate merit promotion. In addition, objective assessment of individual performance

provides a means through which quality of work can be ensured as well as enhancement of staff morale. KNUT's claim to being a professional organisation thus necessitates that it plays an influential role in school staff evaluation procedures. About 43% of the respondents 'disagreed' that the union plays an effective role in staff evaluation and another 24% 'strongly disagreed.' Only 24% and another 2% of the respondents 'agreed' and 'strongly agreed' respectively that the union played an effective role in staff evaluation in Kenyan public schools. This strong negative perception of the union's role undoubtedly impacts on work morale. The union is expected to play a key role in developing and instituting mechanisms for the objective recognition of merit in the workplace. This particular rating of the union's effectiveness in staff evaluation implies that teachers have a low opinion of its ability to enhance the objective evaluation of staff and this may have a negative effect on their commitment to and expectations of the union to serve this professional need. It contrasts radically with what Smith (1993) claims, viz, that teachers expect their unions to represent their ideals and aspirations in the teaching profession. In support of the above finding, a recent commentary in a local newspaper summed up the matter thus:

There is a need to formulate a method of establishing teachers' abilities beyond relying on the headteachers' recommendations for promotion... [t]eachers' should constantly be evaluated to ascertain whether they are competent to handle their subjects or able to handle their administrative duties. Evaluation tests, which would keep teachers abreast with professional competencies and development, are ideal. This could provide a basis for a good and additional criterion for promotion. The important point is that a clear strategy needs to be developed for promoting deserving teachers and ensure that high standards are maintained in the profession. (*Daily Nation*, December 10th 2001)

In contrast to the areas of evaluation, trainee selection and school inspection, the union's role in school curriculum design elicited a generally positive response from the teachers. Whereas 14% and 22% of the respondents 'strongly disagreed' and 'disagreed' respectively that the union did contribute to the improvement of school curriculum, a corresponding proportion of about 23% and 36% 'strongly agreed' and 'agreed' respectively. This shows that on the whole, the majority of teachers were positive that KNUT did play an effective role in the designing of school curriculum. The finding confirms the conspicuous representation of the union in most commissions set up to

review education in the country. This has often led to the changing of curriculum for the purpose of orientating it to meet the needs of the country. This finding is worth noting in that the union, in one of its objectives, aims at “participating in all matters calculated to lead to the improvement of education and to promote the establishment of a common system of education” (KNUT Constitution, 1995:1).

On student evaluation, teachers were more negative about the role of the union. 23% ‘strongly disagreed’ and another 38% ‘disagreed’ that the union played an effective role in student evaluation procedures. On the other hand, 25% and 2% ‘agreed’ and ‘strongly agreed’ respectively that the union did play a role in determining student evaluation. The general perception of teachers on the effectiveness of the union in this dimension can therefore be said to be negative, implying that the majority of teachers felt that the union does not play any significant role in the determination of student evaluation. This reflects the actual position in which the union’s participation in student evaluation is not overtly stated or defined. This role has remained the preserve of the Kenya National Examination Council.

The law that set the Kenya National Examination Council empowers it, *inter alia*, “to conduct (in public interest) such academic, technical and other examinations within Kenya... [and to] award certificates and diplomas to successful candidates in such examinations” (Ministry of Education, 1987:100). Thus, it is clear that the scope of the Council’s responsibility in student evaluation through examination seems to overshadow any other body that may play an advisory role such as the KNUT. The negative rating of the union in this role is therefore not surprising. This finding is particularly crucial given the significance that examinations have for education. Examination results are used in the selection and channelling of pupils in primary to secondary schools. Entry into some of the best national schools is based on the performance in the primary school leaving examination. For the secondary pupils, the national examination provides a means of selecting those who can continue with post secondary educational and occupational careers. To serve these purposes objectively, the process involved in the preparation, administration and marking of these examinations must be carefully considered. As a

representative of teachers' interests, the union ought to be playing a leading role in ensuring that teachers' interests are considered. However, the largely negative response from teachers about the union's role in this area makes clear that they do not see the union as playing any significant role. It is also a pointer to the general feeling that the union is not actively involved in professional matters of teaching.

Taking this discussion further, one of the roles of the union, which is stated in its constitution, is to positively influence the promotion of teaching in Kenyan schools. This includes participation in the selection of appropriate teaching or instructional resources such as teachers' guides and learners' textbooks. For this particular role, teachers generally rated the union more negatively. About 42% of teachers disagreed and another 22% 'strongly disagreed' that the union played an effective role in the selection of teaching resources in public schools. Only 21% and 4% agreed and 'strongly agreed' respectively. It is also worth noting that only 11% of teachers expressed no opinion on this issue, suggesting that on the whole, the majority of teachers were convinced that the union did not effectively play a meaningful role in this area.

Central to the character of all professional organisations, as outlined in Chapter Two, are the standards they set. They have the responsibility of ensuring that the quality of the service provided for their members and the clients measures up to some set standards. In this case, a professional organisation like a teachers' union which is vested with the authority to safeguard knowledge should be able to authoritatively vet what is relevant or useful as resource materials in teaching. From the above findings, it is clear that the union is far from playing such a role. The finding is consonant with the position which has been accorded the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) which has the mandate of "designing and recommending teaching and evaluation materials in schools" (Ministry of Education, 1987:91). In terms of the policy, the union is represented in the KIE. Critically, however, it is clear that the members see the union as having abrogated its responsibility within this structure. Inputs from teachers channelled through an effective union would be more appropriate since they are the implementers of the curriculum and they are better placed to choose the most effective and relevant resources for teaching. This fact, other than

weakening professionalism in teaching by removing the authority of the teacher to make an informed decision on this, serves to de-motivate the teacher.

A working school system must ensure that schools not only have the right personnel, but must also have enough of them in order to function effectively and efficiently. The union's role also includes striving to ensure that public schools in Kenya are adequately staffed. Teachers' opinions on the union's effectiveness in effecting this role was relatively positive. Substantial proportions (61%) of the respondents agreed that the union did play an effective role in the determination of staffing of public schools in Kenya; another 21% of the respondents strongly 'agreed.' Only 11% and 6% 'disagreed' and 'strongly disagreed' respectively that the union did effectively influence staffing of public schools in Kenya. The positive response from teachers on the union's role in this dimension is hardly surprising given that the union has always been vocal in articulating the need for recruitment of more qualified teachers in an effort to improve the quality of education in the country. It is also worth noting that only 1% of the teachers had no opinion on what the union does with regards to staffing of public schools. This finding strongly suggests that the majority of teachers were aware of what the union does with regard to the staffing of public schools. In this regard, a significant proportion was convinced that the union was effectively striving to ensure that public schools were adequately staffed.

Teachers' workload is another aspect related to how schools operate. While it is important that schools are staffed, how teachers' duties are structured is no less important. Teachers' rating of the union's effectiveness in the determination of their workload was relatively positive. About 58% of the sample respondents 'agreed' and another 23% 'strongly agreed' that the union effectively contributes to the determination of teachers' workload. Only 12% and 6% 'disagreed' and 'strongly disagreed' respectively. This particular response tallies with the positive rating of the union's role in influencing staffing of public schools.

A substantial number of teachers, 42%, 'agreed' that the union played some significant role in the determination of class sizes in public schools. In addition, 8% were strongly positive. Nevertheless, some 26% and 17% of the sample 'disagreed' and 'strongly disagreed' respectively that the union did influence the number of students in a class in public schools, while a small proportion, 7% expressed no opinion with regard to this. The response to this item thus indicates that while a substantial number were positive in their rating of the union's effectiveness in this role, a relatively large number rated it negatively. This state of indecision among teachers may be attributed to the varying class sizes in various schools. Although the Ministry has a guideline for class size, (Education Act (1980) states that the number of pupils in a class should be 40), the reality is that the demand for places in schools and the availability of such places always produces varying class sizes in different places. Thus, teachers whose schools have managed to adhere to recommended sizes, are more likely to have a positive view of the union's role while those in schools where this is not the case, might have a different opinion. Abagi and Odipo (1997), for example, reported that pupil teacher ratios varied between rural public schools and urban public schools. In their survey, they made the following observation: "In one school we visited, the ratios in lower primary (1-3) were 60:1 and in upper classes (4-8) were 50:1" (p.19). They suggest that the fluctuations in pupil-teacher ratios relate to the limited number of quality schools relative to the demand for school places. In such circumstances, it may not be possible for the union to intervene since it does not have the means of ensuring that the quality of schools is improved uniformly. This may account for the lack of a clear majority among teachers holding a particular opinion.

Professionalism also demands that members are governed by a code of conduct which is appropriate to the teaching profession. In its effort to promote professionalism in teaching, KNUT's constitution (1995) spells out the conduct, which it supports and encourages among teachers. The rules are aimed at preserving and promoting the dignity of the profession, both in the eyes of the public and among the teachers themselves.

Teachers' response to the union's performance in enforcing the teachers' code of conduct was strongly positive. About 55% of the respondents 'strongly agreed' that the union

effectively influenced teachers' code of conduct. In addition, 41% 'agreed' on the same. Conversely, only a negligible minority, 3%, expressed a negative view about the union's effectiveness in the enforcement of teachers' professional code of conduct. The findings go against expectations in that issues of teachers' professional conduct are usually tackled by the employer, the Teachers' Service Commission. As one newspaper pointed out, this has not been possible "partly because many teachers are not in private practice, like say, medical practitioners, lawyers, architects, etc, all of whom regulate themselves" (*Daily Nation*, June 21st 2001). However, one of the union's roles is "to settle disputes between members of the union and their employer and to regulate these relationships by collective and constitutional means" (KNUT, 1995:2). In this respect, it is clear that the majority of teachers perceive the union to be effective in its 'mediative' role in the maintenance of professional conduct. This is despite the fact that it has no mechanism of its own that it can use to police its members as other professional organisations do.

In summing up teachers' perceptions with respect to the performance of the union in terms of its professional responsibility, one can say that they were generally dissatisfied. This indicates that teachers expect more from the union than it has done or, is presently doing in the professional domain. Teachers' responses to the union's role in selection of teacher trainees, organising of refresher courses, school inspection, staff and student evaluation, and selection of teaching resources suggest that they are less than satisfied with its performance. Most of them either 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' that the union is doing enough in these areas.

Within the broad area of professional issues, there were certain areas in which teachers were positive about the union's performance. These include the union's contribution to the staffing of public schools; determination of teachers' workload, and enforcement of teachers' code of conduct. These limited areas in which the union was positively rated portray a relatively narrow area in which the union is seen by teachers to be effectively contributing to their professional needs. What this indicates is that, in the opinion of teachers, the union is still far from transforming itself into a professional organisation that can be relied on to effect most of the expected professional needs in teaching in Kenya.

This may have far reaching implications when the union is seen as a means through which teachers can position themselves favourably among professionals. Its inability to control entry suggests that it cannot be effective in influencing the quality of its members. This may weaken teachers' status and competitiveness among professionals.

4.3.2. Teachers' perceptions of union's effectiveness in the socio-economic domain

The eight items included in this section relate to the socio-economic roles of the union. As in the rating of the union's role in promoting professionalism in teaching, responses are measured on a Likert scale. Responses to these items are shown in table 4.3.2.

Table 4.3.2: Teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness in the socio-economic dimension. (Percentages in parentheses).

	Strongly disagree	disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree
Scheme of service	0 (0)	2 (0.89)	2 (0.89)	77 (54.38)	143 (63.84)
Defending teachers	0 (0)	1 (0.45)	1 (0.45)	79 (35.27)	143 (63.84)
Working conditions	0 (0)	1 (0.45)	1 (0.45)	85 (37.95)	137 (61.16)
Means of commun.	5 (1.34)	13 (5.8)	10 (4.46)	131 (58.48)	67 (29.91)
Checks any bias	9 (4.02)	22 (9.82)	7 (3.12)	128 (57.14)	58 (25.89)
Defining identity	3 (1.34)	26 (11.61)	9 (4.02)	127 (56.7)	59 (26.34)
Self-fulfilment	5 (2.23)	27 (12.05)	13 (5.8)	121 (54.02)	58 (25.89)
Status of Profession	4 (1.79)	13 (5.80)	12 (5.36)	125 (55.8)	70 (31.25)

A close scrutiny of the teachers' responses to the role of the union in the socio-economic dimensions shows a sharp contrast with their rating of the union's performance in most of its professional roles. The responses are generally positive. The majority of teachers were either strongly positive or positive ('strongly agreed' or 'agreed') in relation to the union's performance in these dimensions.

With regard to the union's role in the improvement of the teachers' scheme of service, which covers factors such as salaries and other allowances, 64% of the respondents were 'strongly' positive that the union was effective in its contribution. Additionally, some 34% 'agreed' that the union was effective in this role. It is also worth noting that in this particular dimension, there was no respondent who strongly disagreed, while a negligible minority, 1% 'disagreed.' The finding confirms the generally acknowledged strong leaning of the union in its fight for teachers' socio-economic needs. This was aptly summed up recently in a local newspaper:

For all its worth, KNUT cannot be said to be a failure...[I]t brought insurmountable pressure to bear on the government on the issue of salaries, at least until it agreed to break the new pay package into five phases and implement the first schedule. The union also vehemently opposed the teachers' Remuneration Committee Amendment Bill which sought to give the Minister [for Education] power on issues such as the teachers' pay, until it was withdrawn. And if the fact that teachers' salaries are no longer delayed is credited to the TSC, then the fact that government took the matter seriously is a credit to KNUT. (*East African Standard*, June 25th 2001)

The generally strong positive response from teachers with this item is hardly surprising though. In recent years, KNUT has progressively registered some gains in its negotiations with the government over salary increments. This has placed them at fairly competitive levels with other professionals in the civil service.

Defence of teachers as spelled out in the union's constitution implies fighting for the rights of the teacher when teachers are subjected to unfair treatment such as punitive transfers, demotions or suspensions from the service. In terms of this role, teachers in the survey were generally positive that the union was serving them well. Most teachers expressed the opinion that the union was effective in defending them in the course of duty. About 64% of the respondents 'strongly agreed' that the union effectively defended teachers' interests in the profession. Of note is the fact that the number of teachers who viewed the union's performance negatively in this role was negligible (Table 4.3.2). This suggests that on the whole, most teachers were positive about the union's role in this dimension. It supports the union's Secretary-General's claim that "the union has since its

formation in 1957 relentlessly defended all teachers against unfair treatment and has even pursued individual cases up to the industrial court” (*East African Standard*, 26th June, 2001).

The positive response from teachers to the union’s role in the above dimension is particularly worth noting in that it is likely to foster a feeling of security among teachers in their workplaces. As indicated earlier in Chapter Two, there are many stakeholders in education, each trying to protect its interests. In the process of competing for these claims, teachers need protection in their job. In Kenya, the main teacher employer, the Teachers’ Service Commission Report (1997) indicates that in that year alone, 271 teachers were dismissed from the service for various reasons. That the majority of teachers felt that the union was safeguarding their interest in the contested terrain of the teaching profession is indicative of their perception of the union’s effectiveness in advancing their causes.

The quest for better working conditions showed that teachers were generally strongly positive with regard to the union’s performance. 61% ‘strongly agreed’ and another 38% ‘agreed’ that the union was making a contribution to the improvement of teachers’ working conditions. It is also worth noting that teachers who were either negative or had no opinion on the union’s role in this dimension formed a relatively small minority (see Table 4.3.2), with those who ‘disagreed’ composing 0.5% of the total. The implication is that in this domain, the majority of teachers were happy with the work of the union and its efforts to improve their working conditions. The finding logically follows from the perceived positive role of the union in striving for the betterment of salaries and defending them.

As a group, teachers need to express their feelings and interests in all matters affecting them as professionals. As a channel for these needs, the majority of teachers (58%) ‘agreed’ that the union effectively served them well in this role. About 30% strongly ‘agreed’ that the union provided a channel by which teachers could express themselves. The positive response suggests that most teachers felt that the union was effectively

playing its role in providing a means by which teachers could articulate their needs and concerns. This is further supported by the fact that only a small proportion of respondents either 'disagreed' (6%) or 'strongly disagreed' (1%) that the union was serving this role effectively. It suggests that on the whole, the majority of teachers saw the union as a means through which their concerns were effectively being articulated. This finding tallies with an observation made in a newspaper recently, which commented thus:

The fact that it [union] has remained steadfast for the last 30 years has given it unequal clout and its officials, most of whom are long serving, have gained a lot of experience in handling thorny issues affecting teachers. (*Daily Nation*, 26th May, 2001)

The positive rating of the union in this dimension, however, may be attributed to the fact that until recently, KNUT has been the only forum available to teachers in Kenya. In this case, all the group concerns have always been pushed through the union and the consequent gains especially in the socio-economic domain are attributable to the union. The finding, however, goes against expectations in that though the union was poorly rated in its contribution to professionalism in teaching, teachers still acknowledged that it was an effective means through which they could register their concerns. This may be taken as suggestive, albeit indirectly, of teachers' preference for socio-economic as opposed to professional needs.

In other dimensions of the union's work where teachers' interests were concerned, the union was also positively rated. Teachers' responses to the union's performance in fighting discrimination, such as the denial of promotion for unfair reasons or punitive transfers emanating from personal difference between teachers and their superiors, were generally positive. About 57% of the teachers 'agreed' and some 26% 'strongly agreed' that the union was effective in this role. The combined total of those who 'agreed' and 'strongly agreed' (83%) suggests that the majority of teachers were happy with the union's work in striving to ensure that all teachers were subject to equal treatment by the employing organisation and administrators in the bureaucracy of teaching in Kenya.

This finding is particularly worth noting in that it bears on the history of the union. The union was founded in 1957, long before Kenya attained its political independence. Before then, teachers were employed by various organisations including churches, county councils and the government. Their pay varied according to race and who the employer was. It was out of the need to remove this discrimination that KNUT was founded, and through its efforts, a single employer (TSC), for all public school teachers, was established in 1967. This 'standardised' all employment terms for teachers in public schools. As a result of this achievement, it is possible that most teachers still have a high regard for the union.

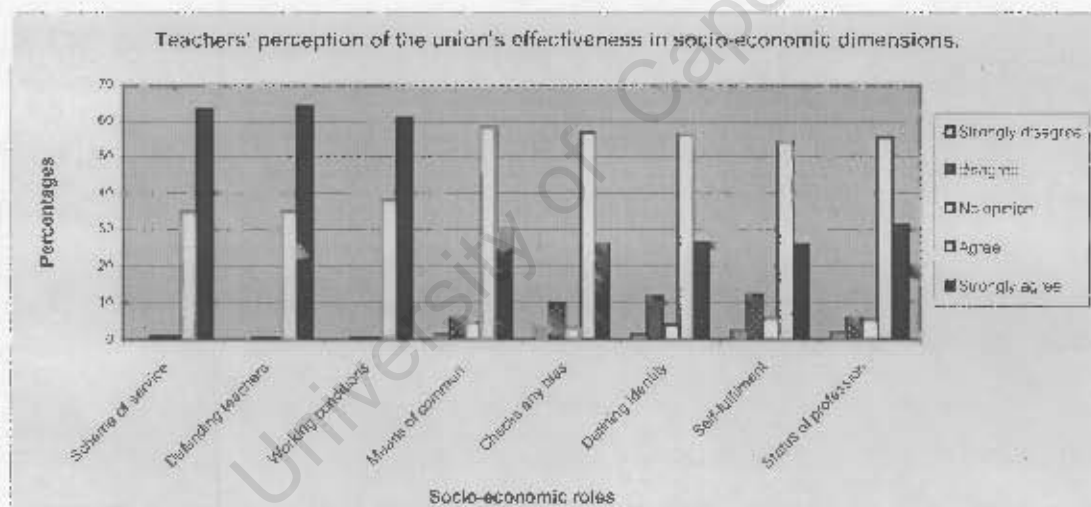
Another objective of the union is to provide the means by which teachers define their professional identity, i.e. fostering those norms and standards which are unique to teaching profession. Teachers' responses to the union's role in its effort at promoting professional identity were generally positive. About 57% of teachers 'agreed' while another 26% 'strongly agreed' that the union was effective in this role. The finding reflects yet another surprising response from teachers, given their negative rating of the union in most of its professional roles. Identity defines the uniqueness of a profession. As was seen earlier, most teachers rated the union negatively in how it controlled the quality of entrants to the profession. The one possible explanation for this contradiction is that for a long time the union has been the only organisation outside of government fighting on behalf of teachers. The 1968 TSC/KNUT recognition agreement made this clear when it stated [that] "the Commission [TSC] affords full recognition of the union as a representative and the sole professional organisation representing the interest of teachers in teaching service" (KNUT, 1992:7).

Teachers were also generally positive about the union's role in seeking to provide a means by which they could achieve self-fulfilment and improvement of their status as professionals. Self-fulfilment is deeply important for the individual. The positive rating of the union in this dimension again contradicts the teachers' low rating of the union in professional areas. Halliday (1987) points out that it is normally the skills associated with the occupation that arm it with capacity to command status, rewards and consequently, a

sense of self-fulfilment to the individual. What this suggests is that the union's success in the socio-economic domain seemed to be positively seen by teachers as serving the same purpose.

The responses of teachers to the questions of the union's effectiveness in the professional and socio-economic dimensions of its role manifests an undoubted 'skewness,' with teachers being considerably more positive about the union's performance in the latter than in the former. Figure 4.3.2 which summarises the opinions of teachers with respect to the union's performance in its socio-economic roles, clearly contrasts with their perception of the union's role in the improvement of professional aspects of teaching (see Fig.4.3.1).

Fig. 4.3.2.



In general, teachers were relatively negative in their rating of the union's performance in most of the issues that fall in the professional dimension of teaching. On the other hand, response to the union's role in the improvement of socio-economic needs was relatively more positive. The implication is that the union laid more emphasis on the welfare side, while lagging on the professional needs of teaching. While the two dimensions may not be contradictory, such a relatively skewed rating is indicative of the union's areas of emphasis and deficiencies in its dual roles. The finding is therefore indicative of the extent to which the teachers' union is far from being a professional organisation. It is also

indicative of the extent to which it can be relied on to steer the status and standing of teaching among professions in the country.

What this chapter has shown is that, although the union has a broad range of objectives which it aims at fulfilling, the majority of teachers felt that it has not been effective in all these areas. Specifically, responses from teachers indicate that most of the weak scores in the union's performance centred on the professional domain of its role. Ironically, it is this domain that would be expected to be the main focus of the union's activities, since it forms the core of what teaching as a profession is about; defining the specific tasks and outlining the controls aimed at making it serve its clients and being accountable to various constituencies.

Evident from the findings was the failure of the union to 'take charge' of the profession and to foster activities that engender professionalism in teaching. These range from the negative rating in its control of entry into the profession to school inspection and student evaluation. In addition, the majority of teachers were of the opinion that it plays a minimum role in determining or identifying relevant and appropriate teaching resources in schools in the country.

What all the above findings suggest is that in the opinion of teachers, the union has limited control over teacher supply and qualification. Its weak influence on school inspection implies that it has not managed to release teachers from the externally imposed prescriptive controls on their classroom practices. In short, the union has not been able to engender in teaching a self-governing system in which there is control over knowledge (training) and social closure (restricted entry by means of credentials). This may be seen as indicative of the extent to which teachers have been regimented so that their power and influence over what affects them as professionals is curtailed. This concurs with Shalem's (1990:2) observation that "teacher autonomy is recognised as such only in relation to the power and authority of those who make and enact laws for the society." It also brings to the fore the restrictions that teachers often have to confront as professionals. As Grace (1978:218) puts it, "their [teachers'] actual opportunities to question the conventional

wisdom or dominant ideas within the system in which they operate are very limited... their ability to formulate radical alternatives is very circumscribed.”

At the end of the continuum, evidence from teachers' responses abounds about their satisfaction with the union's performance in most items in the socio-economic domain. From their opinions on the union's role in the improvement of scheme of service, to its defence of their interests and enhancing their social status and a sense of self-fulfilment, it is clear that teachers were positive about the union's effectiveness in these areas. Thus, it would appear that the 'regulated autonomy' of teachers as professionals is compensated for, albeit, in varying degrees, by the positive scores in this domain. This clearly gives the impression that the union has been more successful as a trade union than as a professional organisation. Whether this conclusion applies to all teachers or is dominant among some groups, can only be established by analysing the responses from the various categories of teachers. This second step in the process of drawing meaning from the study findings forms the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

RELATIONAL RESULTS

5.1 Introduction.

In the previous chapter, results from the data analysis showed that teachers perceived KNUT as being largely ineffective in most of its professional roles. On the other hand, the majority were positive about the union's performance in its socio-economic responsibilities. This Chapter seeks to probe beyond the general findings to establish what differences arise in teachers' responses when these are grouped according to particular characteristics. It was hoped that more insights into differences in teacher attitudes would be gained by dividing respondents into groups defined by specific characteristics. This stage of the analysis was aimed at establishing if there were any significant linkages between the dependent variable (teachers' perception) and the independent variables (demographic characteristics) on teachers' attitudes towards the union's performance in its dual role as a professional and trade union organisation.

