

WOMEN IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE CARIBBEAN



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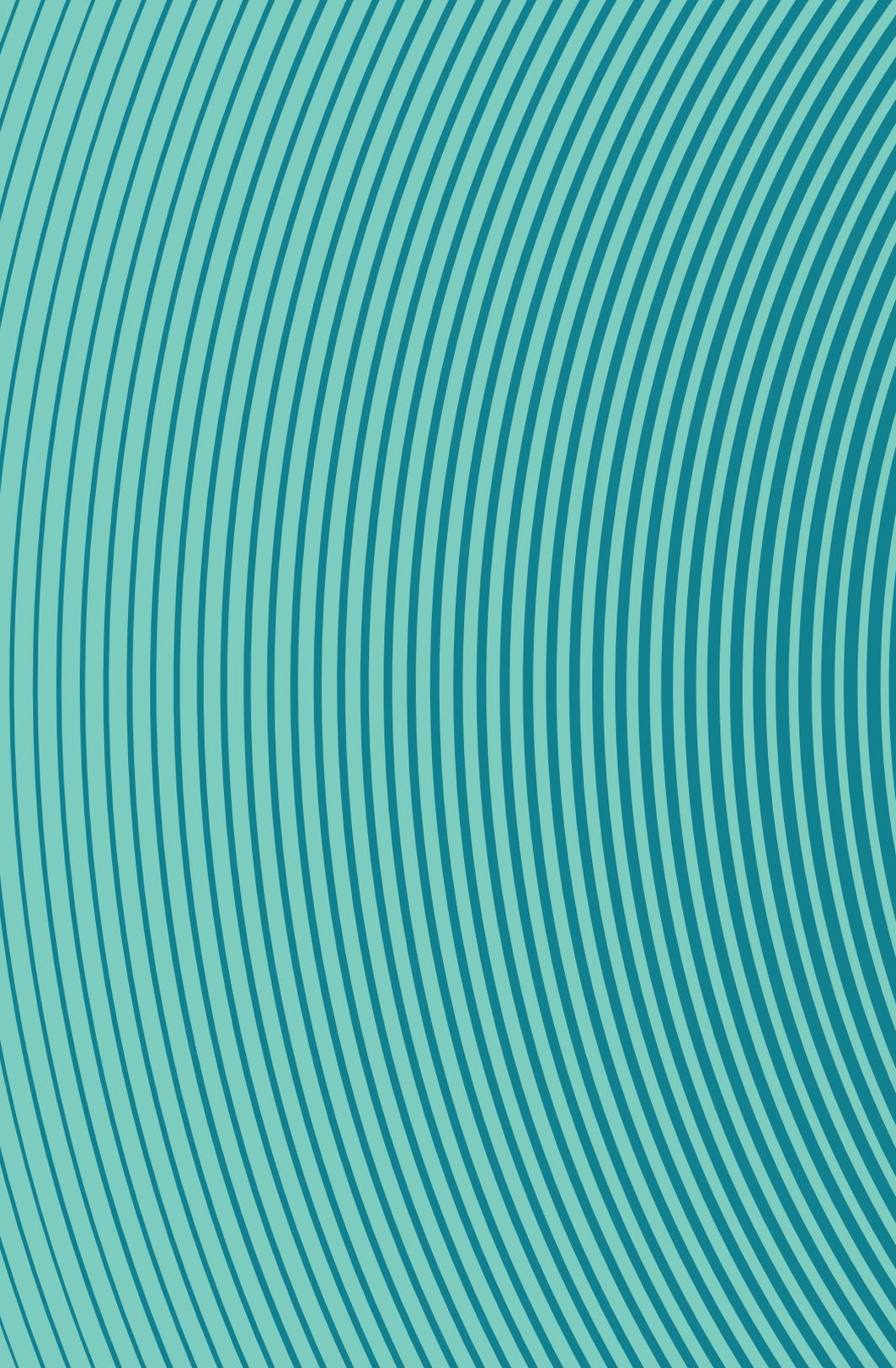
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Introduction

Women's political participation is critical to fulfilling the potential of democracy. Women make essential contributions to achieving and maintaining peaceful and secure communities, the full realization of human rights, the eradication of disease, hunger and poverty, and the promotion of sustainable development. There is a benefit to all of society when women realize their full rights to participate in political processes. Unfortunately, there still exist obstacles to women's full participation - some visible, others not so visible.

