

Women and Political Parties in Five Small States of the Commonwealth Caribbean



The Commonwealth

RESEARCH REPORT

Women and Political Parties in Five Small States of the Commonwealth Caribbean



The Commonwealth

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Acronyms

CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIWiL	Caribbean Institute for Women in Leadership
CSO	Civil society organisations
FBO	Faith based organisations
GNOW	Grenada National Organization of Women
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
NDI	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NNP	New National Party
NRP	Nevis Reform Party
NWC	National Women's Commission of Belize
OAS	Organization of American States
PRA	Participatory rural appraisal
PUP	People's United Party
UDP	United Democratic Party
ULP	United Labour Party
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
UWP	United Workers Party

Summary

New research on increasing women's political participation in the Commonwealth Caribbean identifies existing barriers and opportunities, and sets out recommendations.

The research engaged with the main political parties through executive members, parliamentarians and representatives of the women and youth arms in five of the region's small states: Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Saint Kitts and Nevis and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

Women in the Commonwealth Caribbean have been involved in politics since pre-independence movements. They continue to play a significant role in regional and international efforts to raise awareness on women's political participation, contributing to the development and adoption of important instruments such as UN and Commonwealth resolutions, conventions and action plans.

In recent decades women's educational level has been rising and they have made advances in various spheres of life, but political participation remains a concern among gender equality advocates. Women make up about 50 per cent of the population but hold an average of just 19 per cent of the seats in Commonwealth Caribbean parliaments. Grenada is the only country in the region that has achieved the target of one-third women in parliament.

The research lays bare the challenges women face in striving for equal participation in politics. The contributions of women parliamentarians are trivialised as 'too emotional' when they advocate with political passion. They are subject to verbal abuse about their appearance, children, family relations and past intimate relationships, which is especially excruciating in tight-knit small states. In a patriarchal society women are hit hardest by negative election campaigns, limited financial resources, gender biased infrastructure, and multifaceted roles.

Young women are concerned about 'character assassination' via social media; lack of mentors and support to shape them for future leadership roles; that their voices often go unheard – deemed inexperienced in the gender biased culture; career victimisation from being politically affiliated and sexual harassment. Engaging young, indigenous women living in rural areas is particularly challenging in Belize and Dominica, the only two countries of the five researched with an indigenous population.

Working with political parties is but one aspect of the recommended strategy to increase women's political representation. It will be necessary to involve families, communities, the private sector, schools, parliaments and governments, civil society organisations, the international community, and citizens of the Commonwealth Caribbean.

A central tactic is raising awareness about gender. Recommendations include gender sensitisation education and training for parliamentarians and political party activists; youth training and empowerment programmes on gender and democracy; civic education in schools emphasising integrity, service and gender equality; gender

awareness campaigns for the public; awareness raising for the private sector on the importance of supporting women candidates in the context of corporate social responsibility.

Other tactics centre on recruiting champions for gender equality, such as parliamentarians for positive campaigns and influential party members for increasing women's representation. Political parties could agree a joint political code of conduct against negative campaigning, to be monitored by independent national bodies and enforced by fines and legal ramifications.

Establishing strategic partnerships is a useful approach for women, for example to launch a Commonwealth Caribbean version of UN Women's 'Share the Care Campaign' emphasising women in politics; and, mainstream gender into all parliamentary procedures in the region through strategic partnerships with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and other agencies.

Formulating clear criteria and guidelines for candidate selection committees, establishing internal party dispute resolution mechanisms against sexual harassment, adopting sensitisation coping strategies for families of women parliamentarians, and setting up a mentorship programme for young women are just a few of the ways to strengthen party women.

These and other recommendations seek to break down cultural and structural gender inequality barriers and create an enabling environment where equity, equality and social justice prevail.

The document is the outcome of the first stage of a regional research study conducted by Lebrechtta Hesse-Bayne and Tres-Ann Kremer from November 2016 to April 2017.

1. Introduction

The growing interest in the work of women's political participation has been on-going globally for decades. This report focuses on women's political participation at the party level in five Caribbean countries: Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Saint Kitts and Nevis and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. It examines the barriers, opportunities and success factors existing in the political parties as shared by executive members, representatives of women and youth arms and women parliamentarians. Importantly, it also identifies priority recommendations to advance the work of women's political participation in the Commonwealth Caribbean.

The report benefited from the leadership contributions of the following persons:

Belize

Patrick Faber

Deputy Prime Minister/Deputy Party Leader, United Democratic Party

John Briceno

Leader of the Opposition/Party Leader, People's United Party

Dominica

Edward Registrar

General Secretary, Dominica Labour Party

Lennox Linton

Leader of the Opposition/Party Leader, United Workers Party

Grenada

Keith Mitchell

Prime Minister/Party Leader, New National Party

Nazim Burke

Leader of the main Opposition Party, National Democratic Congress

Saint Kitts And Nevis

Mark Brantley

Party Leader, Concerned Citizens Movement

Vance Amory

Former Party Leader, Concerned Citizens Movement

Denzil Douglas

Leader of the Opposition/Party Leader, St Kitts and Nevis Labour Party

Joseph Parry

Party Leader, Nevis Reformation Party

Saint Vincent And The Grenadines

Ralph Gonsalves

Prime Minister/Party Leader, United Labour Party

Godwin Friday

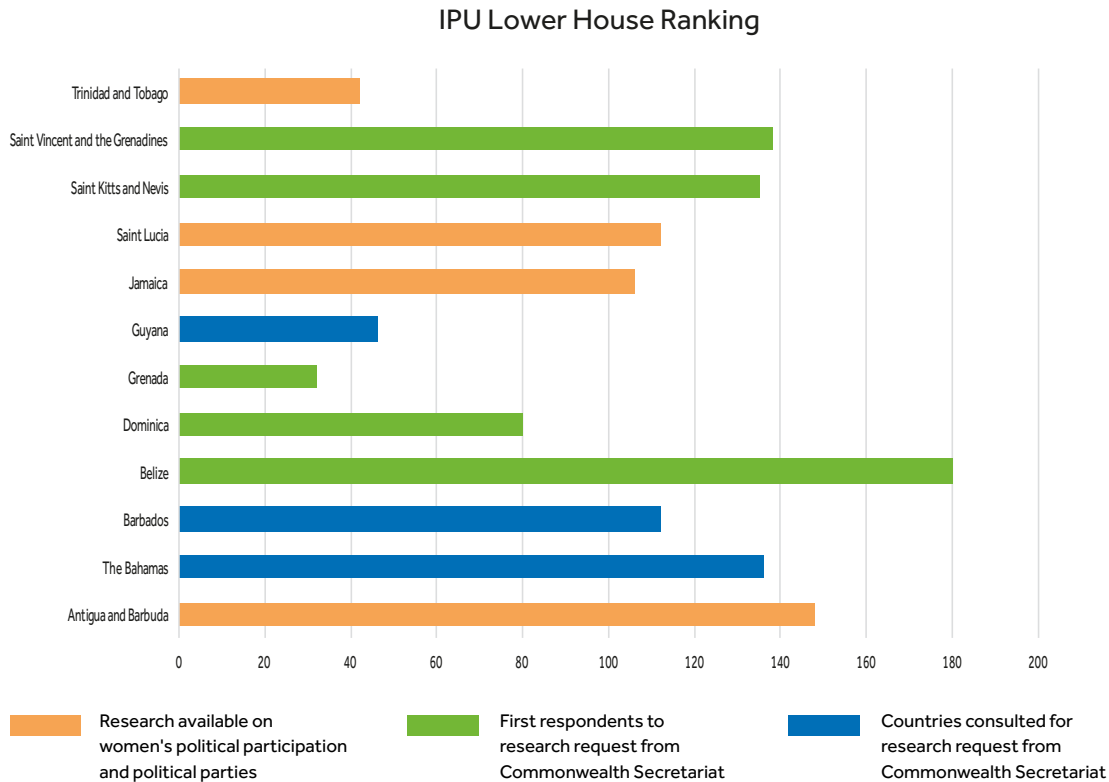
Leader of the Opposition/Party Leader, New Democratic Party

The report is the outcome of the first stage of a regional research study conducted by Lebrechtta Hesse-Bayne and Tres-Ann Kremer from November 2016 to April 2017. The research methodology followed a multisectoral participatory approach and the research explored data gaps on the subject in the region. The country selection considered country rankings of women's political participation in the lower houses of parliament, countries with limited data where the Commonwealth Secretariat could add value to the research available on the subject matter, as well as countries that responded to field research requests.

Quantitative and qualitative research methods were used for analysis. Key Caribbean parliamentarians and gender equality advocates reviewed and validated an early draft of the report at a regional stakeholder consultation in Barbados on 7 July 2017. This knowledge exchange enhanced the recommendations of the report, and also fostered collaboration amongst the actors to promote women's political participation.

The Commonwealth Secretariat, using 2016 data on Women in Parliaments and Women Ministers, ranked Commonwealth countries. A comparative representation of Women in Parliament in 2016 and 2017 (table 1) revealed the majority of Commonwealth Caribbean countries had made little or no progress. Grenada, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Antigua and Barbuda remained stagnant, Guyana, Dominica and Belize made advances, and Barbados, Saint Lucia and the Bahamas regressed.

Figure 1. Mode of selection to determine research countries



The Caribbean played a significant role in international efforts to raise awareness on women’s political participation, which resulted in United Nations Resolution 66/130¹ on Women and Political Participation adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 19 December 2011. Prior to the adoption of the resolution, the Caribbean, led by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, hosted the first Caribbean Regional Colloquium on ‘Women Leaders as Agents of Change’ in partnership with the Caribbean Institute for Women in Leadership (CIWiL) and supported by the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Organization of American States (OAS) and UN Women, the United Nations entity for gender equality and the empowerment of women (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011). The outcome of the colloquium was the Port of Spain Consensus on Transformational Leadership for Gender Equality.² The Republic of Trinidad and

Tobago during this period served as Chairperson-in-Office of the Commonwealth and was thus able to raise this issue at other international fora such as the OAS Hemispheric Forum on Women’s Leadership for a Citizen’s Democracy and the 32nd Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Heads of Government meeting. These initiatives galvanised the hemisphere culminating in a high-level dialogue on Women’s Political Participation in the margins of the 66th Session of the United Nations General Assembly leading to the adoption of resolution 66/130.