Groupings used in this study reflect respondents' characteristics in terms of locality, gender, age, and levels of training or professional qualification. These categories were derived from the literature and built into the research protocol. All the data were sorted into each of the four groups listed above and descriptive statistics of group responses for each item in the questionnaire were obtained using the STATA statistical programme. Further, in order to establish if there was any significant relationship between the respondents' characteristics and the perception of the union's effectiveness, relational tests were done. These included the chi-square, (χ^2) and Fisher-exact, (F) tests.

According to Fraenkel and Wallen (1993), a χ^2 test is used to analyse data that are reported in categories. It is used to determine whether independent samples have significantly different distributions across the categories. It shows whether frequencies obtained are different from the frequencies one would attribute to chance variation alone.

Wiersma (1991) notes that research in which the χ^2 distribution would be used involves a comparison of observed and theoretical frequencies. Observed frequencies are those of the sample or group under study. The theoretical frequencies are those expected on the basis of some hypothesis. If the observed frequencies are similar to the expected frequencies, then the conclusion is that there is no difference in the groups under study. On the other hand, "if there are differences between the observed and the expected frequencies, then researchers conclude that there is a significant difference in attitudes between the groups under comparison" (Fraenkel and Wallen, 1993:201).

Since a χ^2 test applies only to discrete data, that is, counted rather than measured values, the test is a test of dependence, i.e. that one variable is not affected by, or related to another variable. Chi-square therefore is a means of estimating the likelihood that some other factors, other than chance, account for any apparent relationship.

Burns (1997:193) cautions that "the rule-of-thumb which one may follow in a chi-square test is that for a χ^2 analysis with 1 degree of freedom (1df.), the expected frequency in all cells should at least equal or be greater than 5. When the df. is greater than one, the expected frequency in all cells should be greater than 5 in at least 80% of the cells." For this study, the df. for all categories is 4, and the second rule therefore applies. Thus for items where the conditions for using χ^2 were not met, Fisher's-exact (F) test was used to determine the relationship between independent and dependent variables. Lutz (1983) notes that the F-test is the most appropriate alternative to chi-square when the expected frequencies are smaller than 5.

A finding of statistically significant χ^2/F -value, (p -value) however, does not necessarily indicate a cause-effect relationship. Rather, it shows that the variables probably do not exhibit the quality of independence, that is that they tend to be systematically related and that the relationship transcends pure chances or sampling error. Interviews were therefore used to establish the cause for the association between teacher characteristics and their perception on the union's effectiveness where significant relationship was noted.

A decision has to be made on the significance level from which the existence of a relationship between the independent and dependent variables can be determined. For this study, the level of significance chosen was 0.05. This means that for a significant relationship to be seen to exist, the following condition must hold for the p-value: $p < 0.05$. Thus, for a significant relationship between two variables to be seen to exist, the p-value (the probability of χ^2 /F-exact value appearing by chance) is less than 0.05.

5.2. Respondents grouped according to locality of the workplace:

Teachers grouped according to the locality of the workplace responded in divergent ways in their perceptions of the union's effectiveness, as shown in table 5.2.1.

Table 5.2.1: Rural and urban teachers' rating of the union's effectiveness in professional dimension. (Percentages in parentheses)

Item	Locality	Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	p-value
Trainee selection	R	30 (26.09)	44 (38.26)	7 (6.09)	34 (29.57)	0 (0.00)	0.000 **
	U	53 (48.62)	29 (26.61)	12 (11.01)	12 (11.01)	3 (2.75)	
Refresher courses	R	23 (20.00)	54 (46.96)	3 (2.61)	35 (30.43)	0 (0.00)	0.000 **
	U	45 (41.28)	31 (28.44)	14 (12.84)	17 (15.60)	2 (1.83)	
School inspect	R	16 (13.91)	57 (49.57)	4 (3.48)	37 (32.17)	1 (0.87)	0.0001 **
	U	42 (38.53)	33 (30.28)	8 (7.34)	21 (19.27)	5 (4.59)	
Staff Eval.	R	14 (12.17)	62 (53.91)	7 (6.09)	31 (26.96)	1 (0.87)	0.0001 **
	U	39 (35.78)	35 (32.11)	10 (9.17)	22 (20.18)	3 (2.75)	
School outc.	R	6 (5.22)	21 (18.26)	4 (3.48)	59 (43.48)	34 (29.57)	0.0001 **
	U	26 (23.85)	28 (25.69)	7 (6.42)	31 (28.44)	17 (15.6)	
Student eval.	R	17 (14.78)	47 (40.87)	17 (14.78)	31 (26.96)	3 (2.61)	0.037 *
	U	35 (32.11)	38 (34.86)	11 (10.09)	24 (22.02)	1 (0.92)	
Teaching resources	R	17 (14.78)	51 (44.35)	6 (5.22)	28 (24.35)	3 (2.61)	0.038 *
	U	33 (30.28)	43 (39.45)	8 (7.34)	20 (18.35)	5 (4.59)	
Staffing of sch.	R	1 (0.87)	5 (4.35)	0 (0.00)	80 (69.57)	29 (25.22)	0.000 **
	U	13 (11.93)	19 (17.43)	3 (2.75)	56 (51.38)	18 (16.51)	
Workload	R	1 (0.87)	7 (6.09)	0 (0.00)	79 (68.70)	28 (24.35)	0.000 **
	U	12 (11.01)	20 (18.35)	4 (3.67)	50 (45.87)	23 (21.10)	
Class size	R	7 (6.09)	32 (27.83)	10 (8.70)	58 (50.43)	8 (6.96)	0.000 **
	U	30 (27.52)	27 (24.77)	6 (5.50)	37 (33.94)	9 (8.26)	
Code of conduct	R	0 (0.00)	1 (0.87)	0 (0.00)	38 (33.04)	76 (66.09)	0.005 **
	U	1 (0.92)	3 (2.75)	4 (3.67)	53 (48.62)	48 (44.04)	

R--- rural; U --- urban.

* *- $p < 0.01$; * - $p < 0.05$ level. ns- not significant

Some significant differences are noted between the responses of urban and rural teachers in their attitudes towards the union's performance in some specific roles as confirmed by the chi-square/F- values for the respective items. The majority of urban teachers had a stronger negative opinion of the union's role in most of the items when compared with

the rural teachers. From the results shown in Tables 5.2.1, urban and rural teachers differ significantly in the way they perceived the union's effectiveness in at all the listed items.

The proportion of urban teachers who 'strongly disagreed' that the union played an effective role in determining the selection of teacher trainees was 49%, whereas those from rural areas was 26%. This trend is repeated in the difference between the two groups of teachers among those who were positive in the rating of the union's performance in trainee selection. While about 30% of rural teachers 'agreed' that the union was effectively playing its part in this role, only 11% of urban teachers were equally positive.

What is evident in the response from the two groups of teachers is that, although their opinions on the union's role in trainee selection were generally negative, urban teachers felt much more strongly in a negative way about the union's performance in this area. The response is suggestive of the extent to which teachers in this region did not see any meaningful influence of the union in the determination of entry to teacher training colleges in Kenya. Rural teachers, while also negative, were not so passionate about this matter, as seen in the proportion of those who 'strongly disagreed.' The statistical test on the relationship between locality and one's opinion on union's effectiveness in trainee selection was significant at the 0.01 level, (Table 5.2.1), suggesting that locality of the respondent was highly related to the way he or she perceived the union's effectiveness on this item.

A highly significant difference between urban and rural teachers was also noted in their opinion on the union's effectiveness in organising teachers' refresher courses, school inspection, staff evaluation, school curriculum design, staffing of schools, teachers' work-load, and determination of class-sizes. For all these items, the chi-square/F- test showed that the p-value was less than 0.01. This implies that at the 99% confidence level, one can conclude that teachers from the two regions differed in the way they perceived the union's effectiveness in the said areas. For all these items, urban teachers exhibit a more negative opinion of the union's effectiveness when compared to rural teachers' responses.

On refresher courses, 41% of urban teachers were 'strongly negative about the union's performance in this role, as compared to 20% of those from rural areas. Though on the whole, both groups of teachers were largely negative in their rating of the union's effectiveness in organising refresher courses, the finding showed that urban teachers were more strongly negative than rural teachers. In addition, among the few who responded positively, there was a higher representation of the rural teachers, with 30% of them 'agreeing' that the union was playing an effective role. This proportion was relatively high when compared with 16% of urban teachers who responded in the same way. It is clear then that, while both groups of teachers did not seem to see any substantive work done by the union in organising refresher courses, urban teachers showed a stronger negative conviction than rural teachers.

Response to school inspection showed there was a strong negative rating of the union's effectiveness from both groups of teachers. More than 50% of teachers from both groups viewed the union as ineffective in this role. However, whereas 39% of urban teachers were 'strongly negative,' only 14% of rural teachers expressed the same opinion. On the other hand, among the few who responded positively, there was a higher representation of the rural teachers, with 32% of them 'agreeing,' while only 19% of urban teachers were equally positive. This illustrates that although the majority of teachers seemed not to see any significant role played by the union in school inspection, the few who acknowledged that it was doing some meaningful work came mainly from rural schools.

Responses to the union's performance in the determination of staff evaluation procedures indicate that both urban and rural teachers felt strongly that the union was not performing any significant role in this area. The representation from urban teachers among those who responded negatively was, however, higher, with 36% of them 'strongly disagreeing.' The proportion of rural teachers who rated the union in the same weight was only 12%. The regional difference between the two groups of teachers again comes out clearly among those who viewed the union positively in its performance on this role. While 27% of rural teachers 'agreed' that the union was effective, some 20% of urban teachers

viewed it in the same way. This variation once again serves to emphasise the differences that seemed to characterise the perception of the two groups of teachers in the way they viewed the union's performance in its diverse roles. The significance of the difference in the response from the two groups of teachers as shown in the relational test value was high at the 0.01 level (see Table 5.2.1).

Teachers' views on the union's participation in school curriculum design showed that on the whole, substantive proportions of teachers from both groups were positive that the union was playing a significant role. Differences, however, between urban and rural teachers become evident when one scrutinises the proportion of those who rated the union positively from either group. Whereas 30% of rural teachers were 'strongly positive' about the union's role in the designing and improvement of school curriculum, only 17% of urban teachers responded in the same way. Urban teachers were also disproportionately represented among those who were negative about the union's role in this item. While 24% of urban teachers were 'strongly negative' about the union's contribution to curriculum design and improvement, only 5% of rural teachers were equally negative. This variation in the proportion of those who were negative or positive from either group about the union's performance indicates the divergence of opinions of urban and rural teachers on the union's effectiveness in contributing to curriculum development in Kenya. It suggests that urban teachers on the whole, did not see the union's role in curriculum development in the same favourable light as their rural counterparts.

Student evaluation procedure was another item in which urban and rural teachers differed in the way they perceived the union's influence. On the whole, both groups of teachers rated the union negatively in this item. However, a higher proportion (32%) of urban teachers 'strongly disagreed' that the union played any meaningful role in this area as compared to rural teachers' proportion of 15%. Some difference was also noted in the proportion of urban and rural teachers who rated the union positively in this particular item. While about 27% of rural teachers 'agreed' that the union did play an effective role in student evaluation, the corresponding proportion of urban teachers was 22%. This

further illustrates the divergence in the way the two groups of teachers perceived the union's inputs in various roles. In this case, urban teachers appeared to be generally more negative when compared to rural teachers. Results from statistical test on their responses showed that urban and rural teachers' opinion on the union's effectiveness was significantly different at the 0.05 level, ($p=0.037$).

Selection of instructional or teaching resources was one area in which all teachers irrespective of their workplace felt that the union had not done much. However, among those who showed a strong negative feeling about the union's performance in this role, the majority were urban. While about 30% of urban teachers were 'strongly negative,' only 15% of rural teachers responded in the same way. On the other hand, whereas some 24% of rural teachers 'agreed' that the union was effective in this role, only 18% of urban teachers were equally positive (Table 5.2.1). This implies that though an overwhelming majority from both groups were negative in their rating of the union in this role, a stronger negative rating was evident among the urban group. The relationship between the respondents' locality and his/her opinion on the union's effectiveness on this role was found to be significant at the 0.05 level, ($p=0.038$).

In its contribution to the improvement of staffing of public schools, most teachers from both groups showed a positive rating of the union's performance. Most of those who 'strongly' averred that the union was effectively contributing to the staffing of public schools in Kenya were rural, with 70% of them 'agreeing' that the union was effective in this role. The proportion of urban teachers who were equally positive in their rating of the union in this role was 51%. Among the few who responded negatively, there was a high proportion of urban teachers, with 17% of them 'disagreeing' that the union was effective, while only 4% of rural teachers responded in the same way. This once again underscores the significant difference in the way urban and rural teachers perceived the union's effectiveness in most of its roles.

Teachers rated the union's contribution to the improvement of their workload in a positive way. The proportion of teachers from either group who 'agreed' that the union

was playing an effective role was larger relative to those who disagreed. However, it emerged that a strong positive view of the union's role in this item was more common among rural than urban teachers. Whereas 69% of rural teachers 'agreed' that the union played a significant role in contributing to the improvement of their workload, the proportion of urban teachers who were equally positive on the union's role in the same item was only 46%. This suggests that though teachers in general credited the union for its role in this item, there were more rural teachers who were positive than urban teachers. These responses from the two groups of teachers as shown in Table 5.2.1 were significantly different at the 0.01 level.

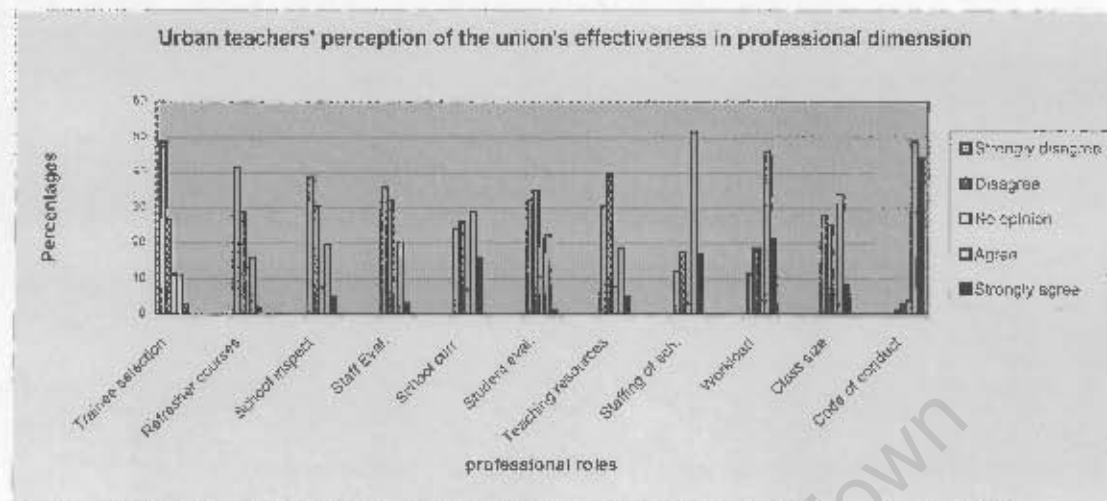
The trend of responses from urban and rural teachers contrasted when it came to their perceptions of the union's role in the determination of class size in public schools. On the whole, teachers from both groups were generally positive about the union's contribution in this item. However, among those who viewed it negatively, there was a higher representation from the urban group. Thus, while about 28% of urban teachers 'strongly disagreed' that the union played an effective role in the control of class sizes in public schools, only 6% of rural teachers were equally negative. This shows that in general, urban teachers were more negative than their rural counterparts in the way they perceived the union's influence in class size or teacher-pupil ratio in Kenyan public schools. The relationship between one's locality and opinion on the union's performance on this item was significant at the 0.01 level (Table 5.2.1).

The union's assessment by both groups of teachers in its role in the promotion and enhancement of teachers' professional code of conduct was generally positive. The majority of them either 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that the union played an effective role in this item. However, as in most of the other items highlighted above, a strong positive view was more widespread among rural than urban teachers. As such, whereas some 66% of rural teachers 'strongly agreed' that the union was effective in promoting teachers' professional conduct, only 44% of urban teachers responded in the same way. This underscores the relatively restrained acknowledgement of the union's contribution among this group of teachers even in areas where the general response was positive.

A close scrutiny of the areas where significant differences were noted in the opinion of the two groups of teachers on the union's effectiveness showed that most of the items fell under the professional domain of the union's role. Figures 5.2.1(a) and 5.2.1(b) summarise the responses of urban and rural teachers on the extent to which they agreed or disagreed that the union was effective in some of its specific roles.

University of Cape Town

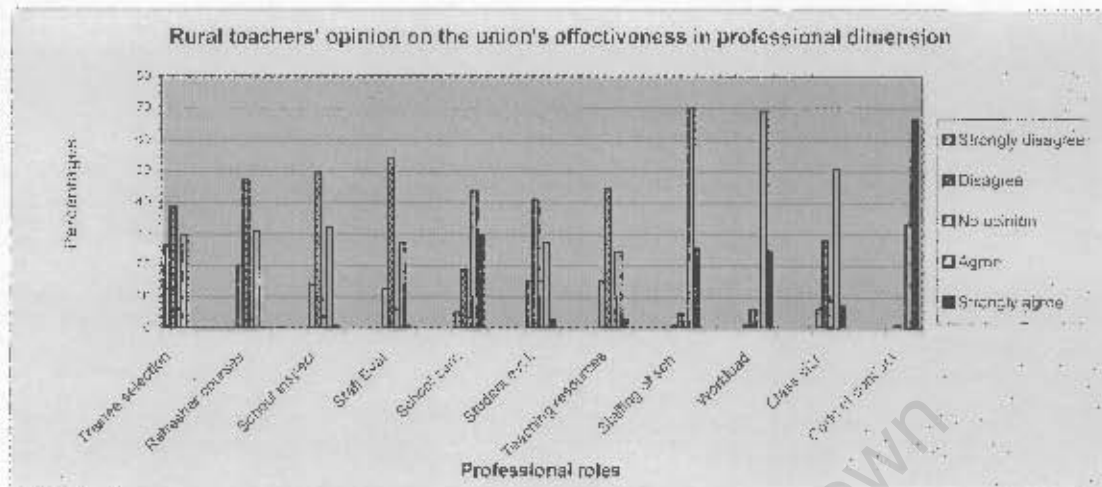
Fig. 5.2.1(a).



Generally, urban teachers had a stronger negative assessment of the union's effectiveness in most of the items shown in figure 5.2.1(a) above. Even in areas where they tended to be positive, the majority of teachers just 'agreed.' It is worth noting that for most items, the number of teachers who 'strongly agreed' that the union was effectively doing its role was minimal when compared with the strong negative responses. This suggests that at best, the majority of urban teachers just agreed that the union was effective in some limited areas in its professional domain.

In contrast to the urban teachers' rating of the union's effectiveness in the items shown in figure 5.2.1(a), rural teachers tended to be less strongly negative in their responses. Even in areas where teachers from both regions showed a generally positive response in their rating of the union's effectiveness, a higher proportion of rural teachers tended to be more strongly positive as compared to urban teachers. The details of the responses of the two groups of teachers become apparent when the trends of responses from both groups of teachers to the various items are represented in figures 5.2.1(a) above and 5.2.1(b) below.

Fig. 5.2.1(b)



Teachers from the two regions, however, did not show any significant difference in their opinion on the union's effectiveness in a number of items. These included the union's role in the improvement of their scheme of service, defending them in the course of duty, providing a means by which they could articulate their needs and interest; promoting their sense of identity and fighting for the improvement of teachers' status as professionals. For all these items, the teachers' responses were closely related irrespective of their locality. The chi-square/F-test also showed that the difference in the opinion of respondents was not statistically significant (see Table 5.2.2 where the p -value is greater than 0.05). The general trend of urban and rural teachers' response to these items are as shown in figures 5.2.2(a) and 5.2.2(b) below.

Table 5.2.2: Rural and urban teachers' rating of the union's effectiveness in socio-economic dimension. (Percentages in parentheses).

Item		Locality	Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	p-value
Sche. of serv.	R		0 (0.00)	1 (0.87)	11 (0.00)	34 (29.57)	80 (69.57)	0.178 ns
	U		0 (0.00)	1 (0.92)	2 (1.83)	43 (39.45)	63 (57.80)	
Defence	R		0 (0.00)	1 (0.87)	11 (0.00)	33 (28.70)	81 (70.43)	0.089 ns
	U		0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.92)	46 (42.20)	62 (56.88)	
Working cond.	R		0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	37 (32.17)	78 (67.83)	0.116 ns
	U		0 (0.00)	1 (0.92)	1 (0.92)	48 (44.04)	59 (54.13)	
Commun.	R		1 (0.87)	7 (6.09)	1 (0.87)	73 (63.48)	33 (28.70)	0.078 ns
	U		2 (1.83)	6 (5.50)	9 (8.26)	58 (53.21)	34 (31.19)	
Checks and bias	R		2 (1.74)	7 (6.09)	2 (1.74)	75 (65.22)	29 (25.22)	0.031 *
	U		7 (6.42)	15 (13.76)	5 (4.59)	53 (48.62)	29 (26.61)	
Identity	R		1 (0.87)	11 (9.57)	1 (0.87)	73 (63.48)	29 (25.22)	0.059 ns
	U		2 (1.83)	15 (13.76)	8 (7.34)	54 (49.54)	30 (27.52)	
Self-fulfillment	R		0 (0.00)	11 (9.57)	2 (1.74)	69 (60.00)	33 (28.70)	0.004 **
	U		5 (4.59)	16 (14.68)	11 (10.09)	52 (47.71)	25 (22.94)	
Status of Prof.	R		1 (0.87)	5 (4.35)	3 (2.61)	71 (61.74)	35 (30.43)	0.144 ns
	U		3 (2.75)	8 (7.34)	9 (8.26)	54 (49.54)	35 (32.11)	

R--- rural; U --- urban.

**-- $p < 0.01$; *-- $p < 0.05$ level. ns- not significant

Fig. 5.2.2(a).

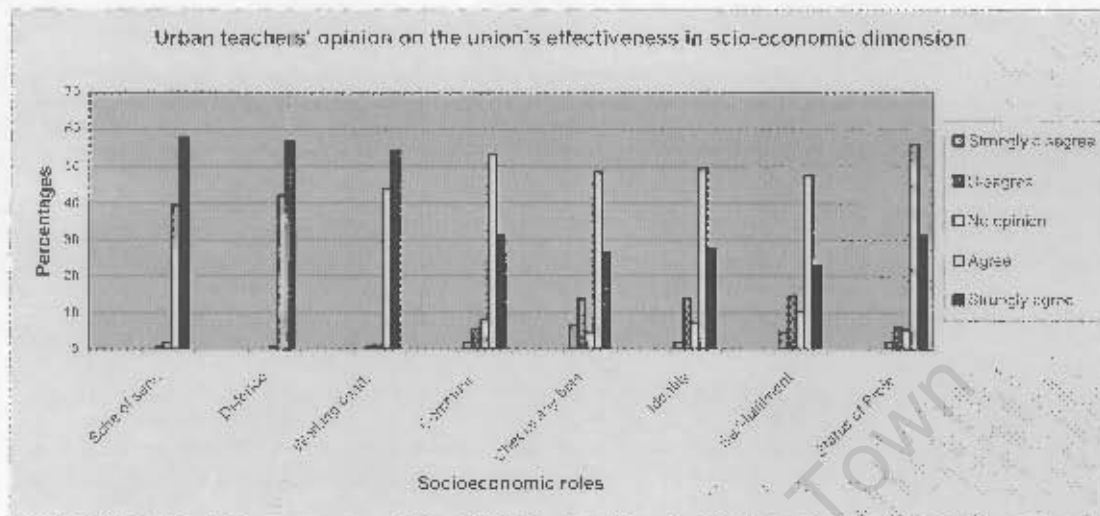
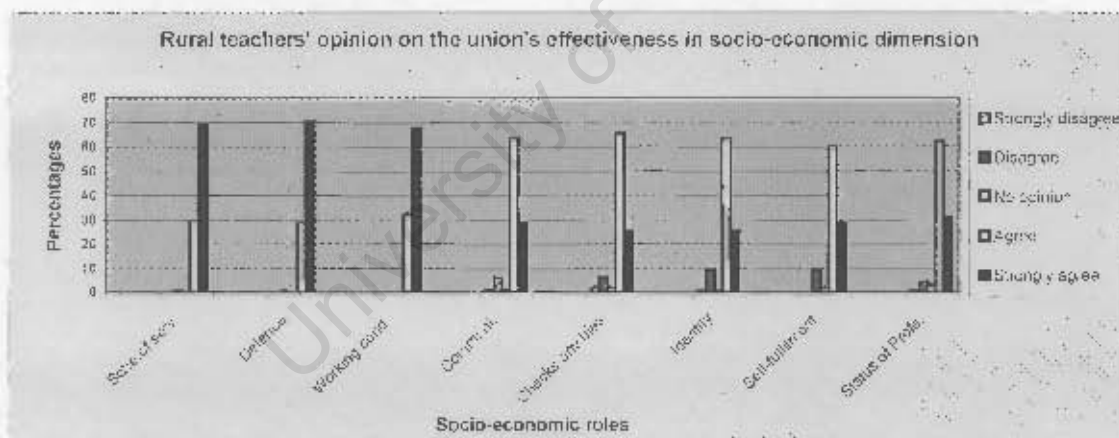


Fig.5.2.2(b).