On average, 22% of ministerial portfolios/ cabinet positions in the Anglophone Caribbean are held by women. Across the region, women generally do not hold more than 30% of elected positions with the exception of Guyana (which has a legislated quota of one-third of the number of political party nominees must be women) and Trinidad and Tobagoⁱ. Reconciling the importance of addressing the low number of women in political leadership may not seem to carry the same weight as the urgency of addressing the economic and environmental vulnerabilities of heavily-indebted small island developing states (SIDS). Countries struggling with diminishing foreign reserves and the impacts of the increasing intensity of natural hazards do not often prioritise gender equality and the importance of women's leadership. However, this can be short sighted and limiting in trying to achieve national development targets.

The human rights approach to women's leadership as embedded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) speaks to the fact that women should be in leadership because participation in decision-making and public life is a fundamental right. The Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA) outlined that the global standard for women's representation should be at least one-third, in order to ensure a critical mass with influence, rather than just tokenism. In this way, increased representation is more than numbers; it is about systems and people that are transformational, inclusive and equitable.

In addition to being a human right, from a social and economic development perspective women's leadership is positively associated with cooperative learning and participatory communication on larger and more geographically dispersed teams.ⁱⁱ While female leadership is considered to be, in general, more participatory

and democratic in style, the inclusion of higher proportions of women on boards and in negotiations is also associated with increased profitability, increased business performance, and success.ⁱⁱⁱ More women on company boards is linked to greater focus on long-term goals and improved governance.^{iv} Women also experience economic, social and environmental changes differently to men, and it is crucial to the achievement of the SDGs that this perspective is at the decision-making table when policies are made.

In September 2015 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDGs are part of the broader 2030 Agenda, which is a plan of action for people, planet and prosperity. Using global survey results from the general public on development priorities the SDGs represent global development aspirations for all countries. There are 17 SDGs, and although one, Goal 5, is a stand-alone on gender equality and women's empowerment, gender equality and women's empowerment are highlighted as critical catalysts for achieving all of the SDGs.

Goal 5 contains 6 targets:

Target 5.1. End all forms of discrimination against women and girls everywhere

Target 5.2. Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation

Target 5.3. Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation

Target 5.4. Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate

Target 5.5. Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life

Target 5.6. Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights

Target 5.5 highlights the importance of women's leadership in achieving sustainable development. Women's increased leadership is one result of gender equality and sustainable development and a prerequisite of sustainable development. However, in heavily indebted small island developing states (SIDS) like much of the Caribbean, it is sometimes difficult for some to understand how critical gender equality and in particular women's leadership are in addressing development priorities that are often economic and security-focused.

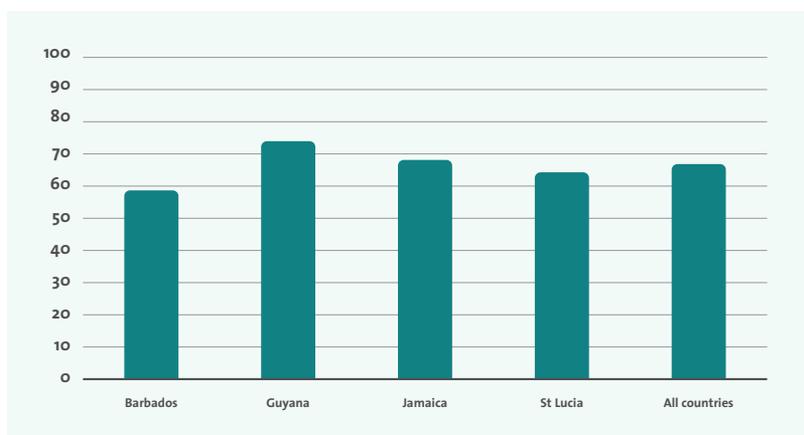
The SDGs emphasise all aspects of sustainable development; social development, economic development and environmental preservation. Achieving the SDGs will require a type of leadership that is participative democratic, and forward looking. As Caribbean countries strive to achieve sustainable development through the SDGs, an understanding of the perception of the importance women's leadership among the general public is critical in deciding which programmes and advocacy are required to engage more women in leadership.

In 2015 UN Women collaborated with the Caribbean Development Research Services (CADRES) to conduct surveys in a cross-section of Caribbean countries (Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and St. Lucia) to provide baseline data to answer the question: what attitudes and perceptions do people in the Caribbean have that influence how they see men and women in leadership? The results demonstrated that although superficially people identify a specific kind of man as the ideal leader, the majority of those interviewed felt that there should be more women in leadership and that the qualities they expected women to bring to leadership were qualities essential to social and economic development.

