POLITICS, POWER ✚ GENDER JUSTICE IN THE ANGLOPHONE CARIBBEAN

Women's Understandings of Politics, Experiences of Political Contestation and the Possibilities for Gender Transformation

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Feminist/Womanist Advocacy Toward Transformational Leadership in the Anglophone Caribbean: The Interplay of Individual and Collective Agency

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List of Acronyms

AC	Anglophone Caribbean
ACR	Anglophone Caribbean Region
ACWM	Anglophone Caribbean Women's Movement
CAFRA	Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action
CARICOM	Caribbean Common Market (Caribbean Community)
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CIGADS	Caribbean Institute for Gender and Development Studies
CIM	Inter-American Committee on Women
CIWiL	Caribbean Institute for Women in Leadership
CPDC	Caribbean Policy Development Centre
CPoA	CARICOM Plan of Action
CWP	Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians
ECLAC	(UN) Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean
FA	Feminist Advocacy
FBIs	Faith-Based Institutions
FES	Frederick Egbert Stiftung
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
FTL	Feminist Transformational Leadership
FTLPA	Feminist Transformational Leadership, Power and Authority
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
GNP	Gross National Product
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IDW	International Decade for Women
IFAF	Integrated Feminist Analytical Framework which intersects the theoretical concepts of feminist transformational leadership, power and authority, gender relations/gender hierarchies, patriarchy/masculinity, feminist advocacy and social movement theories
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IGDS	Institute for Gender and Development Studies
JCSC	Jamaica Civil Society Coalition
JET	Jamaica Environmental Trust
JSE	Jamaica Stock Exchange
NDI	National Democratic Institute
Network of NGOs	Network of NGOs of Trinidad and Tobago for the Advancement of Women (Network of NGOs)
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OAS	Organisation of American States
OECS	Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States
PLWHIV	Persons Living with HIV

PSOJ	Private Sector organisation of Jamaica	
RPOA	Regional Plan of Action	
SAPs	Structural Adjustment programmes	
SM	Social Movement	
TL	Transformational Leadership	
UNDP	United Nations Development Fund	
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women	
UWI	University of West Indies	
UWP	United Workers' Party (St. Lucia)	
WAND	Women and Development Unit at the University of the West Indies	
WID	Women in Development	

Preface

This chapter is one of several outputs of a research project undertaken between 2011 and 2014 by the Institute for Gender and Development Studies (IGDS) at the University of West Indies (UWI), St. Augustine campus. Titled *Politics, Power and Gender Justice in the Anglophone Caribbean: Women's Understandings of Politics, Experiences of Political Contestation and the Possibilities for Gender Transformation,* the project was spearheaded by IGDS in partnership with the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and led by Principal Investigator, Gabrielle Jamela Hosein, with the support of Lead Researcher, Jane Parpart.

Additional technical feedback was provided by Project Advisory Team members including Rawwida Baksh, Eudine Barriteau, Cynthia Barrow-Giles, Patricia Mohammed, and Linnette Vassell. Feedback and support from Francisco Con-Montiel, from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), also contributed to the project outputs. Support from the staff at IGDS, St. Augustine, and especially Tisha Nickenig for project coordination and management, and Kathryn Chan for graphic design and layout, deserve particular recognition.

The project examined four strategies to promote democratic governance, women's rights and gender equality in the Anglophone Caribbean. First, women's political leadership was explored for the extent to which it creates greater governmental will and capacity to more actively and effectively transforms gender relations both within and outside of the state. Second, quota systems were assessed for their impact on effective women's participation and leadership in representative government. Third, the usefulness of national gender policy documents for promoting gender equality was evaluated. Finally, the impact of feminist movement building on women's capacity to be effective transformational leaders within democratic political life was investigated.

Each of these strategies has expanded the spaces for realizing women's rights and gender equality, created greater capacity (among women and men) to achieve transformed gender relations, and shifted the gender ideologies that present resistances to women's effective political participation and leadership. Together, they reflect a core set of historical struggles waged across the Anglophone Caribbean. This project therefore sought to document the history of struggle in five Caribbean nations. It focused on specific countries where these struggles appear to have been won. Trinidad and Tobago provided an appropriate case study for examining the impact of women's contemporary political leadership, Guyana for exploring the impact of quota systems, Dominica and Jamaica for exploring the formulation and impact of national gender policies, and the Caribbean Institute for Women in Leadership (CIWiL) for

evaluating the impact of feminist advocacy on women's rights, effectiveness and representation in democratic governance in St. Lucia. These cases thus investigate four global strategies for advancing democratic governance, women's rights and gender equality. They offer insights into transnational, regional and national alliances between states, international organizations, NGOs and feminist movements, and demonstrate the relevance of national case studies for understanding regional and global experiences. Indeed, the project's comparative, historical and case study approach shows that both regional and national case studies are essential if we are to understand how democracy, the state and politics offer opportunities for and resistances to renegotiating gender relations in different twenty-first century contexts. For a more comprehensive summary of the project's conceptual framework, methodologies and findings please refer to the Introduction by Gabrielle Jamela Hosein and Jane Parpart, available at IDRC and IGDS, UWI, St. Augustine. The following is a list of related chapters produced by the project:

- "Women's Political Leadership in Trinidad and Tobago, Understandings, Experiences and Negotiations" by Aleah N. Ranjitsingh

- "Getting to One-Third? Creating Legislative Access for Women to Political Space in Guyana" by Natalie Persadie

- "National Gender Policies in the English Speaking Caribbean" by Deborah McFee;

- "The Patriarchal State and the Development of Gender Policy in Jamaica" by Maziki Thame and Dhanaraj Thakur

- "Crossing over the Barriers: A Historical Journey of Women's Political Leadership in the Anglophone Caribbean" by Beverly Shirley;

- "Advancing Gender Justice? The Opportunities, Resistances, and Limitations of Guyana's Quota System" by Iman Khan

- "Enactments, Contestations, and Possibilities of Women's Transformational Leadership in
- the Anglophone Caribbean" by Denise Blackstock

- "Masculinities and the Practice of Dominica's National Gender Policy" by Ramona Biholar

Executive Summary

This study investigates the strategies, processes, practices, structures and contestations experienced by women who promoted a transformational style of leadership in the Anglophone Caribbean beginning in the 1990s. The leadership of the Caribbean office of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM---renamed UN Women, January 2011) mooted the idea for engendering a 'different kind of leadership' in the region that would position women as agents of change at every level and in every sphere of society. This desire resulted from a confluence of factors that catalysed around the mandate of the Fourth World Conference on Women---the Beijing 12-Point Plan of Action---which, inter alia called on all sectors, state and non-state, to take action to increase women's participation in public leadership using the strategy of mainstreaming gender. This strategy was aimed at deconstructing the unequal power relations among different genders and attending to the specialized needs of women, men, boys and girls in development planning, projects, programs and policies. It was the centre piece of the development paradigm, Gender and Development, which was intended to correct the weaknesses in the Women and Development paradigm which addressed integrating women into the market economy without attending to the unequal power relationships among the genders.

Acting on the Beijing mandate, UNIFEM Caribbean, cognizant of the history of the Anglophone Caribbean Region (including its geo-politics, debt-burdened economies, gender hierarchies undergirded by patriarchy, male dominance and privilege and a "crisis of leadership") facilitated interventions to promote a transformational style of women's leadership in the region. This chapter reflects a content analysis of the perspectives of nineteen participants (referred to as contemporary sources) and secondary sources (referred to as archival sources) to identify the advocacy issues that the women's movement experienced in its interventions to advance transformational leadership in the Anglophone Caribbean.

The content analysis was conducted on the transcribed text of the discussants in a nine-member focus group, in-depth interviews with select participants, and books, magazines, speeches and journal articles---online and hard copies. The texts were analyzed using a three-tiered process to identify relevant themes. The themes were then evaluated using an integrated feminist analytical framework or hybrid that combined a feminist definition of transformational leadership, power and authority, patriarchy, masculinity, feminist advocacy and social movement theories. This conceptual hybrid indicates the complexity of the context within which the women's movement attempted transformative leadership change in the Anglophone

Caribbean Region. In addition, it provided insights into the reason that, although women made significant social advances in the region, they remain, for the most part, excluded from top public leadership in politics and the corporate boardroom. The chapter identifies the reasons for this resistance as multidimensional: cultural biases that view leadership as a male domain, networking among the male corporate elite and politicians, which give them easy access to corporate financing and the recruitment of inexperienced men to the top leadership of political parties where they have access to political party patronage.

In addition, women are reluctant to engage in political campaigns which require behaviours that are considered anti-feminine---such as late night meetings, drinking in bars and combative verbal exchanges that may escalate into physical blows or the exchange of gun fire. Religion also plays a significant role in blocking women from leadership. The majority of the population subscribe to Christianity and a significant number believe in the biblical teaching that men should be heads of household and by extrapolation head of public leadership positions. In fact, a 'good wife' is expected to support her partner's leadership publicly as well as provide appropriate nurturing at home. Many women also buy into the ideology of male dominance and leadership, and conspire with male leadership to their benefit as well as to the exclusion of other women leaders. At the same time, many women are ambivalent about leadership, viewing it as inherently corrupt and authoritarian and when they have power, are indecisive about exercising it. On the one hand, political parties, organized along patriarchal lines, tend to bypass women's leadership in favour of male leadership. Men are recruited to the top positions of leadership in the parties, placed in safe seats, mentored by veterans, and allocated more financing than women. On the other hand, women are mainly confined to administrative and domestic functions in the political parties and during campaign periods work assiduously to help elect males to office. These factors, along with the dominant patriarchal ideology that women's role is subordinate to that of men's, keep women out of top public leadership positions. Although eighty percent of the graduates from the University of the West Indies are women, it is mainly men who are elected to student leadership positions, women are paid less than men for doing similar jobs and they have to train longer to be selected for similar jobs. In addition, although gender roles are shifting, the majority of women continue to bear the burden of unwaged household and community work, head the lowest income households with the larger families, and their unemployment rate is twice as high as that of men. These hurdles prevent women, even if they had the desire, from offering themselves for corporate and political leadership.

In addition, the social definition of femininity and masculinity and the expectations associated with each concept have influenced women's capacity to aspire to, and assume top public leadership positions. The macho man who is not afraid of physical and verbal combat can be out late at nights and 'misbehave' but women are frowned upon if they behave in a similar manner. Why this ideology prevails is explored in this chapter, mainly through the lens of Eudine Barriteau's concept of the difference between the material and ideological spheres of women's lives and how transformation of these spheres have been attempted under the women in development and gender in development paradigms. She concludes that while significant progress has been made in transforming women's lives in the material sphere, especially in education and health care, little progress has been made in the ideological sphere. That is, in transforming the perception and practices that keep women subordinated in the domestic sphere and prevent them from achieving strategic transformations in their lives. Against this backdrop, the chapter analyzes the multiple variables that affect women's lives using the hybrid of the integrated feminist theoretical framework mentioned earlier. The chapter concludes with recommendations for how this seemingly intransigent problem of women's subordination and exclusion from top public leadership may be addressed in the interest of advancing gender justice and a more equitable human rights situation for not just women but for all peoples of the region.

Introduction

This chapter analyzes the strategies, processes, practices, and contestations[2] experienced by activist feminists and womanists, to promote and practice a transformational style of leadership in the Anglophone Caribbean Region (ACR). Feminist activists challenge social hierarchies, especially those resulting from the normalization of patriarchal relationships and take action to advance social transformation, including gender equality and equity (Antrobus 2004, 24-25; hooks 1984, 10; CAFRA News 1995)[3]. Some feminist activist women of colour self-define as womanists who analyze women's oppression as the intersection of multiple dominations that they address simultaneously. These include, inter alia sexism, racism, classism, ethnocentrism, sexual orientation, residence, geographic location, culture, language, academic discourse, universalism, socio-historical context, binary opposites and the discursive

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2 Definitions: Strategies are planned activities or interventions: they may be short, medium or long term. Processes are the methods used to implement activities – the incremental steps that are taken to achieve outputs and outcomes. Practices are actions taken or what was done. For example, the passing of a law or the implementation of a policy, project or program. Contestations identify differences and attempts at resolution.

3 CAFRA News 1995, inside back cover: the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA), since its formation in April 1985, has consistently made the connection between women's oppression and social oppression and the need to conduct research and take action to advance social justice based on the analysis of the research findings.

exercise of power (Hill Collins 2000, 97-100; hooks 1984, xii; Mohanty 1991, 51-66; Mohanty 2003, 501-504).

Stereotypically, popular discourse on the one hand defines feminists as privileged, white middle class women whose main concern is ending sexism by achieving equality in the work place and sharing power with men. On the other hand, stereotypes define womanists as feminist black women who experience multiple oppressions, engage in waged work and view the home as a space of self-empowerment, not necessarily oppression.[4] Anglophone Caribbean women vary in their alignment with the two extremes, some claim a variety of feminisms (mainly radical, socialist and liberal);[5] some claim to be womanists, and some refuse to be labelled. The words feminists and womanists are used throughout the text to describe Anglophone Caribbean (AC) women who are engaged in implementing transformational leadership (TL) practices that, inter alia advance gender justice in the region. As indicated earlier, although "womanism" emerged from Black feminist theorizing it is used in this chapter to describe a Caribbean women's rights' movement that is multi-ethnic. This ethnic diversity, along with differences in race, class, education, geographic location, religion, cultural outlook etc., informed the discussion of the post-modernist concept of difference within the regional women's movement (Mohammed, 1998, 17-28; Barriteau 2006, 9-14). The issue of difference in the ACWM is elaborated below.

This chapter locates the experiences of AC feminists/womanists in their advocacy for TL practices within the socio-political context of the region. The analysis intersects at the personal, organizational, institutional, national, regional and international interface. Feminist perspectives on TL, power and authority, the multiple manifestations of patriarchy and male dominance, and the cross-cutting and interlocking nature of gender hierarchies interplay at the intersection of these multiple sites of oppression. It is within this confluence of forces that the author analyzes this chapter's three objectives, which are:

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4 Alice Walker introduced the concept of womanist in the African American feminist genre in her 1983 book, In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose. Its roots are in the Black folk cultural expression that describes a precocious child as "acting womanish"---being curious and actively seeking out advanced knowledge beyond her years. In the Black feminist movement, the terminology indicated the expansion of the women's movement in the 1970s beyond the confines of the concerns of White middle class women to include issues of concern to Black women, namely, race and class. Walker also used the term to describe women's love for one another---platonically and or sexually. See http://womenshistory.about.com/od/feminism/a/womanist.htm. Accessed February 14, 2014. In addition, this definition stereotypes, and although it may have been closer to the truth in the early stages of second wave feminism, (60s and 70s), it evolved as more women (of several races, shades, and ethnicities) grew to appreciate the fact that women's oppression exists in multiple sites at many levels and that women's experiences are not homogenous.
5 Popular discourse classifies the majority of Caribbean feminists as liberal. The suggestion is that liberal feminists seek to reform capitalism such that the social conditions of women's lives will improve and they will have equal opportunities to access social resources. It is less concerned with deconstructing and dismantling patriarchal power structures. Essentially this is social reform within the confines of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. See Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development by Jane L. Parpart, M. Patricia Connelly and V. Eudine Barriteau, eds. 2000. Section C: Liberal Feminism for an explanation of a liberal feminist framework, at http://www.focusintl.com/GD049-%20Theoretical%20Perspectives%20on%20Gender%20and%20Development.pdf.
In spite of the fact that popular discourse suggests that the majority of Caribbean feminists/womanists are liberal, the roots of second wave Caribbean feminism emerged among radical and socialist feminists (Reddock, 1998, 62-63).