As noted earlier, generally teachers from both regions seemed to agree that the union was effective in most of the items on the socio-economic dimension. Items represented in figure 5.2.2(a) and 5.2.2(b) clearly fell under this category. What is clearly evident in the response of teachers from both regions is that the union was positively rated in these items. The majority of teachers from both urban and rural areas either 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that the union was effective in its contribution to the improvement of

these factors. Significant differences between the urban and rural teachers' responses to the union's performance in socio-economic items were only noted in three items, namely, defending them in the course of duty, self-fulfilment and checking any form of favouritism in the teaching profession. Though both groups were positive in their rating of the union in these two roles, the majority of those who were strongly positive were from the rural group (see Table 5.2.2). For each of the items, the relational test showed that the difference in the opinion of urban and rural teachers on the union's effectiveness was significant at the 0.01 level.

What emerged from the responses of teachers is that there is a general consensus among them that the union had made some contribution to the improvement of their socio-economic needs. Divergence of opinion is however noted in the professional dimension of the union's role. It is clear that, whereas the union's effectiveness was generally rated negatively by all teachers, there was a tendency for the urban teachers to be more strongly negative than the rural teachers. In a way, it may imply that the urban teachers are more concerned with professional issues than the rural teachers. This is true given that the urban teachers often deal with a more informed clientele than their rural colleagues. Again, by virtue of their locality, urban teachers are more likely to be informed on new developments in education, which clearly places them in a more advantaged position in making informed assessments of the union's effectiveness in this dimension than the rural teachers. The socio-economic conditions prevailing in urban areas could also dictate the demands and expectations of urban teachers from the union, forcing them to view the role of the union more critically than their rural counterparts.

5.3. Gender difference and teachers' perception of the union's effectiveness

To establish further if there was any significant relationship between teacher characteristics and their attitude to the union's effectiveness, teachers were categorised into two groups according to gender.

Differences in gender of respondents were not reflected in the opinion of teachers on the effectiveness of the union in most of the items as shown in Table 5.3.1. Nevertheless,

teachers differed in their opinion on the union's effectiveness in some specific areas. Unlike in the case of urban and rural teachers, however, the items in which teachers were either in consensus (as indicated in their frequency responses and the chi-square/F-test), or disagreement did not separate neatly in terms of professional or socio-economic factors.

Male and female teachers' opinions generally did not diverge significantly on the effectiveness of the union in curriculum design. A relatively close proportion of male and female teachers (24% and 20% respectively) 'disagreed.' Similarly 38% and 34% of male and female teachers respectively 'agreed' that the union was effective on this role. In this case, the opinions of male and female teachers, with regard to the effectiveness of the union in curriculum design, were not significantly different. This suggests that neither of the two groups of teachers viewed the effectiveness of the union in this role in a way that was significantly different from the other.

Opinions for female and male teachers also did not show any significant difference for items like the staffing of schools, teachers' workload and determination of class-size. Other areas where consensus rather than difference in opinions between the two groups were noted include, the union's effectiveness in providing them with a means of communicating their needs, promoting their professional identity, enhancing their self-fulfilment, and in improving the status of the profession. These responses are summarised in Table 5.3.1 and illustrated in figures 5.3.1(a) and 5.3.1(b).

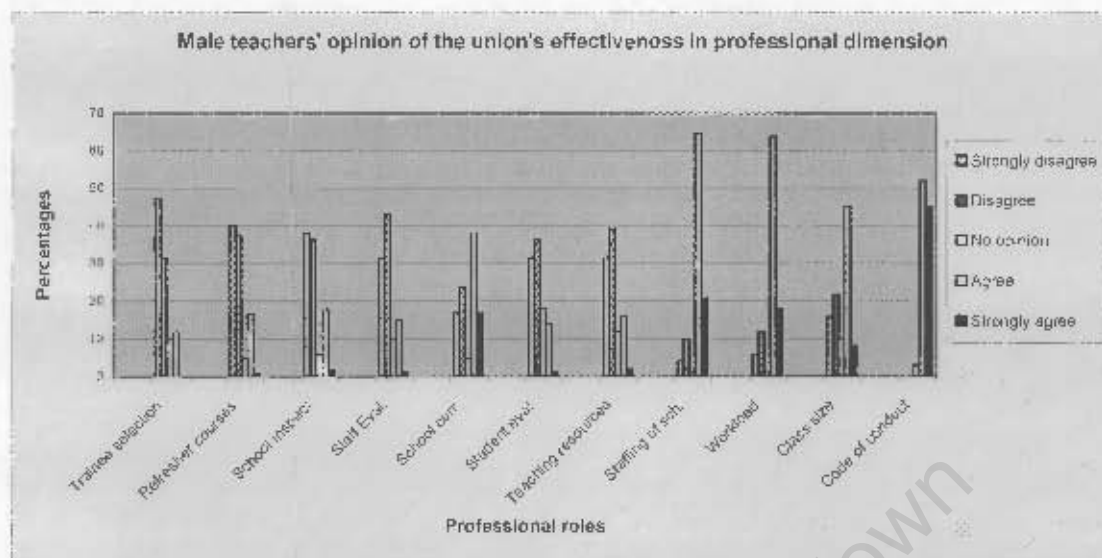
Table 5.3.1: Teachers' opinion according to gender on union's effectiveness in professional dimension. (Percentages in parentheses).

Item	Locality	Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	p-value
Trainee selection	M	48 (47.06)	32 (31.37)	10 (9.80)	12 (11.76)	0 (0.00)	0.005 *
	F	25 (28.69)	41 (33.61)	9 (7.38)	34 (27.87)	3 (2.46)	
Refresher courses	M	41 (40.20)	38 (37.25)	5 (4.90)	17 (16.67)	1 (0.98)	0.024 *
	F	27 (22.13)	47 (38.52)	12 (9.84)	35 (28.69)	1 (0.82)	
School inspect	M	39 (38.24)	37 (36.27)	6 (5.88)	18 (17.65)	2 (1.96)	0.002**
	F	19 (15.57)	53 (43.44)	6 (4.92)	40 (32.79)	4 (3.28)	
Staff Eval.	M	32 (31.37)	44 (43.14)	10 (9.80)	15 (14.71)	1 (0.98)	0.012*
	F	21 (17.21)	53 (43.44)	7 (5.74)	38 (31.15)	3 (2.46)	
School curr.	M	17 (16.67)	24 (23.53)	5 (4.90)	39 (38.24)	17 (16.67)	0.372 ns
	F	15 (12.30)	25 (20.49)	6 (4.92)	42 (34.43)	34 (27.87)	
Student eval	M	32 (31.37)	37 (36.27)	18 (17.65)	14 (13.73)	1 (0.98)	0.001**
	F	20 (16.39)	48 (39.34)	10 (8.20)	41 (33.61)	3 (2.46)	
Teaching resources	M	32 (31.37)	40 (39.22)	12 (11.76)	16 (15.69)	2 (1.96)	0.02*
	F	18 (14.75)	54 (44.26)	12 (9.84)	32 (26.23)	6 (4.92)	
Staffing of sch.	M	4 (3.92)	10 (9.80)	1 (0.98)	66 (64.71)	21 (20.59)	0.653 ns
	F	10 (8.20)	14 (11.48)	2 (1.64)	70 (57.38)	26 (21.31)	
Workload	M	6 (5.88)	12 (11.76)	1 (0.98)	65 (63.73)	18 (17.65)	0.396 ns
	F	7 (5.74)	15 (12.30)	3 (2.46)	64 (52.46)	33 (27.05)	
Class size	M	16 (15.69)	22 (21.57)	10 (9.80)	46 (45.10)	8 (7.84)	0.421 ns
	F	21 (17.21)	37 (30.33)	6 (4.92)	49 (40.16)	9 (7.38)	
Code of conduct	M	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (2.94)	53 (51.96)	46 (45.10)	0.005*
	F	1 (0.82)	4 (3.28)	1 (0.82)	38 (31.15)	78 (63.93)	

– Significant at 0.01 level, **ns- not statistically significant.

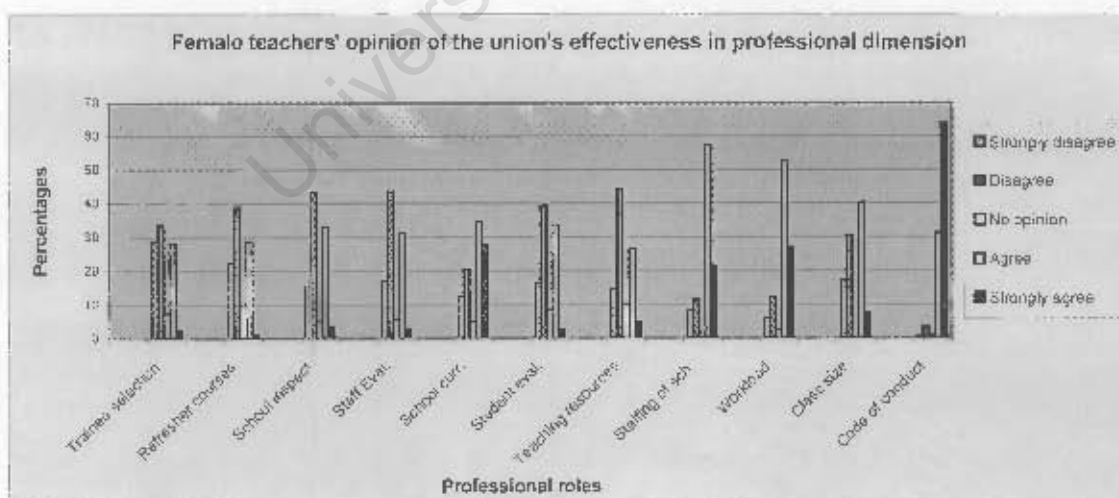
*– Significant at 0.05 level

Fig. 5.3.1(a).



A comparison of the responses from the two groups of teachers (Figs. 5.3.1(a) and 5.3.1(b)) shows that, in general, both groups of teachers rated the union negatively in most of the items shown.

Fig.5.3.1(b).



Significant differences between the two groups were, however, noted in some items. Male and female teachers differed in the way they perceived the effectiveness of the union in influencing the selection of teacher trainees. As shown in Table 5.3.1, a large proportion of teachers from both groups was negative about the union's effectiveness in determining the selection of teacher trainees. However, the proportion of male teachers who were 'strongly negative' about the union's effectiveness on this role was higher than that of female teachers (47% and 29% respectively). It is also worth noting that among those who rated the union positively in this item, the proportion of women was higher than that of men. Thus, whereas some 28% of women 'agreed' that the union was effective in this role, only 12% of male teachers were equally positive. The differential significance of opinion between the two groups on this item is further confirmed by the p -value in the F- test, which at 0.005 is statistically significant at the 0.05 level of significance. This suggests that though both male and female teachers viewed the union as ineffective in this role, differences exist in the way both groups perceived it, in this case, male teachers were more strongly negative.

The opinion of male and female teachers also differed significantly on the union's performance in organising refresher courses. The two groups of teachers rated the union negatively in this role. However, a larger proportion of those who were strongly negative was male as compared to female teachers (see responses from each group in Table 5.3.1). Among those who responded positively, the proportion of female teachers was higher than that of their male counterparts. Whereas about 29% of female teachers 'agreed' that the union was effective in organising refresher courses, only 17 % of male teachers held the same view. This difference in the opinion of the two groups of teachers was also confirmed by the F-test, which as shown in Table 5.3.1 was significant at the 0.05 level.

Teachers' opinion on the union's effectiveness in influencing school inspection modes and procedures showed a marked variation according to gender of the respondents. A higher proportion of male teachers, (38%) compared to female teachers, (16%) was strongly negative about the union's performance on this role. The difference between the two groups also emerged among those who rated the union positively in the same item. A

higher proportion of female teachers (33%) as compared to male teachers' (18%) "agreed" that the union was playing an effective role in striving for the improvement of school inspection. This suggests that although both groups of teachers felt that the union had not played any satisfactory in this area, this feeling was stronger among male teachers than female teachers. The F-test (Table 5.3.1) showed that the difference was significant at the 0.01 critical level. This result is indicative of a highly significant relationship, implying that one could confidently attribute the teachers' opinion on the union's rating in this item to gender rather than chance.

Responses from male and female teachers showed that the majority viewed the union as ineffective in fighting for an effective system of staff evaluation. However, a larger proportion of male teachers was negative as compared to female teachers. Thus, whereas 33% of male teachers were 'strongly negative' about the union's performance on this role, only 17% of female teachers held the same view. The proportion of female teachers among those who responded positively in their rating of the union in this role was higher than that of men. While about 31% of female teachers 'agreed' that the union was effective in executing this role, only 15% of male teachers were equally positive. The significance test also showed that the difference in the response from the two groups of teachers was significant at the 0.05 level, implying that the gender is related to the opinion of teachers on the union's performance in staff evaluation.

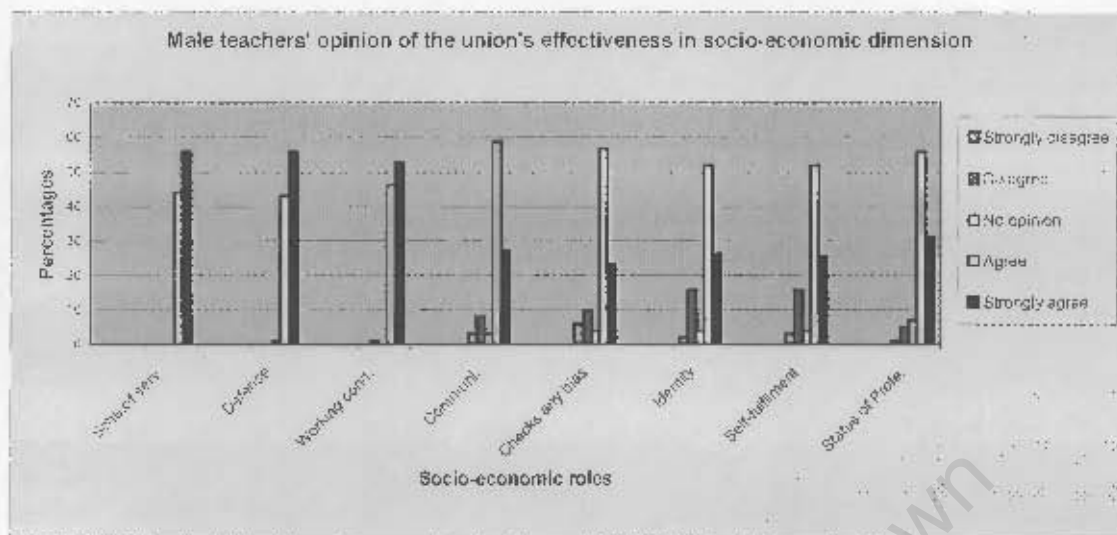
The majority of teachers, from either male or female groups, indicated that the union was not effective in influencing the selection of teaching or instructional materials like textbooks for schools. However, as in most other cases where significant differences were noted, the majority of those who were negative were male. While 31% of male teachers 'strongly disagreed' that the union was playing any meaningful role in the selection of teaching materials, the proportion of females who responded in the same way was 15%. This difference was also replicated among those who responded positively in their rating of the union's performance in this role. While 26% of female teachers 'agreed' that the union was effective in this role, the proportion of men was 16%. This suggests that on the whole, male teachers were more negative than female teachers in the way they viewed the

union's performance in the selection of instructional materials for schools. A significance test also showed that the opinions of the two groups of teachers was significant at the 0.05 critical level (see Table 5.3.1), thus confirming that there was a linkage or association between gender and the opinion of teachers on union's effectiveness in this role.

A significant difference between male and female was also noted in their opinion on the union's effectiveness in influencing procedures for student evaluation and enforcement of teachers' professional code of conduct. With regard to student evaluation, the majority of teachers from both groups were negative in their rating of the union's performance. However, a close scrutiny of responses from either group showed that male teachers were more negative than female teachers. Thus, whereas 31% of male teachers 'strongly disagreed' that the union was playing any meaningful role in the determination of student evaluation, the proportion of female teachers who were equally negative was 16%. On the other hand, while both groups of teachers were positive about the union's performance in the promotion of professional conduct, a higher proportion of female teachers was strongly positive. Thus, whereas about 64% of female teachers 'strongly agreed' that the union was effective in this role, only 45% of male teachers were of the same opinion. This suggests that male teachers tended to be more negative in their rating of the union's performance than women. The relationship between gender and the opinion of teachers' on the union's effectiveness in the two items was confirmed by the high significance value for each item (see Table 5.3.1 for the relevant p -value for each item).

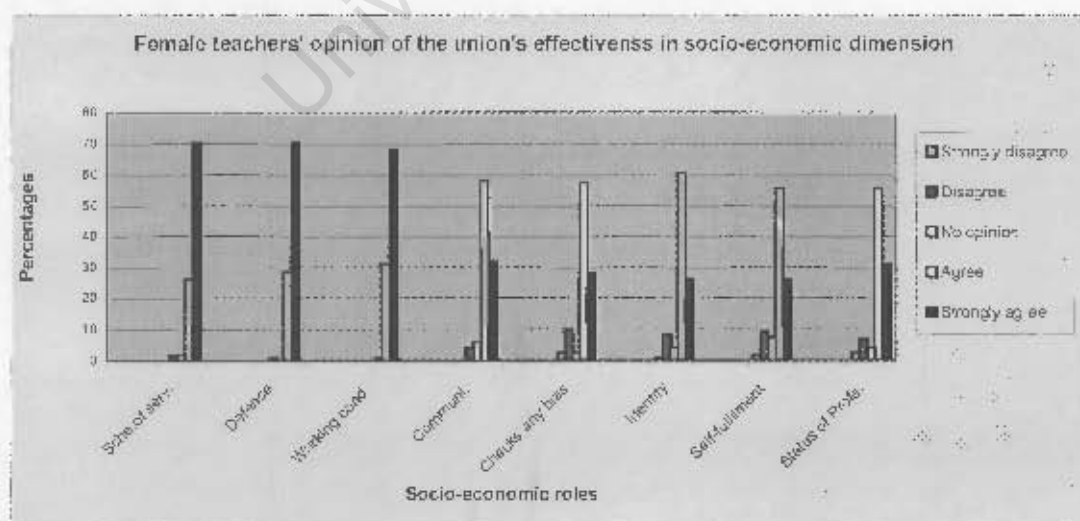
Another item where differences of opinion for the two groups was noted was in their opinion on the union's effectiveness in fighting for their improvement of scheme of service. In this item, the union was positively rated by the two groups of teachers. However, while about 70% of female teachers 'strongly' credited the union in this item, the proportion of male teachers who responded in the same way was 56%. This suggests that though both groups positively rated the union's role in this item, male teachers were not as passionate as their female colleagues. The relationship test showed that their opinions were significantly different at the 0.05 level (see Table 5.3.2).

Fig. 5.3.2 (a).



In general, male and female teachers' assessment of the union's effectiveness varied but it was only statistically significantly in one item, viz, the union's role in the improvement of teachers' scheme of service. In general, male teachers' rating of the union was more negative when compared to that of the female teachers, but it was however not significant enough to warrant concluding that gender was a major factor in teachers' opinions in this domain.

Fig.5.3.2(b).



As shown in Table 5.3.2, though female teachers are relatively more positive in their views on the union's effectiveness in the socio-economic domain, in general, the differences in the perceptions of the two groups is not statistically significant for most items. The variations of rating of the union's effectiveness by male and female teachers are portrayed in Figures 5.3.2(a) and 5.3.2(b).

Table 5.3.2: Teachers' opinions according to gender on union's effectiveness in socio-economic dimension. (Percentages in parentheses).

Item	Gender	Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	p-value
Sche. of serv.	M	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	45 (44.12)	57 (55.88)	0.016*
	F	0 (0.00)	2 (1.64)	27 (1.64)	32 (26.23)	86 (70.49)	
Defence	M	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	7 (2.88)	44 (43.14)	57 (55.88)	0.066 ns
	F	0 (0.00)	1 (0.82)	0 (0.00)	35 (28.69)	86 (70.49)	
Working cond.	M	0 (0.00)	1 (0.98)	0 (0.00)	47 (46.08)	54 (52.94)	0.061 ns
	F	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.82)	38 (31.15)	83 (68.03)	
Communit.	M	3 (2.94)	8 (7.84)	3 (2.94)	60 (58.82)	28 (27.45)	0.179 ns
	F	0 (0.00)	5 (4.10)	7 (5.74)	71 (58.20)	39 (31.97)	
Checks any bias	M	6 (5.88)	10 (9.80)	4 (3.92)	58 (56.86)	24 (23.53)	0.562 ns
	F	5 (2.46)	12 (9.84)	3 (2.46)	70 (57.38)	34 (27.87)	
Identity	M	2 (1.96)	16 (15.69)	4 (3.92)	53 (51.96)	27 (26.47)	0.410 ns
	F	1 (0.82)	10 (8.20)	5 (4.10)	74 (60.60)	32 (26.23)	
Self-fulfilment	M	3 (2.94)	16 (15.69)	4 (3.92)	53 (51.96)	26 (25.49)	0.438 ns
	F	2 (1.64)	11 (9.02)	9 (7.38)	68 (55.74)	32 (26.23)	
Status of Profe.	M	1 (0.98)	5 (4.90)	7 (6.86)	57 (55.88)	32 (31.37)	0.784 ns
	F	3 (2.46)	8 (6.56)	5 (4.10)	68 (55.74)	38 (31.15)	

**— Significant at 0.01 level,

ns- not statistically significant

*— Significant at 0.05 level

The two groups of teachers generally held a positive opinion of the union's effectiveness in some areas, namely the enforcement of a professional code of conduct, scheme of service, and determination of teachers' workload. In spite of the generally positive consensus around the union's effectiveness in these dimensions, women teachers' responses tended to be more strongly positive than those of the male teachers. This difference is clearly evident in the trends of responses shown in figures 5.3.2(a) and 5.3.2(b) above.

5.4. Teachers' Age and opinion on union's effectiveness

Analysis of teachers' responses showed that age was not a significant factor in the determination of their opinion on the union's performance. Teachers from both 'young' and older groups shared common views about the union's effectiveness in almost all items (see Tables 5.4.1 and 5.4.2).

A strong negative rating of the union was reflected in most items in the professional domain of the union's role. The majority of teachers from both groups either 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' that the union was effective in any of the areas within this domain. The significance test showed that there was no difference in the opinion between those who were below 40 years in age and those who were 40 and above in all the items (see Table 5.4.1, $p > 0.05$). This implies that on the whole, both groups of teachers were largely in agreement that the union had not performed to their expectation in its professional roles.

Table 5.4.1: Age difference and the respondents' opinions on the union's effectiveness in professional dimension.