Caribbean perceptions of leadership

Generally, Caribbean society seems to have an ideal of what the perfect leader looks like; he's a married, grassroots, older Afro Caribbean man with a family. However, when it comes to the priorities and issues of greatest concern to them, one thing becomes very clear: they want to see more women in politics and as leaders.⁹ Across the Caribbean, 67 per cent of people perceived the national attitude in their country to be generally supportive of women's participation in politics and leadership (see figure 1 below).

FIGURE 1
People here accept the need for women in politics and political leadership



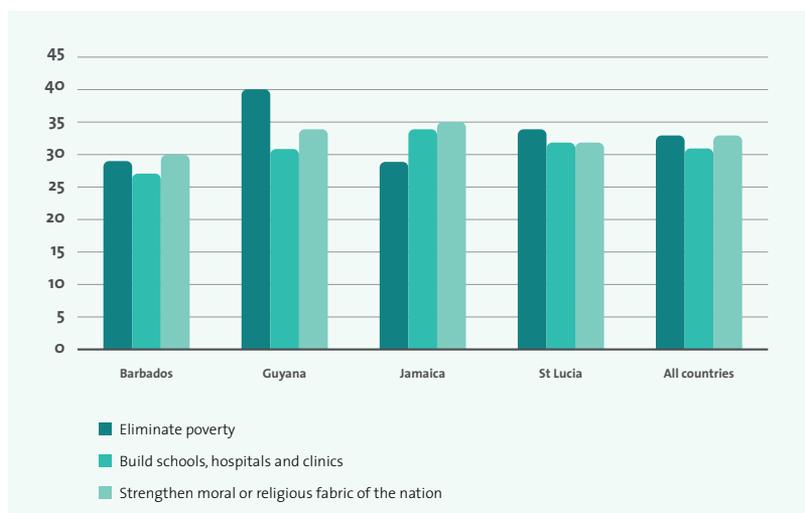
The top two priorities that people want their representatives to meet, is to help with the creation of job opportunities for their communities (30 per cent) and help to find work/a job (for them and or a family member) (13 per cent).

Their issues of greatest concern include the cost of living (29 per cent), crime and violence in the country/ community (19 per cent), unemployment (18 per cent) and the economy (13 per cent).

Caribbean society perceives social and economic development areas as a natural fit for women leadership. When asked separately what the respondents thought male and female leaders would be more likely to prioritise while in office, people

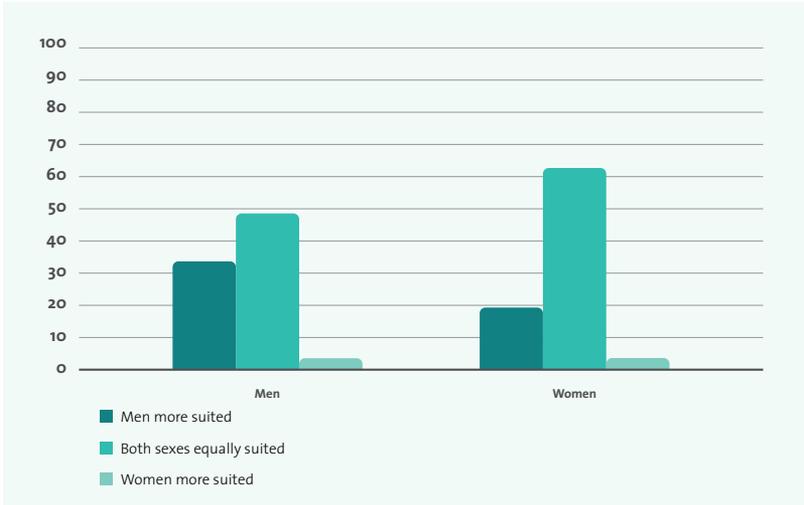
believe that women would have a greater focus on eliminating poverty (33 per cent), building schools, hospitals and clinics (31 per cent) and strengthening the moral or religious fabric of the nation (33 per cent) (see Figure 2 below). Male leaders were seen to be more likely to take their country to war (50 per cent), build new roads (45 per cent), build sporting and recreational facilities (42 per cent), steal and engage in corruption (23 per cent), strengthen OECS/CARICOM (22 per cent) and enhance status of country internationally (22 per cent).

FIGURE 2
Female leaders are more likely to...



Who is better suited to political leadership? Across the countries, the majority of people (56 per cent) said that both sexes are equally suited to politics. Men tended to see leadership *competitively* as they had a higher gender-specific response of “men are better suited” (34 per cent) than women. Women on the other hand see leadership cooperatively; 63 per cent responded that both sexes are equally suited, and women had a much lower gender-specific response identifying either sex as better suited (see Figure 3 below).