- to analyze the historical background and macro-regional context within which feminist/womanist advocacy in the region focused on creating a transformational type of leadership;
- to explore the experiences and understandings of women to determine the factors that enabled or impeded the transformation of leadership and gendered power relations; and
- to describe advocacy strategies emerging from an analysis of the data that suggest democratic practices that could enhance women's rights and gender equality in the state and non-state sectors under a transformational style of leadership

In addition to these broad objectives, this chapter seeks to answer the following questions, which are linked:

1. What was the historical and regional context within which the feminists/womanists struggles for TL unfolded?
2. What is the history of the idea and movement around women as transformational leaders in public life? What were the debates, strategies, successes and limitations?
3. To what extent has feminist/womanist advocacy empowered women to be transformational leaders in public life?
4. In what ways have the women's movement influenced institutions (state and non-state) and individuals, at various stages and levels?
5. How did women advance the idea of TL among women in political life?
6. What strategies did feminists/womanists use to influence how women [and men] performed in political life and contest elections, and engaged with other women and men to make decisions?
7. How did the feminist/womanist movements attempt to empower women to change the systems in which they exercised power, and to transform the concept and exercise of power itself?
8. How were the tensions and differences between women in the women's movement and women in politics debated and negotiated to transform how political power and leadership were exercised?
9. To what extent did feminist/womanist advocacy make advances and or experience setbacks in the region; and what resistances, particularly patriarchal pressures against changing existing gender relations and hierarchies, did the movement encounter?
10. What advocacy strategies could contribute to enhancing democratic practices that advance women's rights and gender equality in state and non-state sectors?

Section one of this chapter defines the parameter of the chapter – objectives, questions and the overall methodology and approach. Section two briefly describes the integrated feminist analytical framework (IFAF) that the author developed to evaluate the data. The framework includes a conceptual hybrid that integrates a feminist definition of TL, power and authority, patriarchy and masculinity, and feminist advocacy and social movement theories.

Transformational leadership is visionary, inspirational, confident and value-focused. It begins with personal transformation directed at social change that advances gender justice (Antrobus 1999, 9; Antrobus, 2002, 47-51; Antrobus 2004, 166-174; Barriteau 2001, 2-4; Barriteau 2004, 2-5; Barriteau & Cobley 2001, 9-14; 166-174; Barriteau & Cobley 2006, 239-280; Batliwala 2011, 18-28; Vassell 2001, 5-19). A feminist definition of power and authority is concerned with how legitimate authority influences decision-making using consultative, not coercive, processes. Power is directed at achieving targeted outcomes that advance gender and social justice for women as well as all of humanity (Barriteau, 2001, 7-14; Batliwala 2011, 22-27.

Another critical concept included in the IFAF is patriarchy---the exercise of male authority or male dominance in the private domain of the family and the public domain of society. This definition acknowledges that the exercise of power that derives from patriarchy undergirds gender hierarchies, shapes the social definition of femininity and masculinity, influences general inequalities in society and engenders women's subordination (Barriteau 2001, 10; Barriteau 2007, 4; Batliwala 2011, 23-24; Antrobus 2002, 46-52). Consequently, attempts at transforming leadership need to address the issue of patriarchy because of its pervasive nature (Antrobus 2004, 157-8; 2004, 167-8).

The concept of feminist advocacy included in the IFAF developed to analyze the research Findings for this chapter addresses the strategies used at the local, regional and international levels (especially to give voice to the subaltern) to influence policies, programs and projects that advance women's rights, gender equality and equity and justice for all of humanity. Although manifest at all levels, women's advocacy is grounded in the local realities of their lives and is led by them. Advocacy interventions include those that address women's short- and medium-term practical needs, as well as their long-term strategic needs, including the transformation of gender hierarchies (Antrobus 2004, 169-172; Evans 2005, 11-12; Molyneux 1985, 230-235).

Finally, the concept of social movement theory included in this chapter focuses on the nature of mobilization including the networking, the alliances, and coalitions that the women's movement used to advance gender justice. These were particularly vibrant in the 1970s and

1980s as women mobilized in broad popular alliances to advocate for women's rights and to celebrate the International Decade for Women (IDW, 1976-1986). The women's movement also mobilized around the negative impact of the debt crises during the late 1970s –1990s, which resulted in reductions in governments' expenditure on social programs and intensified women's oppression (Jaquette 1994, 2-5).

Section four summarizes the chapter. Findings, beginning with a brief description of the macro-regional political economy and socio-cultural context that prevailed at the time when UNIFEM Caribbean initiated the discourse on TL. The section includes a discussion on several interventions made by the Anglophone Caribbean Women's Movement (ACWM) to interrupt the prevailing style of leadership in the region (see Appendix I), and created opportunities for women that prepared and positioned them for public leadership. Women's transition into public leadership, however, did not occur at the anticipated rate due to psychosocial, cultural and political factors (Barriteau 1997, 2-4; Henry-Wilson 1989, 229-253; Henry-Wilson 2004, 586-589; UN 2008, 6).

Section four also explores interventions between 1995 and 2005 that aimed to advance women's TL skills and were considerably influenced by the mandate of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) to promote women's public leadership. These interventions included research studies commissioned by UNIFEM (UN Women)[6] from Barriteau (2001) and Vassell (2001 revised) that theorised the expression of TL in the ACR and located its practical expressions relating to its definition, content, form and the spaces in which it manifested. Key interventions discussed include the Caribbean Institute for Women in Leadership (CIWiL), which assumed regional responsibility for training women for public leadership in 2005,[7] and Women Working for Transformation (WWT) in Jamaica (1999-2003), which aimed at engendering transformational change at the personal, community and corporate levels.

This chapter Findings section also briefly explores three actions to advance transformative change implemented in the contemporary period---Strengthening Women's Leadership in

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6 In 2010, the 64th session of the UN General Assembly voted unanimously to unite the four UN institutions managing gender issues. These were the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI), Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW). The mandates and functions of these entities were transferred to the single entity UN Women---The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women---January 1, 2011. This move was an element of the UN reform process aimed at increasing the agency's efficiencies and effectiveness. See UNIFEM, Accessed May 7, 2013, http://www.unifem.org/news_events/currents/issue201007_en.html.

7 The impact of the CIWiL training is discussed in more detail in this publication by author Blackstock (2013). The IGDS, Mona Unit in collaboration with CIWiL, trained seventy nine women for public leadership in TL practices. The project was initiated and implemented by the IGDS, Mona Unit in collaboration with CIWiL. UN Women was the executing agency, and UN Democracy Fund (UNDEF), the funding agency. Women who received training in TL under the CIWiL project were from the Anglophone Caribbean countries: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago. Among the trainees of the first cohort was one representative from Haiti.

Jamaica (2009-2011)[8], implemented by the Women's Resource and Outreach Centre (WROC); Women in Politics in Belize; and the emergence and actions of Jamaica Civil Society Coalition (JCSC 2010). In addition to displaying important TL markers, these actions had women leaders who were influenced by the public discourse on TL and promoted by the ACWM in the 1990s. The work of the 51% Coalition in Jamaica is another contemporary effort at promoting TL that the findings section of this chapter explores briefly.[9]

Section five analyzes the chapter findings based on an assessment of the gendered resistors to women's advancement to top leadership positions in the public domain. Particular attention is given to the dichotomy between the ideological continuities of women's subordination in the domestic or so called private sphere, as opposed to shifts in their material conditions in the public sphere (Barriteau 1997, 2-4; Barriteau 1998, 191-205; Barriteau 2007, 4-6). Earlier, Maxine Molyneux (1985, 233-235) identified a similar dichotomy between women's practical needs and strategic needs. Changes in the former ease the physical burden experienced by women, while strategic changes are transformative at the level of women's subordination. Carolyn Moser (1989, 1802-1806) also critiqued development planning's failure to address women's strategic interest as a mechanism for their empowerment and eliminating their subordination. Women's ambivalence towards power (Barriteau 2001 13, 169-170; Barriteau 2004, 4), their invisibility and lack of confidence, and their triple burden of waged work, domestic and community service (Moser; WROC 2008, 55-57) are other issues contributing to women's subordination that are discussed in section five.

Section six concludes with an analysis of the archival data and the recommendations made by the nineteen research participants for this chapter.[10]

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8 UNDEF: The United Nations Democracy Fund. 2011. "UDF-JAM-07-209---Strengthening Women's Leadership in Jamaica," Evaluation Report. Provision for Post-Project Evaluations for the United Nations Democracy Fund. Contract No. PD: C0110. TRANSTEC Project Management, 21 September 2011. Accessed November 8, 2012. http://www.un.org/democracyfund/sites/dr7.un.org.democracyfund/files/UDF-JAM-07-209%20Strengthening%20Women's%20Leadership%20in%20Jamaica.pdf

9. The 51% Coalition in Jamaica advocates for no more than 60 percent and no less than 40 percent representation of either sex (men and women) in public leadership positions. The IGDS, Mona Unit in collaboration with CIWiL, trained seventy nine women for public leadership in TL practices. The project was initiated and implemented by the IGDS, Mona unit in collaboration with CIWiL. UN Women was the executing agency, and UN Democracy Fund (UNDEF) was the funding agency.

10 This chapter builds on a Rapid Assessment of Projects on Women's Political Participation in the Caribbean Region (n.d.) prepared by 33 Iyahen's study evaluated the effectiveness of four projects on women's political participation. These projects included 1) Engendering Local Government in Trinidad and Tobago; 2) Engendering Political Participation in the OECS; 3) Women's Political Participation: Training in Democracy and Governance– Antigua and Barbuda, St. Kitts and Nevis and Guyana; and 4) Local Government Leadership: Women and Community Empowerment in Jamaica. The process, procedures and strategies used in implementing these projects were treated as an element of the ACWM advocacy for TL. This chapter also references a study by Andaiye (2009)---Critical Review of Selected Interventions in Support of Women's Political Participation in Electoral Processes in the Caribbean in the period 2007-2009. The study involved a critical review of the Put a Woman in the House project implemented by the Network of NGOs of Trinidad and Tobago for the Advancement of Women. The findings provide valuable insights into the personal and social resistors to advance women's public leadership in the AC. The IGDS Nita Barrow Unit, UWI, Cave Hill campus commissioned the study in 2009.

Section 2: Theoretical Framework

Multiple factors impinge on and shape the lives of women in the AC. Consequently any analysis of women's lives must consider the intersection of multiple issues at multiple levels, which is the reason the author developed the IFAF hybrid for analyzing the data in this chapter (see Figure 1). The IFAF intersects the theoretical concepts of feminist transformational leadership, power and authority (FTLPA); gender relations/gender hierarchies; patriarchy/masculinity; feminist advocacy (FA) and social movement (SM) theories within a cyclical, non-linear movement.

Feminist transformational leadership (FTL) [11] is concerned with influencing decisions to achieve outcomes that deconstruct gender hierarchies and advance gender justice. It seeks to redress women's general exclusion from positions of top public leadership and authority. FTL addresses injustices at the micro-, meso- and macro-levels. It also promotes the interest of the subaltern, challenges the status quo and takes risks in the pursuit of creating radical social change (Antrobus 2002, 49). Leaders operate within a system of shared power, authority and decision-making – power is exercised "with", not "over" others. Action is in the interest of the collective, especially the most marginalized (Batliwala 2011, 22-23). Their governance practices are transparent, accountable, relational, horizontal and dialogical (Ibid.; Barriteau 2001, 2-4). They recognize that leadership exists at every level, and identify and enable that leadership; not just to follow but to themselves become leaders (ibid.). They inspire excellence, productivity that exceeds expectations and create opportunities for self-actualization that dovetail personal and organisational goals. They model the behavior they desire from others, offer development opportunities such as mentorship, coaching, internships and shadowing, and build networks of alliances and coalitions that strengthen the women's movement's capacity to enhance advocacy (ibid.).

A feminist analysis explores social relations that position heterosexual men as the main source of authority and decision-making in the family and society. The social attributes associated with masculinity are privileged and devalue values associated with less privileged men, women, homosexuals, ethnic minorities, first nation's people,[12] rural based residents, people with disabilities, and other marginalized groups. As Antrobus notes, patriarchal privilege permeates all social structures, "it glorifies domination, control, violence, competitiveness and

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11 This discussion of feminist leadership is culled mainly from Batliwala's 2011 study on feminist leadership, which includes a summary of several definitions of TL that emerged in the late 1960s as a critique of political leadership, and developed as an organizational management tool in the 1980s and 1990s.
12 The term "first nation's people" is a substitute for "indigenous populations" that acknowledges that they are the first persons recorded that occupied a particular geographic location.

greed. It dehumanizes women as much as it denies men their agency" (Antrobus 2004, 167). In analysis, she emphasizes that FTL seeks to understand the nature and role of patriarchal ideology, and how it permeates all aspects of society to produce and reproduce gender hierarchies. Understanding its nature is a precursor to redressing gender inequalities, she stresses. Feminist transformational leadership also promotes inclusivity, broad mass participation, transparency and accountability (Barriteau 2001, op cit.; Vassell 2001, 2-3). It is focused on transforming institutional structures to better serve the disenfranchised (Vassell, 7; Antrobus 1999, 9). In this regard Vassell, in assessing the degree to which training interventions may be advancing TL behaviours cites Antrobus' concern that these interventions need to address institutional transformation and not just ideological issues.

....We need to recognise that gender is not merely about the sexual division of labour, but more about a structural imbalance of power between the sexes. Women's empowerment is [therefore] central to any project on transformational leadership (Antrobus 1999, 9).

In her 2002 discussion of the topic of feminism as transformational politics, Antrobus reemphasized the necessity to change the patriarchal trajectory of violent confrontation that governs the world. Expunging this scourge requires feminist TL, Antrobus emphasized. She viewed women leaders who would take the risks of challenging the status quo in spite of the threat of losing their power, as leaders who would resist male dominance in the household as well as in political parties. At the same time they would build broad alliances for change that recognize the common linkages among all of humanity. Another critical point that Antrobus contributed to the discussion on TL was the need for women's advocacy to be organized outside of political parties. She suggested that a broad alliance of women was a main instrument for pressuring liberal political leadership to exercise political will to create change in favor of the marginalized (ibid.). She advanced this approach to advocacy as an essential tool for lobbying and supporting women, constrained by the demands of party loyalty, to promote women's issues in their political parties. She reinforced Andaiye's belief that for AC political parties to support women's rights, organized advocacy would need to come from outside political parties. This information was obtained from these veteran Caribbean women leaders in a Skype™ interview with us r on May 23, 2012).[13]

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13 Antrobus, a declared Caribbean was head of Jamaica's Women's Desk (later Bureau) in 1974, head of the Women and Development (WAND, 1979) Unit at the University of the West Indies, a Director of Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) and achieved many more leadership positions at the regional and international levels. She is regarded as a Caribbean Transformational Leader, especially in the area of institution building. She was one of the speakers commissioned by UNIFEM Caribbean in the 1990s to lead the discourse aimed at defining TL in the ACWM. See http://www.caricom.org/jsp/projects/personalities/peggy_antrobus.jsp?menu=projects. Andaiye is a highly respected Caribbean Transformational Leader. She is Guyanese, a founding member of the Working People's Alliance and Red Thread. She is particularly well known for her struggle to recognize unpaid caring labour another outstanding Transformational Caribbean :Leader. See http://www.selmajamesbooktour.net/node/3

Other elements of FTL that inform the IFAF for this chapter include the analysis of gender inequalities as a cross-cutting dimension of all social inequalities. Gender analysis involves taking action to advance human rights and justice for women and all of humanity, especially the marginalized (Antrobus 2004, 167-175; Barriteau 2001, 7; Vassell 2004, 700; Batliwala 2011, 22). Feminist transformational leaders recognize that power---the ability and legitimate authority to influence decision-making---exists discursively, and seek to apply it consultatively but decisively and transparently, and for the greater good (Barriteau 2001, 169-170). Women transformational leaders are not afraid of acquiring power, and are not ambivalent about its use (Barriteau 2001, 5-6; Barriteau 2004, 3-4). This comfort with power is what Barriteau recognizes as a common thread among Caribbean women transformational leaders (Barriteau 2004, 2).[14] It is what allowed Ruth Nita Barrow[15] to take measures, sometimes unpopular, that transformed the operations and image of the World YWCA. Her actions were driven by mission values and strategic goals, not subjective biases (Barriteau 2001, 170). This comfort with power also led the late Eugene Charles, prime minister of Dominica, to admit that she enjoyed having and exercising power (Miller 2006, 256), and Clotil Walcott[16] to relentlessly advocate for government's recognition of unwaged labor in the calculation of Trinidad and Tobago's Gross National Product (GNP), and for labor laws that recognize domestic labor as legitimate work (Global Women's Strike 2012; Vassell 2001: 51-53).