The Commonwealth Caribbean comprises 12 countries: Antigua and Barbuda, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago. Women in the Caribbean have been involved in politics since the region’s pre-independence movements and they constitute approximately 50 per cent of the population within the various countries. Across the region in the past 50 years, women’s educational level has been rising but while they have made advances in various

1 See full document on resolution 66/130 on Women and Political Participation, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/66/130.
 2 See Port of Spain Consensus on Transformational Leadership for Gender Equality: <http://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/field%20office%20caribbean/attachments/news/2011/port-of-spain%20consensus%20on%20transformational%20leadership%20for%20gender%20equality%20pdf.ashx?la=en>

Table 1: 2016 Commonwealth Ranking (CW) and 2017 Commonwealth Caribbean Women in Politics

Country	2016 % Women in Parliament	2016 CW Ranking	2016 % Women Ministers	2017 % Women in Parliament	2016 to 2017 status
Grenada	33.3	8	29.4	33.3	→
Trinidad and Tobago	31.0	11	36.8	31	→
Guyana	30.4	12	25	31.9	↑
Dominica	21.9	18	6.0	25	↑
Jamaica	17.5	23	20.0	17.5	→
Barbados	17.5	24	20.0	16.7	↓
St Lucia	17.2	26	15.4	16.7	↓
St Kitts and Nevis	13.3	28	13.0	13.3	→
The Bahamas	13.2	29	0.0	12.8	↓
St Vincent and the Grenadines	13.0	30	11.0	13.0	→
Antigua and Barbuda	11.1	36	8.0	11.1	→
Belize	3.1	49	10.0	9.4	↑

Source: Women's Political Development in the Commonwealth 2004 – 2016 and 2017 IPU data

→ No change ↓ regression ↑ advancement

spheres of life, women's political participation remains a concern among gender equality advocates, as the data reflects.

There have been a number of interventions to advance women's political participation using international instruments such as:

- Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
- Beijing Platform for Action
- International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights
- Programme of Action of the International Convention on Population and Development
- The Commonwealth Plan of Action for Gender Equality (2005 – 2015)

These tools, and others, have helped the region to improve the representation of women in politics. Nevertheless, despite efforts to advance this cause, the Commonwealth Caribbean is yet to meet its targets as a collective block. The challenge of gaining equal political representation in decision-making at the highest level of governments' democratic architecture is reflected in data from

the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), showing the Commonwealth Caribbean with an average of 19 per cent women in parliaments. Direct engagement of political parties in the Commonwealth Caribbean to affect change is yet to take place.

Two definitions, 'political participation' and 'political representation', are used in this discourse. 'Political participation allows for political agendas to take shape through a variety of ways of "taking part in politics" – discussion and debate, lobbying and demonstrating in formal and informal ways. In this sense, women participate in politics not only through the electoral process, but also through a process of defining their interests and engagement with all parts of the decision-making process from outside as well as from within. Political representation is a process by which the articulation of these political agendas are represented in institutions of decision-making in democratic societies through political parties and elected chambers of policymaking, such as parliaments. Women's representation, then, includes both the presence of women in governing bodies and the promotion of women's perspectives as a result' (Rai, as cited in NWS & UNDP, 2012).

Caribbean Contribution to Resolution 66/130 on Women and Political Participation

Hosted Regional Colloquium, 'Women Leaders as Agents of Change'

Developed Port of Spain Consensus on Transformational Leadership for Gender Equality

Tabled women's political participation as an agenda item for OAS Hemispheric Forum and 32nd CARICOM Heads of Government Meeting

Hosted high-level dialogue on Women's Political Participation during 66th Session of UN General Assembly

Questions to be answered in this paper: Why are women unable to be highly represented in political representation? Is this due to party governance structures or the lack of awareness of gender equality issues? To answer these questions, we will build on the observations made by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) that 'political parties are the real gatekeepers to positions of power and decision-making. This means that strategies for gender equality and women's political empowerment must be put into practice within political parties in order to provide an adequate enabling environment for the meaningful and influential participation of women' (IDEA, 2013).

2. Women Parliamentarians and the Political Agenda

The involvement of Caribbean women in state political issues dates back to the 19th century (Bissessar, 2014) however, their involvement in political leadership roles far outdates this period. Global recognition of women in politics as a rights-based issue is not impugned. Acknowledgment of this point is clearly enshrined in various international human rights instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Commonwealth Charter, Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Commonwealth Plan of Action for Gender Equality, the Millennium Development Goals and presently, the Sustainable Development Goals. Despite these macro level policy drivers, advancing the aspirations of these instruments on the ground remains limited. This section of the paper examines the experiences of women parliamentarians in the five selected countries – their perceptions of challenges, barriers, and successes and recommendations on how women can advance within the political party space, from member to parliamentarian.

'Gender equality is a human rights issue and should be dealt with as such and not only seen as a matter of motivating women to participate.'

M Alison McClean
Representative UN Women Multi-Country
Office – Caribbean

2.1 Patronising attitudes

The socialisation of women and men, across various cultural backgrounds, has established societal perceptions of 'femininity' and 'masculinity'. These norms are translated to various spheres of life, affecting the status quo by which women and men relate to each other in society. The political space is no exception to this phenomenon. In this arena, where core issues shape the well-being of people and societies at large, men and women articulate views with passion as they argue their case. However, a number of the women parliamentarians

attested to being referred to as 'too emotional', when they passionately advocated on issues. This trivialisation of women's contributions in the political space can silence the voices of women who do not want to be labelled as such, thus diminishing their advocacy on pertinent issues.

2.1.1 Finding a solution to address patronising attitudes towards women parliamentarians



Foster an environment where women parliamentarians can openly voice their concerns without any inhibitions and therefore more attractive to women candidates:

- ▶ Promote gender awareness education and training at the Parliamentary level.
- ▶ Develop a gender equality code of conduct for political parties, which should be extended and held by cabinet members.
- ▶ Extend gender awareness education to the public domain to change embedded gender norms.
- ▶ Advocate for women's political participation from a human rights perspective.

2.2 Negative campaigning

Organisations such as UN Women and the Caribbean Institute for Women in Leadership (CIWiL) have championed the call for transformational leadership as part of the support mechanisms for women's political representation in the region. Transformational Leadership introduced by James McGregor Burns calls for leaders and followers to raise one another to higher levels of morality and motivation (Burns, 1978). CIWiL developed this concept further to ground it in 'principles of values, equity, equality, democracy, justice, caring, non-violence and cooperation' (CIWiL, 2011). A number of women parliamentarians have been sensitised with this training and efforts are made during election campaigns to keep it clean and avoid negativity. Nevertheless, women parliamentarians attested

to pressure from constituents to adopt negative campaign strategies because, they say, 'everyone is doing it'. This unwarranted pressure challenges the female candidate who is determined to campaign within the principles of transformational leadership. In general, citizens of the Commonwealth Caribbean decry negative campaigning and yet it continues despite calls from political parties to desist and completely abstain from incorporating it in their campaigns.

2.2.1 Negative campaigning in small states

Sutton (2007) reasoned that the importance of personality politics in small states is increased, and the role of the individual takes on greater significance. He termed this trend in small states as 'exaggerated personalism'. In this context, the impact of negative campaigning can be particularly detrimental in small states where communities are small and relations are closely knit. Women parliamentarians recounted incidents when colleagues were ostracised by members of the society due to negative campaigning as well as stories shared about family members pleading with them not to enter politics, as 'they will bring shame to the family name'. The closeness of politics to their everyday lives is very real. This negativity associated with political campaigns has deprived the region of many capable women leaders. The cultural perception that politics is a 'dirty game' has been socialised to the extent where groups within the citizenry have lost faith in democracies and the possibilities of good governance being upheld.

Develop a gender equality code of conduct amongst political parties, which should be extended and held by cabinet members.

Respondents in every country attested to negative campaigning taking place in their jurisdiction. Some argued that negative campaigning is a free-speech issue and one of the inevitabilities of the cut and thrust of politics. When political parties turn a blind eye to their members who engage in negative campaigning, 'instead of promoting freedom of speech and dialogue, negative personal attacks ultimately segregate society and encourage hatred and disrespect' (Bryon, 2010).

2.2.2 Close and personal verbal abuse

A shared challenge, highlighted in all five countries, was the verbal abuse experienced by women parliamentarians. As women try to thrive in a male dominated space where they are not considered as equals and are held to a higher standard, the additional burden of verbal abuse strains the existing stressful environment. The verbal abuse takes the form of derogatory messages concerning their appearance, family relations and past intimate relationships. Abuse targeting children was most disturbing to women parliamentarians as this form of abuse puts children at risk, affecting their emotional well-being and self-esteem. In a society where gender equality issues of multiple partners impact men and women differently, when abusers seek to tarnish characters using past relationships, the effect is most damaging on the women. Negative messaging shared in one country included statements such as, 'How much man and abortions she had?'³ Men are perceived as 'macho' and as 'cassanovas' with abilities to attract multiple women, while women in similar positions are judged on higher standards of morality. Thus, women parliamentarians perceived the effect to be more detrimental in comparison to their male colleagues who do not have to grapple with such gender equality issues in the political space.

One political party said a decision was taken by the party to conduct a clean, positive campaign without slandering opponents. The party believes the unilateral decision worked to their 'disadvantage' as their opponents, in their view, took the opportunity to present more women candidates who were comfortable to engage in a campaign where they were not at the receiving end of negative messaging. One may argue that the use of verbal abuse is an individual decision in many cases and has no bearing on party politics. Nevertheless, the polarisation of Caribbean politics makes it easier for collective actors such as political parties to work through individuals. This is corroborated by the work of Ennsner-Jedenastik et al as they present the notion that political parties influence negativity by shaping the actions of individuals through their messaging. Primarily, since professional politicians have had long years of socialisation within the party, adopting its customs, rules, and norms, a shift from the norm will require direct leadership action for implementation

3 Local dialect meaning how many partners and abortions a woman has experienced.

by party members. Parliamentarians also recognise that, most of the time, their political career hinges on their support within the party as much as on the party's electoral success (Ennsner-Jedenastik, Dolezal, & Müller, 2016).