FIGURE 3
Which sex is better suited to politics?



While some 13 per cent of people said that they “do not believe that women and men should be equally represented in political leadership”, the majority of responses were in support of the need for women in political leadership with the reason stated being a desire for fairness and the rights of women (37 per cent) and numerical balance (19 per cent).

FIGURE 4
Preferred justification for women’s involvement in politics



Based on the research, Caribbean society is broadly supportive of women in political leadership on the basis of fairness and equity, and perceive that women will focus on the core social development priorities that they themselves prioritise. So, why aren't there more women candidates?

Why haven't women been included?

For much of the twentieth century, women across Anglophone Caribbean countries did not have the right to vote and were largely excluded from national representative politics. When women were partially enfranchised, requirements were imposed for women voters that included age, income, property tax and literacy levels that were more severe than those imposed on men. For Caribbean women to secure the unconditional right to vote, starting in the 1940s, it took "letters to the editors of newspapers, petitions to colonial governors, formations of women's organisations and street marches".^{vi}

Roughly 70 years after women were enfranchised, strides towards the representation of women in political leadership have been slow. The universal right to vote, inclusive of women, was granted across the Anglophone Caribbean towards the end of the Second World War and through the 1950s. Jamaica was granted universal suffrage in 1944, prior to that, women were not allowed to vote at all and men had wealth and property requirements. In Trinidad and Tobago universal adult suffrage was granted in 1946. In Barbados, the first general election after the introduction of universal adult suffrage in 1950 saw the election of the first women to the House of Assemblies, Edna Ermytrude Foster, known as Ermie Bourne.^{vii} It would be another 20 years until another woman, Gertrude Eastmond, was elected to the lower house of Barbados's Parliament in 1971.^{viii}

While much progress has been made, women have yet to become significant decision-makers in the corridors of power. In 2017 on average, around 22 per cent of ministerial portfolios/ cabinet positions were held by women in the Anglophone Caribbean. Across the region, women do not hold more than 30 per cent of elected positions, Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago being the exception with over 30% elected positions. The low number of women in powerful political leadership positions across the Caribbean does little to encourage a more realistic notion of women's ability to rule.

Social/Cultural Barriers

Globally, one of the primary barriers to women parliamentarians' participation is cultural ideals and hostile attitudes to women. These attitudes devalue women's labour and leadership, by positioning women in the home and disregarding their potential to contribute to decision-making for society. This includes the perception that women are not 'tough' enough to be political leaders.

Gender roles, which are the attitudes, feelings, and behaviors that a culture associates with a person's biological sex, dictate what is socially acceptable for a male or female. The gender roles and associated expectations for men and women are very different and can be delimiting for women candidates.

Example: Political Campaigning in the Caribbean

Often women candidate's private lives are scrutinised more strictly than their male counterparts. Khadijah Ameen, an opposition senator in Trinidad and Tobago, campaigned for election and found that her status as a divorced mother of one was used by opponents to discredit her.

Societal perceptions affect the spaces women can go to campaign, and the kinds of strategies they use to campaign. Unlike male politicians, Ameen decided not to campaign in a bar because bars are seen as masculine spaces. If she were to be seen publicly drinking a beer, the public would perceive it very differently than if a male politician was to be seen campaigning in a bar.¹⁶ A similar challenge was faced by the former deputy mayor of San Fernando in Trinidad and Tobago, Sabrina Mowlah-Baksh. Mowlah-Baksh experienced the same barrier during her first local government campaign,

"Now as a male, you would have been allowed to go into bars. Now that was a big thing for me because I am not a drinking person and of course it was a big thing whether I should go into bars and campaign or no. I felt that I needed to because I felt that it was a space in which I had to meet with some of the potential voters and I should not be barred from going into those places. So I would have gone in, I would have sat down, I would have drank a soft drink with something of them, old-talked with some of them"¹⁶

Mowlah-Baksh received a backlash for being present in bars. These expectations also lead to far more scrutiny on women's appearance than men's. Women politicians are judged more harshly on the way they dress. Research has shown that the anticipation of political harassment, is a significant factor in why suitable and qualified women say they won't go into politics.