The IFAF concept also examines feminist advocacy by exploring the use of multiple strategies at the individual, organizational, community, national, regional, international and global levels to build networks, alliances and coalitions that advance women's rights in particular, and justice for all of humanity in general. The advocacy is initiated within the local context of women's lived experiences, and seeks not just to influence policy, but to also change its nature, is values based, participatory, equitable, transparent and empowering. It takes multiple forms such as information sharing, lobbying, petitioning, sit-ins, demonstrations and sustained campaigns at multiple levels. A distinctive feature of feminist advocacy from other forms of advocacy is that it consistently demonstrates the connections among, and the need for, changing institutional structures and cultures that perpetuate women's subordination (Evans 2005, 11-12). The advocacy strategies, processes and practices used by the ACWM resulted in

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14 In a 2004 speech to the incoming class of students at the UWI, Cave Hill School of Business,

15 The UN General Secretary appointed Dame Ruth Nita Barrow as convener for organizing the NGO forum for the 3rd World Conference of Women held in Nairobi Kenya in 1985. She was one of the seven secretary generals of the World Council of Churches, Secretary General of the World YWCA and among many other public positions, governor general of Barbados and Barbados' permanent representative to the UN. See Eudine Barriteau and Alan Cobley, 2001)

16 The late Clotil Walcott was one of the founding members of the National Union of Domestic Employees (NUDE) in Trinidad and Tobago. Her advocacy work to advance the rights of domestic laborers and to count unwaged labor in the GNP is legendary. She was recognized and celebrated nationally, regionally and internationally for her contribution in these areas of work. See Rhoda Reddock, "For Clotil Walcott", November 20, 2007, http://www.globalwomenstrike.net/content/clotil-walcott-beloved-comrade.

a spate of social legislations in the 1970s and 1980s that were favorable to women and children. These included social legislation such as maternity leave laws, equal pay for women and men, equal recognition of the rights of children, born in, and outside of wedlock to inherit their parents' property, and legislation aimed at reducing domestic violence (Reddock 1998, 66-69).

Finally, the IFAF considers social movement theory, which is concerned with the collective action of independent social groups using various strategies to demand social change. Antrobus describes the women's movement as global. "….It is different from other social movements and can be defined by diversity, its feminist politics and perspectives, its global reach, and its methods of organising (Antrobus 2004, 9). The women's movement depended on local concerns to fuel its sustainability, and acknowledged the individual as well as institutional, bilateral and multilateral contributions of a wide variety of forces dedicated to advancing women's rights. It also addressed a broad variety of issues cross-cutting the political economy, peace and the environment (Jaquette 1994, 1-5). The IFAF is used to analyze the interventions by the Anglophone Caribbean Women's Movement (ACWM) that were aimed at enhancing women's transformational leadership capacities to act as change agents in public leadership. These influences are embedded in the micro-, meso- and macro- levels of the political economy.

Section 3: Methodology

3 . 2 :   C o n t e n t   A n a l y s i s

For a content analysis the author used a qualitative methodology to cross-reference texts to identify explicit and implicit meanings that feminists and womanists assigned to their advocacy aimed at TL in the AC. The unit of analysis consisted of two types of texts---archival and contemporary. The archival material included online (soft copies) and hard-copies (printed) copies of speeches, magazines, books, research papers, journals, conference papers, meeting reports, project proposals and newspapers that published material relating to the discourse surrounding feminists and womanists TL advocacy. Contemporary materials included transcribed texts of a focus group discussion with eight participants and interviews[17] conducted via telephone and Skype™[18] with nine participants. In addition, two people completed a

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17 The nineteen people who participated in the study (eight in a focus group discussion) and eleven via e-mail, telephone or Skype were among forty-seven people who received a questionnaire. The questionnaire was first administered to Carol Narcisse, then Convenor of the Jamaica Civil Society Coalition (JCSC), initially intended as a pilot test for the questionnaire. However, the information obtained was critical to advancing an understanding of the ACWM efforts at trying to transfer TL approaches to the masses. Information obtained in her questionnaire incorporated into the study findings.
18 The author interviewed five people via telephone and four people via Skype. See Appendix III for the names of the research participants and the method the author used to obtain the data from each.

questionnaire via email.[19] Three people who participated in the focus group discussion provided additional information via a face-to-face interview, a follow-up telephone interview and a written e-mail response.

3.3 Textual, Contextual and Interpretive Analysis

To analyze the archival and contemporary materials the author used a three-tiered process: textual, contextual and interpretive.[20] Textual analysis involved quickly reading the entire text and highlighting relevant themes related to the chapter research questions. Contextual analysis comprised of rereading the text and relating the identified themes to their social context. During this second round of reading the analysis was more in-depth and involved the use of detailed memo writing that identified gender relations, social connections, and ideas and issues in the political economy. The third reading was interpretive and involved assigning meaning to the identified themes.

Historically, academics have analyzed text at these three levels simultaneously (Ruiz 2009, Sections 3, 4 & 5). Authors have identified the social context and its gendered character by referencing multiple sources that analyze the dependent nature of the AC political economy, and the development of the colonial metropolis at the expense of the colonial periphery. Specific works that include this level of analysis which the author reviewed for this chapter include Beckford's "Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Political Economies of the Third World" (Beckford1972, 30-52) and Levitt's writings that focused on the origins and consequences of the debt burden under which the AC economies struggled (Levitt 2005, 183-211

The author also reviewed feminist and womanist writers' work that explored the gendered nature of the political economy in the AC, and the exploitation of women's labor that resulted from international financial institutions' (IFIs) demands that developing countries implement structural adjustment programs (SAP).[21] Some of these authors also explored gender discrimination and hierarchies that emerged under the racist ideology of the plantation economy. These legacies remain embedded in the psyches of citizens and express themselves as institutionalized and internalized racism operating under a liberal post-colonial parliamentary democracy (Beckles 1998, 35-37; Reddock 2007, 17-19).

The third level of content analysis for this chapter involved assigning socio-political and cultural meaning to the selected themes. Themes included the nature of the political economy

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19 See list of participants in Appendix III.
20 The author typed participant responses to interview questions while interviews were in progress. She then retyped and edited responses at the end of the interviews to ensure that the essence of the exchange was captured, as well as the information specific to the research questions. The author then analyzed these edited interviews texts at textual, contextual and interpretive levels.
21 See Antrobus 2004, 67-79; French 1994,165-182; Raaber & Aguiar 2008, 1-23; Sparr 1994, 1-39; and Reddock 1998, 57-73.

and gender hierarchies that prevailed at the time that public discourse on the need for TL emerged. The author also explored interventions that were implemented by the ACWM to enhance women's capacities for public leadership, and the advances, setbacks and contestations that resulted from these interventions. The analysis included evaluating contestations; including patriarchal resistance and resilience in the face of attempts at interrogating and dismantling gender discrimination and gender hierarchies. These resistances manifest at all levels in the personal and political domains. To assign meaning to the data, the author also explored lags between advances in the ideological or private domain, and those in the material or public domain of women's lives, which perpetuated their subordination (Barriteau 1997, 2-4; Barriteau 1998, 191-205; Barriteau 2007, 4-6; Henry-Wilson 1989, 229-253; Leo-Rhynie 2003, 283-299).

3.4 Interview Questionnaires

For interviews, the author emailed an interview questionnaire, that included research objectives and open-ended questions, to forty-seven people in eleven countries,[22] (see Appendices IV and V). These individuals were purposely sampled because of their advocacy work with the ACWM between the periods 1990-2005 and 2009-2012. Members of the ACWM also recommended these individuals.[23] One additional participant completed a revised questionnaire with more pointed questions (see Appendix III, which also briefly characterizes the research participants).[24]

3.5: Validity and Reliability

The author used triangulation of information across texts to map recurring themes and regulate the validity and reliability of the data (Neuman 2006, 325-331).[25] She verified data by crosschecking the occurrence of themes in texts (archival versus contemporary).[26]

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[22] The eleven countries where research participants were contacted included Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Kitts & Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent & The Grenadines, and Trinidad & Tobago. These are the same countries from which women were recruited for training under the "Caribbean Women as Catalysts for Change" program. This program was sponsored by the United Nations Development Fund (UNDP) and UNIFEM in 2004 as a component of the "Gender Mainstreaming: Strengthening the Participation of Women in Politics in Caribbean Political and Parliamentary Processes," the title of which is self-explanatory.

[23] The three women who initially recommended interviewees were Sheila Roseau, executive director of the Directorate of Gender Affairs in Antigua and Barbuda; Judith Soares, head of WAND in Barbados and Leith Dunn, head of the IGDS, UWI, Mona Unit.

[24] These briefs do not give justice to the extensive work done by the research participants and readers should conduct independent research to obtain a more complete picture of their contribution to the ACWM.

[25] In qualitative research, validity refers to the truthfulness, the balance (equal and fair representation) of the information. One way of ensuring validity is to use a wide variety of sources and cross-referencing, or triangulating, the information for content repetitiveness. Validity increases with the use of insider/outsider perspectives on the information collected and determining the balance between both. Reliability was ensured for this chapter through the use of multiple sources and checking for the reappearance of similar themes across texts. Combining variety and content checks enhanced the truthfulness of the data.

[26] Contemporary material included focus group discussion, Skype and telephone interview transcripts.

Documentation of some of the attempts to transform leadership in the AC, such as the book, *Ring Ding in a Tight Corner: A Case Study of Funding and Organisational Democracy in Sistren 1977-1988* provided insights into how power and authority were perceived and managed in one organization of the feminist and womanist ACWM (Ford-Smith 1989). The organization, Sistren Theatre Collective, reflected a microcosm of the ACWM in which women of different social positions, race, ethnicity, knowledge and skills worked together. These differences related to competencies as well as the discursive distribution of power. The differences were aggravated by the demands of international funders, organizational and political party loyalty, and fissures in the wider society that exaggerated internal organizational contestations. These issues generated tensions within and outside of the women's movement that prevented it from achieving its full potential.

3.6: Limitations

We distributed the questionnaire between April-May 2012 when several persons were teaching and managing examinations, hence the written response to the online questionnaire was lower than anticipated.[27] A few persons indicated that recalling the backlash directed at the popular movement during the 1980s was a painful experience that they had deliberately suppressed. In addition, more specific questions may have encouraged more specific responses, such as the responses to the revised questions (Appendix V). In spite of these shortcomings, the opinions and insights of nineteen individuals from whom information was obtained for this chapter provided discernments into the research questions, and invaluable insights into the attempts by the ACWM to advance women's leadership in the region over the last four decades.

Section 4: Findings

4.1 Macro-regional context: historical, socio-economic, geopolitical and cultural

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[27] Traditionally, the response rate to online questionnaires is low (30 percent), (Sheehan, Kim 2001, *Survey Response Rates: A Review at http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2001.tb00117.x/full.* Even so, because the proposed participants were purposively targeted, the expectation was that this target would be surpassed.

Q.1: What was the historical and regional context within which the feminists/womanists struggle for transformational leadership unfolded?

Discussions regarding the need for TL emerged in the AC between 1997-1998 and were formally articulated in the UNIFEM Caribbean Strategy and Business Plan (1997- 2000).[28] The Plan, inter alia committed to "Changing the Paradigm of Leadership in the Caribbean".[29] It addressed the necessity of implementing measures that would advance the livelihoods, well-being and political representation of women and the communities in which they resided.[30] The motivation for the TL project resulted from a confluence of factors including the search for a non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian, collective style of leadership that was oppositional to that prevailing in traditional organisations. This desire to be more inclusive, consultative, respectful and equal was a sentiment derived from the social movements of the 1960s and the 1970s, and struggles within the organizations to practice equality.[31] It was also an attempt to recover spaces previously available to women's advocacy and action for transformation, which were lost or significantly reduced with the setbacks experienced by the democratic movements in the 1970s and 1980s[32]. The ACWM also made attempts to create new spaces.

The Neo-Liberal Economic Model

The desire for TL was also a way of contesting the negative impacts of the neo-liberal model that aimed to reverse the gains and memories of the democratic movement of the 1970s (Antrobus 2004, 28-35; French 1994, 165-182; Raaber & Aguiar 2008, 1-23; Sparr 1994, 1-39). The neo-liberal model included demands from International Financial Institutions (IFIs) for beneficiary countries to implement "conditionalities" such as structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). The SAP included demands for beneficiaries to implement policies such as liberalizing their import and foreign exchange markets, reduce food subsidies and cut social services such as education and health. These reversals increased the burden on women who filled the gaps

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[28] Readers should bear in mind that the quest for a different style of leadership in the Caribbean also emerged from the findings of the West Indian Commission (1992) that concluded that a crisis of leadership existed in the region including a lack of confidence in the political system. See Overview of the Report of the West Indian Commission: Time for Action. 1992. The west Indian Commission. Christ Church, Barbados: Cole's Printery Ltd.

[29] "UNIFEM Caribbean Office Summary Proposal: Changing the Paradigm of Leadership in the Caribbean: Transformational Leadership Project" (n. d.).

[30] This comment is emphasised because it indicates the tradition of the women's movement to be concerned with women's rights as much as their livelihoods.

[31] This is also the period of the international social movements for peace, civil rights, Black Power, a New International Economic Order, and the Non-Aligned Movement.

[32] Focus Group Discussion, April 5, 2012, Kingston, Jamaica

left by the withdrawal of state resources (French). Gaps resulted from the closure of community child care facilities, and safety nets for cushioning the reduction in services for the sick and the elderly, including those persons living with HIV (PLWHIV). Superimposing these demands for women's services on their traditional contribution to community service increased their work load and meant that they were less accessible for public leadership, although their training and economic independence better positioned them for this leadership (Henry-Wilson 1989).

Non-historical and Selective Analysis of the 70s and 80s

At the ideological level those who believed that social services were a burden on an impoverished state, set out to erase the memory of the gains of the 1970s. They did this by focusing exclusively on a non-historical and selective analysis of its failures. They positioned these explanations outside of the unequal global power dynamics and the national cultural and socio-psychic challenges, including those linked to the post-colonial condition. The ACWM's resistance to this broad brush was reflected organizationally in shifts to their internal governance structures. These included efforts such as changing the governance structure of Sistren Collective and CAFRA.[33] For example, Sistren's general meeting or "Sistren's Parliament" and CAFRA's multi-tiered regional organizational structure, reflected these organizations' rejection of authoritarian leadership, and their desire for equality and inclusiveness. In "Sistren's Parliament" these desires were reflected in their weekly or bi-weekly meetings in which the chair rotated, members freely added items to the agenda and no job descriptions existed. However, as more and more decisions were referred to the "Parliament", meetings became longer and sometimes lasted from 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., and sometimes continued into two days. After a while everyone received the same pay, and the locus of power and authority, and accountability – including disciplinary action, became difficult to implement (FGD April 5, 2012). The women realized that this approach needed to change. Their desire to find a workable solution that enabled organizational efficiency at the same time that it advanced equality also encouraged their search for TL.