2.2.3 Finding a solution to negative campaigning

Some steps towards strategic development of a culture of positive campaigning in the Commonwealth Caribbean:

- ▶ Gender sensitisation training at the party level to raise awareness on negative campaigning and its effect on the citizenry and democracy.
- ▶ Establish men and women parliamentarian champions to speak out on the issue, advocating and encouraging political parties to mount positive campaigns.
- ▶ Strengthen legislation for media regulatory bodies to monitor and censor negative campaigning or establish an independent media regulatory body where none exists.
- ▶ Political parties to adopt sensitisation coping strategies for families of parliamentarians.
- ▶ Develop a joint political code of conduct amongst political parties, monitored by independent national bodies, and enforced by fines and legal ramifications.

2.3 Economic resources

The global economy is a transactional space where money is the active ingredient in the supply and demand of goods and services. Within this space, patriarchal norms and gender inequality issues affect the choices men and women make. This inadvertently impacts the economic resources of men and women. In the Caribbean, economic resources have become key in supporting and moving the political agenda.

'Financial support is needed for women who wish to be candidates as financing a campaign is a persistent problem for female candidates.'

Hon Beverly Williams
Minister of State in the Ministry of Immigration, Belize

2.3.1 Personal and family finances

The public sector in the Caribbean region is the main employer, with a predominately female workforce. In all the countries researched, the opportunity to continue occupying public sector positions while contesting as a candidate for an election is not feasible. Additionally, women head as much as 22-44 per cent of households in the Caribbean Community (Stuart, 1996), and the challenges of finding alternative forms of employment during the pre-election or post-election period following a defeat, deters a number of women from considering running as candidates, especially when they are mothers to young children. One party leader informed us that, in his experience, women are concerned about livelihood opportunities once they declare themselves as candidates and the opportunities that exist should they be defeated. He had to personally approach private sector donors to provide an income for potential women candidates if they resigned their jobs to learn about the targeted constituency and campaign. He said many women were not comfortable to take the risk of leaving a secure job to enter representational politics. Thus, the region misses out on great women leaders with enormous potential to serve their respective countries.

2.3.2 Campaign financing

The political space in many Caribbean countries has become increasingly commercialised leading to the requirement of excessive budgets to finance a political campaign. There were no special measures in place to assist any of the women parliamentarians with additional funds during election campaigns in Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Saint Kitts and Nevis or Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. The political party shares funds in a manner that it believes serves its winnable interests and supplementary funding derived from personal fundraising efforts are utilised in political campaigns. Funding is a serious challenge for women parliamentarians. A

United States survey administered to women state legislators affirms that funding is the biggest barrier they face when running for higher office. This issue paled comparatively to family commitments or negative campaigning (Political Parity, 2013).

Establish partnerships with global institutions and international NGOs to invest in community related projects.

Although party fundraising activities are mainly spearheaded by the women's arm of the party, women parliamentarians have to seek funds to support their campaigns in a firmly established patriarchal society where the old boy's network still thrives as a force to reckon with. In some countries, women parliamentarians said they received lower financial contributions than their male colleagues. A woman candidate in Belize recalled approaching a private financier who wanted to support her campaign with less money than he was donating to her male colleague. When this information came to her attention she refused the contribution and requested the same amount as her male colleague. The financier confessed he did not think a woman could win. The female candidate informed the financier that his refusal to give her the same amount as her male counterpart gave her an 'unequal opportunity', thereby placing her in a position where she might not win. It was at this juncture that the financier gave her the same amount as was donated to her male colleague. In the experience mentioned earlier, where a party leader said he had to seek private sector support to provide a salary for women who have to resign from their jobs and campaign, he also disclosed that businesses were very reluctant for this gesture to be acknowledged publicly. The party leader offered progressive thoughts that much more work could be done to enable bipartisan approaches that encourage the private sector to more transparently contribute to nation building by supporting women's entry to elective politics. This is an indication that raising the issue of gender awareness to the private sector on women's political representation can yield favourable results. Political parties that demonstrate progressive gender platforms may even be able to enhance their capacity to transparently attract funding from the private sector.

2.3.3 Serving the constituents

The commercialisation of the electoral process has led to onerous demands on candidates and elected representatives. An informal, patron clientelism has been created. Respondents expressed the view that constituents require direct and instant financial support from their representatives more frequently than they demand representation in parliament to advocate on their behalf for policies to enhance their socio-economic well-being and the country at large. Representatives are expected to address the socio-economic issues for individuals in their constituencies, bi-laterally. Once an individual declares his/her candidacy or becomes an elected parliamentarian, expectations include personally providing for the needy in the constituency, attending events during special occasions, making monetary donations to events such as funerals and for children to attend school use of personal network to seek employment for constituents and presenting constituents' with gifts during special holiday periods such as Easter and Christmas. These economic demands weigh heavily on women parliamentarians with fixed salaries and limited social networks from which to draw additional funding. In all countries where fieldwork was conducted, it emerged that male parliamentarians were more likely than women to directly provide funds to constituents from their own pockets or from their networks. Male parliamentarians were more likely to fulfil the short-term financial needs of constituents while women parliamentarians were more likely to direct constituents to employment or educational related activities that might improve their lives in the long-term.

'The political atmosphere has to change; it should not be about what I can give to you only, but what skills and work ethic I bring to the table.'

Youth Arm Representative, St Vincent and the Grenadines



2.3.4 Finding a solution to limited economic resources

- ▶ Innovative business development trainings that stimulate out of the box business development projects. This will facilitate women to create employment and own businesses, which can serve as an option and means for self-sustaining employment.
- ▶ Raising awareness on the importance of supporting women candidates as part of private sector corporate social responsibility. This should be extended to institutions supporting the strengthening of the private sector in the Commonwealth Caribbean region.
- ▶ Establish partnerships with global institutions and international NGOs to invest in community related projects.
- ▶ Forge alliances and partnerships with the private sector to support first time women candidates who have to demit their positions when they declare their candidacy to commence a political career.

2.4 Gender biased Infrastructure

Parliaments have been predominately occupied by men for decades. This occupation in some jurisdictions goes beyond the number of men and women represented in Parliament to the absence of women in Parliament. In Belize this was made visible by the capital infrastructure. Women parliamentarians were notably in shock upon entering the corridors of Parliament and noticing the absence of bathroom facilities for women. This glaring omission became an issue, which was addressed. Even though experts have undertaken much research on the under-provision of facilities for women, the Belizean experience highlights how such formal political institutions are historically placed for male dominance and occupation. When such challenges are not adequately addressed, they can hinder the effective participation and performance of women irrespective of the setting.

In a patriarchal society where shared family responsibilities of child rearing and domestic duties are still seen as the responsibility of one sex, women parliamentarians have to deftly play a challenging balancing act.

2.4.1 Finding a solution to gender-biased infrastructure



Infrastructure facilities to meet the needs of men and women in parliaments should be a core gender equality issue for parliamentary secretariats in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Regionally as parliaments refurbish or build new precincts to ameliorate facilities, the replication of this experience some years ago in Belize should be avoided in the region. The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) recommendation:

- ▶ Conduct a gender assessment of facilities provided to men and women in parliament and address gender equality gaps where they exist.

2.5 Multifaceted role of women

Women play the role of spouse, mother and employee in the various spheres of society. These roles – also referred to as reproductive, community managing and productive roles – are additional functions that women parliamentarians have to manage and balance with far more alacrity. This can pose a challenge in their careers as politicians. Child bearing responsibilities, domestic tasks (reproductive role), tasks engaged by women and men in exchange for cash or kind (productive role), care and unpaid work including providing for other family resources such as health care (EIGE, 2009 & 2010) can be demanding for women.

In a patriarchal society where shared family responsibilities of child rearing and domestic duties are still seen as the responsibility of one sex, women parliamentarians have to deftly play a challenging balancing act. Women in parliament have to contend with long hours of debates and committee meetings that do not take into consideration the reproductive and productive roles that some of them face. The lack of sensitivity towards the time constraints on women parliamentarians was highlighted in Belize and Saint Kitts and Nevis as a deterrent to women entering political office.



2.5.1 Finding a solution to the multifaceted role of women in politics

The challenge of time constraints on women parliamentarians should be addressed in at least three areas: the home, political parties and within parliamentary procedures.

- ▶ Establish strategic partnerships to re-launch versions of UN Women's 'Share the Care Campaign' geared towards women in politics in the Commonwealth Caribbean. The campaign should target political parties and parliamentary processes to 'highlight the importance of shared family responsibilities between fathers and mothers, men and women for child development and gender equality'.⁴
- ▶ Equip members of the women's arms of political parties with advocacy skills to sensitise the party on the roles women play in society to shape national socio-economic structures. This will aid in creating a culture of gender sensitivity, which can be translated to improve governance and democracy.
- ▶ Mainstream gender into all parliamentary procedures in the Commonwealth Caribbean through strategic partnerships with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and other agencies.

4 Part of the campaign objective as shared by UN Women. See at: <http://caribbean.unwomen.org/en/news-and-events/stories/2010/11/share-the-care-campaign-launched>.

3. The Gender Agenda in Party Politics

To be active in mainstream political life in Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Saint Kitts and Nevis and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, one has to primarily be a member of a political party. This avenue is the gateway to political representation and party affiliated political participation. The affairs of the political parties are guided by party constitutions and policies developed within the party. This chapter will explore the constitutional and policy arrangements made by political parties to promote women's political representation and the frameworks that exist to become a contender and represent the party for a general election.

3.1 Party constitutions and policy statements to promote women in politics

A conscious strategic action is required by political parties to move perceptions of gender equality from rhetoric to tangible evidence that is observed within the structure of the party's political governance system.

The Commonwealth Caribbean has varied structures and processes within the existing political systems. The governance structure within the parties consists of at least an executive, a women's arm and a youth wing. However, a constitution is the common denominator that permeates all political parties. The constitution spells out the principles and ideals of the party including the highest order of rules by which the party aims to structure and govern itself. Thus, for gender equality to become a priority for a political party, this principle should be enshrined in the constitution or highlighted as a policy of the party.

3.1.1 Gender equality as a priority in party constitutions

From the research conducted with the political parties in the five selected countries, it emerged that the Peoples United Party (PUP) of Belize was the only party with a clear inclusion of gender equality as a party priority in its political structure. Article 10.3 of the party's constitution states unequivocally: 'All units of the party include among its members a minimum of 30 per cent women' (PUP, 2010). Most political parties maintained that their constitutions did not discriminate and were inclusive. In Dominica the constitutions of the Dominica Labour Party and the United Workers Party (UWP) were viewed as open and inclusive of women as equality was available for all. A recommendation to make gender equality a priority etched in the party constitution will not be challenged by the New National Party (NNP) in Grenada although efforts are being made for 30 per cent inclusion of women. In Saint Kitts and Nevis, the constitution of the Nevis Reform Party (NRP) was recognised as gender neutral and an equal opportunity instrument since there were no restrictions and women are seen to be always involved.