Item	Age	Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	p-value
Trainee selection	Less than 40 yrs	54	39	13	27	2	0.583 (ns)
	40 yrs & above	29	34	6	19	1	
Refresher courses	Less than 40 yrs	46	44	12	31	2	0.185 (ns)
	40 yrs & above	22	41	5	21	0	
School inspect	Less than 40 yrs	40	48	5	36	6	0.052 (ns)
	40 yrs & above	18	42	7	22	0	
Staff Eval.	Less than 40 yrs	32	54	10	35	4	0.374 (ns)
	40 yrs & above	21	43	7	18	0	
School curri.	Less than 40 yrs	19	31	8	43	34	0.474 (ns)
	40 yrs & above	13	18	3	38	17	
Student eval.	Less than 40 yrs	30	49	20	33	3	0.697 (ns)
	40 yrs & above	22	36	8	22	1	
Teaching resources	Less than 40 yrs	28	57	13	34	3	0.316 (ns)
	40 yrs & above	22	37	11	14	5	
Staffing of sch.	Less than 40 yrs	8	12	3	89	23	0.129 (ns)
	40 yrs & above	6	12	0	47	24	
Workload	Less than 40 yrs	7	15	2	83	28	0.707 (ns)
	40 yrs & above	6	12	2	46	23	
Class size	Less than 40 yrs	24	36	8	60	7	0.411 (ns)
	40 yrs & above	13	23	8	35	10	
Code of conduct	Less than 40 yrs	0	3	3	57	72	0.693 (ns)
	40 yrs & above	1	1	1	34	52	

**- significant at 0.01; * - significant at 0.05, ns- not significant

Responses from both groups to the union's role in the improvement of their socio-economic needs was largely positive. Young and older teachers were either 'positive' or strongly positive in their rating of the union's performance in this domain (see Table 5.4.2). The statistical test for association between age and opinion of teachers suggests that there was no significant difference in the opinion of the young and old group of teachers with regard to union's effectiveness in most items. However, some significant

differences in the views of the two groups were noted in their opinion on the union's performance in the improvement of their working conditions. Response to this item indicates that a relatively higher proportion of the younger group of teachers (70%) was more strongly positive than the older group of teachers whose proportion of those who strongly agreed that the union was effective on this role was 56%. The significance test statistic (F-test shows that $p < 0.05$) indicates that the difference in the opinion of the two groups was significant for this item. This suggests that though both groups of teachers credited the union for its role in the improvement of their working conditions, the older group were less strongly positive than the younger group

Table 5.4.2: Age difference and the respondents' opinions on the union's effectiveness in socio- economic domain

Item	Age	Strongly disagree	disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	p- value
Scheme of service	Less than 40	0	1	2	49	81	0.627 ns
	40 yrs & above	0	1	0	28	60	
Defence	Less than 40	0	1	1	53	80	0.187 ns
	40 yrs & above	0	0	0	26	63	
Working conditions	Less than 40	0	1	9	59	75	0.030 *
	40 yrs & above	0	0	1	26	62	
Communication	Less than 40	2	6	3	86	38	0.122 ns
	40 yrs & above	1	7	7	45	29	
Discrimination	Less than 40	7	12	3	82	31	0.376 ns
	40 yrs & above	2	10	4	46	27	
Identity	Less than 40	2	13	5	83	32	0.436 ns
	40 yrs & above	1	13	4	44	27	
Self fulfilment	Less than 40	4	13	8	76	34	0.602 ns
	40 yrs & above	1	14	5	45	24	
Status of Profession	Less than 40	3	7	7	71	47	0.633 ns
	40 yrs & above	1	6	5	54	23	

** - significant at 0.01; * - significant at 0.05. ns - not significant

On the whole, the findings from the relationship between age and the opinion of teachers on the union's effectiveness show that there was no significant linkage between the two in most items. This suggests that on the whole, young and old teachers seemed to agree in their perceptions of the union's performance in most of its roles.

5.5. Teachers' professional qualification and opinion on union's effectiveness

Groupings of teachers according to professional qualification showed that there was no significant relationship between their qualification and opinion on the union's effectiveness in most of its roles.

For most of the items listed on the union's role, teachers' responses do not show any particular pattern, which may be associated with any group with similar qualification or training. However, qualification had some significant relationship with teachers' opinions on the union's role in three areas, namely, refresher courses, staff evaluation and influence on teachers' workload. While the general view of both groups on the union's role in organising refresher course was negative, a relatively higher proportion of secondary school teachers than their primary colleagues showed a negative rating. Thus, whereas 77% of secondary school teachers rated the union negatively, about 63% of primary teachers perceived it in the same way. On the other hand, whereas some 25% of primary teachers 'agreed' that the union was effective on this role, the proportion of secondary school teachers who were equally positive was 20%. This suggests that though both groups viewed the union as largely ineffective in this role, the majority of secondary school teachers were negative as compared to their primary colleagues.

Table 5.5.1: Teachers' professional qualification and opinion on the union's effectiveness in Professional dimension.

Item	Prof. qualification	Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	p-value
Trainee selection	Pri	49	42	16	27	3	0.145
	Sec	34	31	3	19	0	ns
Refresher courses	Pri.	43	43	15	34	2	0.030 *
	Sec	25	42	2	18	0	
School inspect	Pri.	31	52	7	41	6	0.093
	Sec	27	38	5	17	0	ns
Staff Eval.	Pri.	27	55	11	40	4	0.035*
	Sec	26	42	6	13	0	
School curr.	Pri.	19	28	7	47	36	0.620
	Sec	13	21	4	34	15	ns
Student eval	Pri.	28	51	20	35	3	0.570
	Sec	24	34	8	20	1	ns
Teaching resources	Pri	25	58	17	29	8	0.070
	Sec		36	7	19	0	ns
Starting of sch.	Pri.	11	18	3	74	31	0.069
	Sec	3	6	0	62	16	ns
Workload	Pri.	8	20	4	68	37	0.026 *
	Sec	5	7	0	61	14	
Class size	Pri.	25	36	9	56	11	0.896
	Sec	12	23	7	39	6	ns
Code conduct	Pri.	1	2	3	47	84	0.091
	Sec	0	2	1	41	40	ns

*-statistically significant at 0.05 level; ns- not significant

Primary and secondary teachers' on the union's role in staff evaluation was generally negative. The majority of teachers from both groups 'disagreed' that the union was playing any meaningful role. However, secondary school teachers showed a stronger negative perception than the primary teachers. While about 30% of secondary school teachers 'strongly disagreed,' the proportion of primary school teachers who were equally negative was 20%. This variation was also reflected in the proportion of those who were positive about the union's role in this item. While about 29% of primary teachers agreed that the union was effective in contributing to the improvement of staff evaluation, only 15% of secondary school teachers expressed the same positive view. This suggests that though the majority of both groups of teachers agreed that the union was not effective on this role, a higher proportion of secondary school teachers than primary teachers was

negative in their rating of the union in this item. The relational test showed that a teacher's qualification was significantly related to his/her opinion on union's effectiveness in staff evaluation at the 0.05 significance level (see Table 5.5.1, $p=0.035$).

Trends of responses from primary and secondary teachers suggested that teachers were positive about the union's role in its contribution to staffing of schools. Although, a relatively higher percentage of primary school teachers were positive compared to their secondary colleagues the difference was not statistically significant. The same response was also reflected in the rating of the union's contribution to the improvement of their workload. On this item, a higher proportion of secondary school teachers was more positive about the union's performance than primary school teachers. The significance of the differences in the opinion of the two groups of teachers in these items is as shown in Table 5.5.1. For each of the items, the relationship statistic indicates that qualification was related to the opinion of teachers ($p<0.05$).

Teachers' responses to the union's role in the socio-economic domain showed that qualification was not related to the way teachers perceived the union's effectiveness. This suggests that on the whole, both primary and secondary school teachers were in agreement in their assessment of the union's contribution to the improvement of their socio-economic needs. As shown in Table 5.5.2, the majority of teachers from both groups were positive in their rating of the union's role in most items in this domain. The relational test result (shown by the p -value) suggests that primary and secondary teachers' opinions on the union's effectiveness in all the items in this domain did not vary significantly. Thus, one can conclude that qualification was not a factor in the way a teacher perceived the union's contribution to their socio-economic needs.

Table 5.5.2: Teachers' professional qualifications and opinions on the union's effectiveness in socio-economic dimension.

Item	Prof. Qualification	Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	p-value
Sche. of serv.	Pri.	9	1	2	44	90	0.557
	Sec.	0	1	0	33	53	ns
Defence	Pri.	0	1	1	43	92	0.261
	Sec.	0	0	0	36	51	ns
Working cond.	Pri.	0	1	1	49	86	0.806
	Sec.	0	0	0	36	51	ns
Communi.	Pri.	3	5	5	82	42	0.278
	Sec.	0	8	5	49	25	ns
Checks my bias	Pri.	7	12	5	74	39	0.549
	Sec.	2	10	2	54	19	ns
Identity	Pri.	2	15	5	76	39	0.913
	Sec.	1	11	4	51	20	ns
Self-fulfillment	Pri.	3	15	9	73	55	0.947
	Sec.	2	12	4	46	23	ns
Status of Profe.	Pri.	4	7	7	73	47	0.281
	Sec.	0	6	5	52	23	ns

*-statistically significant at 0.05 level; ns- not significant.

The findings from this chapter provide more insights into the perception of the union's effectiveness by various groups of teachers. It became clear that certain group characteristics were significantly related to the way a group of teachers viewed the effectiveness of the union in its various roles. Thus, locality, and gender showed a significant relationship with teachers' opinion on a wide range of areas in union's role. On the other hand, professional qualification was significantly related to a few areas while age was not significant in most of the areas.

The findings complement the results that emerged in the immediate last chapter but go further to show the linkage between teacher characteristics and their opinion on the union's effectiveness. Evident from the results is that urban and rural teachers, male and female, young and older, and those from different levels of professional training differed

in various degrees in the way they perceived the union's effectiveness in certain specific areas. The underlying reasons for these differing opinions, as was found from their responses to the interviews, suggest that teachers' views are mediated by many factors which include those which are unique to them as members of particular groups. It appears then that, for these groups, the union's effectiveness is first seen in the light of the extent to which it has been able to address some of these group expectations and needs. This explains why some groups responded more positively in their rating of the union in some areas and more negatively in others.

On a wider range of items however, there was no significant difference in the perception of various groups of teachers on the union's effectiveness. This suggests that for the majority of teachers, there was a general consensus on the union's performance regardless of their characteristics. Consensus and divergence in the opinions of teachers, as the findings in this chapter suggest, are shaped by the factors related to individual and group needs. The focus of the next chapter then is on the linkage between these factors. It draws from teachers' responses to the interview to make interpretations of how the union's performance in various roles has been interpreted by teachers as members of a profession and as groups within the teaching profession.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF STUDY FINDINGS

6.1. Introduction

This study investigated teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness in both the professional and socio-economic dimensions of its role. The general conclusion derived from the analysis of teachers' response to the research tools was that teachers rated the union more positively in the socio-economic than the professional domain. This suggested that most teachers felt that the union was more effective as a 'trade union' than as a professional organization.

The relational analysis of teachers' responses highlighted the differences with which various groups of teachers viewed the performance of the union in its various roles. The findings showed that though teachers viewed the union's effectiveness positively or negatively in various items, differences existed in their perceptions when teachers were grouped according to specific categories.

This chapter takes further the implications of the study findings and attempts to answer two major questions, which emerged from the results:

- a). Why do teachers perceive the union as ineffective in some areas and more positively in others?
- b). What are the reasons for the differences in teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness according to factors like locality, gender, etc.?

In answering the above questions, findings from the interviews with teachers and evidence from relevant literature are used to show why teachers credited the union in some areas and saw it as 'ineffective' in others. The discussion shows that teachers' opinions are informed by a number of factors. These include the structural/institutional factors, which render the union helpless in most areas that are supposed to form the core of its purpose as a professional organization. In other cases, the responses were based on

what teachers saw as KNUT's own weakness or strength in performing its roles. The respondents' characteristics also seemed to influence their opinion and this was more pronounced between urban and rural, and male and female teachers. The discussion begins by analyzing the implications of the overall response of teachers before focusing on the differences associated with various groups.

6.2. Teachers' views on the union's effectiveness

6.2.1. Findings from professional Domain

One of the prime motivations for teacher unionization, all over the world, is that of helping teachers influence those education policies that shape their work as professionals. As Shalem (1990:1) notes, the struggle for professionalism among teachers through unions centres on efforts aimed at dismantling the "centralization of control and alienation from decisions about aims and content of education, the subjection of teachers to a patriarchal authority structure [and] the image of teachers as public servants." In addition, unions are also expected to provide the means for bargaining for better terms and conditions of employment. These goals have served as the major factors in working towards meeting teacher job needs, the quest for which has made unions indispensable organizations in the profession. Poole (1999:70) notes that: "...despite the imperfections of teachers' unions, teachers may remain loyal to certain principles for which teachers' unions stand."

Drawing from the two broad areas of the union's role, viz, the professional and socio-economic domains, the study assessed the teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness in serving these goals. The professional domain is defined largely by factors that include control of entry into the profession through set standards; emphasis on knowledge or skills and some degree of autonomy in determining the content of their work and how it is delivered. KNUT's aim at serving this goal is clearly spelled out in its constitution (1995:2), which states, *inter alia*, that the aims of the union are "to raise and maintain the standards and status of the profession."

The results showed that teachers did not feel that the union plays any effective role in controlling entry into the profession. That 69% of teachers were either 'strongly negative' or just 'negative,' while only 22% of them were positive about the union's role in controlling entry of practitioners into the profession clearly suggests that the union is seen as being ineffective in this area. From the interviews, it emerged that the union had no mechanism for controlling the admission of those aspiring to train as teachers. The general feeling was that the Ministry of Education, which provides the guidelines for admission to teacher training colleges and controls their certification, enfeebles the union's influence or attempts to control entry into the teaching profession. Thus, in one urban teacher's view, the union's dismal performance in setting the pace in entry requirements to teacher training colleges was largely attributable to the control by the government and its inherent unease with the union(s). He commented:

The government has all along been sensitive to strong trade union and it has always tried to curtail their influence ...[s]election of [teacher] trainees is one area that the government has been reluctant to fully involve the union or loosen its control. [T1]

Another respondent's view gave the impression that the failure of the union was partly due to the union's complacency and lack of drive to play a more influential role in teacher trainee selection. In the opinion of one rural teacher:

The union seems content with the overseer role it is playing in teacher selection. The Ministry [of Education] sets the condition of entry. Union officials only play a watchdog role in that they only append their signatures on the selection lists after verifying that those meeting the set standards in terms of qualification are selected. [T2].

What is clear from the rural teacher's response is that in his opinion, the union is playing a subservient role, verifying that the conditions set elsewhere are adhered to. In this case the union is not providing the lead in setting the conditionalities for admission into the teaching profession as is normally expected of all professional organizations.

The teachers' observations in their portrayal of the union as an 'enfeebled' organization seem to concur with Manuh's (1993) argument, which claims that most developing countries, on achievement of independence, tried to eliminate competing centres of

power. The aim was to curb the 'mischief' of factions. Factions, it was felt, undermined the nation building process. As Cohen and Rogers (1995) explain, the objective was to "seek to preserve an autonomous realm of deliberative [politics] devoted to discerning and pursuing the 'common good' and this required the insulation of an activist state from the maneuvering of particularistic groups" (p.8). States thus saw themselves as ideally positioned to engender equity of opportunities to all their citizens. This explains their concerted efforts to rein in interest groups by deliberately discouraging their growth and in other cases co-opting them so that their influence and impact were curtailed considerably. From teachers' responses, it would appear that KNUT has not managed to 'disentangle' itself from such controls and take charge of the profession it represents.

In not being able to determine entry into the profession the union is significantly compromised with respect to its claim of engendering professionalism in teaching. Macdonald's (1995) view in the case of law, perhaps serves to underpin the centrality of exercising stringent admission procedures into a profession. He notes that "...law in a modern society cannot remain in the hands of the laity, because, not only must the law in the nature of things be as complex as the society itself, but it must be raised to a level of abstraction and subtlety that would soon convince a lay person acting alone that specialist assistance was needed" (p.85). This presumes that those who enter professional occupations are those that qualify or who have 'survived' a mechanism of sorting and selection. Besides, various professions demand and specify the length of training required for one to qualify or be admitted to practice. Duties of professional associations include ensuring that such requirements are adhered to. Moore (1970:79) succinctly sums up this position thus:

Occupational interests that animate the formation of professional associations include the terms and conditions of employment but do not exclude the strategic considerations such as [the] criteria for access to the occupation; the attempt to exclude the allegedly incompetent, and protect all this presumable honourable monopoly.

Set against the above factors or requirements, teachers' negative score of the union's performance seems to be justified as it would appear that it is not in charge of the profession.

Although professional organizations [which KNUT claims to be one] are supposed to place a premium on activities that promote knowledge, results showed that organizing refresher courses is one area in which the union was poorly rated by the majority of teachers. The overwhelming negative perceptions of the union's performance in this area seem to stem from the fact that though the exercise entails substantive financial and human resources, the union has not made any significant efforts to address these challenges. This was reflected in the response from one rural teacher who noted that:

It [union] has always advanced the reason of cost as the major limiting factor ...[w]hen it occasionally manages to get donor support, it targets some few areas in the curriculum ...it should be more innovative and creative in looking for ways and means of generating funds to sponsor all courses for teachers instead of relying on members' contributions and donors. [T2]

In the view of one urban respondent the issue of financial constraints seemed not to be the only reason for the union's failure to conduct refresher courses. As he notes, even with the recent increase in members' contribution to the union, there has not been any improvement in the union's organization of refresher courses. Thus, he explained:

The union's role in organizing teacher refresher courses has been minimal and irregular. Economic constraints have always been put forward as the main reason for this. It is often cited that before the proportionate contribution from members [where a fixed 2% of members' salary is deducted as union fee] was effected, a fixed amount of contribution was deducted from all members' salary, irrespective of their earning. However, even with the new increased contribution, there has not been a corresponding improvement in the provision of this service by the union. [T1.]

It is clear from the teachers' responses that although they appreciate the financial constraints as put forward by the union officials, what they seem not to understand is the failure of the union to improve on this service even with increased contribution from members. This gives the impression that teachers viewed the union's failure in the provision of this service may be attributable to factors beyond financial constraints. In this case, it is evident that teachers do not accept the explanation about the factors that contribute to the inadequate provision of refresher courses.

The failure of the union to organize refresher courses has far-reaching implications for its claim to being a professional organization. Professionals have an obligation to serve their clients with competence and this is normally achieved through the continuous improvement of skills. A failure to provide adequate service to teachers in this area may therefore be seen as a disservice not only to teachers as professionals, but also to the learners as clients.

As noted earlier in the section on professionalism in Chapter Two, professionals are supposed to be authorities in their areas of specialty. This implies that a professional is an expert in the application of a body of knowledge and can provide solutions to specific problems presented by the clients. Thus, professionals wield greater authority in relation to their clients. Where positions are created for co-ordination and supervision of various professionals, it would be expected that occupants of such positions have the knowledge and experience of the work or tasks they supervise.

From the survey results, it was found that the majority of teachers did not perceive the union as playing any significant role to ensure that the most competent individuals were given the responsibility of serving as school inspectors. The failure of the union was attributed to the legal provision which gives the Ministry of Education unlimited powers in the selection and appointment of school inspectors. It also defines their duties. A respondent from an urban school summed this up thus:

...appointment of school inspectors is solely done by the Ministry of Education and this is provided for in the Education Act. This legal provision limits the Union's influence on school inspection. [T1]

On the same issue, a rural teacher observed:

Law governing Education in Kenya limits union's role in this area [school inspection]. It gives the Ministry of Education the sole responsibility... appointment of personnel and definition of their duties. This limits the union's effective participation in this area. It cannot check the work of school inspectors. It can only react or challenge their decisions but only when teachers register their dissatisfaction... [i]f the Act is amended so that the union could be given more say in school inspection, this could serve teachers better. As it is now, the union is not well placed (legally) to play an active role in making school inspection more beneficial to teachers and education in general. [T2.]

The view expressed by respondent T2 above, that the union could serve them better if the Education Act was amended to give more say to the union in school inspection suggests that teachers were not satisfied with the way in which it is presently carried out. This may imply that school inspectors are not performing to teachers' expectations for reasons ranging from lack of commitment or lack of the necessary skills to handle the demands of school inspection. The latter reasons are lent credence by findings from the Working Party on Education (1988:33) which noted that "there are no staff development programmes that would expose them [school inspectors] to training on a regular basis."

Evident from the teachers' responses cited above were the feelings that school inspection is not serving them well and this could be improved if the structural factors limiting its involvement are changed to make provision for the union's participation. In addition to the need for the union to be involved in the selection and appointment of school inspectors, their desire was for the union to play an active role in ensuring that those entrusted to work in such positions serve them efficiently.

Results from the teachers' opinions on the union's effectiveness in staff evaluation were strongly negative. About 66% of the respondents 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' that the union served any meaningful role in staff evaluation. Underlying this response was the apparent feeling among teachers that their work is structured by bureaucratic sets of control in which the state and its agents assess teaching performance with minimum influence or mediation by the union. A rural teacher commented on this as follows:

Staff evaluation for the purpose of merit promotion are in the domain of the Ministry of Education ...[t]his has not helped teachers much since it is mainly the school inspectors' reports which are used for staff evaluation especially at the primary school levels. At the secondary level, a panel from the Ministry of Education interviews teachers for the purpose of promotion. In some cases, teachers' performance in class work as reflected in students' scores in national examination has been used as criteria for awarding promotion. The union has no influence in the evaluation of its members' productivity. [T2]

The union's perceived ineffectiveness in staff evaluation was further clarified by an urban teacher who responded thus:

Although the Teachers' Service Commission (employing agent for all teachers in Public schools) was formed through the initiative of the union, it is more affiliated to the Ministry of Education rather than the union. It registers and licenses teachers which have been trained by the Ministry of Education... [t]he employing agent determines teachers' conditions of service which includes promotion. The influence of the union on teacher evaluation is therefore limited if any. [T.1]

The above views confirm the limitations of the union in trying to take charge of some of its professional roles. The structural factors which include the law governing education in the country, make no provision for any agency outside the state bureaucracy to carry out any meaningful evaluation. On this, the Education Act (1980), clearly states:

... no person except the Ministry or the person who has received the consent of the Minister given by notice in the Gazette shall issue a certificate or diploma to any person indicating that a person has ...attained a particular standard or possesses any skill, knowledge or professional competence." (p.15)

The above legal restriction suggests that the union has no mechanism for ensuring that teachers contribute to their own professional growth through peer review.

Analysis of data showed that on average, teachers were positive about the union's contribution to curriculum design and improvement. About 57% of the respondents rated the union positively in its role in curriculum design. This positive rating seemed to stem from the often conspicuous representation of the union in commissions that have been set up to review curriculum in the country. It also became clear that teachers believed that the union has been active in articulating their concerns on issues of curriculum. One secondary teacher noted that:

The union has been involved in curriculum design at Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) where it has permanent representation. The review that recommended reduction of examinable subjects at secondary and primary school leaving examinations is largely attributable to the constant agitation from the union. It has managed to sensitize teachers and the public on the issue. In a way, the union has kept the dynamism in curriculum, resulting in constant reviews. [T8]

The reason for the positive rating of the union on its role in curriculum development also emerged from the view of a rural teacher who commented thus:

The union has played an active role in striving to have a curriculum that responds to the needs of the country. It has always pressurized the government to address this and this has resulted in curriculum reviews for the purpose of addressing the challenges facing the country. The union has come in strongly to moderate the present 8-4-4 system of education. The Koech Report whose recommendations are yet to be implemented has the union's inputs. All these are clear indications that the union has been actively involved in the improvement of school curriculum. [T2]

The cited Kochi Educational Report represents one of the latest Commissions set by the Kenyan government to review the present educational system in the country. Much of its recommendations are however yet to be implemented, save for few which include the reduction of examinable subjects at both primary and secondary levels

The weight of the positive opinion of the union's role in curriculum seemed to be counterbalanced by the negative rating of its role in implementation stages. Teachers rated the union's performance in the selection of instructional materials (textbooks and reference books), and evaluation of students negatively. An average of 65% of the respondents expressed a negative view of what the union had done to represent their interests in the determination of teaching or instructional materials. Teachers acknowledged that the union is represented at the KIE, the body charged with curriculum development and approval of teaching materials in Kenyan schools. However, they felt that the union does not solicit their input so that what is recommended often does not reflect what teachers perceived as most appropriate. This was summed up by one urban teacher:

It [union] does not solicit teachers' opinion on appropriate textbooks for use in schools. This has often resulted in the recommendation of books, which are not comprehensive enough in coverage of the syllabus. This often force[s] teachers to look for other reference materials outside the recommended ones. [T6]

The apparent lack of co-ordination between teachers and the union in selection of instructional materials emerged from the response of a male teacher who noted that:

The union has a permanent representation at the KIE, which deals with the selection and approval of teaching materials for schools. The amount of input from the union in this area is not clear... [m]ost teachers are not aware as to how much the union contributes in this process. [T.9]

The above responses suggests that in the opinion of teachers, the union has not only failed to seek inputs from teachers in the process of identifying relevant instructional materials but it is clear that some of the teachers were not conversant with what the union was doing in the process.