Unpaid Care Work

Family work and time constraints disproportionately affect women due to the uneven distribution of family care responsibilities. Women are generally expected to spend more time on homecare and childcare work than men. Anyone with childcare responsibilities would find it challenging to balance a political position and family responsibilities, and the fact that women are expected to do the majority of this work means that women face an added disadvantage.^{xi} Global research shows that female politicians have more family responsibility, which takes up more of their time than their male counterparts, resulting in a situation where “only women with supportive families run for office, whereas men are more likely to run in spite of discouragement from their families.”^{xii} Not all women face this barrier in equal measure, women from middle and elite families may have extra resources to fund child and homecare work. Single women may find it impossible to run for office, due to a lack of time and financial support.

It is increasingly understood that the disproportionate share of unpaid care work borne by women is a critical barrier to their employment and economic empowerment. The provision of social care is a strategy to achieve several SDGs, reduce the burden of unpaid care work on women and advance women’s economic empowerment. Women parliamentarians across the world cite “balancing time” as a core barrier to running for parliament, as family expectations compete with their scope for participation in political life.

Example: Childcare

Once elected to office, political work can involve travel, late nights, and evening events. In Trinidad and Tobago women and men politicians work in the same spaces, but the expectations and responsibilities of women back in the household differ, which impacts on women’s opportunities to engage in some committees and spaces. If a parliament sitting starts at 1:30pm and only ends at 5:00am the following morning, the strain on women who have children is more than with men. Ameen expressed concerns in her position of councilor and chairman,

“So sometimes you have to go visit a project site early in the morning or go on a television or radio show very early in the morning. That means my mother would

have to get [my son] ready for school... I can't normally leave work at two o'clock or three o'clock to pick him up. His bedtime is half seven and I don't get home until nine o'clock in the night. So it's easy to not even see your child in this kind of work... Due to the cultural expectations men expect their wives to cook for them, I was married for two years and one of the issues that my husband had was that... I didn't cook often enough. I know some of my female colleagues have that problem, they have to go home and cook for their husbands so that prevents you from getting involved in certain meetings, participating in certain committees as well as in things that could readily advance you in politics."

As Ameen's example illustrates, family support is an essential enabling factor for women to have a political career. Childcare support from family members helps with working early and late hours. Expectations to do housework and cooking, can be barriers to women having the scope to fully participate in committees and meetings, and can lead to tensions in family life.

Again, not all women face this challenge in the same way. Different cultures may have expectations of women beyond the immediate family. It has been observed that historically in the Caribbean, East Indian women with extended families may have additional responsibilities and expectations of their role in the home that act as barriers to support for them running for political office.^{xiii} Persad-Bissessar has described the challenges she faces both as a woman, but also as a woman of East Indian descent. She is the leader of a majority male East Indian party in the context of entrenched Hindu religious and cultural ideals. Both her race and ethnicity have affected her experiences of political leadership.

Institutional barriers

While there are no laws or policies prohibiting women candidates and politicians, established practices of recruitment and internal party selection can disadvantage potential women candidates. Particularly with regards to campaign funding, women do not typically have access to existing social networks of people who fund campaigns. When candidates run for elections they do not receive pay, and so those who are not able to balance work and campaigning, simply cannot afford to campaign. This disadvantages those in occupations that do not allow for job flexibility (lower-income work).

Globally women have lower incomes due to a gender pay gap, unpaid family care, and lower paid occupations. The occupational areas women tend to work in, do not have the same access to social and business networks that fund political campaigns. Again, not all women face this barrier equally, lower-income women, and rural women, tend to have less access to financial resources than middle-class women, and are more likely to be in low-wage work, allowing for less time for politics. These women do not encounter much encouragement to seek political office and are even discouraged by their families or by political parties.

Example: Class and Family Advantage

From the 1950s to 1990s, Caribbean women candidates were in a large part from middle and upper classes. Women participated in politics from the home. These women in political office were supported by early access to political association through family ties, socialization, their class and support base.^{xiv} Today, elite and middle-class women, with professions and connections through marriage, have privileged access to spheres of power.^{xv} “Regionally, many women advance in politics based on their families’ economic standing in society. With more women being educated and having access to personal funds and the ability to obtain the necessary finances, this challenge is surmountable as a barrier to women’s advancement in politics regionally.”^{xvi}

The stories of Caribbean women who have successfully entered the political sphere illustrate the importance of early exposure. Successful women politicians have historically accessed the political sphere through family networks, informal connections, civic groups, unions and women’s organisations.^{xvii} Janet Jagan, President of Guyana from 1997 to 1999, had a long history in labor activism along with her husband, Cheddi Jagan, who both joined the British Guianese Labor Union. In 1946, Jagan helped found the Women’s Political and Economic Organization (W.P.O.) and the Political Affairs Committee (P.A.C.). In 1950, Jagan, together with her husband, co-founded the People’s Progressive Party. While her husband gained prominence in the party, Jagan continued her work in the struggle for workers’ rights, before becoming president in 1997 after the death of her husband.