The clear message emanating from the ground indicates that making gender equality a priority in party constitutions is not an issue of concern that will be immediately changed. Nevertheless, despite the perception of an all-inclusive constitution, structures within the political parties continue to be predominately male even within the PUP where a 30 per cent minimum representation is stipulated.

3.1.2 Finding a solution to prioritise gender equality in party constitutions

For the actualisation of change to occur at the party level and thereafter translated to affect the national landscape, a reflection of present conditions and the message it presents is required. The membership of women in political parties surpasses that of men in all the countries under study. Nevertheless, they



are underrepresented within the various party structures with the exception of the women's arm. A conscious strategic action is required by political parties to move perceptions of gender equality from rhetoric to tangible evidence that is observed within the structure of the party's political governance system. To this end the following actions can be taken:

- ▶ Sensitise political parties on the importance and relevance of gender equality within the party's governance structures.
- ▶ Be strategic — seek out influential party members to be advocates, championing gender equality issues within the political party.
- ▶ Equip civil society organisations to advocate for commitments made at the international level for gender equality to be prioritised locally through legislation.
- ▶ Equip women in political parties with leadership skills and strategies to run effective leadership campaigns within the party.

3.2 Becoming a candidate

The formulation of clear criteria and guidelines to be used by party selection committees will enhance transparency and confidence in the party's selection process.

The only avenue for women in the Commonwealth Caribbean to enter elective politics and become Members of Parliament is by becoming a candidate in the electoral process and gaining a majority vote under the first past the post system. This system exists in all the countries studied.

The process of becoming a candidate and being nominated by the party varies in each country. However, the common thread reflected in each of the procedures from the five countries is a final decision being taken by the national executive. In Grenada an executive strategic committee of the New National Party (NNP) advises on the final candidate and in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines the deciding committee of the United Labour Party (ULP) can seek to persuade the leader. However, the view of the leader carries the most weight (but not veto power).

The United Democratic Party (UDP) of Belize and the Dominica Labour Party made mention of having a criteria list that committee members use to screen candidates interested in representing the party during a general election. Research conducted by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) highlights the existing challenge with this observation: 'When the rules are unwritten, it becomes much harder to devise and implement a strategy to break into the inner circle of power, and there is no accountability when the rules are not implemented. With weak internal organization, lack of internal democracy, or unclear rules of recruitment, decisions tend to be made by a limited number of elite members, typically men. Women are usually on the outside and excluded from "all boys" networks ... ideally, nomination processes should be both formalized and transparent, which would allow for greater fairness in representation' (NDI & UNDP, 2012).

3.2.1 Finding a solution to party candidate selection processes in the Commonwealth Caribbean



Establishing strategies within the political party system to facilitate the increase of women vying for the general election, will require addressing cultural, structural and systemic issues that impede women from presenting themselves as candidates. Increasing the pool of women ready to be candidates will require the following actions:

- ▶ Mobilise women and equip them with the necessary skills to make them eligible and confident to represent their parties.
- ▶ Formulate clear criteria and guidelines to be used by party selection committees, which will enhance transparency and confidence in the party's selection process.
- ▶ Advocate for women candidates to be placed in winnable constituencies. This is an indicator the party is interested in ensuring its women candidates win, and paramount to increasing the number of women candidates.
- ▶ Establish internal party dispute resolution mechanisms to help diminish sexual harassment of women who try to establish themselves within political parties.

3.3 Reviewing the consideration of quotas

For decades increasing women's political participation globally has been a struggle. Gains have been made in some countries but in the Commonwealth Caribbean efforts have not been sustained, as scenarios tend to change depending on the political party that wins the general election. In 2014, the Jamaica Senate debated whether to 'employ a temporary special measure by way of instituting a gender-neutral quota system for the Senate and for the candidate slate of political parties' (*The Gleaner*, 2014). Although the debate did not lead to the adoption of any actions on this issue, the discourse continued in 2016 when the current Government announced it 'intends to introduce legislated gender quotas to address the lack of proportional representation of women in Parliament and other areas of the society' (*Jamaica Observer*, 2016). As of February 2018 this matter has not yet been passed as law in Jamaica.

In some countries efforts continue to be minimal, with worst cases of evidence revealed when political parties present either one woman or no woman at all as candidates for the general election.

It is becoming common practice, realising the cultural and systemic disadvantage that women are placed in, to offer equal opportunity mechanisms through quotas. To date 54 countries in the world have legislated candidate quotas (IDEA, IPU & Stockholm University, 2015).

In Germany, the Christian Democratic Union uses a 33 per cent quota for the selection of party officials, and if this minimum requirement is not met, the internal party election is repeated (IDEA, IPU & Stockholm University, 2015). The African National Congress in South Africa has a 50 per cent quota (ANC, 2012) while the Labour Party of the United Kingdom has established the rule that '50 per cent of all winnable parliamentary seats will be selected from All Women Shortlists' (IDEA, IPU & Stockholm University, 2015). In the Commonwealth Caribbean, Guyana has embedded in its election laws provision for political parties to have at least a minimum of one-third women candidates on its electoral list and in Belize the PUP has a quota of 30 per cent for its internal party positions.

The research in the five selected countries explored whether the option of quotas to ensure women are selected as candidates for a general election has

been a point of discussion by the political parties. Responses on this issue varied. In Dominica a discussion had been held, however fulfilling a quota requirement is not a priority. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines acknowledged that more needed to be done as this issue was raised at the community level. In Grenada women encourage other women to be involved based on their competencies. The predominant response was that women are selected based on merit.

The African National Congress in South Africa has a 50 per cent quota.

Labour Party of the United Kingdom: '50 per cent of all winnable parliamentary seats will be selected from All Women Shortlists'.

Republic of Guyana law states at least a minimum of one-third women candidates should be on the country's electoral list.

The People's United Party of Belize has a quota of 30 per cent women for all its internal party positions.

3.3.1 Finding a solution to bridge the gap



Strategic action to bridge the existing gaps calls for a concerted collective effort by all members of political parties. Based on the perception of quotas in the Commonwealth Caribbean, action will require diverse options until a country/party fit that yields successful results is ascertained. Options could include: -

- ▶ Convening a regional dialogue on increasing women's political representation with a concrete plan of action to be taken by political parties, and an agreement on measures to be adopted at the national level. Actions for implementation should be monitored and reported to the public.
- ▶ Establishing an independent body to monitor the actions agreed upon by the political parties with the creation of a fund as the repository of fines paid in penalties. Funds should be distributed equally during an election year to all female candidates.
- ▶ Any introduction of a quota system in the region should be preceded by a sensitisation and advocacy campaign with the public.

4. Championing the Cause of Women in the Party

Political parties in the Commonwealth Caribbean do not share the experience of other countries where membership within the parties is predominately male. Women are acknowledged as the engine that drives political parties and the foot soldiers that light the political fire. A women's arm with similar functions and roles exists in the structure of the political parties in all the selected countries.

4.1 Functions of the women's arm

'We fundraise, give back to the community, campaign and bring out the voters on election day.

Advocacy on women's issues, and driving policies within the political party to advance women's political participation should be our focus.'

Member of the women's arm of a Caribbean political party

The women's arms of political parties in the Commonwealth Caribbean have three main roles: campaigning in the communities during the election period, organising local party fund raising initiatives and looking after the affairs of the party women.

In Belize, 90 per cent of party members involved in campaigning are women. They proudly acknowledged their value as working very hard to get men into elected offices, describing themselves as movers and shakers of their respective parties. Looking after the affairs of women in the party, and by extension all the women in Dominica, was the attested function spelled out by one party in Dominica. In Grenada, the women's arm of one party said their work 'gives back to the community, campaigns for elections, educates and empowers women'. In Saint Kitts and Nevis, engaging in extensive ground work and 'supporting our men' were among the functions articulated by the members of the various women's arms. The perception of the members of one political

party in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines was that the role of the women's arm included providing food for all the party functions and supporting the structures in the various constituencies as well as the candidates therein.

It was apparent the deliberations we held with the women's arms of the various parties, provided an impetus for reflection and re-examination. Women recognised the potential and strength existing amongst them and commenced conversations on how to channel their collective good to promote women's political participation in their various jurisdictions. In Belize, commitments and dates were confirmed to regroup and strategise an action plan, while in Saint Kitts and Nevis one party purposed to re-establish their structures and complete formulating the constitution of the women's arm. There was a determination to play a more active role on women's issues and drive policies to advance women within the political party. The palpable weaknesses of the women's arms of the political parties in the Commonwealth Caribbean went unquestioned by the women engaged. Achievements in campaigning, bringing out the voters on election day, and organising conventions and parties were viewed as laudable actions that could propel high level advocacy and party policy work. Lamakhosikazi attested to this, as cited in iKNOW Politics (2007).

4.1.1 Finding a solution to strengthen the women's arms of political parties



The women's arm has the ability to improve gender equality issues within the political party. An example of such an achievement can be showcased by the women's league of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, who advocated within their party for one third of the party's parliamentarians to be women. Considering the example of the ANC women's league, following are some concrete steps to empower and equip the women's arms of the political parties in the Commonwealth Caribbean:

- ▶ Build capacities in the areas of gender and democracy, advocacy skills, and policy development including high-level fundraising strategies.
- ▶ Encourage the women's arms of political parties to establish a fund that will assist women candidates during an election campaign.
- ▶ Identify male and female gender equality champions within political parties and equip them to advocate on increasing women's political representation in the party.
- ▶ Encourage the women's arms of political parties to develop an action plan around the recruitment and training of a pool of women who can present themselves as candidates during an election.

5. National Advocacy for Women Parliamentarians

Efforts to increase women's national representation in the five selected countries presently takes place on two levels: primarily, leaders within the political parties approach potential women candidates and encourage them to consider representing the party; and secondly, through capacity-building training conducted by civil society organisations working on women's political participation. The concept of women's political participation was not presented by any of the political parties as a human rights issue. It was viewed as solving an issue of an unequal number of men and women representing the party, thus adding more women will give the party the image of having a gender balance.