To effectively play its role in representing teachers, it is clear that the union needs to move beyond the confines of KIE and get the opinions of teachers before claiming to represent their views. This is particularly important, given that the Ministry of Education gives KIE the duty of curriculum development and the “responsibility of preparing teaching and evaluation materials to support any syllabuses including the preparation of pupils’ books, teachers’ guides etc” (Ministry of Education, 1987:91).

As a professional organization, it would be expected that the union plays a major role in student evaluation. About 60% of the respondents expressed a negative view of the union’s role in student evaluation. This negative response was attributed to the failure of the union to push for more say in matters concerning the procedures of student evaluation. As it is now, the Kenya National Examination Council (KNEC) has the overall say in all decisions pertaining to student evaluation. According to the Ministry of Education (1987:100), KNEC is *inter alia*, “empowered to conduct public examinations ...and make rules regulating the conduct of examinations and for all purposes incidental thereto.” Teachers’ responses showed that their views on the union performance were based on the apparent structural factors that limit the union’s role in student evaluation. Thus in the opinion of one urban teacher:

Union’s role in student evaluation is limited. The Act that gave rise to the Kenya National Examination Council defines it as an autonomous body entrusted with the duty of setting and marking public exam for primary and secondary schools. There is little provision for the union’s participation or involvement in student evaluation. [T.1]

The response from a rural teacher also showed a strong attribution of the union's poor involvement in student evaluation to the structures that seemed to control its active involvement in student evaluation. Thus he pointed out that:

Teaching and evaluation of students at the school level lies with the teachers. 'summative' evaluation is done by the Examination Council which is an autonomous body constituted for the purpose. The union plays no significant role. It can only react when there are anomalies on the quality of exams or its administration. [T2]

What is clear from the teachers' responses is that, in their opinion, the union does not play any meaningful role in student evaluation because the legal structures governing education sector in the country vest the responsibility of student evaluation almost exclusively in the KNEC. In this case, the union's role appears to be peripheral, which contrasts with what would be expected of a professional organization whose aim is to safeguard standards and quality in the profession. Such an institutional set up, limiting the influence of the union, may be seen as a reflection of state ordering and the subjugation of the educational system to its bureaucratic surveillance and control. Hargreaves and Goodson (1996) best capture the dominant grip of the educational sector by the state in most parts of the world in their reference to the subordination of teachers in the case of England and Wales. They note:

... while movements towards site-based management in schools may have involved teachers more in school development planning and collective decision-making, this has often been in a context where the overall budgets have been reduced ('we give you less; you allocate'); where many of the major areas of decision-making in terms of curriculum outcomes and testing requirements have been arrogated to the centre ('we set the ends; you deliver the means'); and where what schools and teachers are required to manage is downloaded 'administrative' rather than issue of fundamental purpose and direction. (p.2)

This citation clearly illustrates the extent to which governments have used various instruments to control teachers and their work. It further confirms that the Kenyan situation is not unique and helps to show the enormity of the tasks which organizations like teachers' unions are faced with in their bid to advance professionalism in teaching.

Results from teachers' responses showed that they were positive about the union's role in staffing of public schools and in fighting for manageable workloads. With about 80% of the respondents rating the union positively in its contribution to the two areas, it is clear that teachers agreed that it was playing a significant role. Teachers saw the union as a body that has been at the forefront in impressing upon the government the need to ensure that public schools are well staffed, the consequence of which has been the reduction in their workload. As one secondary school teacher put it:

The union successfully resisted the recent attempts by the TSC to redistribute the few teachers in its employ to the acutely understaffed schools in various parts of the country ... [a]s a result, the government was finally forced to advertise for teaching positions in many schools where there were serious staff shortages. [T13]

The response of a rural teacher also suggested that teachers' positive rating of the union was based on what was perceived to be the union's positive impact on staffing of schools. Thus he observed:

The union has been at the forefront in impressing upon the government the need to employ more teachers... [t]he union has attempted to motivate teachers to work in areas which are relatively less developed. It has managed to effect this by convincing the government to award an extra 30% payment of salaries to teachers working in such regions. [T.2]

The above views were echoed in one local newspaper recently when it noted that "the union (KNUT) has been at the forefront in campaigning for lifting of the moratorium on teacher recruitment placed in 1998."¹ The finding suggests that teachers felt that the union's concerted efforts have made a positive impact on staffing of schools in the country. It is clear from their responses that in their opinion, without the union's intervention, the government would resort to short term measures like the re-distribution of teachers in an attempt to solve the staffing problem in public schools. However, this positive rating of the union in staffing of schools raises some pertinent questions as to whether the union's efforts go beyond insistence on recruitment to include the efficient utilization of teachers. Indeed, the fact that teachers rated it negatively in its participation in school inspection casts doubts as to whether its role in staffing of schools actually adds

¹ Daily Nation, 26th May 2001

value to teaching. In the absence of evidence to suggest that the union has in place the means of ensuring effective utilization of the teaching force, one may be tempted to conclude that its notable role in staffing relates more to its desire to increase its membership rather than the quality of education. This conclusion becomes even more plausible given that the union was rated negatively in its role in the selection of teacher trainees.

Teachers' responses to the union's role in the determination of class sizes (number of learners in a class) were generally mixed though on average, a slightly higher proportion was positive. Though the union has no direct control over the number of learners in a class, it can indirectly influence it by ensuring that there is minimum inequality in the staffing of public schools. The Education Act (1980:14) states that "the Minister (for Education) may make regulations with respect to the conduct and management of schools and such regulations may prescribe standards with regards to (*inter alia*), the size of classes." The union's positive role in staffing of schools may result in the reduction of overcrowding in a few schools and this may account for the positive rating it was accorded. However, given that it has no direct means of controlling it, as is evident from the above cited law giving the Minister exclusive powers, the substantive number of teachers who rated it negatively is not surprising.

In its multi-dimensional roles, the union also has the objective of promoting a professional code of conduct for teachers. According to Freidson (1994:203) professional conduct "is a critical means of sustaining the solidarity of the profession as it governs the relations among its members and laypersons." On this role, teachers' response showed that they were strongly positive about the union's performance. While this finding goes against expectations since the union has no mechanism for controlling or disciplining its errant members, teachers' responses showed that they viewed it differently. One rural teacher explained:

The union's code of conduct as stated in its constitution emphasizes good virtues among teachers which include reliability, commitment and responsibility. It attempts to encourage teachers to adopt these virtues in their place of work. The

union's policy in supporting teachers' professional conduct is clear. It can go at all lengths to defend teachers against any unfair treatment from any quarter. However, it does not support or defend them if their conduct breaches professional codes. [T2]

Views from an urban teacher also suggested that the union's support for adherence to a code of regulation was seen positively despite the fact that it had no means of enforcing the same. He noted thus:

The union has been active in supporting teachers who conduct themselves according to professional ethic as spelled out in teachers' code of regulation and union's constitution. This is underlined by the fact that it only defends teachers on issues that do not breach the teachers' code of regulation... [i]n as much as possible, teachers try to to conduct themselves according to professional codes since they are aware that the union cannot come to their defense when they breach such codes. [T.1]

The above responses suggest that though the union has no mechanism of 'policing' its errant members, its active support for ethical conduct was seen as an effective means through which it could indirectly enforce the same. This suggests that professional ethics can be effectively enforced through various ways without necessarily having a system by which members are directly supervised. It implies that indirect sanctions can work to restrain individuals in their conduct and help promote desirable work ethics.

In the foregoing exposition on teachers' views on the union's effectiveness in the professional domain, it is apparent that the union was seen to be largely ineffective in its mediation between the teachers and the state in most areas. It is also clear that teachers understand the constraints on the union's effective operation posed by the institutional and structural factors set up by the state. Such factors, which were evident from the literature supporting teachers' opinions, suggest that the possibility of a meaningful contribution of the union to professionalism is largely compromised by the grip of the state. In the section that follows, an attempt is made to show how teachers perceived the union's contribution to their socio-economic needs and why their response was more positive in this area than in the professional domain.

6.2.2. Findings from socio-economic domain

In its dual roles, the union's second objective is to improve teachers' socio-economic needs. These include their scheme of service, defending them, providing a 'voice' through which they can express their needs, and as a means through which they can enhance self-fulfillment in the job and promote the status of teaching in the society.

Analysis of the teachers' responses to the union's contribution to the improvement of the above factors showed that the majority of teachers were positive about its contribution in most areas. About 63% of teachers indicated that they were 'strongly' convinced that the union had made major contributions, and another 35% 'agreed' that it had made some positive impact in schemes of service. This suggests that the majority of teachers believed that the union had made a significant contribution to the improvement of their scheme of service which includes salaries and conditions of employment. This positive view of the union's role in this item is based on its contribution to the standardization of terms of service for all teachers in public schools. One primary school teacher pointed out this thus:

... the first score of the union in the struggle was [the] formation of a single employer [TSC] in 1967 for all public school teachers. This single employer acceded to the union's demand for uniform terms for all teachers irrespective of any factors other than qualification ... [t]he union also succeeded in winning paid maternity leave for women teachers. [T7]

A response from a secondary school teacher also points to the same reasons expressed by the primary school teacher above. He opined:

There is much that can be attributed to the union in the struggle for a better scheme of service for teachers in all public schools. During the colonial times and the early years of independent Kenya, teachers were employed under different terms depending on the employer. The union fought for the standardization of terms and conditions of work for all teachers in public schools... [t]eachers' pay are now based on qualification and experience. [T.9]

The union's success in bringing public school teachers under a single employer thus seemed to be a major achievement which has given teachers the advantage of 'speaking' as a group in the bargaining process. It would also appear from teachers' responses that

the union's success in pushing for the formation of TSC marked a point of divergence in the improvement of their scheme of service.

The union's objective of defending teachers is spelled out in its constitution which states that the union aims at "watching the administration and the working of various educational codes, ordinances, regulations, minutes and circulars ...[a]nd to offer advice and general assistance to individual members in education and professional matters and in legal cases in which a member may be involved" (KNUT, 1995:2).

The results showed that the majority of teachers were positive about the union's role in defending them in the course of duty. About 64% of the respondents 'strongly agreed' that the union was effectively defending their interests in teaching. Teachers also expressed a positive rating of the union in its role in fighting any bias or form of discrimination in the treatment of teachers by employer and its agents. This suggests that teachers in general felt that the union had largely succeeded in ensuring that rules are applied to all teachers uniformly. This positive rating stems from the perceived sense of protection provided by the union against various interest groups competing for control in education. It confirms what one rural teacher cited above in explaining why the union was positively rated in its contribution to code of conduct noted that the union would go to great lengths to defend teachers if their case was 'justified.'

The union has the responsibility of co-ordinating unified action on matters of common interest. Thus, whatever action the union undertakes as a 'collectivity', it provides a formal means of communication on behalf of its constituents. Through this, it aims at pushing for its members' needs, promoting a sense of self-fulfillment and social status in the process.

Teacher's responses to the union's performance in serving the above role were largely positive. About 59% of the respondents felt that it was providing an effective means through which they could articulate their needs and aspirations. Another 30% were strongly positive. This positive rating seemed to emanate from the perceived

effectiveness of the union in articulating teachers' concerns on various matters. The response of a rural teacher seemed to affirm this when he noted that:

It [union] has always been fast in reacting to any pronouncements deemed to be injurious to teaching. The union does not necessarily wait for teachers to complain, but rather, it makes its stand known on a range of issues. This is always taken as a unified position of the majority of teachers in public schools. Through this, teachers can be heard and have a decisive influence on educational matters. [T2]

The view from one female teacher also indicates that the union was seen as an effective tool for articulating teachers' needs. She commented thus:

The union provides a means through which teachers can express their common opinions. Issues on their welfare need i.e. salaries, pension, and discipline are collectively handled by the union. It is through the union's efforts that teachers have been able to register some improvements in these areas. As a representative of the majority of teachers in public service, it has managed to marshal their support and push for the improvement of their needs. Through its efforts, the government acceded to teachers' demands for salary increase in 1997. [T.11]

While there is no denying that the union may have provided an effective means through which teachers could 'voice' their concerns, there is a possibility that this positive rating may partly be attributable to the fact that for a long time, KNUT was the only union representing public school teachers in the country. The emergence of the recently formed Kenya Union of Post Primary Teachers (KUPPET) might change this perception especially among post primary teachers if it provides a strong alternative 'voice' in pressing for teachers' needs.

Results showed that the majority of teachers 'agreed' that the union was effective in promoting self-fulfillment and status (54% and 56% respectively) in the teaching profession. This suggests that most teachers felt that the union has made a significant impact in 'pushing' for the realization of those factors that contribute to the promotion of their needs in the profession.

The strong positive rating of the union in the enhancement of self-fulfillment and promotion of the status of teaching profession is particularly worth noting. Teachers'

rating of the union's performance in most of the professional roles was largely negative. On the other hand, their rating of the union's performance in most of the socio-economic roles was relatively more positive. That they viewed the union positively in enhancing their self-fulfilment and status brings to question the factors that contribute to teachers' self-fulfilment and status. In this regard, given the teachers' low rating of the union's performance in most items in the professional domain, and the relatively positive view on its performance in socio-economic areas, it would appear that despite its failing in the former domain, the union's contribution to the latter is positively viewed as a means of promoting self-fulfilment and status of the profession. In a way, this may be seen as a pointer to the disconcerting reality that to most teachers, their socio-economic interests come before their professional needs. Nevertheless, it confirms Berber's (1992) contention that teachers believe that their socio-economic and professional needs are inextricably related. He argues that "the more effectively they (unions) can convince governments and the public that teaching is of value, the more likely they are to see investment in education and hence in their salaries" (p.ix). In the union, teachers therefore seemed to contend that they have an organization which represents their views collectively, and which fight not only for worthwhile salaries and decent working conditions but also takes a view of teaching as a profession of importance in the society.

The results from the professional and socio-economic domains showed that teachers felt that the union was more effective in the latter than in the former domain. Factors accounting for this disparity seemed to be related partly to the perceived weakness of the union and partly to the legal frameworks that limited its action or extent of influence in education. In the former case, it emerged that teachers felt that the union lacked the initiative in some cases to marshal resources and finance some of the professional services like refresher courses. In the latter, it became clear that until the union succeeded in pushing for the review of some of the laws that limited its involvement in some of the key professional areas in education, its quest for serving as a professional organization would remain limited despite its claim to being such. This confirms Thurlow's (1981) contention that when occupational practitioners lack autonomy, "the functions of their associations are more likely to reflect 'trade union' orientation and

...[w]here unionism is heavily circumscribed by legislation, the ideology of professionalism would be the most persuasive legitimating mechanism for occupational pressure group" (p.47).

6.3. Intra-group Results

Analysis of teachers' views on the union's effectiveness showed significant variations in the perceptions of various groups. Locality, gender, age and qualification reflected a correspondence with the way in which teachers perceived the effectiveness of the union in specific areas. Thus, some differences were seen in the perceptions of rural and urban teachers, female and male, young and older and between those with lower and higher professional qualifications. Common to all these groups was that one group was more 'strongly positive' or 'strongly negative' than the other in their perception of the union's effectiveness in the items where significant differences were noted.

6.3.1. Results according to Locality

Urban and rural teachers showed significant differences in their perception of the union's effectiveness in most items in the professional domain. While on the whole teachers from both regions were negative about the union's performance in most areas of its professional roles, results indicated that urban teachers were more negative in most items. Reasons for these differences centred on how each group perceived the union's role in mediating or solving their specific needs as a group, first, and secondly as members of the teaching profession. Thus, though both urban and rural teachers were negative about the union's role in trainee selection, most urban teachers showed a stronger negative response than rural teachers. The underlying reason for this seemed to be that the union had not done much to revise the policy on regional allocation in terms of college intake which they felt disadvantaged them more than rural teachers. This line of reasoning came out clearly from the response of one urban teacher who noted that:

Urban areas have a large pool of people with high qualification wishing to train as teachers. However, because of the quotas placed on regional intake, most of them are not admitted. Urban teachers would therefore feel that the union should be fighting more for quality rather than remaining complacent with the Ministry's policy. [T4]

The argument put forward by the above respondent brings to the fore the dilemma that organizations representing professions have to contend with in their attempts to mediate between members' expectation and state policies. Englund (1996) points out that teachers' attempts to develop their own independent rules that govern the conditions of teaching practice are often viewed as undemocratic, as these efforts can entrench privilege, special status and superiority which does not favour the wider society. In the same vein, Cohen and Rogers (1995:18) argue:

... the fundamental liberties in a democratic order, ... are liberties of conscience and thought, expression and association, participation and personal privacy. But stringent protection of these liberties is consistent with regulations of and restrictions on [market] choices in order to ensure political equality and distributive equity.

Thus, it would appear that given the apparent divergence of state policy from interest group needs in this case, this strong negative view from urban teachers on the union's effectiveness in trainee selection, whether it is based on genuine professional concern or a sense of deprivation as a group would remain an unsettling problem unless the policy is amended.

Significant differences in the responses of urban and rural teachers were noted to the union's role in organizing refresher courses. The majority of those who were negative were from urban regions. This was also replicated in the teachers' responses to the union's effectiveness in school inspection and selection of instructional materials/resources. This strong negative view from urban teachers seemed to emanate from the perceived loss they suffer by not getting access to refresher courses, the higher exposure they get to unprofessional inspectors and the greater awareness of alternative reading materials as compared to rural teachers.

Responses from urban teachers suggest that some of them viewed learners' discipline which is a pre-requisite to effective teaching and learning in schools as a bigger challenge in urban than rural regions. The argument is that urban influence results in more deviancies among learners. As a result, urban teachers view the union's failure to organize refresher courses as depriving them of the opportunity to gain skills such as

counseling that would assist them in tackling such problems. On this, an urban teacher explained:

Urban teachers face more challenges in their course of teaching. Issues of discipline posed by students require a more sophisticated approach than is the case among rural teachers. This requires more exposure in areas of counseling. [T3]

On the other hand, another opinion from an urban teacher seemed to suggest that refresher courses serve as a means of enhancing their skills to meet the challenges in the workplaces. Thus, another urban teacher responded:

Majority of urban parents and other stakeholders in education represents an informed populace. Their expectation from teachers' performance in terms of quality of work is also relatively high. This means that urban teachers would expect the union to assist them meet these public expectation by organizing regular workshops to help them improve of their performance. [T4]

What is clear from the above response is that urban teachers felt that refresher courses would help them solve some complex job needs which are more prevalent in their work environment than in rural areas. Such a yearning for refresher courses, it would appear, does not necessarily suggest that urban teachers were more 'professional' than rural teachers. Rather, it is clear that the main driving force is the desire for skills that would help them solve job-related needs common in their work environment.

The relatively stronger negative rating of the union's performance in school inspection and the selection of instructional (textbooks) materials seemed to be linked with the access that this group of teachers had to the inspection service and alternative teaching materials in the market. In the first instance, the feeling among the urban teachers was that because of their smaller population relative to rural teachers they bore more of the 'unprofessional' service of inspectors who were more often than not preoccupied with 'fault-finding' than assisting them in their work. The need to reform this sector was therefore seen to be more urgent among this group of teachers and the failure of the union to take initiative explains their stronger negative feeling as compared to rural teachers.

Responses to the interviews from urban teachers highlight the underlying reasons for their relatively stronger negative rating of the union's performance in selection of instructional materials. One teacher from this region expressed the view that:

Urban teachers, by virtue of the locality of their workplaces tend to get exposed to more and varied instructional materials. This is because most of the bookshops and libraries are located in urban areas... [t]eachers may find more useful reference materials which are not included in the recommended ones. [T.3]

It would appear then that urban teachers' proximity to a variety of sources of information and book outlets enables them to make comparisons and make assessment on the adequacy of the recommended texts. This advantage which is not common among rural teachers seemed to provide urban teachers with information that enables them to make critical assessments of what the union does and what it should be doing to represent them in the selection of teaching materials. On the positive side, both urban and rural teachers 'agreed' that the union had made an appreciable contribution to the improvement of their needs in a number of areas. These include curriculum development, workload, class size, and enhancement of self-fulfillment in the job among teachers. A stronger positive response however was noted among rural as opposed to urban teachers. Factors at play once more seemed to relate to the work-environment.

Teachers from both regions credited the union for its contribution to curriculum development/improvement. However, urban teachers were less positive than rural teachers. Linked to this is the seemingly higher expectation from this group originating from the work-environment.

Results also showed that urban and rural teachers were positive about the union's contribution to staffing of public schools. However, rural teachers were more 'strongly positive' than urban teachers (62% and 38% respectively) in their rating of the union in this role. The underlying reason for this difference of opinion between the two groups of teachers seemed to be associated with the way each group was affected by the government policy on staffing and what they believed the union should be doing.

Staffing of schools involves employing new teachers and in some cases, re-distributing others from over-staffed to under-staffed schools. Since urban areas always attract the majority of teachers due to their social amenities, it is this group that is often affected more when re-distribution is effected. According to the Nakuru District Development Plan (1997-2001:56) the teacher-pupil ratio in the Municipality of Nakuru at the secondary school level was 1:19, which was quite high when compared to the district average of 1:32. The same document reported that the national average stood at 1:40 (one teacher for every forty learners). This high concentration of teachers in urban areas may be attributed to the advantages urban regions afford them. The high teacher-pupil ratio in urban areas may imply that this group becomes the target for redistribution when government needs to balance staffing of schools in the country.

The issue of teachers' workload, class size and self-fulfillment on the job showed that the proportion of rural teachers affirming that the union played some effective role was much higher than that of urban teachers. This seemed to be attributable to the challenges that each group faced in its work-environment. As one rural teacher put it:

Rural teachers may not find the recommended workload as overburdening as urban teachers. This is because demand from other school duties like discipline may not be as high as in urban areas. It is therefore much easier for a rural teacher to handle extra lessons than an urban teacher. [T.5]

Thus, while rural teachers would find a large class to be a burden, the same may be significantly worse for urban teachers because of compounding problems like discipline management. This also explains why rural teachers would credit the union more positively than urban teachers in the enhancement of self-fulfillment in their job.

The findings from the rural and urban teachers' views on the union's effectiveness suggest that environmental factors which may dictate individual needs and expectations also influence their views or perceptions on the same. This conclusion is supported by Fullan and Hargreaves' (1992) observation that environmental factors dictate the needs and expectation of teachers, just like other workers. Urban and rural teachers have their

unique challenges and demands posed by their clients and environments in which they work. These largely influence their expectations from the union.

Locality thus emerged as a significant factor in teachers' perceptions of union's effectiveness in a range of items. Teachers' expectations from the union seemed to be higher among urban than rural teachers for reasons related to their work-environment. Consequently, the failure of the union to meet some of the teachers' expectation due to the constraints within and without the organization, seem to produce stronger negative feelings among urban than rural teachers.

In the section that follows, an attempt is made to explore the extent to which gender relates to teachers' attitude or opinion on the union's performance.

6.3.2. Results according to Gender

The views from male and female teachers on the union's effectiveness varied in a limited number of items. The differences, just as was the case with urban and rural teachers, were noted mainly in terms of the proportion of those who were positive or negative in specific items from each group.

The above two groups of teachers were generally negative in their assessment of the union's role in selection of teacher trainees, organizing refresher courses, school inspection and staff evaluation. The proportion of male teachers who expressed a negative rating of the unions in this areas, was however, higher than that of the female teachers.

The relatively strong negative rating of the union from male teachers seemed to emanate from their generally higher participation in union matters, which in a way, provides them with opportunities to acquaint themselves with various workings of the union. As one female teacher put it:

They [male teachers] are more active than women teachers in union matters. Their expectation from the union therefore seems to be higher ... [a] failure of the

union to fulfill some of these expectations is more likely to cause stronger disappointment among this group of teachers. [T.7]

The above claim concurs with the findings by Zeleza (1992) who while acknowledging a modest improvement of women representation in Kenya's trade union observed that: "before independence, relatively few women belonged to trade unions. Between 1970 and 1985 female workers increased their share of trade union membership from 18% to 23%. This compared with 30% of women's trade union membership worldwide" (p.359).