Mia Mottley, the current Prime Minister of Barbados and leader of the Barbados Labour Party, has a long family history in politics. Her grandfather Earnest Mottley was the first Mayor of Bridgetown and a parish level politician for many years. Mottley’s father was a barrister and member of the House of Assembly. Mottley had the opportunity to engage in political thinking and leadership from early on in her life. Research shows that this early political exposure enables women to express more confidence in public spaces, access networks to gain political funds, win elections and enter Cabinet, and engage in political negotiation.^{xviii}

While many women have similar stories of gender expectations and barriers to political engagement, not all women face the same barriers. The pressure to conform, and to not stand out from widely-held concepts of respectability, presents with differing severity for women based on their sexuality, ethnicity and class backgrounds. These identities present complex challenges for women political leaders. Yet, if we are to achieve the SDGs we need women from all backgrounds together in the room with men making decisions about long-term development.

Conclusion

To achieve the SDGs, the people who have the drive to engage in solutions and public service need to have the opportunity to access the institutions of power and decision-making. Political institutions should be spaces for inclusion and the recognition of challenges faced by all social groups in Caribbean countries. Historically across the twentieth century in the Caribbean, black people, poor people and women were largely denied access to political decision-making. While politics has been deracialized, and all citizens now have the vote, women continue to face barriers to engaging in political spaces.

It is widely agreed in regional literature that political structures still privilege male politicians, and that commonly held cultural attitudes stereotype women's role in society. These factors result in a complex and challenging environment for women who wish to run for election and for women in political office.

Political parties are at the forefront of identifying, training and supporting candidates for office. More women should run for office, and for this to happen political party support for women who show the interest and determination to run for office is crucial. It is important that the perceptions of the viability of a political career for interested and qualified women are increased. Political parties should recognize and acknowledge the value of women in leadership in their platforms. As for the barriers women face, political parties have the scope to decrease barriers for women in campaigning, including funding, and support early exposure for women to political training and inclusion in networks.

Like many institutions, political institutions can be rigid and continue to operate in the manner that they have in the past. To find solutions to the increasingly

complex challenges of sustainable development, political parties need to innovate, both in terms of how they appeal to citizens and in terms of how they recruit and support talent within their organisations. Recognizing the value of diversity is key.

Globally, the recognition is growing that temporary special measures are the most effective way to increase women's representation. Temporary special measures, such as the use of quotas, have been resoundingly successful in countries such as Italy, Sweden, India, and Guyana. Thanks to gender quotas, which have been implemented in more than 130 countries, the world average of women in national parliaments doubled, from 11.7% in 1997 to 23.7% in 2017.^{xxi} The effectiveness of quotas is related to the type of electoral system, the details of the law, and the degree to which it is strongly implemented. The most effective quotas include placement mandates (alternating women's and men's names on the list) and have strict penalties for non-compliance.^{xx}

Gender quota laws for national legislators are widely used in Latin American countries and are seen as a commitment by governments to act to promote women's inclusion in politics.^{xxi} The evidence from Latin America shows that quota laws can offer a 'fast track' for countries to achieve higher levels of women's leadership.^{xxii}

Guyana is the only country in the English-speaking Caribbean that has adopted the use of a quota, as a temporary special measure, to increase women's political participation. Guyana installed a quota law in 2000 for the national legislature to ensure a minimum number of female candidates are selected by political parties. Guyana is the only country in the English and Dutch-speaking Caribbean to have attained above the 30 per cent ratio for female representation and is ranked 40th out of over 190 countries on women's representation in parliament.^{xxiii}

Quotas can be used effectively in other Caribbean countries, by being adapted to local contexts and used temporarily to effect real change. Reducing the barriers to women's leadership ensures their human rights are upheld and can stimulate social and economic development. Curbing the overrepresentation of men in politics by expanding the talent pool can lead to increases in the quality and diversity of the politicians elected, and this translates into quality representation for all.^{xxiv}