5.1 Views of leaders

Political parties in the Commonwealth Caribbean have recognised the growing need for more women parliamentarians. Party leaders together with the executive members have taken the lead in headhunting potential women candidates during a general election. In the discussions all the leaders acknowledged the need for urgent improvement and that their efforts to recruit women had not been an easy task. In Dominica it was noted that most women were willing to work for the party and did not necessarily want to address issues on the political platform during campaigns. Belize found it easier to recruit men compared to women. The women approached were concerned about the security of their livelihoods and how the media would treat them. A troubling concern was described as the entrenched cultural gender

'The first step in enabling women political participation is to take careful consideration and subsequently challenge the various socio-cultural patterns which create resistance to the idea of female leadership.'

Rt Hon Dr Denzel Douglas
Former Prime Minister of Saint Kitts and Nevis and current
Leader of the Opposition

roles and norms established in some parts of the country; in other words, there are constituencies in Belize where constituents would not accept a woman candidate. Since 1983 when democratic voting commenced in Saint Kitts and Nevis, the country has experienced the election of just three women. The perception at the local level that women 'cannot do both family and politics' and that 'they start behaving like men' has been a challenge for some political leaders. One shared from his perspective that 'politics is a queen show with men taking part instead of women'. For women in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, taking the final leap to represent the party is a challenge too far even after playing an excellent role advocating for the party at the community level. The success of Grenada, the only country in the Caribbean with 33.3 per cent women in parliament, is attributed to three key ingredients: the changing values in society, education and the willingness of the political leader in the ruling party, Prime Minister Keith Mitchell, to make increasing women's political participation a priority. A case study highlighting factors that have helped Grenada to achieve 33.3 per cent women parliamentarians is included in section 7.

In the recent past, the Caribbean has benefited from the leadership of two female Prime Ministers, one each from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

Portia Simpson-Miller served Jamaica from March 2006 to September 2007 and from January 2012 to March 2016. Some of her achievements during her tenure included being 'the voice on policies that govern the poor and a champion of the poor and the oppressed. She also served as the Minister of Labour, Social Security and Sport, Minister of Tourism and Sport and Minister of Local Government, Community Development and Sport' (Government of Jamaica, 2017). The former Prime Minister resigned as a Member of Parliament on 29 June 2017.

Kamla Persad-Bissessar became Trinidad and Tobago's first female Prime Minister in May 2010 and served until June 2015. Prior to this role she served the country as the Attorney General, Minister of Legal Affairs and Minister of Education

from 1995 to 2001 (Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, 2015). She was the first woman Commonwealth Chairperson-in-Office and the first Prime Minister in the region to galvanise Caribbean women political leaders and gender equality advocates to develop the 'Port of Spain Consensus on Transformational Leadership for Gender Equality'. She continues to serve her country and the people of Trinidad and Tobago as the current Leader of the Opposition.

Mia Mottley is the current Leader of the Opposition in Barbados and will lead the Barbados Labour Party into what is expected to be a tightly contested 2018 General Election.

5.2 The involvement of civil society organisations

Regionally, direct engagement with political parties to advance the cause of women's political participation has been minimal. Women parliamentarians in Belize, Grenada, Saint Kitts and Nevis and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines made mention of being engaged in national training programmes with the National Women's Commission of Belize (NWC), a state agency of the Government of Belize, and two non-governmental organisations, the Caribbean Institute for Women in Leadership (CIWiL) and the Grenada National Organization of Women (GNOW). The NWC 'serves as an advisory body to the Government on issues affecting gender equality, equity and women's empowerment' (NWC, 2015). As a regional NGO CIWiL 'promotes and strengthens gender equality in the Caribbean by advocating for transformative politics and policy-making, supporting women in leadership and decision making as well as providing education, training and research' (CIWiL, 2015). The Grenadian advocacy group GNOW 'aims to advocate for and improve the gender rights for Grenadian citizens' (GNOW, 2016).

Engagement at the national level to increase women's political participation has mainly been to host non-partisan capacity building sessions with women in their respective countries with support from international organisations such as the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Organization of American States (OAS), the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) and embassies located in the region. Women parliamentarians said the NGOs and the NWS have been of great assistance

in their political careers. Nevertheless, advocacy work in this area has been stunted by limited funding opportunities. The on-going work of increasing women's political participation in the Commonwealth Caribbean requires heightened advocacy. Civil society organisations have a prominent role to play. It is key that they remain non-partisan and unbiased in their efforts, in order not to be labelled as affiliated or favouring one political party over the other. In a small states context where communities are closely knit and economic mobility is sometimes dependent on political affiliation this can pose a challenge if not closely monitored to ensure the organisation continues to remain non-partisan in all its affairs. The involvement of the gender bureaus of the various countries has mainly been to support NGOs locally to implement activities on the ground.

5.3 Finding a solution to enhance national advocacy for women's political participation



Advocacy at the national level will have to be heightened to advance opportunities to increase women's political representation in the Commonwealth Caribbean. The sparse and sporadic modus operandi will have to give way to active players at the national and regional level. Even though increasing women's political participation forms part and parcel of the international commitments made by the governments of the five selected countries, the gender bureaus/departments do only limited work in this area. Advocacy for women's political participation should not be regarded as solely a women's issue for women alone to deal with. The matter requires the active involvement of men and to be embraced by all. Following are some suggested strategies:

- ▶ Convene a national/regional conversation on women's political participation as a means to generate interest, mobilise actors and spur the formation of active interest groups.
- ▶ Establish a cross-party women's arm advocacy group to engage with the community, raising awareness on the need for women representatives at the grassroots level.

- ▶ Strengthen institutional capacities of local/ regional organisations to establish frameworks for sustained efforts and programming. International organisations such as the Commonwealth Secretariat, CARICOM and UN Women should step up their programming in this regard.
- ▶ Encourage local institutions to work closely with political parties including the women's arm to craft a non-partisan national advocacy strategy/plan to increase women's political representation. Political leaders should be targeted as key champions of this cause.
- ▶ Lobby governments to advocate for funds to be channelled to the Commonwealth Caribbean to increase women's political representation.

6. Youth Voices on Women's Political Participation

The vibrancy and energy of the youth in the selected countries have been channelled to active youth work in the political parties. Young people are using innovative technologies to share the mandates of their political parties with other youth in the jurisdiction, thereby enhancing the democratic fabric that exists within their respective countries. The main function of a political party's youth wing includes recruiting other young people to become party members while ensuring youth voices on the ground and within the party are heard. The executive members of the youth wing represent the medium through which communication and information is shared with the leadership of the party and vice versa. This section of the paper explores the obstacles faced by young women to actively engage in the political process at the party level and measures that can be established to enhance their active participation.

6.1 Barriers hindering young women's active participation in politics

Negative messaging experienced by women parliamentarians has created avenues for stigma and discrimination towards young women. This was a common theme identified by all the youth as a barrier for young women. In Belize the youth were concerned about the victimisation and character assassination that takes place on social media, as were the youth in Dominica and Grenada. For Saint Kitts and Nevis and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, the entrenched patriarchal society and a gender-biased culture are the most glaring barriers facing the youth. As young people with ambitions and possibilities to advance their careers and education, growing up in a small state can sometimes hinder their active involvement in political advocacy. Young people in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines shy away from active politics for fear of personal victimisation, which they believe can be extended to family members who work within the public sector. This challenge hinders the efficient establishment of robust democracies. A

The entrenched patriarchal society and a gender-biased culture are the most glaring barriers facing the youth.

strong argument was made by the youth arms in all researched countries for legislation to address 'gutter politics' and 'mudslinging' in politics.

The lack of mentorship and support towards shaping young people to become great political leaders for the future of their country disturbs the youth. For young women living in patriarchal small state societies, where the voice of the youth is often dismissed as inexperienced, trying to contribute towards national development issues can be disheartening. This was best articulated by one of the youth members in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines: 'Being young and a woman is a double whammy.' Young women were additionally perturbed by sexual harassment and incidents of teenage pregnancy. Belize and Dominica were the only countries with indigenous populations amongst the countries researched. The engagement of youth from the indigenous populations in Belize is a challenge, while the urban/rural divide (also identified as the north and south cultural difference) has shaped the perception of young women in rural Belize. For young women in some rural areas the notion of having women parliamentarians is unthinkable, as they have never seen a woman 'Alcalde'.⁵

6.2 Breaking down the walls of fear

Young people are of the opinion change will only take place when education and sensitisation in the Commonwealth Caribbean are scaled up. The youth in Grenada were calling for men to actively speak out to counter issues that affect women. In Saint Kitts and Nevis young people expressed their dissatisfaction with the token woman used by political parties during a general election and wanted to see women represented at all levels of

⁵ 'Alcalde' is the local name for a local chief amongst the indigenous population in Belize.

the political party structure. This will involve the intentional positioning of young women in the political party machinery – to head committees for example – and creating spaces for them to feel valued and comfortable within the existing male dominated space. Challenged by the lack of succession planning that presently prevails, all youth wings researched called for the empowerment and development of the youth in the areas of gender and democracy. It was clear young people were not pleased with the current arrangements, including nepotism and preferential treatment in the party ranks for youth who are viewed as emanating from political pedigree or elite families.



6.3 Finding a solution to enhance young women's participation

Where possible efforts should be made to enhance present and future democracies in the Commonwealth Caribbean by investing in the youth who are actively engaged in politics. Engaging and being active in politics within the context of the situations described in this paper requires tenacity and an intense passion for national development. The following are strategies in support of such youth:

- ▶ Develop a local level youth training and empowerment programme on gender and democracy. For countries with indigenous populations one third of the intake for these trainings should be allocated for indigenous young women.
- ▶ Establish mentorship programmes for young women to enhance political career opportunities in their various jurisdictions.
- ▶ Convene national dialogues to address and develop action plans to eradicate the silencing of youth voices due to victimization at the local level.
- ▶ Political parties should put in place succession planning processes to build the capacity of youth in preparation for candidate selection in political parties.
- ▶ Establish a civic education programme in schools where it is not available emphasising integrity, service and gender equality.
- ▶ Adopt and implement legislative measures that address victimisation of political candidates and politicians.