Reiterating the under-representation of women in labour unions, Onaeko (1995) and Aremu (1995) argue that the socialization process (cultural values and norms) and the hazardous nature of trade union work in developing countries tends to discourage women from active involvement in unionism. Aremu (1995) sums these factors up thus:

Through childhood socialization, women have been unwittingly made to play subordinate roles, 'under-value' their abilities ... [u]nionism has been treated to be masculine preoccupation with the notorious images of arrests, imprisonment, strikes and even violence .(p.73)

The seemingly passive involvement of women teachers on union issues might therefore preclude them from having a critical analysis in the role of such organization and their performance in various areas.

Other reasons put forward by teachers to explain the variation in the opinion of male and female teachers on the union's performance centred on the attitude of each group to the teaching profession. Teachers expressed the view that the majority of male teachers have a negative attitude towards the profession and their enthusiasm in union activities is an attempt to attain what they feel is missing in teaching. A failure of the union to realize some of these expectations would therefore lead to greater disappointment among this group of teachers. In explaining why a proportionately higher number of male teachers rated the union's performance poorly in most areas than women teachers, one female speculated:

Most of the male teachers enter the profession with a generally negative attitude compared to women teachers. It is largely because of this initial attitude that they

tend to ignore most of the basic procedures of teaching which school inspectors tend to over-emphasize. [T7]

Response from a male teacher also showed that the gender factor does influence the way male and female teachers' viewed the union's performance. He explained:

Women easily become contented with a modest improvement in their job than their male counterparts. Their demands and expectation may not be high and this can be attributed to their positive attitude to teaching. As such, the few improvements that the union has succeeded in bringing to teaching seem to have created a strong positive image of the union among this group of teachers. [T.9]

The above observation concurs with the claim put forward by Thurlow (1981) when he noted that despite the low social standing of teaching as a profession, it is a more popular and satisfying occupation for women than men. He argues that the hours of work and the extended holidays may well suit family responsibility and that the teaching role is close to 'maternal familial' role. This contention is also echoed by Nwangwu (1981) and Chivore (1990) whose studies on career aspirations among high school students in the Cameroon and Zimbabwe, respectively, confirmed that girls tended to have a more positive attitude towards teaching than boys. The work of Peace (1998) further confirms that women in general, have a more positive attitude towards teaching than men. In her study on teachers' commitment to their profession in Uganda, Peace concluded:

To any conscientious observer, it is conspicuous that women in higher institutions of learning in Uganda stick to their jobs much more than their male counterparts, who generally tend to quit teaching for greener pastures within or outside Uganda. The fact that there is a minimal or rather negligible exodus of female lecturers into better paying jobs is an indicator of their unvacillating faithfulness to their profession. (p.3)

It would appear then that the teachers' attitude to the profession is a factor in determining his or her expectation from the union. It is clear, for reasons that this study cannot explore, that women's positive attitude to teaching tones down their expectations of the union so that any modest improvement in their job needs coming from union's effort is more likely to be better appreciated by women teachers than men. In this case, women seemed to be more positive than men in their rating of the union's performance in most areas.

6.3.3. Results according to age

Analysis of the relationship between teachers' ages and their opinion on the union's effectiveness showed no significant difference in a wide range of items. Differences however, were seen in the proportion of teachers who were younger or less than 40 years of age and those who were relatively older or 40 years and above in the way they perceived the union's effectiveness in the quest for the improvement of working conditions. Older teachers who, presumably had longer experiences in teaching than younger teachers showed a more positive rating of the union in the improvement of their working conditions than the younger group. This may be attributed to the expectations and needs of each group of teachers in their workplaces.

The acknowledged failure of the union to organize refresher courses and the negative rating that it was accorded in contributing to the improvement in school inspection may be seen as having a stronger negative impact on the younger than the older group of teachers. As would be expected, young and inexperienced teachers need more induction through workshops to acquaint them with the skills necessary for mastering a wide range of professional needs. As Fullan and Hargreaves' (1992) put forward, it is always the younger and inexperienced teachers who tend to be more ambitious and more willing to take extra workloads in schoolwork. On this the two caution thus: "we must be careful not to take advantage of new teachers and their seemingly endless energy by loading them with extra curricular responsibilities and giving them the worst classes. This is a sure path to early burnout" (p.40). Similar findings were shown by Morris and Sherman (cited in Peace,1998) who noted that older and experienced employees are more concerned with competence and excelling in their particular areas than the younger employees.

It is clear then that, though both groups desire favourable working conditions in terms of the provision of their professional and socio-economic needs, the failure of the union to meet most of the professional demands poses more challenges to the young and inexperienced teachers than their older colleagues. This may explain why this group had

a relatively stronger negative rating of the union in the improvement of their working conditions.

6.3.4. Results according to qualification

Professional qualification did not emerge as a significant factor in the perception of the union's performance in most items. This suggests that in general, teachers of all professional cadres shared common views in their assessment of the union's effectiveness in most of its roles. Some variations however, linked to teacher qualification were noted in the respondents' views on the union's performance in refresher courses, staffing and teachers' workload. A proportionately higher percentage of secondary school teachers were more negative than primary school teachers in their view of the union's performance in organizing refresher courses. This difference of opinion seemed to pivot around the conviction that each group holds about the union's capacity and responsibility to execute the said duties. This may be seen as indicative of the general attitudes towards the union held by either of the two groups of teachers.

Among secondary school teachers, there was skepticism about the capacity of the union to engender meaningful professionalism in teaching. This, it became clear, emanated from the feeling that the dominant group in the management of the union is drawn mainly from the primary school teachers whose qualifications are low in professional terms. Thus one secondary school teacher argued:

Majority of union officials are primary school teachers. This is because they form the majority in teaching and so, when elections are held, they tend to support those of their cadre. As a result, Secondary school teachers feel that the union is not properly positioned to articulate for the higher qualification needed in the teaching profession. [T.12]

Another secondary school teacher attributed their strong negative rating of the union to what he viewed as its 'wrong' priorities. Thus, in his view:

Secondary school teachers feel that the union tends to prioritize areas which appeal to the majority of the members. In this case, primary school teachers... [m]ost of this group of teachers tend to put socio-economic needs ahead of professional needs. This has tended to skew the activities of the union in this

direction. As such, the majority of secondary school teachers' professional needs have not been fairly addressed by the union. [T.13]

The above arguments underlined secondary school teachers' views on the union's capacity to organize refresher courses or argue for a rigorous process of staff evaluation. Thus, it was the feeling among this group of teachers that the union is not well placed to make a comprehensive needs assessment for all teachers and that this was handicapping it more from designing and conducting refresher courses. This skepticism was evident in the pronouncement of one official from the new union for Post Primary Teachers (KUPPET) who observed that "they (KNUT officials) do not understand our problem since they are only concerned with salary increases" (*The East African Standard*, 23rd May 2001).

The above findings on the relatively stronger negative view of the union's performance by secondary than primary teachers concur with Steer's (1977) view in his conclusion that employees with higher levels of education always demand more from their organization and this makes it difficult to provide sufficient rewards (as perceived by the individual) to equalize any investment in it. This is further supported by the work of Ladd and Lipset (1973) who explain that individuals with higher qualifications have always been hesitant to join unions because they believe that their level of education guarantees them status in the society. Ladd and Lipset conclude that: "the collectivism and accompanying equalitarian norms of trade unionism are acceptable, if not always appealing to those whose status and freedom of action in any case may be low" [p.3].

It would appear that the union's efforts to represent the interest of individuals from various groups has to contend with the daunting challenges of trying to focus on the needs and priorities of the constituents and their complexities. Inevitably, the subsumed differences in an interest group will in the long run threaten the existence of the larger interest group. It is clear then that various constituents in the union, as was apparent in the relational findings, have their own common and unique needs, which may not be adequately and effectively addressed by the collective role of the larger interest group. The eventual result, it would appear, is the formation of smaller 'interest groups' as the

larger one becomes unwieldy, unless such groups adopt strategies of countering or addressing the common needs for each sub-group among their members. The emergence of the Kenya Union of Post primary Teachers (KUPPET) appears to be the culmination of a long term unease and suspicion from secondary school teachers of KNUT which seemed to be seen as representing primary teachers' interest more than those of secondary teachers. As was noted earlier, secondary school teachers' move to KUPPET was aimed at addressing what was presumed to be the needs and priorities of this group. The next chapter focuses on the challenges and prospects of interest groups as the 'vehicles' for addressing individual and group needs in various sectors of the society and specifically, what this implies for KNUT as one of the oldest teachers' organization in Kenya.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1. Introduction

The main aim of this study has been to establish the effectiveness of KNUT (as perceived by teachers) in its professional and trade unions roles. The union's constitution (1995) spells out that its objectives are to promote professionalism in teaching and the welfare of the teacher. These bifurcated objectives define its specific functions.

Whereas the welfare roles can be easily discerned as those responsibilities hinging on teachers' personal needs such as salaries, allowances and working conditions, the professional domain calls for a clear definition of the factors that this entails. The literature reviewed in Chapter Two, therefore, provided a model of the professional 'project' i.e. what it takes to entrench professionalism in an occupation. In this regard, Halliday (1987) and Freidson's (1994) exposition of professionalism in an occupation provided the basis from which measures of professionalism in teaching were drawn. It is these measures that formed the core from which the union's contribution to the professionalization of teaching was rated.

According to Halliday (1987) and Freidson (1994), a profession is characterized by the members' control of their work and accountability to its professional group. Control of work demands that the professionals are able to selectively restrict entry into the profession by using 'screening' criteria of ability or probity. It should be able to frame the work of those who offer the professional service. In this case, codes of ethics are created both to display concern for issues related to the profession and to provide members with guides to proper performance at work. It demands peer or collegial review to assure adequate performance at work, and as such, regulatory institutions like disciplinary committees are set-up. Members of a profession are supposed to be accountable to their peers in the occupational ranks rather than to established bureaucratic procedures. To effectively carry out these functions, an occupation must therefore strive to have power

delegated to it by the state in order for it to maintain the conditions that assure its continuation.

In trying to establish the effectiveness of the union as a professional organization, teachers' views were sought on the extent to which it has been able to entrench the above professional traits in teaching. The study findings showed that the union has had mixed success in its dual roles. In some areas, teachers were positive that the union had made an impact, while in others, it was clear that the union's performance was below their expectations. These opinions, backed by the evidence from the interview, provided the basis from which conclusions on the effectiveness of the union can be drawn.

More insights on teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness emerged when respondents were grouped according to some categories. Different groups of teachers perceived the union's effectiveness differently in some specific areas. Notable among these groups were urban and rural, male and female, and to a more limited extent, primary and secondary and younger and older teachers. These findings added another perspective of the role of the union as an interest group organization in teaching. It brought to the fore the undercurrents that are often only assumed in interest group analysis. Evident was the challenge of the simmering tension among the various groups of teachers, which appeared to emanate from their perceptions of the unions' representation of their sectional interest. The findings from the study showed that not all the members were equally satisfied or dissatisfied with its service or performance in its dual roles.

In the sections that follow, an overview of the main research findings is given before reflecting on the factors at play in civil society-state relation in Africa. This is because such a relation has a bearing on the prospects of KNUT's role in the contested terrain that is Kenya's education sector.

7.2. Summary of key findings

The extent to which teachers perceived the union's effectiveness in its professional and trade union role was achieved through their rating of the union's performance in each of the factors defining these two domains. As a professional organization, it has an obligation to foster, nurture and promote the professional 'traits' highlighted above. As a trade union, it has the duty of bargaining for teachers' compensation and striving to ensure that their working conditions are favourable.

Central to professionalism is the occupation's ability to 'control' entry into its ranks, take charge of its member's 'accountability' and to define their work or responsibilities. It calls for collegial responsibility, in which members' interest, conduct and work performance become subject to the greater cause and standards that define the profession.

The study findings showed that teachers perceived the union as largely ineffective in enhancing most of what professionalism in teaching entails. The overwhelming view of the majority of teachers showed that the union plays no significant role in determining entry into the profession. It was noted that the criteria for selection of trainee teachers, training, and certifying them largely remained a prerogative of the state. Findings from the study showed that the union played a peripheral role in ascertaining that those selected met the required conditions. Ironically, the union played no part in setting these conditionalities. Evident from the study was the fact that the union had not succeeded in having this power delegated to it by the state. This contrasts with the 'model of a profession' espoused by Freidson (1994) which specifies that a "corporate body of professionals should be able to persuade the state that the occupation as a corporate body of professionals should be able to control itself without abusing its privilege" (p.173). What would be expected of the union is that it would play a central role in the selection of new members and to ascertain their competence by actively participating in devising their training programmes. That this was not evident from the study suggests that the union has ceded one of the central tenets of professionalism to the state. In essence, it cannot ascertain the quality of the members of the occupation that it represents.

Evident from the findings of the study was the low rating of the union in its contribution to the promotion of continuous learning among teachers as would be expected of professionals. For reasons that varied from those advanced by the union to the speculations put forward by various groups of teachers, it was clear that the union was not actively involved in organizing refresher courses or workshops that would ensure continuous learning. Professionalism demands that practitioners continue learning if they are to maintain their competence, protect the interest of their clients and uphold the status of their profession.

Professionalism as highlighted earlier lays emphasis on professional rather than bureaucratic accountability. Nurturing professionalism thus requires that emphasis is laid on collegial decision-making and consultation. The professional's work is therefore governed or controlled through peer or collegial review, which ascertains the adequacy of work performance. The union's role in promoting this aspect of professionalism would be manifested in the way it influences teacher evaluation in terms of their work output or performance. As the professional organization it claims to be, it would have been expected to be playing a central role in the determination of teacher evaluation. In real terms, the study revealed that teachers' work was subject to a bureaucratic system in which school administrators and school inspectors assessed their performance. Worse still, it was clear from the study findings that the union played no role in the appointment of school administrators and school inspectors and thus, had no influence over their work. The finding crystallized a major problem in teacher's quest for professionalism and the extent to which the union is far from entrenching this virtue in teaching.

Another significant trait in professionalism is the ability of the practitioners to determine the content of their work, and how this can be effectively carried out. In this case, it would be expected that the union play a significant part in articulating teachers' concerns on the content of their work. The study showed that teachers were relatively positive about the union's role in curriculum design, which forms the framework of teachers' work. However, the work of teachers goes beyond the content to encompass its delivery and this entails the selection of relevant teaching materials. Teachers perceived the union

as ineffective in the selection of teaching materials, which as pointed out earlier, was done by the Ministry of Education through its agent, the K.I.E. Thus, despite the positive role that the union was seen to be playing in articulating teachers' concern in curriculum content, its failure to empower teachers in terms of the selection of relevant teaching or instructional materials does not go far enough to enable teachers to work as professionals. In addition, the study showed that the union has not done anything to ensure that teachers take charge of the evaluation of their learners as professionals. Instead, it emerged that the work of the teacher 'begins and ends in the classroom.' Though teachers acknowledged that the union represented their interests in designing the content, the findings showed that they have no 'flexibility' in effecting their work. They have to use reference/instructional materials prescribed for them by the Ministry of Education. They have no input in the summative evaluation of their learners, as this is defined as the task of the Kenya National Examination Council. In effect, the study showed that the union lacked the means of empowering teachers as professionals who can design their work, execute it in the way that they deem to be most effective.

Further, the union's claim to being a professional organization was also assessed from the extent to which it has been able to design and enforce codes of ethics among its members. Professionalism demands that codes of ethics, which provide members with guidance to proper conduct and performance of work, govern members of an occupation. These codes are meant to protect the integrity of the profession and its work and the corporate body of professionals, monitor and correct members' work and discipline or even expel deviants when necessary.

Results from the study showed that the teachers' code of conduct was designed and enforced by their employer, the TSC. The union subscribed to the TSC codes of regulation and was seen to be supportive of them, by 'only' defending teachers who do not breach such codes. Interestingly, despite the evident failure of the union to put in place and enforce ethical codes independently from those of the employer, most teachers rated its role positively on this item. The reasoning was that, its support for the TSC's professional codes and how it enforces them was the union's indirect way of enforcing

desirable work ethics among teachers. Contradictory as it is to the tenets of professionalism, it was apparent that teachers were content with the professional codes governing them and the way in which the union played a peripheral role in their enforcement.

On the welfare (trade union) role, evidence abounds from the results that teachers were relatively more positive about the unions' performance in this domain. A substantial proportion of teachers was positive in their rating of the unions' contribution to the improvement of their scheme of service, defending them, improving their working conditions, providing a forum through which they communicate or articulate their concerns, and fighting against any form of discrimination in the profession. In addition, the union was favourably rated as a body responsible for defining teachers' identity as members of an occupation, promoting self-fulfilment among teachers and enhancing the status of the teaching profession.

Underlying the positive rating of the union in the above socio-economics (welfare) needs of teachers are the positive influences that the union has, over time brought in its incessant struggle to improve their needs in this domain. The union was credited for its contribution to the creation of the TSC, a common employer for all teachers in public schools in the country. With the emergence of the TSC, teachers' terms and conditions of service which were hitherto dictated by the various employers (ranging from the church to county councils) were standardized. The study showed that teachers were positive about the unions' achievement in the creation of this common employer, which, on top of offering them better salaries, also accorded them job security. Thus under one employer, teachers were better placed to 'speak' with one voice as a professional group than when they were employed by discrete organizations. Though it was evident from the study findings that the TSC was more answerable to the state than it was to the union, teachers acknowledged that they were a lot better off under the TSC than was the case when they were subjected to various employers.

Teachers rated the union positively in fighting any form of discrimination or favouritism in their profession, defending them and in providing a 'voice' through which they could be heard. These roles are related in the way they serve teachers' interests.

It emerged from the study findings that the union has had a long history, in terms of fighting for teachers' causes. For a long time, it was the sole representative of public school teachers in the country. It was only in 1998 that another union (KUPPET) targeting secondary school teachers was formed. Thus, for a long time, teachers have had to look to KNUT to represent or champion their interests and fight any vice within and without the teaching profession in Kenya.

The positive rating of the union in its articulation of teachers' concerns and interest and in the enhancement of self-fulfillment on the job seemed to contradict the failings that were noted especially in most of the items in the professional domain. However, given that it has been the only recourse that teachers have had to look to for most of their concerns, the modest achievements acknowledged, especially in the socio-economic domain seemed to overshadow most of its failings in the eyes of teachers.

The intra-group perceptions of the union's effectiveness showed that locality and gender were significantly related to teachers' opinions. Age and qualification on the other hand, emerged to be related or associated with teachers' rating of the union's effectiveness in a limited range of items. What was clear in the differences of these groups' perceptions of the union's effectiveness, however, was the intensity (as reflected in the response to the Likert scale), rather than in the direction of negative and positive. Thus, in general, though most teachers could rate the union negatively or positively, one group was more negative or positive in their rating than the other in some specific items.

Urban, male, secondary and older teachers showed a stronger negative rating of the union's performance in most areas especially in the professional domain. Reasons underlying this group of teachers' responses varied according to their needs and how they perceived the union's role in assisting them realize some of these needs. Teacher

characteristics thus, emerged as significant factors in determining their attitudes to the union. Teachers' need for representation, the substance of their issues and the forms representation should take are therefore bound up in the 'complexity and diversity of who they are.' Their characteristics or differences thus challenge any presumption about the nature of their interests so that despite the union's representation, not all teachers may feel equally enfranchised or represented. The perspective and needs around which teachers gather are not particular to a specific group or individuals. The study thus showed that the standardized delineation for representations ignore much of the diversity of teachers' interest and the more organic professional communities that spring up around teachers' 'discovered' commonalities. This suggests that the diversity of professional community boundaries renders problematic any attempts to establish standard representation patterns.

7.3. Reflections from the study findings

The findings in this study are hardly surprising. They confirm what scholars of post-colonial African politics have referred to as the 'empowered and excessively penetrative state and under-developed capacities of non-state social organizations' (Mikael, 1999; Gyimah-Boadi, 1994; Azarya, 1994). Nevertheless, despite this overarching dominance of the state over civil society, teachers perceived KNUT as largely effective in executing its socio-economic roles. In addition, as highlighted in Chapter Two, professional organizations such as the Kenya Medical Association, the Law Society of Kenya and the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Kenya are vibrant and largely autonomous. They are able to set their own standards of admission and they exhibit most of what Freidson (1994) refers to as the 'characteristics' of a profession. This apparent contradiction raises the question as to why the state hegemony in Kenya seemed to be selective. The answer to this question, I would argue, lies in a consideration of two key factors, viz; the importance of the education sector to the state and the degree of autonomy (in terms of resources) of the civil society from the state.

The education sector in Kenya has all along been considered by the state to be central in the developmental process of the nation. Attesting to this conviction are the huge

investments in terms of resources that the state has been committing to this sector since independence. The Economic Survey (2000), for example noted that though government expenditure on social services rose marginally by 2.9% between the 1998/1999 and 1999/2000 fiscal year, the “education sector continued to receive the highest share of the development expenditure, accounting for 77.4%” (p.34). The significance of the sector to the state is also reiterated in the National Development Plan (1997-2001) which states that:

The government has consistently directed large proportions of its budget to education and training in order to enhance the relevance and the quality of the labour force. Furthermore, the government has endeavoured to re-orient the education and training programmes to ensure that those benefiting from the programmes have the skills that match the needs of the economy, and to remove the apparent deficiencies in the educational training system. (p.132)

It is no coincidence therefore that the state, as it emerged from the study, has a firm grip on the professional domain of education. Education is seen as a crucial sector because of its influence on the citizenry. Any effort therefore, by independent civil organizations to influence or control it, especially its core areas such as the professional aspects is bound to attract strong resistance from the state. This appears to be the logical reason behind the apparent contradiction in the finding which shows that while the union has been able to make an impact in most of its trade union demands, its progress in professional areas was notably minimal.

On the other hand, economic factors largely determine the degree of autonomy of any civil organization from the state control. Gyimah-Boadi (1994) asserts that “internal strength and resourcefulness of civil associations are necessary to enable them to challenge the encroachment of the state regimes” (p.125). However, in much of Africa, the private sector is significantly under-developed (Bratton, 1989). It is therefore not uncommon to find government aligned and government sponsored associations prospering and independent and autonomy-seeking ones vitiating. This is the predicament that seemed to be facing KNUT. According to Zeleza (1992), the majority of Kenya’s teachers are in public employment, accounting for “over a quarter of all public sector employees” (p.348). The union’s effort to have a commanding control over the profession

is therefore confronted with the daunting challenge of resisting government encroachment and at the same time expecting the same government to finance its members by paying their salaries. This point was recently underscored in one of the local newspapers thus:

Unlike in other countries where unions pay members some 'surviving' allowance as they press for their rights, KNUT has given a deaf ear to this. This means that KNUT has no capacity to sustain a meaningful strike, as teachers will quickly retreat to the classrooms should government threaten to advertise the jobs or just hold their salaries. [*East African Standard*, 30th April, 2002]

In Bratton's (1989) conclusion, "citizens in Africa develop an ambivalent attitude toward the state, [since] they are simultaneously attracted to it and wary of it" (p.414). As much as the citizens in this region would wish to act independently from the state, they remain bound to it because, even in diminished circumstances, the state remains a major source of 'spoils' and one of the only available channels for getting what little there is to get. This seemed to be the case with Kenyan teachers. In as much as they acknowledged the state's firm grip on the professional aspects of their occupation, they could not out-rightly blame their union for not being 'assertive enough' in order to claim these responsibilities from the state. Thus, in more than one instance, teachers often explained away the failure of the union in its professional role by citing the 'existing structural and legal frameworks' that limits the union's space of operation. In muted tones, teachers seemed to have accepted the dilemma that the union is faced with, in an attempt to create a space beyond the state's purview.

The bulk of lawyers, doctors and accountants in Kenya, unlike teachers, are in private practice.¹ As a result, the state has not been able to rein in the associations representing these occupations. The study showed that these professions have been able to put in place, through their organizations, most of the controls that characterize professions. In short, they have a wide latitude of operation, undeterred by the state structural and legal institutions. Significant in this finding is that, though the occupations or sectors represented by these professions are no less important to the state than education

¹ A local Daily Newspaper recently noted that out of about 7,000 registered Medical doctors in Kenya, only 500 are in public (government) employment. [*East African Standard*, 18/02/02].

(teaching) sector, it is apparent that the state has less control over their operations. It is therefore clear that the economic factor (through employment or otherwise) plays a critical role in determining the ability of civil organization to limit the encroachment of state machinery into their 'space' of operation. Economic factors empower civil organizations to maintain autonomy and thereby serve as bona fide units of civil society.