Influence of UN Conferences and Their Outcomes

Among factors that contributed to strengthening the call for a TL style in the Caribbean was the influence that UN conference outcomes had on leading Anglophone Caribbean feminists and womanists. These women were integrally involved in the regional and global movement, which energized them and catalyzed their efforts to transform women's rights issues

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[33] See CAFRA. Accessed November 10, 2012. http://www.cafra.org/spip.php?article25.

in the region. Their efforts were reflected in the spate of social programs and legislations that were implemented in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s that supported women and their children. The Maternity Leave Law, laws against domestic violence, equal pay for women and men, and increased access to education, health and seed capital for starting small businesses all contributed to increasing women's autonomy. For the first time in their lives some women were engaged in waged work. Together, these advances resulted in more women being available for leadership positions, but it did not happen (Henry-Wilson 1989, 241-252; Henry-Wilson 2004, 587-589). Eudine Barriteau's persistent discourse on the failure of the political directorate to address the ideological issues of gender inequality at the same time that it addressed advances in women's material conditions provides insights into this seemingly intractable dichotomy (Barriteau 1997, 2003, 2007). Before exploring it, however, the analysis of the influence that the international conferences had on the ACWM will be further assessed.

The third World Conference on Women in Nairobi, Kenya (1986), was an important milestone toward shaping women's leadership in the AC. Ruth Nita Barrow was appointed by the UN Secretary General as convenor of the NGO forum, which was attended by over 15,000 NGO representatives. She encouraged the collaboration of regional non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to attend the forum "with one voice" (Network News 2010/4).[34] Her emphasis on collaboration provided an impetus for the ACWM to increase partnerships, alliances, and networking. In fact, her entire life expresses that of the quintessential Caribbean transformational leader (Barriteau & Colby 2001). She embraced power, was not ambivalent about it, and was decisive in her decision-making. She practised open and horizontal communication, believed in harnessing the collective use of indigenous resources for community development, and promoted a Caribbeanness rather than insularity and individuality (ibid.).

The fourth World Conference, convened in Beijing, China in 1995 and its outcome, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 12 Point Plan intensified the focus and legitimacy for women's advocacy to advance in top public leadership (Beijing Platform for Action, 1995).[35] Goals G1 and G2 of the Action Plan provided for women's equal access to, full participation in and the building of their capacities (leadership training, self-esteem building etc.) for decision-making, leadership and engagement in power structures. The Platform for Action therefore called on all state and non-state agencies to take the necessary steps to advance women's

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[34] Network News is the online publication of The Network of NGOs in Trinidad and Tobago for the Advancement of Women.
[35] See Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action: The Fourth World Conference on Women – Adopted at the 16th Plenary Meeting on 15th September, 1995, at http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf pp. 81-85. Accessed, October 18, 2012. This report sets out the decisions aimed at advancing women's human rights, made at the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, China in 1995.

participation in public leadership. In turn, the ACWM contributed to the fourth World Conference by, inter alia, articulating the need for the recognition of unwaged labor in the calculation of the GDP of national economies. They also presented the advocacy measures and outcomes adopted in Trinidad and Tobago as best practices in support of recognizing care labor as productive work. They were strident that women's contribution to the social production and reproduction of society be acknowledged, recognized and celebrated.

The conference was also instrumental in inspiring the women's movement in Trinidad and Tobago to develop a political manifesto---The 10-Point Plan. The plan was in response to the call for early elections in 1995 three weeks after the Beijing Conference, and13 months before elections were constitutionally due. The women activists were also concerned about tensions arising from ethnic differences mainly among Africans and Indians. The plan articulated the women's demand for, inter alia an end to ethnically divisive politics, more women in public leadership, and an economy that responded to popular needs. A code of ethics for people serving in public office, a gender analysis of public policies and programs, and an increase in women's representation to a minimum of 30% of political party candidates (Ellis 2003, 64-65; Reddock 2004, 38-39), were also included in the manifesto.

Women's Material Versus Ideological Position: from Gender Equality to Gender Justice

Barriteau cited the dissonance between women's capacities and their absence from public leadership as the dichotomy between changing gender roles in women's material conditions and stagnation in the ideological sphere of their lives (Barriteau 1997, 3-5). She believed that women continued to be positioned as inferior and subordinate and therefore confined to the domestic/private space at the same time that advances in their material conditions potentially positioned them for leadership in the public arena. She also agreed that the dynamics of the socio-historical and cultural environment presented barriers to women's advancement into top leadership positions. Her perspective was similar to that of Henry-Wilson's (1989, 241-252; 2004, 587-589), Hay-Webster's (2008, 6), and Taylor's and Marshall-Burnett's whose opinions were obtained in telephone interviews with the author on April 28 and 14, 2012, respectively. They blamed women's stagnation in public leadership on the persistence of patriarchal norms in the political parties and cultural biases in the society that privilege male leadership.

She also noted that the status of men (patriarchal dominance and male privilege) is normalized as the ideal citizen, thus for women to attain equality they must become like men. This social structure is inherently flawed because it engenders domination and privileges

masculinity over femininity--- a situation that perpetuates inequality. Further exploring this thesis, Barriteau suggests that the essence of the dichotomy between women's private and public leadership was reflected in the states' insistence that gender equality, measured and monitored by the linear progression of sex-disaggregated data, became an end in itself rather than a means to inform the strategies and processes for pursuing the desired end of attaining gender justice. She defined gender justice as the achievement of qualitative changes in women's and men's lives where neither is privileged, where masculinity and femininity are ascribed equal status, and women, men, girls and boys have equal opportunities to access and control society's resources (Barriteau 2007, 3).

Barriteau further argues that the failure of the post-colonial liberal democratic state and the women's movement to relentlessly pursue the policies that would create this qualitative shift provides fuel for male backlash. Not surprisingly, therefore public discourse juxtaposes women's material advances against men's social challenges, and blame women for men's so called marginalization (Barriteau 1997, 2-4). This blaming of women for men's social challenges suggests therefore, that men have a privileged and a priori right to access society's resources that women are allegedly usurping (Barriteau 1997, 2007; Figueroa 2004). This discourse fails to interrogate the appropriateness of male socialization practices, the social definition and expectations of masculinity and femininity and men's self-motivation and personal responsibility for the social challenges that they confront. It implies that patriarchy and male dominance must remain fixed and frozen in time and space, and that cracks in its armoury must be restored forthwith. By extension, women must therefore remain confined to the domestic, private sphere and their entry into public leadership is perceived as a violation of societal norm---namely their status as mothers, caregivers, nurturers and culture bearers. These are the social criteria used to determine women's achievements, and they are judged inadequate if women dare to violate these norms (Barriteau 1997).

This approach preserves cultural bias in favor of patriarchal leadership that excludes women from the top echelons of political parties. Further, the situation persists even though women constitute more than 80% of party workers. They remain as foot soldiers in their political parties (Figueroa 2004, 135-140). Women, as participants in the culture are also complicit in supporting male leadership over women's (Marjorie Taylor, April 28, 2012; Syringa Marshall-Burnett, April 14, 2012 in discussions with the author). Persadie (2014)) indicates in her study on quotas in the AC in this publication that only Guyana has a quota for women's representation on party candidates' lists. It is also one of only two AC countries in which women's

representation in parliament exceeds 30 percent (Women in National Parliaments: World Classification 2013).[36]

These explanations of the continued domination of male leadership in top public positions after nearly forty years of women's advocacy and training in the region seems puzzling. However, if this phenomenon is examined through the lens of liberal ideology that justifies women's subordination in the domestic sphere, its persistence is better understood (Barriteau 1997, 3-6; Barriteau 2007, 4-6). Barriteau's theorizing is reinforced by Leo-Rhynie's 2003 study on student governance at the University of the West Indies (UWI) Mona campus. The study found that in spite of the fact that 70% of the student population were females; males were most consistently elected to top leadership positions. The study concluded that occupants of power, mainly males, were reluctant to give up power or even share it with women. Male leaders would bond and organize around preserving their positions if women indicated an interest in top leadership. They even resorted to character assassination and misogynistic campaign strategies to undermine women's attempts to challenge leadership. This included conducting and publishing research on their tiniest indiscretions dating as far back as high school (Leo-Rhynie 2003, 280). The support for male leadership by women is not just a deep cultural bias that is peculiar to the AC. In fact, some women collaborate with and benefit from their association with male dominance. They design techniques for negotiating with patriarchy to ameliorate the oppressive conditions that may even result in the increased domination of other women. These negotiations are nuanced based on cultural peculiarities (Kandiyoti 1988, 280-281). In a later article Kandiyoti critiqued her earlier perspective by acknowledging that these alliances between some women and patriarchal men, while improving women's individual conditions, failed to transform patriarchy at the systemic level (Kandiyoti 1998 cited in Hammami, 2006, 1350).[37] These are issues that should be considered as the ACWM rethinks its strategic approach to advancing women's rights as well as the rights of all peoples.

Leo-Rhynie further notes that the bias in favor of male leadership was explicitly supported by the UWI administration, symbolized by the assignment of the president of the guild of undergraduate living quarters to the only all-male hall of residence on the Mona campus. The hall also has an unenviable reputation of being chauvinistic. In addition, the soft positions in the Student Guild of Undergraduates, such as public relations officer and secretary were condescendingly reserved for women, while top leadership positions were exclusively reserved

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[36] See Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Women in National Parliaments,* December 1, 2013, accessed January 5, 2014, http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm Grenada is the other AC country in which five (33%) of the 15 members of parliament are women.

[37] Academic Dictionaries and Encyclopedias: Deniz Kandiyoti, at http://en.academic.ru/dic.nsf/enwiki/5887660. Accessed March 20, 2014.

for males (Leo-Rhynie 2003, 293-294). This positioning of women as second-class citizens is evident in the wider society, and is what undergirds Barriteau's arguments that while women have progressed in the material spheres of their lives they continue to be oppressed in the domestic and so-called private domain where their work is undervalued and assigned inferior status. Until society accords equal status to women's production and reproductive work to men's labor in the public sphere, they will continue to be blamed for men's under performance and so-called loss of privilege (Barriteau 1997, 2-4).

From Women in Development to Gender in Development

At the time that TL was mooted in the 1990s, the women's movement recognized that the advances made during the decade for women under the development paradigm, women in development (WID), although very important, had not significantly altered the unequal power relationships between women and men. In response to the failure of the WID strategy to dramatically alter the power dynamics seemingly inherent in gender hierarchies, the global women's movement advocated for a shift in development policy from WID to gender and development (GAD) (Rathbeger 1989, 1-6; Connelly, Li, MacDonald, & Parpart, 2000 56-64). Whereas the main objective of the WID strategy was to increase production by increasing women's participation in the market economy, the GAD strategy was to deconstruct gender hierarchies that block gender equality and equity in the market economy and in public leadership. The main action for achieving GAD is gender mainstreaming (GM). The main objective of GM is to ensure that equality and equity among the sexes is advanced by accounting for the special needs of women, men, girls and boys in development planning of projects, programs and policies. The GAD approach acknowledges that women have always participated in development, as producers and reproducers of human capital, but largely excluded from waged labor. It also acknowledges that integrating women into waged labour, while increasing their economic autonomy, in many instances increases their workload without altering gender hierarchies that perpetuate women's subordination. In fact, as Barriteau points out, women's material advances in the public domain have intensified male backlash in public discourse, as well as in domestic violence (Barriteau 1997, 3-6).

Q 2: What is the history of the idea and movement around women as transformational leaders in public life? What were the debates, strategies, successes and limitations?

Whereas the ACWM did not discuss the concept of TL until the end of the 20th century, the desire and action towards a transformed style of leadership emerged in the early 1970s. The actions were aimed at establishing a non-authoritarian and consultative leadership rooted in collective processes aimed at treating everyone equally and with respect (FGD April 5, 2012). This striving for equality and non-authoritarian structures and operations was a worldwide occurrence in the women's movement (Batliwala 2011, 21). Within this context, UNIFEM Caribbean (UN Women), under the Directorship of Jocelyn Massiah, a Guyanese Caribbean woman, initiated the quest for training Caribbean women leaders as "agents of [transformational] change". She was no doubt influenced by several events including the Beijing 1995 call to action to empower women for public leadership and the search for a Caribbean leadership identity after the US invasion of Grenada, Walther Rodney's assassination in Guyana (Hinds 2000)[38], and the decline and fall of Michael Manley's progressive government in Jamaica (Bertram 2006).[39] Each occurred in the first half of the 1980s and delivered a major setback to the left movement.

Messiah's leadership was also influenced by the fallout of the shift from the Keynesian economic development model (state stimulus to increase employment), to the neo-liberal, Washington Consensus' approach embraced by Caribbean governments. This approach was the brainchild of United States President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, of the United Kingdom. The pursuit of neo-liberal economic policies under the Washington Consensus resulted in reversing many social advances made in the 1970s and early 1980s. In addition, Massiah was also influenced to push for changes in women's lives and the lives of their constituents because of her experience as head of the UWI's Institute for Social and Economic Research, (Eastern Caribbean).[40] During her tenure she led a team of researchers who conducted the first major study on women's lives in the Caribbean---Women in the Caribbean Project (Massiah 1998, 1; Senior 1991, 1-2).

Roberta Clarke, who succeeded Messiah as director of UNIFEM Caribbean (UN Women), later assumed the mantle of striving for women's TL changes. She also came to the task with valuable experience gained from leading the CAFRA action research project on sexual violence in the region (CAFRA News 1992). Some of the outcomes of that project shaped legislation dealing with sexual violence in all CARICOM member states and provided inputs for the model legislation developed by the Caribbean Community member states to guide national

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[38] This online article was posted April 7, 2000 by the author, Hinds, http://www.guyanacaribbeanpolitics.com/wpa/history.html
[39] Online article which describes the nature of the political economy in which the Michael Manly government came to power in 1972 and lost power by 1980.
[40] The Institute for Social and Economic Research (Eastern Caribbean) is one of three units located at the UWI Cave Hill Campus in Barbados. The other two units are at Mona (Kingston), Jamaica and St Augustine (Port of Spain, Trinidad & Tobago.

legislation on sexual violence (CARICOM Model Legislation on Sexual Offences 2011). The experiences and exposure of these women to the challenges confronting women in their public and private lives shaped their thinking and informed their approach to designing a strategy for TL interventions for advancing women's leadership in the AC.

Creating a Critical Mass of Gender Sensitive Women in the Anglophone Caribbean

The descriptive analysis of the macro-, meso- and micro-political economy explained earlier is the context within which UNIFEM Caribbean (UN Women) pledged to transform the quality---the "content" and "conduct" of women's leadership in the AC region. The idea was not to just increase the number of women, but to create a critical mass of gender sensitive women who were knowledgeable, competent and committed to running for political and other public decision making leadership positions. They were also to be trained in taking appropriate action to influence gender sensitive policy making and implementation to advance gender justice. The expectation was that these women would provide an alliance and network of support nationally and regionally, encourage other women to offer themselves for leadership, and assist in broadening and strengthening a constituency of public support for women's leadership, holding leadership accountable and demanding good governance practices. UNIFEM also expected that this trained group of women would provide a space in which veteran women leaders could have conversations, mentor and coach aspirants, and new comers, especially young women (UNIFEM 2004).[41]

Transformational Leadership: Definition, Core Content, Location and Manifestation

The discourse surrounding TL was concerned with its definition, its core content, where it was located, and how it manifested in women's lived experiences. Women in the movement also debated the dialectical role between leaders and members of the communities in which they lived. They asked research participants their opinion on the form and content that the TL project should take and the characteristics that would identify a woman as a transformational leader. They also analyzed training programs to determine if their content and format were engendering TL. The information gleaned from the research helped to inform the design of the leadership development interventions. The curriculum: the content material, instructional

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[41] UNIFEM, 2004, *Catalysts for Change: Caribbean Women and Governance*, Accessed October 18, 2012, http://cfcportal.net/artman/publish/article_47.shtml.

methods, pedagogy, resource persons, target audiences, target countries, and the type of intervention to be made at the national, and regional levels, were influenced by information obtained from the research commissioned by UNIFEM, and conducted by Barriteau and Vassell in 2001.