7. The Imperative to Win

Political Parties are in the business of winning elections, and both they and the citizens of their countries are aware that a majority or almost half of their population are women. As the Commonwealth Caribbean watches the gains being made by women in other jurisdictions, a slow momentum is being built and the demand for more women in political representation is increasing. Information is no longer confined to a location, access to information is varied via diverse mediums and the public is taking note of the inequality that exists in the region.

The contribution of women parliamentarians has benefits at the local and international level. A global study conducted by the Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU) to gain a better insight on the beneficial elements for engaging women parliamentarians, revealed the following results. According to West African women parliamentarians, at the local level

'women have a more human view of development issues. They never forget the need to take into account the situation of the most vulnerable groups, including women. Women are more in touch with problems of families and communities attesting to the notion that national wealth must be distributed equitably, including the management of public assets. They are very much affected by corruption, by the misappropriation of funds and by white-collar crime. They are more particular about the ethical and moral values that underlie society.' North American women indicated that 'a greater representation of all constituents of society contributes to global competitiveness for the country and a worldwide global solution base for increasingly interconnected problems, such as environment, economy, peace and

The Grenada Case Study

Winning a general election in Grenada is imperative to a political party as in any other country. The quest to increase the number of women representatives was an executive decision taken by the New National Party (NNP). The executive had recognised the global shift and the need for more women in politics. The quest over the years was to seek out women who were independent and educated, and from families with broad views towards structure and gender roles. A key aspect of the Grenada story was the focus on factors to support the full participation of the female candidate.

As mentioned in the previous sections, livelihood opportunities tend to be worrisome for women in small states, as political victimisation causes contracts not be renewed and children may lose out on scholarship opportunities because of their parent's political affiliation. Thus, women who are not involved in private independent work have to be assured of the party's support towards their families and children should the unfortunate occur. In such situations, leaders engaged male spouses in conversations about the changing values in society and the contributions their women partners could make in nation building for the success of Grenada. Leaders also sought support from private funding to provide an income for some women who may have had to resign from their regular jobs to participate in elective politics.

Grenada went to the polls for a General Election on 13 March 2018. The New National Party won a clean sweep of the 15 seats at stake. Seven of the 15 members of the new House of Representatives are women.

The Grenada story makes it evident that leadership style and commitment to increasing women's political representation is key. Especially in the absence of national legislation setting a minimum number/percentage of women in parliament or internal party structures that makes allowances for quotas.

development, in short, to better governance' (IPU, 2000). In Grenada women were described as more dependable compared to their male colleagues.

The involvement of women in politics has proven successful for Grenada. Currently it is the leading Caribbean country in the ranking of women in parliament with 33.3 per cent women in the lower house and the only women's parliamentary caucus in the Commonwealth Caribbean. This section of the paper will examine the success factors that led Grenada to ascend to the position of 34th out of 190 countries in the women in parliament rankings (IPU, 2017).

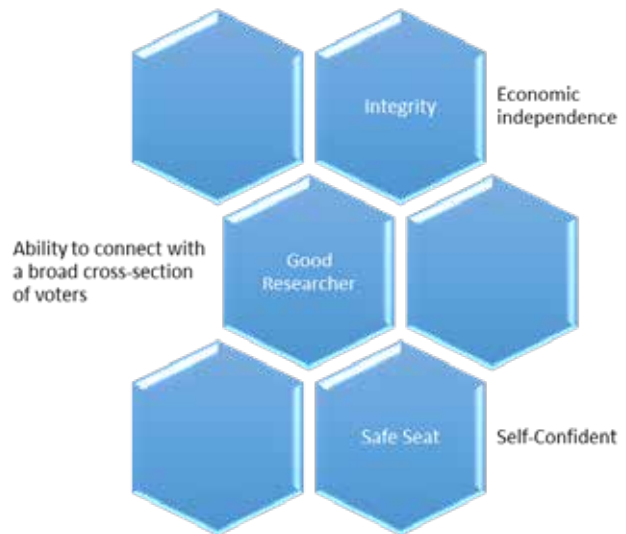
7.1 Profile of a winnable candidate

A unique trend that permeated deliberations with all political parties was the perception and profile of a 'winnable' woman candidate in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Following is a summary of the views expressed.

The winnable candidate has to start her political career three years prior to the general election. Following the announcement of her interest to the party, she has to start working on building relationships at the community level. It will involve her purposefully becoming a visible active member in the community. This woman has to be self-confident and able to tolerate the company of men including 'men talk', have integrity and not be afraid to speak up. She must be unpretentious and have the ability to associate with men and women from different socio-economic, cultural and ethnic backgrounds, and she has to be prepared to do her research on geo-political and socio-economic issues to make her contributions in Parliament.

Economic independence and financial security will be her strengths in the long run. Most women in Caribbean politics have either come from legal backgrounds, education or community mobilisation. The winnable candidate has to be placed in a safe constituency for the party and the constituency has to match her personality. Coming from a political family will be an asset but a party that seeks out the ordinary successful woman and strongly supports her candidacy is likely to be rewarded by voters.

Figure 2: Profile of the winnable candidate



There are opposing views on the concept of a winnable candidate presented by stakeholders in the countries researched. For some regional political analysts, the 'safe seat' scenario is shifting in some countries for both sexes. Constituents are keen on voting for candidates who have their interests at heart and are not merely using their constituencies to advance their political careers.

8. A Look into The Future

To achieve gender equality within political parties and increase the number of women political representatives will require strategic shifts in Caribbean societies. The requirements to achieve gender equality vary across the selected countries. In this segment we bring to the fore the views of the stakeholders engaged, presenting their perspectives country by country.

8.1 Belize

Respondents said women in Belize could enhance their focus and persistence on gender equality issues. Despite the high level of women-headed households, the culture still plays a prominent role. More advocacy and debate is needed on the issue of quotas with discussions held across political parties. The establishment of a women's parliamentary caucus should be explored, with part of its mandate being recruiting and maintaining a national cadre of potential female candidates. Women parliamentarians in political parties should increase their advocacy to motivate other women to follow a political career.

8.2 Dominica

A majority of respondents felt that early political education at the school level should be the starting point in Dominica. To increase awareness on democratic practices, students should be educated on the parameters of the national constitution and the role of political parties. Education and awareness raising on gender and democracy will create a more conducive environment for women to present themselves as candidates for national elections.

8.3 Grenada

In Grenada, respondents felt further consolidation of women's political participation and leadership will require addressing the issue of economic stability. Women requested the establishment of a code of ethics and protocols that will require mutual respect during political life. The code of ethics should be extended to include ethical guidelines for political campaigns. Assistance should be sought

from faith based organisations (FBOs) and civil society organisations (CSOs). Their role would be to monitor the implementation of the code of ethics.

8.4 Saint Kitts and Nevis

Respondents in Saint Kitts and Nevis would like to start training young women at an early stage, and to sensitise the public on democracy, governance and gender equality to counter the perception of politics as a male domain. The awareness of the citizenry will have to be heightened and this would be enhanced by further development of a curriculum on democracy within the school system. The members of the political parties indicated a desire to initiate reform and work with all facets of the membership of political parties to build capacity on gender and leadership skills.

8.5 Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

Respondents in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines felt that measures to enhance women's political representation in the future will have to start with sensitisation at the family structure level. Education and awareness raising is required at the national level targeting families and political parties to change the socialised perception that female candidates are not as good as male candidates. Develop training programmes to address gender equality for youth and women, including at the political party level. These interventions should be conceptualised in an action plan with targets to be met by the stakeholders including the various structures of the political parties.

9. Conclusion and Summary of Recommendations

9.1 Conclusion

Addressing the challenges of increasing women’s political representation in the Commonwealth Caribbean compels us to take heed of the proverb ‘it takes a whole village’. In other words, working with political parties is only one aspect of the strategy. It will also be necessary to target families, communities, private sector organisations, schools, parliaments, political parties and the Government at large. Actors will include, but not be limited to, the international community, political parties,

governments, CSOs as well as citizens of the Commonwealth Caribbean. The aim will be, to break down cultural and structural gender inequality barriers existing in society and create an enabling environment where equity, equality and social justice prevail.

9.2 Summary of recommendations

This section presents a summary of the recommendations as outlined in the thematic sections of the paper.

Table 2: Thematic sections and summary recommendations

Thematic Sections	Recommendations
Patronising attitude towards women parliamentarians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender awareness education and training at the Parliamentary level. • Develop a gender equality code of conduct across political parties, which should be extended and held by cabinet members. • Extend gender awareness education to the public domain to change embedded gender norms.
Negative campaigning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce gender sensitisation training at the party level to raise awareness on negative campaigning and its damaging effect on the citizenry and democracy. • Establish men and women parliamentarian champions speaking out on the issue, advocating and encouraging political parties to mount positive campaigns. • Strengthening of legislation for media regulatory bodies to monitor and censor negative campaigning or the establishment of an independent media regulatory body where none exists. • Political parties to adopt sensitisation coping strategies for families of parliamentarians. • Develop a joint political code of conduct amongst political parties, to be monitored by independent national bodies and enforced by fines and legal ramifications.

Thematic Sections	Recommendations
Economic resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Innovative business development trainings that stimulate out of the box business development projects. This will facilitate women to create employment and own their own businesses, which can serve as an option and means for self-sustaining employment. • Awareness raising on the importance of supporting women candidates as part of private sector corporate social responsibility. This should be extended to institutions supporting the strengthening of the private sector in the Commonwealth Caribbean region. • Establish partnerships with global institutions and international NGOs to invest in community related projects. • Forge alliances and partnerships with the private sector to support first time women candidates who have to demit their positions when they declare their candidacy to commence a political career.
Gender biased infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct a gender assessment of parliament's facilities provided to men and women parliamentarians and then address gender equality gaps where they exist.
Multifaceted role of women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish strategic partnerships to re-launch versions of UN Women's 'Share the Care Campaign' with emphasis on women in politics for the Commonwealth Caribbean. The campaign should target political parties and parliamentary processes to 'highlight the importance of shared family responsibilities between fathers and mothers, men and women for child development and gender equality'.⁶ • Equip the women's arms of political parties with advocacy skills to sensitise the parties on the roles women play in society to shape national socio-economic structures. This will help to create a culture of gender sensitivity that can be translated to improve governance and democracy. • Mainstream gender into all parliamentary procedures in the Commonwealth Caribbean through strategic partnerships with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and other agencies.
Gender equality party constitutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sensitise political parties on the importance and relevance of gender equality within the party's governance structures. • Seek out influential party members to be advocates, championing gender equality issues within the political party. • Equip civil society organisations to advocate for commitments made at the international level for gender equality to be prioritised locally through legislation. • Equip women in political parties with leadership skills and strategies to run effective leadership campaigns within the party.