A combined lack of resources and the 'expansionist' state's eagerness to nip in the bud nascent popular civil organizations and restructure them within a corporatist framework paints a bleak picture of the prospects of a viable civil society in post-colonial Africa. Bratton (1989) reiterates this point when he observes that "associational life is likely to be most developed in economies that have undergone the greatest degree of indigenous capitalist industrialization... [Where] social classes are most likely to have constructed an economic base, independent of the state and a set of shared interests that are best defended by autonomous political action" (p.427).

Differences in group responses to the union's performances in a number of areas suggest that these groups vary in their yearning for identity from the state. It is clear from this study that two major groups, i.e. urban and male teachers were more dissatisfied with the union's role in a broader number of areas than most other groups. To a limited extent, this was also noted among secondary teachers and those with longer experience on the job. What these findings show confirm the theories (discussed earlier in this study) advanced by Mamdani (1996), Chabal, (1994), Onaeko, (1995) and Peace, (1998) on the origin and growth of civil society in Africa and the constituents' characteristics and attitudes to interest group organizations.

Industrialization and its consequent urbanization has been linked with the growth and vibrancy of civil society. Indeed, Mamdani (1996) argues that the "anti-colonial struggle [in Africa] was at the same time a struggle of embryonic middle and working classes" (p.19). These were the groups which formed the nuclei for the movement to check state domination and expand their political space. Sites such as education where the state has tried to maintain its hold become areas of concerted contestation between autonomy –

seeking urban groups and the state. In this contest, interest groups such as teachers' unions which are entrusted with the task of warding off the encroachment of the state on their members' 'space' are expected to go an extra mile to meet the needs of their group of individuals. KNUT therefore seems to be faced with a major challenge of trying to reconcile the expectations of its various constituents of teachers. While it was clear that rural teachers had their own reservations about the union's performance, their degree of disaffection was more 'guarded' than that of urban teachers. It is in these nuances in the levels of contentment with the union's role in articulating their interest that one may see the potentiality of urban teachers breaking off or forming splinter groups in their quest for their sectional interests. Thus, just as it has been pointed out that the anti-colonial struggle increased with urbanization, the post-colonial African states have to brace for the springing up of more autonomy-seeking civil society as urbanization takes root in this region.

The linkage between 'radical' civil society and urbanization is lent credence by the fact that the constellation of vibrant and more influential of these are to be found in industrialized countries where the level of urbanization is relatively high. The drive for greater autonomy among urban teachers, this study has shown, is rooted in the challenges and opportunities that this group of teachers is faced with in this region. This conclusion is lent credence by the fact that though there was a higher level of disaffection of urban teachers with the KNUT, there was no evidence from the study to suggest that the union discriminated against this group in any way. Neither was there any special characteristic in them that would make them any different from their rural counterparts. It would appear therefore that teacher unionism, like all other civil organizations, will be more vibrant as a country moves towards industrialization and its consequent urbanization.

The significance of gender in the determination of teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness was evident in this study. In a number of areas, male teachers were more negative than female teachers in their rating of the union's performance. One of the union's objectives is to serve all teachers irrespective of gender, race, religion or qualification (KNUT, 1995). The findings from this study however show that male

teachers were less satisfied with its performance. This contrasted with female teachers whose response showed that they were relatively more positive about their union's role in a number of areas. In the absence of any evidence to suggest that the union has not been striving towards its professed goal of serving all without favour, one may safely conclude that these differences in attitude towards the union by male and female teachers can be attributed to factors shaping the needs and expectation of each group from the union. A common belief advanced by various researchers (Thurlow, 1981, Nwangwu, 1981, Peace, 1998) is that in general, female teachers have a more positive attitude to teaching profession than their male colleagues. It may be safe therefore, to assume that these differences in attitude towards teaching between male and female teachers have a bearing on their expectations from the union. In trying to measure up to the demands of these two groups, it would appear that the union has to go an extra distance in order to meet the expectations of male teachers who are more likely to have entered the profession with less enthusiasm.

For secondary school teachers, there is a feeling that their interest is not catered for because of the belief that the majority of the union membership is composed of primary school teachers. To them, their priorities are largely apart. Faced with the inescapable reality of making little impact in altering the union's focus or areas of emphasis from within, the only recourse for this group of teachers is to marshal their numbers and form their own union. Indeed, as discussed earlier in this study, the rallying call for the formation of KUPPET centred on what was perceived to be the special needs of this group of teachers long ignored by KNUT.

For the older group of teachers, age and work experience seemed to have toned down their demands and expectations from the union. In a way, they have developed better strategies of coping with the challenges that their job entails as was noted in their need for refresher courses. As a result, they seem not to expect a lot from the union and this explains their guarded criticism of the union's performance. On the other hand, younger teachers as shown in this study are struggling to cope with their job demands. They are also trying to reconcile their expectations with the realities that are to be found in the

teaching profession. In the apparent mismatch, this group of teachers blames it more on the union's inability to live up to its professed role.

A union's quest for 'effectiveness' as an interest group is, therefore, a profoundly complex challenge. Without a sound resource base, it cannot meaningfully detach itself from the state and this tends to compromise its service delivery to members. Its task is complicated further by the diversity of its membership. Their characteristics colour their priorities and expectations of the union. Reconciling their needs is a daunting task. In a way, a union's attempt to present itself as an effective interest group representing teachers with divergent characteristics as presented in this study is, in one word, an elusive project.

In closing, the point which this dissertation seeks to advance is that civil society's quest for 'space' in the contested terrains of the social, political and economic spheres is dictated by an array of factors. Prominent among these factors, it would appear, is the economic capacity which enables them to marshal some degree of autonomy in order to effectively articulate the interests of their constituents. This factor is more critical in developing countries where hegemonic-seeking states have been able to sustain their dominance by enfeebling nascent interest groups by using resources at their disposals to induce them to submission. This creates a lop-sided contest in which no meaningful influence can be expected from organizations outside the state.

What this work has attempted to show is that the project of 'empowering' civil organizations is a daunting challenge. This is even greater in an environment such as Kenya's where the state permeates most sectors in the control and management of resources. Kenyan teachers are caught in a contradictory situation of dependence while at the same time seeking autonomy to operate as professionals. As this study has shown, the state in Kenya is the main employer of teachers in all public schools and its budgetary allocation to this sector surpasses any other of its financial commitment in a given year (Republic of Kenya, 2000). The attempt by the union to influence this sector, which by all indications is central to the state, does not come easy. Consequently, it would appear

that it is not by chance that core areas that define education, (the professional areas), as shown in this study, are firmly under the grip of the state. Caught up in this predicament, the union has to contend with a peripheral role in this domain. Its success on the trade union side, one might argue, is indicative of the importance that the state grants to teaching.

In trying to meet the interest of its membership, the union is faced with the challenge of responding to various needs of teachers. Where teachers work and who they are in terms of gender, this study has shown, poses a challenge to any presumption of their preference or priorities in their job needs. These are the potential sources of cleavages and as this study shows, urban and male teachers had relatively higher levels of discontent with the manner in which the union executed its role. The stage in which KNUT is in, one would conclude, is transitional. If the intra-group responses are indicative of what is to come, prospects are high that the splinter groups, catering for urban and male teachers would emerge in future. Despite the fact that qualification was not a major factor in teachers' perception of the union's effectiveness, Kenyan secondary school teachers have formed a union, (KUPPET) which, as they claim, is meant to address the 'professional needs' of this cadre of teachers. This in itself is a pointer to the fact that however limited the range of areas in which groups differ in the way they perceive their organizations' representations, such differences cannot be wished away. As such, it is unlikely that we have heard the last of such claims of commitment to 'sectional interests.' Going by the number of such groups in developed countries such as the United States of America, one may conclude that specialized grouping is one common constant in the evolution of interest groups. KNUT cannot therefore be expected to be an exception.

7.4. Direction for future research

The research presented in this study has shown that there is a significant linkage between interest groups'/civil societies' effectiveness and resources at their disposal. However, according to Hoy and Miskel (1982), organizational 'effectiveness' is a function of many variables. In addition to resources, the competency of individuals running the organization is also a factor in determining the 'achievability' of its goals or objectives.

The influence of this factor in KNUT's effectiveness as an interest group organization presents a possible area of investigation. The finding from such a study would be invaluable to individuals who seek to understand and improve the organization's effectiveness.

The intra-group difference in the attitude towards the union presents another area in which further research can be undertaken. Of particular interest would be the seemingly strong negative perception of urban, male and to some extent older and secondary school teachers towards the union. It would therefore be worth investigating further the underlying reasons for these groups' attitudes, if we have to come up with recommendations that would assist the union to build an all-encompassing organization for all teachers.

As this study was conducted within two districts of rural and urban Kenya, it would be important to replicate the same in other regions of the country. This would help determine whether teachers' attitudes to the union as revealed in this study are present in other regions of the country.

Future research can build on the results of the present research outcomes by developing an inventory to psychometrically operationalize what teachers, both as individuals and in groups prefer the union to address in order to serve their professional and socio-economic needs better. Such an inventory, developed in a Kenyan context will seek to build a model by which the teachers' union can redesign its approach to members' needs.

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Interviews [coded in the text]

- T 1. Interview with an urban teacher, 18th September 2001. [10.15-11.00 am].
- T 2. Interview with a rural teacher, 20th September 2001. [2.40-4.10 pm].
- T.3. Interview with an urban teacher 24th September 2001. [9.15-10.05 am].
- T 4. Interview with an urban teacher, 24th September 2001. [12-15-1.00 pm].
- T.5. Interview with a rural primary teacher 26th September 2001. [3.20-4.15 pm].
- T.6. Interview with an urban teacher 28th September 2001. [10.15-11.20 am].
- T.7. Interview with a primary teacher 1st October 2001. [12.05-1.15 pm].
- T.8. Interview with a secondary school teacher 3rd October 2001. [3.00-4.10 pm].
- T.9. Interview with a male teacher 5th October 2001. [3.02-4.00 pm].
- T.11. Interview with female teacher, 8th October 2001. [2.00-3.10 pm].
- T.12. Interview with a secondary school teacher 10th October 2001. [4.00-5.15 pm].
- T.13. Interview with a secondary school teacher 12th October 2001. [2.04-3.15 pm].

Appendix A

Questionnaire for the survey on teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of KNUT.

Introduction

The following information is meant to assist the researcher in carrying out a study on teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT). Please, fill in the required information as precisely as possible. All information will be treated in confidence.

Section A: Demographic data

- a). How old are you? Below 40 years 40 years and above
- b). What is your gender? Male Female
- c). What is your professional qualification? Secondary teaching certificate primary teaching certificate
- d). In which locality are you teaching? Urban Rural

Section B

For each of the following statements concerning KNUT's performance of its roles circle the appropriate code number to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree. For example, if you strongly agree, circle the number under that column. If you agree but less strongly, circle the number under agree and so forth.

- | | Strongly agree | Agree | No opinion | Dis-agree | strongly disagree |
|---|----------------|-------|------------|-----------|-------------------|
| i). KNUT determines the selection of teacher trainees | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| ii). KNUT organizes teachers' Refresher courses | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| iii). KNUT determines school inspection procedures | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

iv). KNUT determines the mode and procedures of staff evaluation	5	4	3	2	1
v.) KNUT is influences the designing of school curriculum	5	4	3	2	1
vi.) KNUT influences the student processes	5	4	3	2	1
vii) KNUT determines the selection of teaching resources	5	4	3	2	1
viii) KNUT determines the staffing of public schools	5	4	3	2	1
ix) KNUT determines teachers' workload	5	4	3	2	1
x) KNUT determines class-sizes in public schools	5	4	3	2	1
xi) KNUT determines teachers' code of conduct	5	4	3	2	1
xii) KNUT influences the improvement of teachers' scheme of service	5	4	3	2	1
xiii) KNUT defends teachers in the course of their duties	5	4	3	2	1
xiv) KNUT influences teachers' working conditions	5	4	3	2	1
xv) KNUT provides a means by which teachers articulate/ communicate their needs and concerns	5	4	3	2	1
xvi) KNUT provides a means of checking favouratism in teaching	5	4	3	2	1
xvii) KNUT provides a means by which teachers define their identity	5	4	3	2	1
xviii) KNUT provides a means by which teachers can strive for self-fulfilment in teaching	5	4	3	2	1
xix) KNUT provides a means for the improvement of the status of teaching	5	4	3	2	1

Appendix B

Interview guidelines on teachers' perceptions of the union's effectiveness.

Introduction

A survey I carried out earlier on teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of KNUT in its roles showed that in general, teachers perceived it to be more effective in some areas and less effective in others.

i) (a). Why were teachers more negative in their rating of the union's performance in each of the following areas:

- Selection of teacher trainees?
- Organising refresher courses?
- School inspection?
- Staff evaluation?
- Student evaluation?
- Selection of teaching resources?
- Determination of class-sizes?

b). What could be the reasons for their relatively positive rating of the union's effectiveness in the following areas:

- School curriculum designing?
- Staffing of schools?
- Determination of teachers' workload?
- Teachers' professional conduct?
- Scheme of service?
- Defending of teachers in the course of duty?
- Working conditions?
- Articulating teachers concerns?
- Checking any form of discrimination in the profession?
- Enhancing self-fulfilment among teachers?
- Improving the status of teaching profession?

ii). When teachers were grouped according to locality of their work-stations, the survey showed that urban teachers perceived the union more negatively than rural teachers in a range of areas. What are the possible reasons for urban teachers'

relatively strong negative perception of the union's effectiveness in the following areas:

- Selection of teacher trainees?
- Organising refresher courses?
- School inspections?
- Staff evaluations?
- Curriculum design?
- Student evaluation?
- Selection of teaching resources?
- Staffing of schools?
- Teachers' workload?
- Determination of class-sizes?
- Teachers' conduct?
- Fighting discrimination in teaching profession?
- Enhancing self-fulfilment in teaching?

iii). When teachers were grouped according to gender, the survey showed that male teachers were less positive than female teachers in their perceptions of the union's effectiveness in a number of areas. What are the possible reasons for male teachers relatively strong negative perceptions of the union's effectiveness in the following areas:

- Selection of teacher trainees?
- Organising refresher courses?
- School inspections?
- Staff evaluation?
- Student evaluations?
- Selection of teaching resources?
- Teachers' conduct?
- Scheme of service?

iii). When teachers were grouped according to age, older teachers were relatively less positive in their perceptions of the union's effectiveness in working for the improvement of teachers' working conditions. What are the possible reasons for this?

iv). When grouped according to professional qualifications, the survey showed that secondary school teachers were more negative than primary teachers in their perceptions of the union's effectiveness in some areas. Why were secondary school teachers more negative in their perceptions of the union's effectiveness in the following areas:

- Organising refresher courses?
- Determination of teachers' workload?

University of Cape Town

Appendix C.

Demographic statistics of the respondents

edit

(23 vars, 65535 obs pasted into editor)

. tab profqual

profqual	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Pri.	137	61.16	61.16
Sec.	87	38.84	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab locality

locality	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
rural	115	51.34	51.34
urban	109	48.66	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab gender

gender	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
female	122	54.46	54.46
male	102	45.54	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab age

age	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
40& above	89	39.73	39.73
less th.40	135	60.27	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab profqual

profqual	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Pri.	137	61.16	61.16
Sec.	87	38.84	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

tab locality age, col

locality	age		Total
	40& above	less th.40	
rural	53	62	115
	59.55	45.93	51.34
urban	36	73	109
	40.45	54.07	48.66
Total	89	135	224
	100.00	100.00	100.00

tab locality gender, col

locality	gender		Total
	female	male	
rural	60	55	115
	49.18	53.92	51.34
urban	62	47	109
	50.82	46.08	48.66
Total	122	102	224
	100.00	100.00	100.00

tab locality profqual, col

locality	profqual		Total
	Pri.	Sec.	
rural	62	53	115
	45.26	60.92	51.34
urban	75	34	109
	54.74	39.08	48.66
Total	137	87	224
	100.00	100.00	100.00

tab gender age, col

gender	age		Total
	40& above	less th.40	
female	45	77	122
	50.56	57.04	54.46
male	44	58	102
	49.44	42.96	45.54
Total	89	135	224
	100.00	100.00	100.00

tab gender profqual, col

gender	profqual		Total
	Pri.	Sec.	
female	88	34	122
	64.23	39.08	54.46
male	49	53	102
	35.77	60.92	45.54
Total	137	87	224
	100.00	100.00	100.00

.tab profqual age, col

profqual	age		Total
	40& above	less th.40	
Pri.	51	86	137
	57.30	63.70	61.16
Sec.	38	49	87
	42.70	36.30	38.84
Total	89	135	224
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Appendix D

Statistical results of the respondents' perceptions of the union's effectiveness

. edit
(23 vars, 224 obs pasted into editor)

. tab trainees

trainees	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	83	37.05	37.05
2	73	32.59	69.64
3	19	8.48	78.12
4	46	20.54	98.66
5	3	1.34	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab courses

courses	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	68	30.36	30.36
2	85	37.95	68.30
3	17	7.59	75.89
4	52	23.21	99.11
5	2	0.89	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab inspect

inspect	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	58	25.89	25.89
2	90	40.18	66.07
3	12	5.36	71.43
4	58	25.89	97.32
5	6	2.68	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab staffeva

staffeva	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	53	23.66	23.66
2	97	43.30	66.96
3	17	7.59	74.55
4	53	23.66	98.21
5	4	1.79	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab schlcurr

schlcurr	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	32	14.29	14.29
2	49	21.88	36.16
3	11	4.91	41.07
4	81	36.16	77.23
5	51	22.77	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab studeval

studeval	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	52	23.21	23.21
2	85	37.95	61.16
3	28	12.50	73.66
4	55	24.55	98.21
5	4	1.79	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab resourse

resourse	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	50	22.32	22.32
2	94	41.96	64.29
3	24	10.71	75.00
4	48	21.43	96.43
5	8	3.57	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab staffing

staffing	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	14	6.25	6.25
2	24	10.71	16.96
3	3	1.34	18.30
4	136	60.71	79.02
5	47	20.98	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab workload

workload	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	13	5.80	5.80
2	27	12.05	17.86
3	4	1.79	19.64
4	129	57.59	77.23
5	51	22.77	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab classsiz

class size	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	37	16.52	16.52
2	59	26.34	42.86
3	16	7.14	50.00
4	95	42.41	92.41
5	17	7.59	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab conduct

conduct	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	1	0.45	0.45
2	4	1.79	2.23
3	4	1.79	4.02
4	91	40.62	44.64
5	124	55.36	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab sersch

sersch	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
2	2	0.89	0.89
3	2	0.89	1.79
4	77	34.38	36.16
5	143	63.84	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab defence

defence	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
2	1	0.45	0.45
3	1	0.45	0.89
4	79	35.27	36.16
5	143	63.84	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab workcond

workcond	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
2	1	0.45	0.45
3	1	0.45	0.89
4	85	37.95	38.84
5	137	61.16	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab commun

commun	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	3	1.34	1.34
2	13	5.80	7.14
3	10	4.46	11.61
4	131	58.48	70.09
5	67	29.91	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

tab discrim

discrim	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	9	4.02	4.02
2	22	9.82	13.84
3	7	3.12	16.96
4	128	57.14	74.11
5	58	25.89	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab identity

identity	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	3	1.34	1.34
2	26	11.61	12.95
3	9	4.02	16.96
4	127	56.70	73.66
5	59	26.34	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab fulfill

fulfill	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	5	2.23	2.23
2	27	12.05	14.29
3	13	5.80	20.09
4	121	54.02	74.11
5	58	25.89	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab prostatu

prostatus	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	4	1.79	1.79
2	13	5.80	7.59
3	12	5.36	12.95
4	125	55.80	68.75
5	70	31.25	100.00
Total	224	100.00	

. tab gender fulfill, exact row

gender	fulfill					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
female	2	11	9	68	32	122
	1.64	9.02	7.38	55.74	26.23	100.00
male	3	16	4	53	26	102
	2.94	15.69	3.92	51.96	25.49	100.00
Total	5	27	13	121	58	224
	2.23	12.05	5.80	54.02	25.89	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.445

. tab gender prostatu, exact row

gender	prostatus					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
female	3	8	5	68	38	122
	2.46	6.56	4.10	55.74	31.15	100.00
male	1	5	7	57	32	102
	0.98	4.90	6.86	55.88	31.37	100.00
Total	4	13	12	125	70	224
	1.79	5.80	5.36	55.80	31.25	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.820

Appendix E

Statistical results on relational tests

a) Qualification and opinion on union's effectiveness:

(tab profqual trainees, chi2 row

profqual	trainees					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Pri.	49	42	16	27	3	137
	35.77	30.66	11.68	19.71	2.19	100.00
Sec.	34	31	3	19	0	87
	39.08	35.63	3.45	21.84	0.00	100.00
Total	83	73	19	46	3	224
	37.05	32.59	8.48	20.54	1.34	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 6.8342 Pr = 0.145

. tab profqual courses, chi2 row

profqual	courses					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Pri.	43	43	15	34	2	137
	31.39	31.39	10.95	24.82	1.46	100.00
Sec.	25	42	2	18	0	87
	28.74	48.28	2.30	20.69	0.00	100.00
Total	68	85	17	52	2	224
	30.36	37.95	7.59	23.21	0.89	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 11.0296 Pr = 0.026

. tab profqual inspect, chi2 row

profqual	inspect					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Pri.	31	52	7	41	6	137
	22.63	37.96	5.11	29.93	4.38	100.00
Sec.	27	38	5	17	0	87
	31.03	43.68	5.75	19.54	0.00	100.00
Total	58	90	12	58	6	224
	25.89	40.18	5.36	25.89	2.68	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 7.9536 Pr = 0.093

tab profqual staffeva, chi2 row

	staffeva					
profqual	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Pri.	27	55	11	40	4	137
	19.71	40.15	8.03	29.20	2.92	100.00
Sec.	26	42	6	13	0	87
	29.89	48.28	6.90	14.94	0.00	100.00
Total	53	97	17	53	4	224
	23.66	43.30	7.59	23.66	1.79	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 10.3410 Pr = 0.035

. tab profqual schlcurr, chi2 row

	schlcurr					
profqual	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Pri.	19	28	7	47	36	137
	13.87	20.44	5.11	34.31	26.28	100.00
Sec.	13	21	4	34	15	87
	14.94	24.14	4.60	39.08	17.24	100.00
Total	32	49	11	81	51	224
	14.29	21.88	4.91	36.16	22.77	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 2.6479 Pr = 0.618

. tab profqual studeval, chi2 row

	studeval					
profqual	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Pri.	28	51	20	35	3	137
	20.44	37.23	14.60	25.55	2.19	100.00
Sec.	24	34	8	20	1	87
	27.59	39.08	9.20	22.99	1.15	100.00
Total	52	85	28	55	4	224
	23.21	37.95	12.50	24.55	1.79	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 2.9266 Pr = 0.570

. tab profqual resourse, chi2 row

	resourse					
profqual	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Pri.	25	58	17	29	8	137
	18.25	42.34	12.41	21.17	5.84	100.00
Sec.	25	36	7	19	0	87
	28.74	41.38	8.05	21.84	0.00	100.00
Total	50	94	24	48	8	224
	22.32	41.96	10.71	21.43	3.57	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 8.6702 Pr = 0.070

tab profqual staffing, chi2 row

	staffing					
profqual	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Pri.	11	18	3	74	31	137
	8.03	13.14	2.19	54.01	22.63	100.00
Sec.	3	6	0	62	16	87
	3.45	6.90	0.00	71.26	18.39	100.00
Total	14	24	3	136	47	224
	6.25	10.71	1.34	60.71	20.98	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 8.6897 Pr = 0.069

tab profqual workload, chi2 row

	workload					
profqual	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Pri.	8	20	4	68	37	137
	5.84	14.60	2.92	49.64	27.01	100.00
Sec.	5	7	0	61	14	87
	5.75	8.05	0.00	70.11	16.09	100.00
Total	13	27	4	129	51	224
	5.80	12.05	1.79	57.59	22.77	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 11.0961 Pr = 0.026

tab profqual classsiz, chi2 row

	class size					
profqual	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Pri.	25	36	9	56	11	137
	18.25	26.28	6.57	40.88	8.03	100.00
Sec.	12	23	7	39	6	87
	13.79	26.44	8.05	44.83	6.90	100.00
Total	37	59	16	95	17	224
	16.52	26.34	7.14	42.41	7.59	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 1.0882 Pr = 0.896

tab profqual conduct, exact row

	conduct					
profqual	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Pri.	1	2	3	47	84	137
	0.73	1.46	2.19	34.31	61.31	100.00
Sec.	0	2	1	44	40	87
	0.00	2.30	1.15	50.57	45.98	100.00
Total	1	4	4	91	124	224
	0.45	1.79	1.79	40.62	55.36	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.091

tab profqual sersch, exact row

profqual	sersch				Total
	2	3	4	5	
Pri.	1	2	44	90	137
	0.73	1.46	32.12	65.69	100.00
Sec.	1	0	33	53	87
	1.15	0.00	37.93	60.92	100.00
Total	2	2	77	143	224
	0.89	0.89	34.38	63.84	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.593