Women as Agents of Change

The UNIFEM's internal document "Changing the Paradigm of Leadership in the Caribbean Transformational Leadership Project" outlined the objectives of the TL course, its broad content, target audience and target countries, which provided valuable insights into the ideas and the history of the movement that informed the development of TL in the ACWM. The document committed UNIFEM to creating a gender sensitive, human-centred, sustainable development project for the region that would involve women as agents of change at every level of leadership in the society. It pledged to conduct a gendered analysis of the historical, psychosocial, political and economic barriers preventing more women from participating in public leadership. It also pledged to act to engender leadership structures and processes that empowered women and transformed their leadership practices and to identify the location and practice of exemplars of leadership. The organization also committed to establishing learning communities for the training and development of transformational leaders in any AC country where best practices existed (Changing the Paradigm of Leadership in the Caribbean UNIFEM Caribbean, n.d.).

UNIFEM Caribbean also agreed to use adult learning methodologies for training that engendered conscientization, thus committing to incrementally, but radically, change the paradigm of leadership across the region. It also committed to exposing participants to gender sensitive policy development, including how to mainstream gender. The latter was to be guided by the Commonwealth's gender management systems methodology (Gender Management System Handbook 1999, 11-12) and the CARICOM Plan of Action 2005 (CPoA 2003). The CPoA promoted gender equality, social justice and sustainable development using GM as the main tool of action (CPoA 2003, 4),

The planned curriculum included the following courses: 1) transformational leadership development and gender sensitivity policy analysis, using St. Kitts and Nevis as a case study; 2) special issues workshops such as promoting peace, treating Belize as a case study; and 3) economic empowerment that promotes women's economic autonomy, using Jamaica as a case study. The latter would include researching, documenting and sharing women's experiences to enable other women to emulate the best practices of the cases. The fourth course was titled

"Increasing Women's Representation at the Local, National and Regional Levels of Formal Politics and Challenging the Political System to Change Qualitatively". The expectation was to have the entire region benefit from the training of women for political representation at all levels of the political system (UNIFEM 2004).

Gender Sensitive Policy, Transformational Leadership and Winning Elections

The training interventions examined for this chapter were focused on building women's capacity for analyzing and developing gender sensitive public policy, practicing a transformational style of leadership, and developing skills for winning electoral politics. Much of the training emphasis was on the latter---how to win elections. It appears that not much training was conducted to develop and implement the curricula on peace and women's economic empowerment (Vassell 2001 revised, 13-60)[42] ---arguably two of the most important issues impacting the lives of Caribbean nationals at the micro-, meso- and macro-levels. Why has the ACWM not placed more emphasis on these important issues? Violence and the economy---are they sacred cows? Are they overwhelming? Are these issues reserved for the masculine gaze? Feminists and womanists, like others who offer themselves for leadership, need to ask if anyone can conceivably offer themselves for leadership in the AC without addressing these salient issues.

Transformational Change at the Personal Level

The UNIFEM document also contemplated the qualitative changes that a transformed leader should have. These involved experiencing a paradigm shift at the personal level that manifested in self-confidence grounded in spirituality. It involved engaging in a process of continuous critical reflection and renewal, taking responsibility for the existing reality, and for effecting change at the personal, community and society levels. Other qualities of a transformational leader involved taking risks, viewing challenges as opportunities, being open to creativity and innovation; and envisioning and embracing the possibilities for change. This change, UNIFEM believed, must enable the development of self and others, and exercise 'power with', not 'power over'. Power sharing implies transparency and accountability, and exercising authority with compassion. UNIFEM linked this changed leadership style to citizens'

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[42] Vassell reported on the training interventions in the AC region no specific training focused on peace and business development. In addition the training which occurred in the 2003-2005 period focused on how to win elections (UNIFEM 2004).

human rights, which is one of the reasons they linked TL to the CPoA. At its core, the CPoA addresses the development of the region's human capital and advancing social justice by dismantling gender hierarchies.

Targeting Women in the Community, in Local Politics and the Private Sector

The UNIFEM TL program targeted women at three levels. The first level was in community where women traditionally serve, especially through churches and service clubs. The objective of focusing on women's community leadership was to identify best practices for sustainability and determine how these women exercised leadership practices that were transformational. The second group that the UNIFEM program targeted was women engaged in local politics. These women were assumed to be a natural pool of potential participants because of their experience in public service, and their familiarity with public policy and change processes. The third tier UNIFEM targeted was women in formal leadership positions in representational politics, trade unions, the media, and the private sector. The aim was to increase women's representation at the local, national and regional levels of formal politics and challenge the political system to change qualitatively. In addition, UNIFEM pledged to integrate TL training in all aspects of its work because of the crosscutting and interlocking nature of leadership (Changing the Paradigm of Leadership in the Caribbean UNIFEM Caribbean, n.d.). This approach recognized that leadership was discursively distributed, exists everywhere and at every level of society.

Addressing Difference, Issues of Race, Ethnicity, Class, Culture and Masculinity

The ACWM also acted to transform relationships relating to race, ethnicity, class, culture and masculinity. For example, in Trinidad and Tobago the 1995, Women's Platform Coalition (WPC) Ten Points to Power manifesto (mentioned earlier)---included one point calling for an end to ethnically divisive politics. [43] The group, Working Women for Social Progress (Workingwomen) collaborated with the Hindu Women's Organisation (HWO) to launch an anti-racism, including internalized racism) campaign (Wells, cited in Reddock 2004: 19-39). In Guyana, women, led mainly by members of the Working People's Alliance (WPA), formed a

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[43] The Women's Platform Coalition (WPC) was a multi-ethnic, multi-racial, multi-class group of women, which was formed in the aftermath of the 4th World Conference for Women (1995), when elections were called 13 months before they were constitutionally due. In addition, racial and ethnic tension surfaced because, for the first time in the post-colonial period an East Indian led government was poised to take over from an African led government. This was also the context that spurred Workingwomen to initiate the anti-racism campaign which began with a focus on racist lyrics in popular songs (Reddock 2007, 17-19).

women's group, Red Thread (1986). Red Thread mobilized African, East Indian, and Amerindian women around an economic project. The project brought women of different ethnic groups together, some of who had never interacted before (Nettles 2007, 57-59; Kempadoo 2013, 6-7). The WPA women's motivation was not surprising because the group was founded on the principle of building cross-ethnic, cross-class, and cross-location (urban/rural) alliances (Hinds 2000).

The women's movement also attempted transformational change by addressing issues of difference. These centred on the need to have "open and honest" discussions about a development paradigm, other than the neoliberal approach dictated by IFIs, suited to the needs of the region as well as issues of race, class, and poverty (Mohammed 1991, 20-21; Babb 1991 31). The absence of working class women in positions of leadership in the ACWM (Andaiye 2002, 13) and the exclusion of the experiences of East-Indian, Chinese, Portuguese and European women from the post-colonial, anti-imperialist discourse of reclaiming identity was, understandably, confined mainly to African women in the movement (Baksh-Soodeen, 1998 77-82). The reason was that the national, regional and global discourse emerged in the context of white supremacy juxtaposed to the civil rights, black power and anti-war movements of the 60s and 70s.

The differences among women that emerged under slavery and lingered in institutionalized racism in the post-colonial period also shaped the trajectory of difference in the ACWM. The white feminized woman, the brown 'over-sexed' woman and the brutish, masculine, reproducer, African woman engendered racial and social hierarchies that shaped the evolution of differences in the women's movement and needed to be transformed (Beckles 1998, 36-40). The hegemonic ideology of white supremacy that privileged "whiteness" and justified the enslavement of Africans and the indentureship of East Indians also promoted conflict among the "other" and deliberately fostered internalized racism, classism and gender hierarchies. The search for identity that emerged among the subalterns as a part of the anti-imperialist struggle has the potential to exaggerate the fissures of difference engendered by white supremacy. The ACWM also recognized that these cracks were in need of transformative change (Mohammed 1998, 27; Reddock 2007, 17-19).

The construction of masculinity and femininity as binary opposites was also targeted for transformation. Stereotypically, on the one hand, African heterosexual males achieved manhood by having multiple partners, being the head of households, being the provider, not

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sharing domestic chores, being unemotional and being in charge of discipline in the household. On the other hand, womanhood was perceived as the opposite of manhood. Women must be monogamous, faithful, a nurturer and caregiver, confined to the domestic space and excluded from top public leadership positions (Barriteau 1997, 2-4; Mohammed 1998, 26). Homosexuals were somewhat similarly treated as women, as deviant males to be abhorred. Heterosexual males could never be a 'mama man' (doing domestic chores considered a feminine domain) or homosexual. Women argued that the construction of masculinity needed to be examined and transformed (Mohammed 1996, 6-24;[44] Mohammed 1998, 27; Tang Nain 1993, 19-20). The increasing violence among male youth as perpetrator and victim, and violence directed at homosexual males by heterosexual males were also placed on the agenda for discourse and transformation (Lewis 2007, 1; Lewis & Carr 2009, 1-2).

Another important issue targeted by the women's movement for transformation was the male marginalization theory advanced by Errol Miller. The theory suggested that the advances made by women in the region resulted from their conspiratorial alliance with white men that was designed to prevent black men from attaining power and leadership in the society (Barriteau 2003, 334-338). This myth set the stage for virulent attacks on women and blaming them for increased domestic violence and the underperformance of boys especially in education (Barriteau 1997; Barriteau 2003, 340).

Feminist/Womanist Methodology

The methodology for advancing TL was feminist in its intention and action. Women were to be trained to become catalysts for transformational change, to advance social justice and disrupt gender hierarchies and inequalities, and be empowered in the process. Their lived experiences were validated as tools of analysis and for pedagogy. The delivery of the course content was documented to create outputs to be used in additional training sessions, and to identify best practices to be used as a development tool. These documents were subsequently circulated to assist other women to build personal and community autonomy.

The feminist bottoms-up approach to decision making was also reflected in the approach to the project. UNIFEM's proposal was not a finished product to be endorsed by the ACWM. UNIFEM developed a proposal for discussion and consultative decision-making. The project planners

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[44] Mohammed in her 1996 presentation to the UWI symposium on establishing a research agenda for masculinity described the inherited narratives as, promiscuous and irresponsible African male, powerful and distrustful African female; East Indians as excessively patriarchal males and submissive females, White males as powerful, white females as weak and fit for ridicule and the brown woman as 'sex object' (p. 6). In our quest to interrogate and reconstruct Caribbean masculinity and femininity we must reject this stereotype she argued.

met in Barbados in May 1999 to explore their understanding of a Caribbean TL paradigm. Peggy Antrobus was the keynote speaker, who along with 25 other women, discussed the conceptual framework that they hoped would inform a Caribbean feminist and womanist perspective for TL. It is clear that the women were determined that 'a new' leadership paradigm should reflect the desires of the region's citizens---hence the consultative approach. It is within this context that UNIFEM commissioned two studies by Barriteau (2001) and Vassell (2001 revised) to define the concept of TL and its expression in women's experiences. This approach was reflective of the desire for grounding leadership in the cultural reality of the people of the AC.

Q3: To what extent has feminist/womanist advocacy empowered women to be TL in public life?

The main methods or inputs that feminist/womanist advocacy aimed to empower women to be TL in public life were trainings and other forms of advocacy such as mentorships with veteran politicians; and engagements in public political discourse that focused on issues and integrity rather than personality, effective political campaigns and engendering public policies. At the national level, forms of advocacy other than training included the development and presentation of women's manifestoes and plans of action, and the presentation of lists to politicians and other public fora of high profile, committed, and qualified women willing to serve in public leadership. Additional means to empower women to perform TL included petitions, mentorship programs, media and communication campaigns, national consultations and lobbying governments and private sector entities to support an increase in the number of women in public leadership. In addition, national consultations brought broad coalitions together that were aimed at encouraging popular participation in governance, and enhancing the responsiveness, transparency and accountability of politicians.

Regional Interventions

At the regional level, the training and advocacy objectives were similar but elaborated by the principle of networking. In this regard technology was used to implement a web-based interactive portal for the sharing of information and the theorizing of issues through discussion, lessons learned and problem solving. The convening of symposia at the regional level, such as the *Engendering Local Government* symposium held in St. Lucia in 1997, provided a catalyst for participating countries to intensify their work to advance local government reform. The ACWM

identified local government as a strategic entry point for increasing women's experiences in elected political leadership. This entry point is logical because it provides a main interface between women and the state at the point where women make the greatest use of social services provided by the state, and where women are already active in leadership positions.

A Curriculum that Empowers Women

Training focused on building women's skills, knowledge of the constitution, political and legislative processes, how to win elections and engender public policy.[45] In addition, the curriculum involved veteran women politicians sharing coping strategies, building public awareness to support women's leadership as viable and competent public leaders, and increasing community participation in national governance. Advocacy strategies included activities such as rallies, demonstrations and media campaigns. These interventions, which were implemented at the national, sub–regional and regional levels, intensified public discourse toward shifting the political culture away from male dominance and toward women's public leadership (Catalysts for Change: Caribbean Women and Governance 2004).

In addition, the curriculum was continuously improved by integrating lessons learned and best practices gained from the implementation of each training module. For example, content material on winning local government elections, which was developed by the Network of NGOs of Trinidad and Tobago for the Advancement of Women (Network of NGOs) in 1997, was upgraded, published and used during 2003 and 2004 training sessions.[46]

The Caribbean Policy Development Centre (CPDC) (2003-2005) organized and delivered training sessions in Barbados. Recruits were from the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) and Jamaica. The CPDC collaborated with national, as well as regional groups such as the Frederick Egbert Stiftung (FES) and CAFRA to deliver these sessions. The organization then used best practices and lessons learned from these trainings to revise the publications *Guidelines for Winning in Politics* (2003) and *Gender Aware Policy Making in the Caribbean – A Manual (2010, 2nd Edition).* These published manuals were used in subsequent training sessions and participants received copies that they later referenced as necessary and shared with others (Guidelines for Winning in Politics 2003).

TL curriculums also included trainings on conducting media and communications campaigns, managing relations with the media, fundraising strategies, constituency campaign

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[45] Analysis of the constitution was considered a prerequisite for demonstrating to women how the fundamental law of their countries was gendered and discriminatory, and therefore in need of reform. Not all programs initially focused on an analysis of the Constitution.
[46] One element of the content material was "Guidelines for Winning in Politics" handbook, which was supported with funding from the Canadian international Development Fund (CIDA) and the Caribbean Policy Development Centre (CPDC).

management, self-etiquette, dress, ethics, image management, self-confidence and self-esteem building and networking at the local, regional and international levels were also included in the curriculum. Facilitators were veteran politicians who had appropriate instructional competencies. Mentees were twinned with veteran politicians to share their experiences, and encourage them to give public service. In addition, mentees received videotapes of veteran politicians that they could replay at their convenience for inspiration and reinforcement of best practices. Trainers also provided media personnel with these videotapes to increase their exposure to women in political leadership, and encourage increased coverage of women politicians. (UNIFEM and UNDP Barbados/ OECS Project 2004).

TL training participants received a significant number of interventions of various types, duration and targeted outcomes with the intention of creating a critical mass that would result in a qualitative shift in leadership practices (see Appendix I for a summary of these interventions and outcomes, in relation to the short, medium and long-term objectives). The wide variety of interventions indicates the different levels and strategies, processes and procedures that the ACWM used to advance women's TL. It built alliances within and across political parties, and among private sector, government and NGO groups. The outreach of the 51% Coalition in Jamaica[47] to the private sector---the Jamaica Stock Exchange (JSE) and the Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica (PSOJ), reflects the flexibility and multi-group alliances that may be necessary to create transformational change in the future. This collaboration marks a shift from the 1970s and 1980s when different interest groups tended to work in silos (Carol Narcisse, interview).

Negotiating with Patriarchy

It is not clear the extent to which the training interventions, with the exception of the 2003-2005 series held in Antigua, Guyana and St. Kitts Nevis, addressed the issue of negotiating with the various manifestations of patriarchy. This issue of how women negotiate and build alliances individually with patriarchy to ease the oppression that they confront from male domination, even at the expense of other women, was explored by Kandiyoti (1988). Her thesis, although nuanced by context, resonated with women, especially in the south. Designing the curriculum to consider strategies to passively and overtly resist patriarchal domination that may result in systemic changes is an option that the movement may need to consider. This is

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[47] The 51% Coalition is the broad alliance of women's organizations in Jamaica that is struggling for the appointment of women to boards and commissions in which the sex composition of the board of directors would be no less than 40%, or no more than 60% of each sex.

especially important in light of the aggressive and misogynistic nature of the male backlash that women are facing in the region in response to shifting gender roles. Even so, these negotiations would need to address the ideological roots of male domination, and be mediated by skilled conciliators while networking with empathetic men in broad based community groups.