6 Part of the campaign objective as shared by UN Women: <http://caribbean.unwomen.org/en/news-and-events/stories/2010/11/share-the-care-campaign-launched>.

Thematic Sections	Recommendations
Becoming a candidate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing the pool of women ready to present themselves as candidates will require mobilising women and equipping them with the necessary skills to make them eligible to represent their parties. • The absence of common selection criteria can be a deterrent to women. The formulation of clear criteria and guidelines to be used by party selection committees will enhance transparency and build confidence in the party's selection process. • Place women candidates in winnable constituencies, which is a clear indicator that the party is interested in ensuring its women candidates win. Advocating that this takes place is paramount to increasing the number of women candidates. • Establish internal party dispute resolution mechanisms to help in diminishing sexual harassment for women who try to establish themselves within political parties.
Addressing the quota issue, bridging the gap	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Convene a regional dialogue on increasing women's political representation with a concrete plan of action to be taken by political parties, agreeing to the adoption of measures at the national level. Actions for implementation should be monitored and reported to the public. • Establish an independent body to monitor the actions agreed upon by the political parties with the creation of a fund as the repository of fines paid in penalties. Funds should be distributed equally during an election year to all female candidates. • Any introduction of a quota system in the region should be preceded by a sensitisation and advocacy campaign, educating the public to develop informed opinions on the subject.
Championing the cause of Women in the party	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build the capacities of the women's arms in the areas of gender and democracy, advocacy skills, and policy development including high-level fundraising strategies. • Encourage the women's arms of political parties to develop a policy to establish a fund that will assist women candidates during election campaigns. • Identify male and female gender equality champions within political parties and equip them to advocate on increasing women's political representation in the party. • Encourage the women's arms of political parties to develop an action plan that includes the recruitment and training of a pool of women who can present themselves as candidates during an election.

Thematic Sections	Recommendations
<p>National advocacy for women parliamentarians</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Convene a national/regional conversation on women's political participation as a means to generate interest, mobilise actors and spur the formation of active interest groups on this subject. • Establish a cross-party women's arm advocacy group to engage with communities, raising awareness on the need for women representatives at the grassroots level. • Strengthen institutional capacities of local/regional organisations to establish frameworks for sustained efforts and programming. • Encourage local institutions to work closely with political parties, including the women's arms, to craft a non-partisan national advocacy strategy/plan to increase women's political representation. Political leaders should be targeted as key champions of this cause. • Governments should advocate for funds to be channelled to the Commonwealth Caribbean to increase women's political representation.
<p>Youth voices on women's political participation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop a youth training and empowerment programme on gender and democracy at the local level. For countries with indigenous populations one third of the intake for these trainings should be allocated for indigenous young women. • Establish mentorship programmes for young women to enhance political career opportunities in their various jurisdictions. • Convene national dialogues to address and develop action plans to eradicate the silencing of youth voices due to victimisation at the local level. • Put in place succession planning processes to build the capacity of youth in preparation for candidate selection in political parties. • Introduce civic education in schools emphasising integrity, service and gender equality. • Adopt and implement legislative measures that address victimisation of political candidates and politicians.

Annex 1

List of Organisations Engaged

Countries	Political Parties / Organisations / Institutions
Belize	People's United Party United Democratic Party National Women's Commission of Belize
Dominica	Dominica Labour Party United Workers Party Civil society organisations
Grenada	New Democratic Congress New National Party Grenada National Organization of Women
Saint Kitts and Nevis	Concerned Citizens Movement Nevis Reform Party St Kitts and Nevis Labour Party Nevis Gender Bureau Gender Equality Advocates
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Democratic Republican Party National Democratic Party Unity Labour Party
Regional	Caribbean Institute for Women in Leadership (NGO)

Annex 2

List of Delegates

Women's Political Participation and Leadership Experts Validation Workshop

Barbados, 7 July 2017

- The Rt Hon Dr Denzil Douglas, Former Prime Minister of St Kitts and Nevis and Leader of the Opposition, St Kitts and Nevis
- Hon Senator Kerryann Ifill, President of the Senate, Barbados
- Hon Senator Irene Sandiford-Garner, Barbados
- Dame Billie Miller, Former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Barbados
- Angela Taylor, Chief Electoral Officer, Electoral and Boundaries Commission, Barbados
- Hon Beverly Williams MP, Minister for Immigration, Belize National Assembly
- Hon Hazel Brandy-Williams, Junior Minister for Social Development, Nevis Island Administration
- Hon Julian Robinson MP, General Secretary, People's National Party, Jamaica
- Hon Joanne Massiah MP, Antigua and Barbuda House of Representatives
- Hon Dorothy Pine-McLarty, OJ, Chair of the Jamaica Electoral Commission (Via Video Conferencing)
- Llofraun Thompson, Registrar of Political Parties, Jamaica Electoral Commission (Via Video Conferencing)
- Dr Audrey Gittens, Deputy Chairperson, United Labour Party, St Vincent and the Grenadines
- Marsha K Caddle, Candidate, Barbados Labour Party
- Alison Anderson, Representative, UN Women, Multi-Country Office-Caribbean
- Dr Rosina Wiltshire, Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Gender Advocate
- Dr Peter Weller, Former Chair of Caribbean Male Action Network
- Cynthia Barrow-Giles, Senior Lecturer, University of the West Indies, Cave Hill
- Dr Lisa Vasciannie, Lecturer, University of the West Indies, Mona
- Dr Tres-Ann Kremer, Adviser and Head of Good Offices for Peace, Commonwealth Secretariat
- Kemi Ogunsanya, Adviser, Gender and Political Development, Commonwealth Secretariat (Via Video Conferencing)
- Shami Jabane, Executive Assistant, Commonwealth Secretariat
- Peter Wickham, Commonwealth Consultant
- Lebrechtta Nana Oye Hesse-Bayne, Commonwealth Consultant
- April Louis, Notetaker, Student, University of the West Indies, Cave Hill
- Darren Carter, Notetaker, Student, University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

Annex 3

Objectives and Methodology

Objectives

The Regional Research Study on Women and Political Parties in the Commonwealth Caribbean has three objectives:

1. To research and identify the current terms of political party governance structures and processes in the Commonwealth Caribbean that affect the recruitment and retention of women for political leadership;
2. To raise awareness in political parties of the Commonwealth Caribbean region and provide options for reforms to enable increased numbers of women in political leadership;
3. To directly engage with political parties in the Caribbean/Americas region in the design and implementation of procedures and projects to increase the number of women in political leadership.

Objectives 1 and 2 were addressed in this first stage of the study, which was conducted from November 2016 to November 2017.

Methodology

A multisectoral approach encompassing a participatory review of political systems was utilised.

The methodological strength of this approach is that it facilitates the collection of a comprehensive set of quantitative and qualitative data, thereby providing a rich in-depth analysis and insight into the relationship and experiences of women and men in political parties and their involvement in national politics. The use of a human rights based approach incorporating gender analysis tools was critical to the successful formulation of this paper. Key stakeholders were engaged at every phase setting the stage for the development of an evidence-based social inclusive intervention, to achieve the agreed objectives. This approach established stakeholder ownership of the policy paper and its recommended actions. Stakeholders had the autonomy to specify recommendations to ensure the paper envisioned their gendered needs. The methodology was conducted in five phases, namely:

1. Mobilisation and inception phase
2. Data collection and field research phase
3. Analysis and drafting phase
4. Validation phase
5. Finalisation phase

Field Research Selection Process

Commonwealth Caribbean Countries	Research Availability research	IPU Lower House ranking	First respondents to research request	Possible case study opportunity
Antigua and Barbuda	Yes	148	No response	Low
The Bahamas	No	136	No response	Low
Barbados	No	112	No response	Low
Belize	No	180	Responded	Low
Dominica	No	80	Responded	Medium
Grenada	No	32	Responded	High
Guyana	No	46	No response	Medium
Jamaica	Yes	106	No response	Low
Saint Lucia	Yes	112	No response	Low
Saint Kitts and Nevis	No	135	Responded	Low
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	No	138	Responded	Low
Trinidad and Tobago	Yes	42	No response	Medium

Phase 1

The first phase of the assignment formed the theoretical and technical foundation of the assignment, providing the consultant with an understanding of party politics, governance and women's political participation in the Commonwealth Caribbean region. The methodology adopted to select the five countries emerged from the findings of a literature desk review. The objective was to determine research gaps on the subject in the Commonwealth Caribbean, ranking of women's political representation in the Lower House, identifying first respondents to field mission research request and the opportunity to develop a case study using one of the five countries. The table below highlights the process taken. Following the outcome Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Saint Kitts and Nevis and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines were chosen.

A stakeholder's analysis was conducted. This analysis articulated the organisations, individuals and institutions to engage in the field – an ideal segue into the next phase.

Phase 2

The second phase of the assignment built on the in-depth literature review and desk based research that was done in phase 1. The primary data collection process commenced in this phase. A maximum of three working days was spent in each of the selected research countries. It was imperative to engage parliamentarians, executives of political parties, leaders of the women's arms of political parties and civil society organisations in order to have a comprehensive overview of the existing governance mechanisms within the parties. The data collection segment entailed the collection of primary data from a gender perspective. Participatory rural appraisals (PRA) methods were

utilised to administer the tools below for the data collection. The instruments explored the gender inequality gaps between men and women in the political parties, exhibited in their governance and policy directives, as well as difficulties faced by women in political parties. It also provided an understanding of the gender roles and division of labour, access and control over resources, and impact of culture including institutional and structural barriers.

Phase 3

The third phase was the analysis and drafting phase. Limited quantitative data was available in the field. However, the qualitative data from interviews and focus group discussions were transcribed and coded and grouped according to themes for analysis. A structure of the report outline was shared with the Commonwealth Secretariat and agreed upon. Once this was established, the first draft of the paper was produced. It presented a gender analysis of political parties in the Commonwealth Caribbean, examining the promotion of women's leadership training and proposing gender equality entry points as recommendations to enhance women's political participation.