. tab profqual defence, exact row

profqual	defence				Total
	2	3	4	5	
Pri.	1	1	43	92	137
	0.73	0.73	31.39	67.15	100.00
Sec.	0	0	36	51	87
	0.00	0.00	41.38	58.62	100.00
Total	1	1	79	143	224
	0.45	0.45	35.27	63.84	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.261

. tab profqual workcond, exact row

profqual	workcond				Total
	2	3	4	5	
Pri.	1	1	49	86	137
	0.73	0.73	35.77	62.77	100.00
Sec.	0	0	36	51	87
	0.00	0.00	41.38	58.62	100.00
Total	1	1	85	137	224
	0.45	0.45	37.95	61.16	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.806

. tab profqual commun, exact row

profqual	commun					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Pri.	3	5	5	82	42	137
	2.19	3.65	3.65	59.85	30.66	100.00
Sec.	0	8	5	49	25	87
	0.00	9.20	5.75	56.32	28.74	100.00
Total	3	13	10	131	67	224
	1.34	5.80	4.46	58.48	29.91	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.278

. tab profqual discrim, exact row

	discrim					
profqual	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Pri.	7	12	5	74	39	137
	5.11	8.76	3.65	54.01	28.47	100.00
Sec.	2	10	2	54	19	87
	2.30	11.49	2.30	62.07	21.84	100.00
Total	9	22	7	128	58	224
	4.02	9.82	3.12	57.14	25.89	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.549

. tab profqual identity, exact row

	identity					
profqual	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Pri.	2	15	5	76	39	137
	1.46	10.95	3.65	55.47	28.47	100.00
Sec.	1	11	4	51	20	87
	1.15	12.64	4.60	58.62	22.99	100.00
Total	3	26	9	127	59	224
	1.34	11.61	4.02	56.70	26.34	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.913

. tab profqual fulfill, exact row

	fulfill					
profqual	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Pri.	3	15	9	75	35	137
	2.19	10.95	6.57	54.74	25.55	100.00
Sec.	2	12	4	46	23	87
	2.30	13.79	4.60	52.87	26.44	100.00
Total	5	27	13	121	58	224
	2.23	12.05	5.80	54.02	25.89	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.947

. tab profqual prostatu, exact row

	prostatus					
profqual	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Pri.	4	6	7	73	47	137
	2.92	4.38	5.11	53.28	34.31	100.00
Sec.	0	7	5	52	23	87
	0.00	8.05	5.75	59.77	26.44	100.00
Total	4	13	12	125	70	224
	1.79	5.80	5.36	55.80	31.25	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.281

b). Age and opinion on union's effectiveness:

.. tab age trainees, chi2 row

age	trainees					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	29	34	6	19	1	89
	32.58	38.20	6.74	21.35	1.12	100.00
less th.40	54	39	13	27	2	135
	40.00	28.89	9.63	20.00	1.48	100.00
Total	83	73	19	46	3	224
	37.05	32.59	8.48	20.54	1.34	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 2.8499 Pr = 0.583

tab age courses, chi2 row

age	courses					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	22	41	5	21	0	89
	24.72	46.07	5.62	23.60	0.00	100.00
less th.40	46	44	12	31	2	135
	34.07	32.59	8.89	22.96	1.48	100.00
Total	68	85	17	52	2	224
	30.36	37.95	7.59	23.21	0.89	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 6.1968 Pr = 0.185

. tab age inspect, chi2 row

age	inspect					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	18	42	7	22	0	89
	20.22	47.19	7.87	24.72	0.00	100.00
less th.40	40	48	5	36	6	135
	29.63	35.56	3.70	26.67	4.44	100.00
Total	58	90	12	58	6	224
	25.89	40.18	5.36	25.89	2.68	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 9.4078 Pr = 0.052

. tab age staffeva, chi2 row

age	staffeva					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	21	43	7	18	0	89
	23.60	48.31	7.87	20.22	0.00	100.00
less th.40	32	54	10	35	4	135
	23.70	40.00	7.41	25.93	2.96	100.00
Total	53	97	17	53	4	224
	23.66	43.30	7.59	23.66	1.79	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 4.2453 Pr = 0.374

. tab age schlcrr, chi2 row

age	schlcrr					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	13	18	3	38	17	89
	14.61	20.22	3.37	42.70	19.10	100.00
less th.40	19	31	8	43	34	135
	14.07	22.96	5.93	31.85	25.19	100.00
Total	32	49	11	81	51	224
	14.29	21.88	4.91	36.16	22.77	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 3.5242 Pr = 0.474

. tab age studeval, chi2 row

age	studeval					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	22	36	8	22	1	89
	24.72	40.45	8.99	24.72	1.12	100.00
less th.40	30	49	20	33	3	135
	22.22	36.30	14.81	24.44	2.22	100.00
Total	52	85	28	55	4	224
	23.21	37.95	12.50	24.55	1.79	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 2.2086 Pr = 0.697

tab age resourse, chi2 row

age	resourse					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	22	37	11	14	5	89
	24.72	41.57	12.36	15.73	5.62	100.00
less th.40	28	57	13	34	3	135
	20.74	42.22	9.63	25.19	2.22	100.00
Total	50	94	24	48	8	224
	22.32	41.96	10.71	21.43	3.57	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 4.7283 Pr = 0.316

tab age staffing, chi2 row

age	staffing					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	6	12	0	47	24	89
	6.74	13.48	0.00	52.81	26.97	100.00
less th.40	8	12	3	89	23	135
	5.93	8.89	2.22	65.93	17.04	100.00
Total	14	24	3	136	47	224
	6.25	10.71	1.34	60.71	20.98	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 7.1319 Pr = 0.129

tab age workload, chi2 row

age	workload					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	6	12	2	46	23	89
	6.74	13.48	2.25	51.69	25.84	100.00
less th.40	7	15	2	83	28	135
	5.19	11.11	1.48	61.48	20.74	100.00
Total	13	27	4	129	51	224
	5.80	12.05	1.79	57.59	22.77	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 2.1574 Pr = 0.707

tab age classsiz, chi2 row

age	class size					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	13	23	8	35	10	89
	14.61	25.84	8.99	39.33	11.24	100.00
less th.40	24	36	8	60	7	135
	17.78	26.67	5.93	44.44	5.19	100.00
Total	37	59	16	95	17	224
	16.52	26.34	7.14	42.41	7.59	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 3.9638 Pr = 0.411

. tab age conduct, exact row

	conduct					
age	1	2	3	4	5	Total
40& above	1	1	1	34	52	89
	1.12	1.12	1.12	38.20	58.43	100.00
less th.40	0	3	3	57	72	135
	0.00	2.22	2.22	42.22	53.33	100.00
Total	1	4	4	91	124	224
	0.45	1.79	1.79	40.62	55.36	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.693

. tab age sersch, exact row

	sersch				
age	2	3	4	5	Total
40& above	1	0	28	60	89
	1.12	0.00	31.46	67.42	100.00
less th.40	1	2	49	83	135
	0.74	1.48	36.30	61.48	100.00
Total	2	2	77	143	224
	0.89	0.89	34.38	63.84	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.627

. tab age defence, exact row

	defence				
age	2	3	4	5	Total
40& above	0	0	26	63	89
	0.00	0.00	29.21	70.79	100.00
less th.40	1	1	53	80	135
	0.74	0.74	39.26	59.26	100.00
Total	1	1	79	143	224
	0.45	0.45	35.27	63.84	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.187

. tab age workcond, exact row

	workcond				
age	2	3	4	5	Total
40& above	0	1	26	62	89
	0.00	1.12	29.21	69.66	100.00
less th.40	1	0	59	75	135
	0.74	0.00	43.70	55.56	100.00
Total	1	1	85	137	224
	0.45	0.45	37.95	61.16	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.030

. tab age commun, exact row

age	commun					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	1	7	7	45	29	89
	1.12	7.87	7.87	50.56	32.58	100.00
less th.40	2	6	3	86	38	135
	1.48	4.44	2.22	63.70	28.15	100.00
Total	3	13	10	131	67	224
	1.34	5.80	4.46	58.48	29.91	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.122

. tab age discrim, exact row

age	discrim					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	2	10	4	46	27	89
	2.25	11.24	4.49	51.69	30.34	100.00
less th.40	7	12	3	82	31	135
	5.19	8.89	2.22	60.74	22.96	100.00
Total	9	22	7	128	58	224
	4.02	9.82	3.12	57.14	25.89	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.376

. tab age identity, exact row

age	identity					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	1	13	4	44	27	89
	1.12	14.61	4.49	49.44	30.34	100.00
less th.40	2	13	5	83	32	135
	1.48	9.63	3.70	61.48	23.70	100.00
Total	3	26	9	127	59	224
	1.34	11.61	4.02	56.70	26.34	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.436

. tab age fulfill, exact row

age	fulfill					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	1	14	5	45	24	89
	1.12	15.73	5.62	50.56	26.97	100.00
less th.40	4	13	8	76	34	135
	2.96	9.63	5.93	56.30	25.19	100.00
Total	5	27	13	121	58	224
	2.23	12.05	5.80	54.02	25.89	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.602

. tab age prostatu, exact row

age	prostatus					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
40& above	1	6	5	54	23	89
	1.12	6.74	5.62	60.67	25.84	100.00
less th.40	3	7	7	71	47	135
	2.22	5.19	5.19	52.59	34.81	100.00
Total	4	13	12	125	70	224
	1.79	5.80	5.36	55.80	31.25	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.633

c) Locality and respondents' perceptions of the union's effectiveness

. . tab locality trainees, chi2 row

locality	trainees					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
rural	30	44	7	34	0	115
	26.09	38.26	6.09	29.57	0.00	100.00
urban	53	29	12	12	3	109
	48.62	26.61	11.01	11.01	2.75	100.00
Total	83	73	19	46	3	224
	37.05	32.59	8.48	20.54	1.34	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 24.1498 Pr = 0.000

. tab locality courses, chi2 row

locality	courses					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
rural	23	54	3	35	0	115
	20.00	46.96	2.61	30.43	0.00	100.00
urban	45	31	14	17	2	109
	41.28	28.44	12.84	15.60	1.83	100.00
Total	68	85	17	52	2	224
	30.36	37.95	7.59	23.21	0.89	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 28.5494 Pr = 0.000

. tab locality inspect, chi2 row

locality	1	2	3	4	5	Total
rural	16	57	4	37	1	115
	13.91	49.57	3.48	32.17	0.87	100.00
urban	42	33	8	21	5	109
	38.53	30.28	7.34	19.27	4.59	100.00
Total	58	90	12	58	6	224
	25.89	40.18	5.36	25.89	2.68	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 26.3271 Pr = 0.000

. tab locality staffeva, chi2 row

locality	1	2	3	4	5	Total
rural	14	62	7	31	1	115
	12.17	53.91	6.09	26.96	0.87	100.00
urban	39	35	10	22	3	109
	35.78	32.11	9.17	20.18	2.75	100.00
Total	53	97	17	53	4	224
	23.66	43.30	7.59	23.66	1.79	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 22.2209 Pr = 0.000

. tab locality schlcrr, chi2 row

locality	1	2	3	4	5	Total
rural	6	21	4	50	34	115
	5.22	18.26	3.48	43.48	29.57	100.00
urban	26	28	7	31	17	109
	23.85	25.69	6.42	28.44	15.60	100.00
Total	32	49	11	81	51	224
	14.29	21.88	4.91	36.16	22.77	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 24.2984 Pr = 0.000

. tab locality studeval, chi2 row

locality	1	2	3	4	5	Total
rural	17	47	17	31	3	115
	14.78	40.87	14.78	26.96	2.61	100.00
urban	35	38	11	24	1	109
	32.11	34.86	10.09	22.02	0.92	100.00
Total	52	85	28	55	4	224
	23.21	37.95	12.50	24.55	1.79	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 10.2069 Pr = 0.037

. tab locality resourse, chi2 row

locality	resourse					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
rural	17	51	16	28	3	115
	14.78	44.35	13.91	24.35	2.61	100.00
urban	33	43	8	20	5	109
	30.28	39.45	7.34	18.35	4.59	100.00
Total	50	94	24	48	8	224
	22.32	41.96	10.71	21.43	3.57	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 10.1474 Pr = 0.038

. tab locality staffing, exact row

locality	staffing					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
rural	1	5	0	80	29	115
	0.87	4.35	0.00	69.57	25.22	100.00
urban	13	19	3	56	18	109
	11.93	17.43	2.75	51.38	16.51	100.00
Total	14	24	3	136	47	224
	6.25	10.71	1.34	60.71	20.98	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.000

. tab locality workload, exact row

locality	workload					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
rural	1	7	0	79	28	115
	0.87	6.09	0.00	68.70	24.35	100.00
urban	12	20	4	50	23	109
	11.01	18.35	3.67	45.87	21.10	100.00
Total	13	27	4	129	51	224
	5.80	12.05	1.79	57.59	22.77	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.000

. tab locality classsiz, exact row

locality	class size					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
rural	7	32	10	58	8	115
	6.09	27.83	8.70	50.43	6.96	100.00
urban	30	27	6	37	9	109
	27.52	24.77	5.50	33.94	8.26	100.00
Total	37	59	16	95	17	224
	16.52	26.34	7.14	42.41	7.59	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.000

. tab locality conduct, exact row

locality	conduct					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
rural	0	1	0	38	76	115
	0.00	0.87	0.00	33.04	66.09	100.00
urban	1	3	4	53	48	109
	0.92	2.75	3.67	48.62	44.04	100.00
Total	1	4	4	91	124	224
	0.45	1.79	1.79	40.62	55.36	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.001

tab locality staffing, exact row

locality	staffing					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
rural	1	5	0	80	29	115
	0.87	4.35	0.00	69.57	25.22	100.00
urban	13	19	3	56	18	109
	11.93	17.43	2.75	51.38	16.51	100.00
Total	14	24	3	136	47	224
	6.25	10.71	1.34	60.71	20.98	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.000

. tab locality workload, exact row

locality	workload					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
rural	1	7	0	79	28	115
	0.87	6.09	0.00	68.70	24.35	100.00
urban	12	20	4	50	23	109
	11.01	18.35	3.67	45.87	21.10	100.00
Total	13	27	4	129	51	224
	5.80	12.05	1.79	57.59	22.77	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.000

. tab locality classsiz, exact row

locality	class size					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
rural	7	32	10	58	8	115
	6.09	27.83	8.70	50.43	6.96	100.00
urban	30	27	6	37	9	109
	27.52	24.77	5.50	33.94	8.26	100.00
Total	37	59	16	95	17	224
	16.52	26.34	7.14	42.41	7.59	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.000

. tab locality conduct, exact row

locality	conduct					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
rural	0	1	0	38	76	115
	0.00	0.87	0.00	33.04	66.09	100.00
urban	1	3	4	53	48	109
	0.92	2.75	3.67	48.62	44.04	100.00
Total	1	4	4	91	124	224
	0.45	1.79	1.79	40.62	55.36	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.001

. tab locality sersch, exact row

locality	sersch				Total
	2	3	4	5	
rural	1	0	34	80	115
	0.87	0.00	29.57	69.57	100.00
urban	1	2	43	63	109
	0.92	1.83	39.45	57.80	100.00
Total	2	2	77	143	224
	0.89	0.89	34.38	63.84	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.124

. tab locality defence, exact row

locality	defence				Total
	2	3	4	5	
rural	1	0	33	81	115
	0.87	0.00	28.70	70.43	100.00
urban	0	1	46	62	109
	0.00	0.92	42.20	56.88	100.00
Total	1	1	79	143	224
	0.45	0.45	35.27	63.84	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.036

. tab locality workcond, exact row

locality	workcond				Total
	2	3	4	5	
rural	0	0	37	78	115
	0.00	0.00	32.17	67.83	100.00
urban	1	1	48	59	109
	0.92	0.92	44.04	54.13	100.00
Total	1	1	85	137	224
	0.45	0.45	37.95	61.16	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.054

. tab locality commun, exact row

locality	commun					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
rural	1	7	1	73	33	115
	0.87	6.09	0.87	63.48	28.70	100.00
urban	2	6	9	58	34	109
	1.83	5.50	8.26	53.21	31.19	100.00
Total	3	13	10	131	67	224
	1.34	5.80	4.46	58.48	29.91	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.056

. tab locality discrim, exact row

		discrim				
locality		1	2	3	4	5 Total
rural		2	7	2	75	29 115
		1.74	6.09	1.74	65.22	25.22 100.00
urban		7	15	5	53	29 109
		6.42	13.76	4.59	48.62	26.61 100.00
Total		9	22	7	128	58 224
		4.02	9.82	3.12	57.14	25.89 100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.031

. tab locality identity, chi2 row

	identity					
locality	1	2	3	4	5	Total
rural	1	11	1	73	29	115
	0.87	9.57	0.87	63.48	25.22	100.00
urban	2	15	8	54	30	109
	1.83	13.76	7.34	49.54	27.52	100.00
Total	3	26	9	127	59	224
	1.34	11.61	4.02	56.70	26.34	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 9.0984 Pr = 0.059

. tab locality fulfill, exact row

locality	fulfill					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
rural	0	11	2	69	33	115
	0.00	9.57	1.74	60.00	28.70	100.00
urban	5	16	11	52	25	109
	4.59	14.68	10.09	47.71	22.94	100.00
Total	5	27	13	121	58	224
	2.23	12.05	5.80	54.02	25.89	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.003

. tab locality prostatu, exact row

locality	prostatus					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
rural	1	5	3	71	35	115
	0.87	4.35	2.61	61.74	30.43	100.00
urban	3	8	9	54	35	109
	2.75	7.34	8.26	49.54	32.11	100.00
Total	4	13	12	125	70	224
	1.79	5.80	5.36	55.80	31.25	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.144

d) Gender and the perceptions union's effectiveness

. tab gender trainees, chi2 row

gender	trainees					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
female	35	41	9	34	3	122
	28.69	33.61	7.38	27.87	2.46	100.00
male	48	32	10	12	0	102
	47.06	31.37	9.80	11.76	0.00	100.00
Total	83	73	19	46	3	224
	37.05	32.59	8.48	20.54	1.34	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 15.0544 Pr = 0.005

. tab gender courses, chi2 row

gender	courses					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
female	27	47	12	35	1	122
	22.13	38.52	9.84	28.69	0.82	100.00
male	41	38	5	17	1	102
	40.20	37.25	4.90	16.67	0.98	100.00
Total	68	85	17	52	2	224
	30.36	37.95	7.59	23.21	0.89	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 11.2524 Pr = 0.024

. tab gender inspect, chi2 row

gender	inspect					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
female	19	53	6	40	4	122
	15.57	43.44	4.92	32.79	3.28	100.00
male	39	37	6	18	2	102
	38.24	36.27	5.88	17.65	1.96	100.00
Total	58	90	12	58	6	224
	25.89	40.18	5.36	25.89	2.68	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 17.1031 Pr = 0.002

. tab gender staffeva, chi2 row

gender	staffeva					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
female	21	53	7	38	3	122
	17.21	43.44	5.74	31.15	2.46	100.00
male	32	44	10	15	1	102
	31.37	43.14	9.80	14.71	0.98	100.00
Total	53	97	17	53	4	224
	23.66	43.30	7.59	23.66	1.79	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 12.9461 Pr = 0.012

. tab gender schlcurr, chi2 row

gender	schlcurr					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
female	15	25	6	42	34	122
	12.30	20.49	4.92	34.43	27.87	100.00
male	17	24	5	39	17	102
	16.67	23.53	4.90	38.24	16.67	100.00
Total	32	49	11	81	51	224
	14.29	21.88	4.91	36.16	22.77	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 4.2624 Pr = 0.372

. tab gender studeval, chi2 row

gender	studeval					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
female	20	48	10	41	3	122
	16.39	39.34	8.20	33.61	2.46	100.00
male	32	37	18	14	1	102
	31.37	36.27	17.65	13.73	0.98	100.00
Total	52	85	28	55	4	224
	23.21	37.95	12.50	24.55	1.79	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 19.0996 Pr = 0.001

. tab gender resourse, chi2 row

gender	resourse					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
female	18	54	12	32	6	122
	14.75	44.26	9.84	26.23	4.92	100.00
male	32	40	12	16	2	102
	31.37	39.22	11.76	15.69	1.96	100.00
Total	50	94	24	48	8	224
	22.32	41.96	10.71	21.43	3.57	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 11.6456 Pr = 0.020

. tab gender staffing, chi2 row

gender	staffing					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
female	10	14	2	70	26	122
	8.20	11.48	1.64	57.38	21.31	100.00
male	4	10	1	66	21	102
	3.92	9.80	0.98	64.71	20.59	100.00
Total	14	24	3	136	47	224
	6.25	10.71	1.34	60.71	20.98	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 2.4548 Pr = 0.653

. tab gender workload, chi2 row

gender	workload					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
female	7	15	3	64	33	122
	5.74	12.30	2.46	52.46	27.05	100.00
male	6	12	1	65	18	102
	5.88	11.76	0.98	63.73	17.65	100.00
Total	13	27	4	129	51	224
	5.80	12.05	1.79	57.59	22.77	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 4.0766 Pr = 0.396

. tab gender classsiz, chi2 row

gender	class size					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
female	21	37	6	49	9	122
	17.21	30.33	4.92	40.16	7.38	100.00
male	16	22	10	46	8	102
	15.69	21.57	9.80	45.10	7.84	100.00
Total	37	59	16	95	17	224
	16.52	26.34	7.14	42.41	7.59	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 3.8881 Pr = 0.421

.. tab gender conduct, exact row

gender	conduct					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
female	1	4	1	38	78	122
	0.82	3.28	0.82	31.15	63.93	100.00
male	0	0	3	53	46	102
	0.00	0.00	2.94	51.96	45.10	100.00
Total	1	4	4	91	124	224
	0.45	1.79	1.79	40.62	55.36	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.001

. tab gender sersch, exact row

gender	sersch				Total
	2	3	4	5	
female	2	2	32	86	122
	1.64	1.64	26.23	70.49	100.00
male	0	0	45	57	102
	0.00	0.00	44.12	55.88	100.00
Total	2	2	77	143	224
	0.89	0.89	34.38	63.84	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.007

tab gender defence, exact row

gender	defence				Total
	2	3	4	5	
female	1	0	35	86	122
	0.82	0.00	28.69	70.49	100.00
male	0	1	44	57	102
	0.00	0.98	43.14	55.88	100.00
Total	1	1	79	143	224
	0.45	0.45	35.27	63.84	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.022

. tab gender workcond, exact row

gender	workcond				Total
	2	3	4	5	
female	0	1	38	83	122
	0.00	0.82	31.15	68.03	100.00
male	1	0	47	54	102
	0.98	0.00	46.08	52.94	100.00
Total	1	1	85	137	224
	0.45	0.45	37.95	61.16	100.00

Fisher's exact = 0.024

. tab gender commun, exact row

gender	commun				Total
	1	2	3	4	5
female	0	5	7	71	39
	0.00	4.10	5.74	58.20	31.97
male	3	8	3	60	28
	2.94	7.84	2.94	58.82	27.45
Total	3	13	10	131	67
	1.34	5.80	4.46	58.48	29.91

Fisher's exact = 0.203

. tab gender discrim, exact row

gender	discrim				Total
	1	2	3	4	5
female	3	12	3	70	34
	2.46	9.84	2.46	57.38	27.87
male	6	10	4	58	24
	5.88	9.80	3.92	56.86	23.53
Total	9	22	7	128	58
	4.02	9.82	3.12	57.14	25.89

Fisher's exact = 0.673

. tab gender identity, exact row

gender	identity				Total
	1	2	3	4	5
female	1	10	5	74	32
	0.82	8.20	4.10	60.66	26.23
male	2	16	4	53	27
	1.96	15.69	3.92	51.96	26.47
Total	3	26	9	127	59
	1.34	11.61	4.02	56.70	26.34

Fisher's exact = 0.401

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