The curriculum content seemed overtly focused on winning elections, not on interrogating and opposing the resistors to women's progress to top leadership positions. In this regard, questions arise over whether TL curriculums should: 1) address how to build sustainable cross-party alliances at the parliamentary level; 2) train participants on how to build intra-party alliances that could resist men being brought into top leadership positions, bypassing the rank and file membership that provides over 80% of party organizers and workers (Figueroa 2004, 135-140); and 3) address how to create cultural shifts among women, most of whom prefer male candidates (Marjorie Taylor, discussion). Apart from cultural biases that associate leadership with males (Henry-Wilson 1989, 229-253), politicians in the AC operate in economies with high levels of economic dependency which predisposes party members to 'toe-the-party line'. This obedience guarantees patronage and discourage members who may prefer a female candidate to publicly state their support for her. In addition, political parties place men in winnable seats, which attract funding from old boys' networks. Conversely, they often place women in unwinnable or marginal seats that funders are unlikely to support (Hay-Webster 2008, 6).

Negotiating Patriarchy

Should the ACWM pay more attention to negotiating with patriarchy when training women for public leadership and decision-making? Was the resistance to enabling women for top public leadership sufficiently anticipated and corrective measures planned? Roberta Clarke posed these questions in her address to an audience in Kingston, Jamaica concerning the continued opposition to women's political ascendancy in spite of the considerable resources dedicated to training women for leadership (Clarke, 2009).[48] Peggy Antrobus further suggests that due to patriarchal resistance, party loyalty, and the undeviating pursuit of a neo-liberal political economy, advances of a people's agenda will need to come from outside of the political parties. She posits that political parties in the AC region have abandoned their responsibilities to the mass of the people, and that the only way to hold them accountable, women leaders

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[48] Unpublished speech by Roberta Clarke, Coordinator of UNIFEM Caribbean (UN Women) in 2009 at the Regional Seminar on Gender and Governance sponsored by FES, Jamaica and the OECS, FES Dominican Republic and the IGDS, Mona Unit, May 2009.

included, is to build a critical mass outside of the political parties that will demand that their elected representatives respond to their needs. In other words, changing the tribalized political culture from within is unrealistic, she suggests. The pressure for change must be external, she insists (Peggy Antrobus, discussion). Alternatively, Hazel Brown, Trinidadian veteran of the ACWM and leader of NGO for Advancing Women's Leadership in Trinidad and Tobago suggests the opposite. She believes a critical mass of women representatives must be in the political parties to support the leaders who advocate a gender agenda (Andaiye 2009, 22).

Former president of the senate, Jamaica's upper house of parliament, Syringa Marshall-Burnett, suggests that women already serve as leaders in their communities; churches, health and educational institutions, and thus the shift to politics should be simple. She asserts, however, that it won't happen until the social support services are available to ensure women that they don't have to worry about the welfare of their families and communities while they fulfill their political obligations. Until parliament buildings are equipped with facilities such as gyms, childcare centers and health stations that cater to women's needs and social responsibilities, we should not expect women to serve in mass numbers, she states (Syringa Marshall-Burnett, former President of Jamaica's Senate interviewed by author April 14, 2012). Another perspective is that women will never serve in the numbers required to advance gender equity until an ideological transformation occurs that results in men taking equal responsibility for child and community care (Barriteau 1997, 1998, 2007).

Q 4: In what ways have the women's movements influenced institutions (state and non-state) and individuals at various stages and levels at which the movement participated?

As stated earlier parliaments in the AC passed a spate of national legislations aimed at improving women's rights including minimum wage laws, maternity leave laws; equal pay for work of equal value, status of children's acts; labor laws for domestics, domestic violence bills, sexual offences bills and the valuing of unwaged work in the GDP.[49] These local outcomes were achieved through advocacy, networking and coalition building. The momentum imbibed by the ACWM members who participated in international conferences and meetings influenced local demands on governments to honor their obligations under UN Conventions.

As a result of this advocacy, all AC countries have domestic violence bills (ECLAC: Caribbean Synthesis Review 2010, 1). The Cayman Islands and Dominica have paternity leave

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49 Trinidad and Tobago is one of few countries in the world where unwaged work is included in the calculation of the GDP.

for civil servants[50], Barbados and Guyana have legislation supporting abortions (1983 and 1996, respectively); Trinidad and Tobago laws recognize rape as an offense in marriage (1986)[51]; and Belize has sexual harassment legislation[52] (Ibid., 3).

Broad-based alliances that included academics, government officials and activists, worked together to conduct research that provided empirical evidence to justify policy. At the same time, advocates mobilized local, regional and international communities to pressure governments to act in favor of women's rights. The women in Trinidad and Tobago marched on parliament to lobby for the passing of the Sexual Offences Act and Domestic Violence Act and Sistren Theatre Collective, in Jamaica, performed a 15-minute skit in the "hallowed halls" (p. 46) of the Jamaican parliament to demonstrate that 'abortion as a right' is a necessity for some persons[53] (Heron, Toppin & Finikin 2009, 46). Other forms of advocacy included meetings with portfolio ministers to present manifestos and plans of action to sponsor legislation in parliament, encourage their colleagues to sponsor or support bills, and to integrate the demands of the manifestoes and action plans into their political platform, speeches and party manifestoes. Good examples of this include the 1995 Women's Platform Coalition (WPC) Ten-Point Plan of Action in Trinidad and Tobago, and the 2002 Manifesto against Sexual Violence in Jamaica.

Women's advocacy in the AC also involved presenting a list of women who were competent and willing to serve to prime ministers, leaders of opposition parties, and the private sector. After this was done for the first time in Trinidad and Tobago in 1986, two women were appointed as ambassadors, three women as board chairpersons, and several as board members in previously all-male boards (Network News 2010/4, 3).

Another effective strategy of the women's movement in the AC was to form coalitions surrounding various issues to meet and lobby government ministers. A good example of this strategy was a meeting that occurred in 2012 between three ministers of government in Jamaica responsible for the environment,[54] and the Jamaica Civil Society Coalition (JCSC) to discuss issues related to the environment. Previously, the ministers refused to respond to lobbying by an individual organisation - the Jamaica Environment Trust (JET). They did not respond until the JCSC lobbied them. Their quick response to the JCSC demonstrated the value of team action. The process used by the JCSC in lobbying involved preparing background papers with recommendations for action to present to the ministers. A set of lobbyists, most knowledgeable on the subject, prepared these papers, other lobbyists assigned as negotiators

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50 This law was passed in 2005 under the law governing the Public Service
51 See Sexual offences Act at http://rgd.legalaffairs.gov.tt/Laws2/Alphabetical_List/lawspdfs/11.28.pdf
52 The law was passed in 2008.
53 The Joint Select Committee was established in 1997 to reassess the merits of treating abortion as a rights-issue in Jamaica.
54 ministers of health, local government and climate change

then read them. This meant that when members of the JCSC from different organizations joined a delegation they were able to speak knowledgably and intentionally to the relevant issues.

Another important TL training strategy involved training parliamentarians and other political activists in how to develop gender sensitive policies, with the aim that they facilitate development planning to enable the pursuit of strategic gender needs that promote gender justice. The ACWM used evidence-based lobbying to strengthen these requests. For example, research conducted by CAFRA on sexual violence came on the heels of the Women in the Caribbean Project (WICP 1979-1982),[55] and clearly identified that sexual violence was an extensive problem in the region. The research identified the gaps in the law, where interventions were needed, and how interventions were working or not working. The research also provided a national and regional database that contributed to developing the CARICOM Community model legislation addressing sexual violence (CARICOM Model Legislation on Sexual Offences 2011).

The CAFRA project also attempted transformational change by providing training for police and paralegals to assist survivors of sexual harassment and sexual assault (ECLAC/UNIFEM: Eliminating Gender-Based Violence 2003, 3-4, 10). All of CAFRA's research used a participatory methodology aimed at empowering researchers to use the research process as a tool of self-analysis to explore the construction of their lives and the reasons they occupy specific social spaces. The objective of situating researchers in the research was to enable them to develop the power to change their situations (French, discussion). This approach to research, action research, empowers participants by a process of conscientization, which involves critiquing personal and collective actions to learn lessons to improve future actions---a critical reflection to inform praxis (Freire 2007, 51-53).

Other measures the ACWM used to influence state and non-state sectors included submitting petitions, holding private meetings with women candidates for a "frank and open" discussion, and one-on-one meetings to lobby for legislation that supported women's rights, such as abortion laws (Andaiye 2009, 9).

Training women in cohorts combining several political parties, professions and social groups teaches them the possibility of coalition building and alliance formation, in spite of different worldviews. This kind of team action has the potential to undermine the bipartisan tribalism that is the hallmark of Westminster style parliamentary democracy. The latter tribalization keeps women locked into supporting partisan politics and not willing to raise women's issues unless it is beneficial to their party (ibid., 18). Alliances may also have provided

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[55] Olive Senior 1991.

members with lessons for managing racial and ethnic divides that exist in AC populations such as in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago.

Other techniques the ACWM used to influence state and non-state sectors (listed in Appendix I) included media campaigns, rallies, marches and demonstrations, radio jingles, and radio[56] and television interviews and group discussions. Meetings, training the trainers (TTT) seminar/workshops, parenting seminars, 24-hour crisis hotlines for sexual assault survivors, walk-in counselling sessions and political education/consciousness raising sessions were other strategies that the movement used to influence state and non-state actors.

Public Awareness Raising

Public awareness-raising was achieved in several ways, including placing private issues into the public domain. Popular theatre techniques such as theatre performances, role play (skits) and community animation and publications such as life histories, books and magazines were used to enhance public awareness. These techniques enabled women to publish their lived experiences and subject them to analysis to distil lessons. Others continue to use these publications in the contemporary period to inform future decisions as well as to take action to change their lives. These examples of trials and triumphs helped to demonstrate that some issues of power and domination exist across classes and political divides. This commonality of experiences, like cross-party training, has the potential to build cross-class alliances to solve social issues.

Q5: How did women advance the idea of TL among women in political life?

Women advanced the idea of TL among women in political life mainly in the way they delivered training, advocacy and activism. The training recruitment process, curriculum content and delivery were instrumental in advancing TL. Advocacy measures such as the cross-class, multi-ethnic supported manifesto developed by the Women's Political Participation (WPP)[57] in Trinidad and Tobago, and the Engendering Political Participation project implemented by the CPDC and its allies, in Barbados and the OECS are good examples of how advocacy, activism and training were combined to advance TL among women in politics. Recruitment was non-partisan and cross-class and training activities demonstrated that cooperation was possible

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[56] This included calls to popular radio talk show programs, which have become a regular feature in almost, if not all, Caribbean countries.
[57] The WPC (Women's Political Coalition) formed in 1995 in Trinidad and Tobago that developed the 10 Point Action Plan morphed into the WPP in later years. One of its activities has been upgrading the 10-Point Action Plan during each election year. The work of the WPP is reported in the Network's online Newsletters at http://networkngott.org/networkngott/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=23&Itemid=29

among traditionally adversarial political party representatives and organizations. In addition, selecting course participants was based on their positioning and potential for acting as change agents.

Participants in the diploma course offered by the Caribbean Institute for Gender and Development Studies (CIGADS) at UWI, Cave Hill campus provides an example of how recruitment, advocacy and training were combined. Recruits were selected from a pool of potential leaders engaged in community work and knowledgeable or empathetic to the gender agenda. The course curriculum taught participants how to develop, promote and track the implementation of gender sensitive public policies. It also focused on how to identify problems and mobilize citizens for consultative problem solving that enhances the life of community members especially that of the most marginalized.

Adversarial politics was discouraged: The campaign manual, which was used as content material in training sessions, informed candidates that they should project a confident instead of self-effacing or adversarial image and respond to issues rather than personalities. The mantra was "courage, concern, compassion, commitment and confidence" (Guidelines for Winning in Politics, 2003, 9). The women candidates were also advised to be honest, be informed, be reliable, always follow-up on issues and put people's concerns at the center of the election process. These qualities, if pursued consistently, were expected to change the culture of politics in the region. Changing the culture of politics – from verbal, personal attacks to issues based discourses, would undoubtedly be more attractive to women candidates (Henry-Wilson 1989, 229-253; Henry-Wilson 2004, 586-589). Women were also assigned the responsibility of engendering policy and therefore to be unapologetic in bringing a gendered perspective to the political discourse on policy. Training also emphasized the ideological, historical and exploitative nature of gendered relations in Caribbean society and why it needed to change.

Training sessions posited constitutional reform as necessary. Some trainings exposed the gendered nature of the constitution as a customary and traditional source of gender inequalities and therefore in need of reform. Increasing women's knowledge and skills about how the structures and processes of governance worked also increased their ability to use the system to their advantage.

The attempt by the Network of NGOs of Trinidad and Tobago to train technical and administrative personnel in local government to increase their awareness of the need for the development of gender sensitive policy, though negligible, was revolutionary (Andaiye 2009, 8). If the initiative were successful, the potential for imbibing the national gender machineries

(NGMs) as politically sensitive tools for advancing women's strategic needs and deconstructing gender hierarchies would be significant.[58]

The ACWM attempted to reduce the learning curve of new or potential political recruits by exposing them to veterans during mentorship programs. Transformational leaders used modelling and coaching strategies, outlined in section two, to identify potential leadership at all levels, especially among those who expressed an interest in political leadership. Transformational leaders also used these strategies to assist individuals to identify personal challenges that could benefit from individual development training.

Catalysts for Change: Caribbean Women in Governance project sponsored by the UNDP, UNIFEM and the OAS (Organisation of American States) included the establishment of a resource center in Antigua and Barbuda. The Resource Center could potentially advance TL in the region by providing related interventions. Red Thread in Guyana also tried to influence a transformational type of politics when it initiated steps to bridge the ethnic divide among African-, Indian- and Indigenous-Guyanese women[59] through its livelihood project to make and sell embroidery pieces. Red Thread's objective was to engage women in consciousness-raising encounters that would demonstrate that the barrier of race was not insurmountable given the commonality of experiences among Guyanese women of different racial/ethnic/cultural backgrounds. The project also provided opportunities for several Indian- and African-Guyanese women to traverse each other's spaces for the first time (Kempadoo 2013, 6-7).

Q6: What strategies did feminist/womanist in the AC use to influence how women [and men] performed in political life and contest elections, and how other women and men made decisions?

The March 2002-December 2005[60] Women's Political Participation (WPP) Training in Governance and Democracy[61] project illustrates the strategies that the ACWM used to influence women and men in political life. The project included several components, some of which built national, sub-regional, and regional alliances, networks and coalitions. It also built institutional capacity, conducted research and enhanced public awareness of viable public leaders

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[58] A concern exists globally that the national gender machineries operate more as technical rather than politically transformative tools. In other words, they are more concerned with addressing women's practical needs (interventions that improve the social conditions of their lives) rather than transforming gender hierarchies.

[59] The indigenous women who were initially mobilized for this project lived along the coastline. The delay in mobilizing those who lived in the interior was related to capacity issues such as the lack of transportation.

[60] Some end dates are given as 2004 and others as 2005. The official evaluation of the project gives a 2005 end date, which is what is used here.

[61] Catalysts for Change: Caribbean Women and Governance at http://cfcportal.net/artman/publish/article_50.shtml. Accessed October 17, 2012.

(Women's Political Participation: Training in Governance and Democracy 2004). The fact that the project was located in three countries was an important step in building sub-regional, cross-country collaboration among women in Antigua and Barbuda, Guyana, and St. Kitts and Nevis.