TABLE 1

Women's Political Participation

| Anguilla | | | | | | |
|------------------|---------|-----------------------------|---------|-------------------------|---------|--|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | | |
| Female Ministers | 1 (20%) | Female Senators | 1 (14%) | Female Parliamentarians | 3 (25%) | |
| Male Ministers | 4 (80%) | Male Senators | 6 (86%) | Male Parliamentarians | 9 (75%) | |
| Total | 5 | Total | 7 | Total | 12 | |

| Antigua and Barbuda | | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------|-----------------------------|---------|-------------------------|----------|--|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | | |
| Female Ministers | 2 (14%) | Female Senators | 9 (53%) | Female Parliamentarians | 2 (11%) | |
| Male Ministers | 12 (86%) | Male Senators | 8 (47%) | Male Parliamentarians | 16 (89%) | |
| Total | 14 | Total | 17 | Total | 18 | |

| Aruba | | | | | | |
|------------------|---------|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|----------|--|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | | |
| Female Ministers | 1 (13%) | | | Female Parliamentarians | 7 (33%) | |
| Male Ministers | 7 (87%) | | | Male Parliamentarians | 14 (67%) | |
| Total | 8 | | | Total | 21 | |

| The Bahamas | | | | | | |
|------------------|----------|-----------------------------|---------|-------------------------|----------|--|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | | |
| Female Ministers | 1 (5%) | Female Senators | 7 (44%) | Female Parliamentarians | 2 (5%) | |
| Male Ministers | 18 (95%) | Male Senators | 9 (56%) | Male Parliamentarians | 37 (95%) | |
| Total | 19 | Total | 16 | Total | 39 | |

| Barbados | | | | | | |
|------------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|--|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | | |
| Female Ministers | 8 (29%) | Female Senators | 9 (43%) | Female Parliamentarians | 6 (20%) | |
| Male Ministers | 21 (71%) | Male Senators | 12 (57%) | Male Parliamentarians | 24 (80%) | |
| Total | 29 | Total | 21 | Total | 30 | |

| Belize | | | | | | |
|------------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|--|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | | |
| Female Ministers | 3 (15%) | Female Senators | 3 (23%) | Female Parliamentarians | 3 (9%) | |
| Male Ministers | 17 (85%) | Male Senators | 10 (77%) | Male Parliamentarians | 29 (91%) | |
| Total | 20 | Total | 13 | Total | 32 | |

| Bermuda | | | | | |
|------------------|---------|-----------------------------|---------|-------------------------|----------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 3 (27%) | Female Senators | 5 (45%) | Female Parliamentarians | 8 (22%) |
| Male Ministers | 8 (73%) | Male Senators | 6 (55%) | Male Parliamentarians | 28 (78%) |
| Total | 11 | Total | 11 | Total | 36 |

| Cayman Islands | | | | | |
|------------------|---------|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|----------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 2 (29%) | | | Female Parliamentarians | 3 (14%) |
| Male Ministers | 5 (71%) | | | Male Parliamentarians | 18 (86%) |
| Total | 7 | | | Total | 21 |

| Curacao | | | | | |
|------------------|---------|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|----------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 3 (33%) | | | Female Parliamentarians | 6 (29%) |
| Male Ministers | 6 (67%) | | | Male Parliamentarians | 15 (71%) |
| Total | 9 | | | Total | 21 |

| Dominica | | | | | |
|------------------|---------|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|----------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 5 (36%) | | | Female Parliamentarians | 5 (16%) |
| Male Ministers | 9 (64%) | | | Male Parliamentarians | 26 (84%) |
| Total | 14 | | | Total | 31 |

| Grenada | | | | | |
|------------------|----------|-----------------------------|---------|-------------------------|----------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 6 (35%) | Female Senators | 4 (33%) | Female Parliamentarians | 5 (33%) |
| Male Ministers | 11 (65%) | Male Senators | 8 (67%) | Male Parliamentarians | 10 (67%) |
| Total | 17 | Total | 12 | Total | 15 |

| Guyana | | | | | |
|------------------|----------|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|----------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 10 (37%) | | | Female Parliamentarians | 22 (35%) |
| Male Ministers | 17 (63%) | | | Male Parliamentarians | 40 (65%) |
| Total | 27 | | | Total | 62 |

| Jamaica | | | | | |
|------------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 3 (23%) | Female Senators | 5 (24%) | Female Parliamentarians | 11 (17%) |
| Male Ministers | 10 (77%) | Male Senators | 16 (76%) | Male Parliamentarians | 52 (83%) |
| Total | 13 | Total | 21 | Total | 63 |

| Montserrat | | | | | |
|------------------|---------|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|---------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 1 (25%) | | | Female Parliamentarians | 2 (18%) |
| Male Ministers | 3 (75%) | | | Male Parliamentarians | 9 (82%) |
| Total | 4 | | | Total | 11 |