Phase 4

The validation of the findings was held in the fourth phase of the assignment. Key stakeholders and actors on women's political participation from selected Caribbean countries identified by the consultant and the Commonwealth Secretariat convened in Barbados. This phase presented a platform for stakeholders to review the research study, examine the practicality of the proposed policy actions, and make recommendations to enhance the report. This knowledge exchange as well as collaboration amongst the actors

Data Collection Methods

Regional Political Sector	Secondary data review Observations Primary data collection
Individuals	Semi-structured Interviews One on one interviews
Groups	Focus group discussions
Local and Regional Partners	Virtual one on one interviews

to promote women's political participation strengthened the final report. The methodology for this phase was in the format of a presentation and focus group discussion.

Phase 5

The fifth and final phase of the assignment incorporated stakeholder input from the validation exercise. All final amendments were subsequently made.

Risks and Limitation

Sex-disaggregated data was not readily available in any of the five selected countries, which hindered the possibility of producing robust quantitative data for analysis. Although a number of institutions had conducted work in this area, their work was unpublished. The study commenced during the summer vacation period when most persons in the region usually took holidays. Scheduling of field missions posed a challenge on a few occasions hence the project was delayed beyond the expected date of closure.

Annex 4

Questionnaires

Questionnaire for Youth Wing

1. What is the function of the youth wing in your party?
2. What role does the youth wing play during an election campaign?
3. In recent years some political parties globally have established policies to ensure a certain number or proportion of women are selected by the party as candidates for a general election. Has this issue of special measures to include women been a point of discussion by your party?
4. Has your party held any leadership trainings for its members within the last 10 years?
5. What do you believe are some of the barriers that prevent young women from entering politics in your country?
6. Some women who enter politics have expressed experiencing abuse. Has this occurred for some of the women in politics in your country?
7. From your perspective what measures can be put in place to promote young women to enter politics?
5. Has your party held any leadership trainings for its members within the last 10 years?
6. What do you believe are some of the barriers that prevent women from entering politics in your country?
7. Some women who enter politics have expressed experiencing abuse. Has this occurred for some of the women in politics in your country?
8. From your perspective what measures can be put in place to promote women to enter politics?

Questionnaire for Female Parliamentarians

(Past or Present)

1. What is the process to become a political contender in your party?
2. How are members selected for the party's political structures and how often are they selected?
3. How many men and women are in the executive of your party?
4. What special measures exist within your party to include women in the hierarchy of its political structures?
5. Does your party's constitution have any statements or policies regarding the nomination of women on any of the party's committees or to executive positions?
6. Can you share with me any recent leadership training hosted for members of your party in the last 10 years? Or that you might have been a part of nationally or regionally?
7. What is the function of the women's wing in your party?
8. What have been some of the women's wing major achievements thinking back to the last three general elections?

Questionnaire for Women's Arm Focus Group

1. What is the function of the women's wing in your party?
2. What role do women play during an election campaign?
3. Are there any special measures to assist female candidates financially during an election campaign?
4. In recent years some political parties globally have established policies to ensure a certain number or proportion of women are selected by the party as candidates for a general election. Has this issue of special measures to include women been a point of discussion by your party?

9. Does this group articulate women's interests and opinions pertaining to the party's internal and external policies?
 10. What role do women in your party play during an election campaign?
 11. Are there any special measures to assist female candidates financially during an election campaign?
 12. In recent years some political parties globally have established policies to ensure a certain number or proportion of women are selected as candidates for a general election. Has this issue of special measures to include women been a point of discussion in your party?
 13. Has your party held any leadership trainings for female contestants prior to or post a general election?
 14. How are ministries/portfolios allocated to parliamentarians?
 15. What are some of the challenges you have faced as a female parliamentarian?
 16. Some women who enter politics globally have expressed experiencing verbal abuse. What is the situation in your country?
 17. What do you believe are some of the barriers that prevent women from entering politics in your country?
 18. From your perspective what measures can be put in place to promote women to enter politics?
8. Does your party's constitution have any statements or policy regarding the nomination of women on any of the party's committees or to executive positions?
 9. In recent years some political parties globally have established policies to ensure a certain number or proportion of women are selected by the party as candidates for a general election. Has this issue of quotas been a point of discussion by your party?
 10. What is your party's policy regarding financing of contestants during an election campaign?
 11. How are ministries/portfolios allocated to parliamentarians?
 12. Some women who enter politics globally have expressed experiencing verbal abuse. What is the situation in your country?
 13. What do you believe are some of the barriers that prevent women from entering politics in your country?
 14. From your perspective what measures can be put in place to promote women to enter politics?

Questionnaire for Political Leaders

1. Kindly share with me a brief background of your political party.
2. What are the leadership structures within the party?
3. How does your party select candidates for the various constituencies in the country?
4. How does your party develop its manifestos?
5. Can you share with me any leadership training hosted for party members in the last 10 years?
6. What are the functions of the women's wing of your party?
7. What have been some of the major achievements of the women's wing thinking back to the last two general elections?

Questionnaire for Political Party Executives

1. Kindly share with me a brief background of your political party.
2. What are the main political structures that exist in the party?
3. How are members selected for these structures and how often are they selected?
4. Do you have a document outlining the roles of the various political structures that you can share with me?
5. How many men and women are in each of the established structures?
6. Does your party's constitution have any statements or policy regarding the nomination of women for any of the party's committees or executive positions?
7. What is the process to become a contender in a political election for your party?
8. Are there any fees that contenders are expected to pay? If yes, how much?
9. How does your party develop its manifestos?

10. Can you share with me any leadership training hosted for party members in the last 10 years?
 11. What are the functions of the women's wing in your party?
 12. What have been some of the major achievements of the women's wing thinking back to the last two general elections?
 13. In recent years some political parties globally have established policies to ensure a certain number or proportion of women are selected by the party as candidates for a general election. Has this issue of quotas been a point of discussion by your party?
 14. What is your party's policy regarding financing of contestants during an election campaign?
 15. What are the procedures to establish policies within your party?
 16. What do you believe are some of the barriers that prevent women from entering politics in your country?
10. In recent years some political parties globally have established policies to ensure a certain number or proportion of women are selected by the party as candidates for a general election. Has this issue of special measures to include women been a point of discussion by your party?
 11. Has your party held any leadership trainings for female contestants prior to or after an election?
 12. What do you believe are some of the barriers that prevent young women from entering politics in your country?
 13. Some women who enter politics have expressed experiencing abuse. Has this occurred for some of the women in politics in your country?
 14. From your perspective what measures can be put in place to promote young women entering politics?

Questionnaire for Leader of Youth Wing

1. What is the function of the youth wing in your party?
2. What are the main political structures that exist in the party?
3. How are members selected for these structures and how often are they selected?
4. Does your party have any special measures to include women and youth in the hierarchy of its political structures?
5. Does your party's constitution have any statements or policy regarding the nomination of women or youth on any of the party's committees or executive positions?
6. Can you share with me any recent leadership training hosted for party members to your recollection?
7. Has the party also held leadership training specifically for youth or young women?
8. What role do women play during an election campaign?
9. Are there any special measures to assist female candidates financially during an election campaign?

Questionnaire for Leader of Women's Arm

1. What are the main political structures that exist in the party?
2. How are members selected for these structures and how often are they selected?
3. How many men and women are in each of the established structures?
4. Does your party have any special measures to include women in the hierarchy of its political structures?
5. Does your party's constitution have any statements or policy regarding the nomination of women on any of the party's committees or to executive positions?
6. Can you share with me any recent leadership training hosted for party members in the last 10 years?
7. What is the function of the women's wing in your party?
8. What has been some of your major achievements thinking back to the last three general elections?
9. Does this group articulate women's interests and opinions pertaining to the party's internal and external policies?

10. What role do women play during an election campaign?
 11. Are there any special measures to assist female candidates financially during an election campaign?
 12. In recent years some political parties globally have established policies to ensure a certain number or proportion of women are selected by the party as candidates for a general election. Has this issue of special measures to include women been a point of discussion by your party?
 13. Has your party held any leadership training for female contestants prior to or after an election?
 14. What do you believe are some of the barriers that prevent women from entering into politics in your country?
 15. Some women who enter politics have expressed experiencing abuse. Has this occurred for some of the women in politics in your country?
 16. From your perspective what measures can be put in place to promote women to enter politics?
9. Some women who enter politics have expressed experiencing abuse. Has this occurred for some of the women in politics in your country?
 10. Several countries have established special measures to promote women's political participation, what are some of points that could be made if this discussion is brought to the fore in your country?
 11. To your knowledge has any publication been produced on female parliamentarians in your country?
 12. Have female parliamentarians in the past promoted or advocated for gender equality issues?
 13. What are some of the gender mainstreaming activities that take place with other ministries?
 14. To your recollection what are some of the national policies that have mainstreamed gender or been developed with a gender lens?
 15. From your perspective what measures can be put in place to promote women to enter into politics?

Questionnaire for Gender Bureau

1. What are some of the gender equality issues that your organisation focuses on?
2. Are there any civil society organisations you know of that have worked or are working on women's political participation?
3. Are you aware of any leadership trainings that have taken place in the country within the last 10 years?
4. What has been the public's reaction to women in politics?
5. What support does the bureau offer to women in politics?
6. From your perspective what are some of the structural barriers that prevent women from entering politics?
7. Are there any social barriers that prevent women from entering politics?
8. What do you believe are some of the barriers that prevent young women from entering politics in your country?

Questionnaire for Gender Equality Advocates

1. What are some of the gender equality issues that your organisation has focused on?
2. Are there any civil society organisations you know of that have worked or are working on women's political participation?
3. Are you aware of any leadership trainings that have taken place in the country within the last 10 years?
4. What consultative processes take place by political parties to include gender equality issues in their manifestos?
5. What has been the public's reaction to women in politics?
6. Are there any specific roles that women and men perform during an election campaign?
7. From your perspective what are some of the structural barriers that prevent women from entering politics?
8. Are there any social barriers that prevent women from entering politics?

9. What do you believe are some of the barriers that prevent young women from entering into politics in your country?
10. Some women who enter politics have expressed experiencing abuse. Has this occurred for some of the women in politics in your country?
11. Several countries have established special measures to promote women's political participation. What are some of points that could be made if this discussion is brought to the fore in your country?
12. To your knowledge has any publication been produced on female parliamentarians in your country?
13. Have female parliamentarians in the past promoted or advocated for gender equality issues?
14. From your perspective what measures can be put in place to promote women to enter politics?

Annex 5

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