Pre-planning and start-up consultations took place at the sub-regional and national levels. The regional consultation focused on awareness raising, networking, advocacy, research, and the development of a regional plan of action (RPOA) (Women's Political Participation: Training in Governance and Democracy: Section: Regional Programme of Action 2004).[62] Awareness raising and information exchange occurred through a mass media campaign. This campaign was conducted mainly via print and electronic media (television and popular radio-talk-shows), and focused on the advantages of women participating in political and other public decision making arenas (ibid.). The RPOA included building partnerships and support among groups such as the Caribbean Policy Development Centre (CPDC), UNIFEM, the National Democratic Institute (NDI),[63] the Inter-American Commission of Women (CIM),[64] and the Commonwealth Secretariat.

RPOA research was directed at identifying the barriers to women's participation in political and other public decision-making, and the perspective and attitude of women and men toward politics. The final RPOA component aimed at networking individuals, projects and programs that promoted women's participation in public leadership. The projects aimed at increasing the quantity and quality of TL at the national and regional levels. Another component was the documentation of women's experiences and interventions aimed at increasing public awareness of the issues surrounding women's leadership (ibid.).

The anticipated outcomes of RPOA were: 1) an increase in the number of women in political and other positions of leadership in the region; 2) a systematic and coordinated approach to promoting women's leadership in the region; and 3) networking among programs promoting women's leadership. This networking included, inter alia representation of broad-based women's groups---incumbents, aspirants, especially young women, grassroots women, women in NGOs, community based organizations (CBOs), and faith based organizations (FBOs). RPOA encouraged solidarity through the exchange of information, educational material, sensitization programs and encouraging support instead of competition in the donor community. Lastly, the project proposed the establishment of a nonpartisan and non-profit Regional Centre

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[62] See http://cfcportal.net/artman/publish/article_50.shtml
[63] The National Democratic Institute (NDI) is an NGO in Washington D.C. founded in 1983 that promotes democratic governance worldwide, including democratizing political parties, developing leadership programs and working with local political parties and governments to strengthen women and youth leadership training and increased participation. See http://www.ndi.org/whoweare. Accessed November 6, 2012.
[64] CIM is part of the OAS dedicated to the promotion of women's rights and gender equality in the Americas.

for Women's Political Participation---an NGO, dedicated to promoting women's participation in politics and decision-making (ibid.).

This project morphed into CIWiL, which was officially launched in July 2009 as discussed elsewhere in this book. An unanticipated outcome of the project, and an expression of sustainability, was the establishment of the resource center in Antigua and Barbuda mentioned earlier. The center is accessible to all women and men who wish to engage in feminist/womanist politics in the region.

The OAS evaluator of the project commended project planners for building and strengthening alliances, networks and coalitions at the national and regional levels, or more accurately at the sub-regional level. She noted that these training interventions were the incremental steps that would lay the foundation for advancing gender equity and transforming the political culture of the AC society and the constitution of each country. Barriteau identified Ruth Nita Barrow as a transformational leader that understood the significance of incremental changes leading to transformative change (Barriteau 2001, p. 6). Acknowledging the importance of incremental progress is especially important for the AC because of the deeply ingrained nature of imperialism, and the propensity of geo-politics to act to reverse social advances.

Q 7: How did the feminist/womanist movements attempt to empower women to change the systems in which they exercised power and to transform the concept and exercise of power itself?

The strategies, processes and practices used in TL advocacy and training attempted to empower women to behave differently, and to exercise power in a consultative, broad-based, compassionate and non-authoritarian manner. The actions aimed at achieving these outcomes included recruiting women of various ages and professions across diverse groups and political parties. This broad-based mobilization not only aimed at creating a critical mass committed to gender justice and building an alliance of women willing and able to support one another and offer themselves for leadership, but also to demonstrate that expert power did not have a monopoly on leadership. It also aimed to demonstrate that a heterogeneous group of women, working together to arrive at solutions despite their differing worldviews, could overcome the divisive nature of partisan politics that plagues Caribbean Westminster liberal democracies to advance the wellbeing of all Caribbean people. The process involved consultations among a broad mass of people, obtaining diverse perspectives, challenging the status quo and embracing reform that advances gender justice.

Exposing women to experienced political leadership as mentees and interns was another critical strategy used by the TL movement to reduce the learning curve for newcomers to the governance process. This strategy enabled them to quickly learn coping strategies at the personal and political levels. Armed with this knowledge, new recruits were expected to quickly practice behaviors that change the culture of leadership and the exercise of power.

A final important intervention that the ACWM made toward building women's capacity to challenge the status quo was attending regional and international conferences and meetings. These forums provided an energy and solidarity in which women came to realize that they were not alone, and that others had similar struggles that they could learn from. Some women lived in the same country and region but did not know each other until they met at these conferences. For example, Joan French and Honor Ford-Smith, veterans of the women's movement in Jamaica, met at an overseas conference (FGD, April 5, 2012). Peggy Antrobus credits her meetings and experiences in the women's movement for developing a feminist consciousness (Antrobus 2004, 165) and Clotil Walcott became an international spokesperson for the International Wages for Housework Campaign after meeting leaders in the organization, Selma James and Wilmette Brown, at an international conference on Women's Struggles and Research at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague. It was there that she connected the domestic workers cause with unwaged caring labor, and the National Union of Democratic Employees (NUDE) became the Trinidad and Tobago representative of the International Wages for Housework Campaign (Global Women's Strike, 2007).[65]

Q 8: How was the tension and difference between women in the women's movement and women in politics debated and negotiated to transform how political power and leadership were exercised?

The ACWM managed its tension with women politicians in different ways. One response from the Network of NGOs in Trinidad and Tobago was to organize training interventions for political candidates on how supporters (among them campaign managers and election workers) approach winning elections, and how they can work to engender policy. In addition to these general trainings, the Network of NGOs provided candidates with closed-door discussions (sessions excluding the media), and petitioned and lobbied them to build cross-party alliances and to attend fora organized by the women's movement. The general consensus is however,

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[65] Rhoda Reddock, Global Women's Strike, *For Clotil Walcott*, beloved comrade. 2007, at
http://www.globalwomenstrike.net/content/clotil-walcott-beloved-comrade

that once women get elected, they have little or no contact with the women's movement and do not lobby for women's issues unless the issues favor their political parties' interests (Andaiye 2009, 17).

Sheila Roseau, coordinator of CIWiL admitted that there is a gap between the ACWM and women in politics, and that the movement tried to bridge this gap by initiating conversations with incumbent parliamentarians. For example, a delegation of the ACWM visited with the Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians (CWPs) meeting in The Bahamas to have a conversation about networking. The women parliamentarians were sympathetic, but admitted to being challenged to carve out the time and space to take on the gender agenda. They indicated that all their time was spent 'surviving' the male dominated environment (parliament and their political parties) in which they operated (Sheila Roseau, in discussion with the author, October 19, 2012).

The two observations, women forgetting about the gender agenda unless it advances their party's political interests and women being preoccupied with surviving the patriarchal structures of their parliaments and political parties, are important indicators of the tension and difference that existed between women in the movement and those in politics. Both may be explained by Henry-Wilson's observations in1989 and 2004 that the recruitment of men to top echelons of the political parties, with their attendant access to patronage and power, resulted in women being excluded from top leadership positions.

Those desiring to advance women's rights have had to operate within these limits of the underdeveloped consciousness of primarily patriarchal political parties, and the priority that the parties give to easier routes to electoral power. Those women who challenge the orthodoxy have paid the price through marginalization, or removal from ministerial posts, party positions, or candidature. For example, Portia Simpson Miller, Jamaica's minister of local government, was vilified by party colleagues in 2004 because she abstained on an opposition sponsored parliamentary vote criticising her government for its underfunding of the fire services for which she had ministerial responsibility (Simpson 2004).

Many believe Verna St. Rose in Trinidad and Tobago was fired in 2012 for strongly advocating legislative changes on abortion and gay marriage (Ramdass, 2012)[66]. Gail Texeira, former minister of health in Guyana, was side-lined to the Ministry of Youth and Sports by the late President Janet Jagan, allegedly because of her strident advocacy in support of implementing the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act (1995). Earlier, she had championed

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[66]Anna Ramdass, 2012, "Anil: Verna fired for gay/abortion rights," Trinidad Express Newspapers, at http://www.trinidadexpress.com/news/anil__verna_fired_for_gay_abortion_rights_-182475091.html. Accessed May 9, 2013.

the passing of the act after two years of public debate, and six hours of intense parliamentary arguments (Nunes 2012, 87).

The 51% Coalition in Jamaica is seeking to transform power relationships by adopting a cross-class, cross-party, cross-institution alliance to advocate for quotas as a temporary affirmative action. The coalition operates outside of the main political parties, the approach advocated by Antrobus and Andaiye. The approach states that change is likely to be more successful if a critical mass outside of political parties pressures the party leadership to exercise political will and make transformative changes. It should be noted that this approach is not a foregone conclusion and that for women trained in TL practices to make a difference in their political parties, they will need the support of a critical mass of women within their parties as Hazel Brown of the Network of NGOs in Trinidad insisted in her interview with Andaiye (2009, 27). Certainly, the experience of the 1970s and 1980s suggests that building a critical mass of support inside and outside of the political parties propelled their leadership to implement social legislation that advanced women's rights. This dual approach will no doubt hasten change.

Q 9: To what extent did feminist/womanist advocacy make advances and or experience setbacks in the region?

Like all advocacy efforts, advances and setbacks occur. The ACWM advocacy efforts to advance TL succeeded in incrementally sensitizing the public to be more accepting of female politicians. Traction was gained toward building a critical mass of women who, from the indicators in Trinidad and Tobago and St. Lucia, are increasingly offering themselves for leadership. In Trinidad and Tobago, the number of women who offered themselves for leadership as political candidates increased from forty-one in 1996, to ninety-one in 1999. Women won twenty-eight seats in 1999, which was more than a 50 percent increase from 1996. Total representation of women increased from 17% to 26%. In the 2010 elections, the three major political parties of Trinidad and Tobago increased the number of women candidates--- thirty-four of one hundred and twenty-three candidates were women, and eleven of those thirty-four won seats. This was five more than won in 2007 (Andaiye 2009, 14).

In the 2011 St. Lucia national elections ten of fifty-two candidates (19%) were women--- an increase from 8.3% in 2006. Four contested for the Labor Party and two won by single digits in closely contested races. Two ran for the United Workers Party (UWP), and one won. In the constituency in which the UWP representative won, the winner competed against two other

women, one of whom was an independent candidate (Final Report of The OAS Electoral Observation Mission, 2011, 23).[67]

As a result of the seven CPDC training interventions implemented in Barbados and the OECS countries, approximately one hundred and ten women from different political parties, including young women, received training in political campaign technical, managerial and coordinating skills. These achievements included how to win elections, how to mobilize funds, political platform management and confidence building. Two of the participants subsequently became cabinet ministers in Antigua and Barbuda. One scored the highest number of votes in her political party. One participant became the minister of education in Grenada; two participants from Dominica, who were local government representatives, became candidates in their national elections. One woman from St. Vincent and the Grenadines launched an internal party campaign calling for 30 percent of the party's candidates to be women, and one woman planned to run for the presidency of her trade union.[68]

National advisory committees were also established in Antigua and Barbuda, Guyana and St. Kitts Nevis as a result of the training sponsored by the OAS (2003-2005). One training participant was the first female parliamentarian elected in Antigua and Barbuda. Another was elected to the executive of her political party in Guyana. Finally, the trainings, as stated earlier, resulted in the establishment of a resource center for TL in Antigua and Barbuda; and a sub-regional network between Antigua & Barbuda, Guyana and St. Kitts & Nevis to address women's TL training issues.

Other interventions that may be regarded as successful included the distribution of scores of women in the CARICOM community who are trained in the art of winning elections, and are exposed to techniques of political leadership that may result in transformational changes. As a result of trainings, they also know how to develop gender sensitive policies, make strategic interventions aimed at winning elections and practice behaviors that model TL. Ideally if these behaviors duplicated across the region a political culture shift should occur that would transform the nature of politics to make leadership behaviors more consultative, accountable and transparent. These leaders would be more visionary and model behaviors that would motivate citizens to strive for excellence, and increase productivity beyond expectations. However, in spite of these interventions the traction on women's political leadership has not happened to the extent expected. This below level performance continues the trend identified by Henry-Wilson, in 1989 and 2004, Barriteau in 1997, 1998, 2001, 2003 and 2007, Antrobus in

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[67] Final Report of The OAS Electoral Observation Mission, for the General Elections in Saint Lucia, November 28, 2011.
[68] Information obtained from the review of training interventions by UNIFEM Coordinator Isiuwa Iyahen, n.d.

2002, 2004 and 2005 and many others. They argued that the nature of the political economy, cultural and psychosocial issues prevent women from advancing in leadership as much as they could. Perhaps the most poignant observation is the one made by Barriteau about the failure of the state to take appropriate steps to initiate transformation in the ideological sphere that promotes the continued subordination of women in their domestic lives. This is discordant with the advances made in the material or public sphere of women's lives. The continuation of this dichotomy, as the Commonwealth Women's Parliamentary Group points out, forces women to spend their time 'surviving' in their political parties and parliaments. The struggle for survival leaves them little or no time for championing the gender agenda, and acts as a disincentive for other women who resist the call to leadership.

Generally, the setbacks experienced by the ACWM are also significant. As stated earlier, the "currents" of "misogyny" in the society that blame women for the majority of social ills including the high divorce rate, male unemployment and male underperformance in education, constitute an important setback (Barriteau 1997, 1-4). This opposition to women is unfortunate, especially because it removes interrogation away from the construction of masculinity, male socialization and male privilege. These issues, however, must be contested if gender justice is to be advanced.

Section 5 – Recommendations and Discussions

Q 10 What advocacy strategies could contribute to enhancing democratic practices that advance women's rights and gender equality in state and non-state sectors?

The findings of the West Indian Commission---A Time for Action (1992) suggested that there was a crisis of leadership in the Anglophone Caribbean, and that the people lacked confidence in the governance process (Massiah 2001, xiv). UNIFEM Caribbean assumed the lead responsibility to change the quality and character of leadership in the region, at every level by promoting the principles of TL in all its projects and programs, and to train women to become agents of change. After valiant efforts, as demonstrated in Appendix I, the number of women in public leadership remains low and the quality of leadership remains questionable. Clearly, the task of advancing gender equality and enhancing the quality of that leadership remains. The recommended strategies for continuing the process derive from a discussion of the main findings, and the lessons and issues learned from them. The analysis is informed by the IFAF conceptual hybrid described in section two above. While the recommended strategies may not be conclusive they merit exploration. They include:

1) Testing intervention outcomes to determine if the resources spent on training are the best method for seeking to transform women's and men's leadership practices. In order to make evidence-based, and not subjective and sentimental decisions, a longitudinal tracer study should be initiated to track each cohort that has benefited from the interventions to identify how they are using the skills that they acquired and to whose benefit. Attempts should be made to determine the beneficiaries' perspectives, in hindsight, on the training and other advocacy interventions, including an assessment of the recruitment strategy. This assessment may assist in determining effectiveness in attracting the candidates that are most likely to offer themselves as political or other public leaders. The approach would attend to women's strategic needs by identifying those who are most likely to advance TL practices and whose behavior could be mapped for identifying best practices.

2) Strident efforts should be made by CIWiL and the IGDS Units (Mona, Cave Hill and St. Augustine) to enhance the cross-regional alliance and networking of women supporting gender justice. This could begin with graduates of the TL interventions, veterans in political life who have demonstrated their courage and political leadership aspirants (including the youth).

Existing web portals---the CIWiL website and Feminist Conversations on Caribbean Life: Code Red for Gender---could be the starting point for revitalising conversations. Consideration should be given to the fact that Caribbean people over fifty years old are not passionate about the virtual environment. An alternative means of networking will need to be found to attract them.