| Saint Lucia | | | | | |
|------------------|----------|-----------------------------|---------|-------------------------|----------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 4 (27%) | Female Senators | 3 (27%) | Female Parliamentarians | 3 (18%) |
| Male Ministers | 11 (73%) | Male Senators | 8 (73%) | Male Parliamentarians | 14 (82%) |
| Total | 15 | Total | 11 | Total | 17 |

| Saint Kitts and Nevis | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|----------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 2 (20%) | | | Female Parliamentarians | 2 (13%) |
| Male Ministers | 8 (80%) | | | Male Parliamentarians | 13 (87%) |
| Total | 10 | | | Total | 15 |

| Saint Vincent and the Grenadines | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|----------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 0 (0%) | | | Female Parliamentarians | 2 (9%) |
| Male Ministers | 11 (100%) | | | Male Parliamentarians | 21 (91%) |
| Total | 11 | | | Total | 23 |

| Saint Maarten | | | | | |
|------------------|---------|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|----------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 2 (29%) | | | Female Parliamentarians | 2 (13%) |
| Male Ministers | 5 (71%) | | | Male Parliamentarians | 13 (87%) |
| Total | 7 | | | Total | 15 |

| Suriname | | | | | |
|------------------|----------|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|----------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 4 (25%) | | | Female Parliamentarians | 14 (27%) |
| Male Ministers | 12 (75%) | | | Male Parliamentarians | 37 (73%) |
| Total | 16 | | | Total | 51 |

| Trinidad and Tobago | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 6 (30%) | Female Senators | 9 (29%) | Female Parliamentarians | 14 (33%) |
| Male Ministers | 14 (70%) | Male Senators | 22 (71%) | Male Parliamentarians | 28 (67%) |
| Total | 20 | Total | 31 | Total | 42 |

| Turks and Caicos Islands | | | | | |
|--------------------------|---------|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|----------|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 2 (29%) | | | Female Parliamentarians | 6 (32%) |
| Male Ministers | 5 (71%) | | | Male Parliamentarians | 13 (68%) |
| Total | 7 | | | Total | 19 |

| Region Average | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|-----------------------------|-----|-------------------------|-----|
| Ministers | | Senators/ Executive Council | | Parliamentarians | |
| Female Ministers | 24% | Female Senators | 29% | Female Parliamentarians | 21% |
| Male Ministers | 76% | Male Senators | 71% | Male Parliamentarians | 79% |

Endnotes

ⁱ Inter-Parliamentary Union Women in National Parliaments as at 1st October 2018 <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

ⁱⁱ Post. C. (2015). When is female leadership an advantage? Coordination requirements, team cohesion, and team interaction norms. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*. 36 (1153-1175).

ⁱⁱⁱ Behind Every Global Goal: Women Leading the World to 2030. Business and Sustainable Development Commission Report. September 2017 Discussion Paper; Adams. S. (2014) Companies do better with women leaders but women need more confidence to lead. *Forbes* <https://www.forbes.com/sites/susanadams/2014/08/05/companies-do-better-with-women-leaders-but-women-need-more-confidence-to-lead-study-says/#297f97505ffc>; Eagly. A. H. (2007). Female leadership advantage and disadvantage: resolving the contradictions. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 1-12.

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^v Ranjitsingh, A. (2017). Women's Political Leadership in Trinidad and Tobago. Understandings, Experiences and Negotiations. In Hosein, G., Parpart, J. [Eds] *Negotiating Gender, Policy and Politics in the Caribbean*. pp. 51

^{vi} Htun, M., & Piscopo, J. (2014). Women in politics and policy in Latin America and the Caribbean. In *Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum Working Papers on Women in Politics* (No. 2, pp. 27)

^{vii} Htun, M., & Piscopo, J. (2014). Women in politics and policy in Latin America and the Caribbean. In *Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum Working Papers on Women in Politics* (No. 2, pp. 29)

^{viii} Trinidad and Tobago in 1946; Barbados in 1950; Guyana, Antigua and Barbuda, British Virgin Islands, Grenada, Montserrat, St Lucia and St Vincent

and the Grenadines in 1951; St Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla in 1952; Belize 1954; Bermuda in 1967.

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^{xiv} Bissessar, A. M. (2014). Challenges to Women's Leadership in Ex-Colonial Societies. P.22

^{xv} The National Policy on Gender Equality of Jamaica. In Hosein, G., Parpart, J. [Eds] *Negotiating Gender, Policy and Politics in the Caribbean*.

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^{xxiv} Murray, R. (2014). Quotas for men: Reframing gender quotas as a means of improving representation for all. *American Political Science Review*, 108(3), 520-532.

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