3) Until a study to assess the effectiveness of training interventions is completed, training should continue to encourage women to practice TL behaviors in all environments that they live, not just political parties. A change in leadership practices will need to occur at every level to create a culture shift in leadership behaviors throughout Caribbean societies. It may be a good idea to examine the relative usefulness of mentorship programs and internships in political parties and other top public decision making bodies to ensure that the classroom experiences women obtain are tested in the real world of power. Transformational leadership exists everywhere and at every level and must be involved to create a culture shift in leadership behavior.

4) Advocacy should continue inside and outside of political parties and among women of different political persuasions and socio-economic groups. As one research participant explained, transformative change is possible within and outside of political parties. It is possible with only one woman in parliament, with none, and with women who are not or only partially supportive of transformation. The case of the abortion law in Barbados through the advocacy of Billie Miller is an example of change from within although she was the only woman representative in government at the time. The enactment of the Maternity Leave Law in Jamaica is an example of change pushed from outside, where the impetus and advocacy for the law was led by people who were politically connected, but did not occupy political office. The ACWM advocacy strategies of the 1970s and 1980s are excellent examples of women networking and building coalitions and alliances across classes, ethnicities and political party lines. What was critical in the case of Jamaica was the democratic opening provided under the enlightened leadership of Michael Manley, president of the PNP from 1969 to 1993 and prime minister of Jamaica from 1972-1980 and 1989-1993. Political analysts argue that his leadership in the first term of office was pivotal for advancing women's practical needs--- before his disillusionment and retreat set in during his second term of office.

The link among progressive leadership, democratic openings and advances in women's rights and human rights is an important theme in the discourse about TL. The periods under Manley's regime in Jamaica and Hugo Chavez's in Venezuela are cases in point. This acknowledgement is not to ignore the macro- and micro-economic and psycho-social strictures

operating in the context of such regimes, and how the failure to manage them appropriately may lead to the reversal of advances. Almost all of the socialist experiments of the 1970s and 1980s, arguably including the Grenada Revolution, are examples of this outcome. Some pundits argue that Portia Simpson Miller's delay in following through on her pre-election promise to review the buggery law and have a conscience vote on the matter, marks the reversal of an opportunity to advance human rights in Jamaica (Reynolds 2013).

5) The Caribbean Women as Catalysts for Change project implemented by the IGDS, UWI Cave Hill campus could provide material for making docudramas to be shown in communities as a way to introduce the concept of TL among mass groups. It is important that the masses support the demand for TL from their political leaders as well as practice it themselves.

6) TL needs to be concerned with issues in the macro-environment that have mass appeal. It must therefore manage neo-liberalism to meet the needs of the marginalized. The ACWM needs to more pointedly address the macro-economic issues relating to debt management, identify and explore the preferred development paradigms for the debt-burdened economies of the region and address the impact of climate change on small vulnerable island states (CAFRA NEWS Vol. 2, 19-22).

7) The use and effectiveness of the Campaign Workbook (developed by the Network of NGOs in Trinidad and Tobago and the CPDC, 2003) and the Policy Development Manual (developed by Patricia Mohammed, Cecelia Babb and Judith Wedderburn 2010) should be assessed to determine their influence on outcomes for those who used them. These checks may be included in the tracer studies mapping the progress of the beneficiaries of the TL training interventions.

8) One of the assumptions of TL is that it is life changing. It challenges the status quo and creates alternative outcomes. This implies fundamental behavioral changes in the private and public persona of those who embrace TL. To expect this to happen in a sensitisation course is optimistic. More realistically, the training courses should be expected to act as teasers and geared at encouraging participants to become self-directed, life-long learners who commit to working to transform their organizations into learning organisations or communities of learning – whatever it takes; no matter how long it takes or how incremental the progress. This process begins when individuals commit to continue learning as individuals and passing the learning on to others. A monitoring and evaluation system would need to be in place to assess the

performance of the process and make recommended changes for the reallocation of resources and changes in processes when and where necessary.

9) Two of the goals of the UNIFEM TL training project were the promotion of peace through specialized workshops, and to study successful businesses and to disseminate best practices to act as inspirational tools for other women. It was not clear if attention has been given to these goals in spite of the fact that they are two of the core problems experienced by AC countries. Their importance to the future of the region is a compelling reason that women in the ACWM should give them attention.

10) The home, the first site for socialization, is a space for initiating TL practices and engaging the contestations for gender equality and equity including issues of male marginalization. It is therefore a site for advocacy that could advance revolutionary parenting. Several organizations address revolutionary parenting, although they may not address change from a gender justice perspective. The home may therefore be a space that the ACWM could engage with other groups in joined-up advocacy.

11) Women need consistent support first in the community where caring labor may be organized in order to offer themselves up for leadership without the constant worry about the care and safety of their families, especially their children[69] (Marshall-Burnett, discussion). Meeting times, length of meetings and physical facilities must also be set and developed with consideration for parental responsibilities (the South African parliament building and decision making processes have set the precedence for the gender sensitive management of parliament);[70]

12) Women from different political parties and social backgrounds collaborate in the safe environments of trainings. They may also need spaces to meet between trainings so that consultations can continue on issues that are of common interest to all of the people. This

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69 Syringa Marshall Burnett, former president of the senate in Jamaica, Peggy Antrobus, and participants of the FGD in Kingston made this suggestion. The suggestion was also made that the meetings should be similar to the meetings used to mobilize men and women across all classes to discuss issues at the community level in the period leading up to the 4th World Conference of Women held in Beijing in 1995. Consultations at the parish level that were held to mobilize communities around the 1st International Women's Conference held in Mexico in 1975 was also cited as precedence for how men and women could be mobilized for advocacy in the contemporary period (2012).

70 In 1994 when women were elected to the South African parliament – no crèches were in the parliament building, gyms and bathrooms were all male, and the hours of work were excessive. The male representatives, many of whom were farmers, came to parliament after working on their farms in the mornings, consequently debates (many adversarial) often extended beyond midnight. The women advocated for and succeeded in getting these practices changed, including conducting a gender analysis of the budget. See Summary Report of the Proceedings of the Inter-Parliamentary Union: One-Day Parliamentary Meeting on the Occasion of the 52nd Session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, New York. The Role of Parliaments in Financing for Gender Equality (February 27, 2008).

consultation should be done in the open, in the chambers of parliament and local government councils in the form of women's caucuses. These caucuses should be established to enable women to meet in the open to avoid being accused of conspiring against their political parties. Sympathetic men from other political parties should be invited to support women's causes and to encourage their colleagues to support women's issues.

13) Community based conversations need to be organized in permanent collectives---in groups similar to those in which communities were mobilized during discussions leading up to the Fourth World Conference on Women (1995), to address local issues and disputes. These discussions should address social support for unwaged care services that women mainly take responsibility for in society. This support would free women up so that more of them can offer themselves for political and other top public leadership positions. Discussions should also address the issue of domestic violence, especially that relating to incest (Marshall-Burnett, discussion). Discussion around difference---class, race, ethnicity, ageism, the exercise of power and authority and decision-making, sexual orientation, treatment of people with disabilities, first nations people, and marginalized populations such as persons living with HIV (PLWHIV)---need to occur in spaces that enable honest and open discussions free of recriminations. Incremental progress, constrained by contextual possibilities, as well as lost opportunities need to be acknowledged---neither makes the other invalid.

Also recommended is a process of mediation (using a dispute resolution methodology or a truth and reconciliation typology (Said 1993). At the same time, advocacy, dictated by our lived realities, should proceed, subject to the principle of learning in action – praxis and conscientization. The desired outcome should be the development of a regional/sub-regional/national plan of action(s) to promote TL in the public domain so that the masses of people will begin to demand TL behaviors from their representatives. This mass support is essential to speed up the pace at which Roberta Clarke predicts gender parity will be achieved if everything stays the same. In 2009, she predicted a wait of forty years. As noted previously, Hazel Brown, veteran of the ACWM and coordinator of the Network of NGOs in Trinidad and Tobago (with over 100 member organizations), believes the current interventions are not working mainly because of the entrenched tribal nature of the political party system, which is opposed, to cross-party alliances. Consequently, she supports the building of a critical mass of women in support of TL in each political party that will demand transformational change from their leaders;

14) Women's lack of knowledge and action around developing, implementing and monitoring and evaluating policy to ensure that they are gender sensitive also proves problematic. Consequently, national gender machineries (NGMs) need to continue facilitating public education on the issue, including the process and product of policy making and the impact of policy on people's lives.

15) A viable national campaign fund is also necessary. The UNIFEM rapid appraisal report recommended the establishment of an endowment fund (Iyahen n.d.) to support national and regional projects that promote leadership development. This chapter findings supports that call, especially in light of the decreasing pool of funds available to the middle income AC countries from bilateral and multilateral IFIs. In addition, this chapter supports state funding for political campaigns to level the playing field for women and men offering themselves as political candidates in elections. The disclosure of donors' laws should accompany state funding as well, to reduce the advantage that "the old boys' club" provides for male politicians. Disclosure will also enhance transparency and enable the public to identify "the piper who may play the tune."
Clearly, the state needs to recognize and articulate the need to address the under valuing of women's productive and reproductive labor. Trinidad and Tobago has set legislative precedence for recognizing caring labor in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and recognizing domestic labor as legitimate work. The heads of government in the CARICOM community may begin to give regional support for these two areas of work in which women dominate by developing model legislation that member states may emulate at the national level in a manner similar to what they did with sexual and domestic violence legislation.

16) Through local authorities, the state may initiate discussions at the community level to establish "Community Committees" that develop mechanisms to provide support for caring labour that will free up women to make themselves more visible and accessible for top positions of public leadership;

17) Consciousness raising sessions relating to the discriminatory practices that keep women confined to low status, underpaid, unwaged domestic and caring labor should be discussed openly in community groups, and the direct relationship between the personal and the political exposed. Sessions should explore the benefits that will accrue to all of humanity when women and men are enabled to give their best to society.

18) Regional governments may follow Guyana's example of implementing affirmative action, albeit temporarily, to fast-track more women's entry into public leadership as their right to representation based on the fact that they constitute one half of the world's population. NGMs role in this process has been to promote women's practical needs and leveraging these to achieve, in some instances, women's strategic needs. Barriteau (2007), however, assesses this role by pointing out that despite thirty years of commendable work by the Bureau of Gender Affairs in Barbados, their work needs to shift in terms of approach, focus and methodology. She suggests that this shift needs to include the pursuit of gender equality as a means of achieving gender justice. She noted further that increases in quantitative measures - gender indicators and sex-disaggregated data were not enough to measure shifts in gender justice, but that qualitative measures are needed. She defines gender justice as a system in which men and women's work are equally valued, femininity and masculinity are equally ranked and women and men have equal opportunity to access and control resources. She notes NGMs must make "…a commitment to removing both the ideological and material conditions that sustain gender inequalities and [therefore] promote injustices," (Barriteau 2007, 4).

The variety and breath of recommendations for future action are indicative of the multiple variables, contexts and complexities that influence the advocacy work that the ACWM has been implementing since the 1990s to advance TL in the ACR. Training targeted groups of women increased their knowledge, visibility, confidence and group and public support for increasing women's public leadership. The use of multiple advocacy strategies and the building of social movements that challenge entrenched cultural biases against women's leadership advanced women's social status. At the same time, the failure of the state to address the dismantling of gender hierarchies in the ideological domain, and to take the necessary steps to advance qualitative changes that result in the valuing of women's productive and reproductive work as equal to men's, means that the movement has not realized its full potential. The future demands on the ACWM are clear---advocacy needs to address women's strategic interest and gender justice for all of humanity. It also needs to do these tasks in collaboration with empathetic men and address the need for transformation in the construction of masculinity and the meaning of manhood.

Section 6- Conclusion

The search for an alternative transformational style of leadership by the ACWM emerged in the 1970s and 1980s in an attempt to situate the locus of power in non-authoritarian, collective, organizational structures that promote equality and respect for everyone, and placed women's experiences and voice in public discourse. This search consolidated around the backlash of the 1980's. This included the ascendency of neo-liberalism, the death of the leader of the WPA, Walter Rodney in Guyana and Prime Minister Maurice Bishop in Grenada, and the fall of Prime Minister, Michael Manley's regime in Jamaica. Actions taken by elements of the women's movement to advance their autonomy to respond to issues of equity that concerned women also influenced the push for non-authoritarian leadership. The burning desire for a culturally relevant philosophy of leadership and leadership behavior, coupled with the post Beijing (1995) call for state and non-state sectors to promote women's public leadership as a human rights issue and a necessity for advancing gender justice, also contributed to the ACWM's support for TL.

UNIFEM Caribbean initiated this charge at several levels. It conducted participatory research to defined the concept of TL, it unearthed its philosophical and experiential expressions in the region, and developed a plan of action directed at making interventions that would teach and practice the concept across race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age and physical locations. These interventions have been ongoing for almost a decade and a half. The time seems opportune to analyze the interventions against their targeted outputs and outcomes, to identify the progress made and to inform future action.

Research participants, as well as the literature reviewed, indicate that women's advances in top positions of public leadership have not progressed as much as they would like and that this setback raises the question of what should be the nature of future interventions aimed at engendering TL changes in the AC. The CAFRA, Antrobus, and Barriteau argue that the changes cannot be cosmetic, but instead they must transform social institutions and dismantle the status quo. Looking at what women actually do, what issues they advocate for and how they debate and vote in the halls of government,[71] and how they allocate their time serving their constituents may provide some insights as to how transformational they are being. Developing a checklist of transformational leadership characteristics against which women leaders may self-evaluate, as well as be evaluated may be the first step in this direction. This list may be culled from conducting a quantitative content analysis of the AC women's writings that

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[71] Examining the parliamentary Hansard may be one way of doing this. Another may be scheduled visits to parliament when debates and votes on women's issues are occurring. It may be worthwhile to do both because observing the human interaction during parliament is a study in kinesics.

have so far defined TL. This could be combined with asking an open-ended question of research participants "What does transformational leadership mean to you?" or "What is transformational leadership?" or variations of this question.

Among the tasks that the movement set for itself was to create a critical mass of women committed to offering themselves for leadership. This can be determined empirically by tracking graduates of the TL interventions to determine how they have used the training and other forms of advocacy that they have learned. This would include mentorship programs, the campaign workbook and the policy development manual. The fact that beneficiaries seem to be constrained in their ability to promote a gender agenda and work across political party lines, in spite of their training, have implications for the method of recruitment. Who is recruited, the course content, the timing of the interventions, what occurs between interventions, and the way forward should be further discussed.

The recommended changes will no doubt make incremental progress but at the deeper level it seems obvious that the patriarchal rule and male dominance that are deeply embedded in Caribbean society (albeit almost worldwide), is very complex, and morphs itself to adapt to social changes aimed at undermining male privilege. What is clear therefore is that women and their allies, including empathetic men, will need to develop equally complex strategies to seek to transform patriarchy. Even at this stage, one strategy which seems obvious is that feminist women, womanists and empathetic men, will need to lead the charge to interrogate and deconstruct the forms of Caribbean masculinity that seek to perpetuate the domination of women and some men. Broad alliances of all categories of women, in all spaces, and men who are oppressed by patriarchy, need to engage in this oppositional process. The discussions, in communities, need to begin now, to reconfigure new ways of thinking and approaches to an age- old problem, and the process needs to be inclusive and democratic.

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Appendices
Appendix 1
Objectives and Interventions to Promote Women's Transformational Leadership Practices made by the Anglophone Caribbean Women's Movement Between 1991 and 2012

Items	
Time Period	1991-2012 = 21 years
Interventions	26
Short Term Objectives	
Increase women's knowledge, skills and self-confidence to respond to local and national issues	
Participate in media campaigns; build relationships with media managers and journalists	
Sensitize the public to women's capacities to lead and their availability to participate in public leadership	
Build a constituency of public support for women's ways of experiencing life, work and public leadership	
Share women's narratives and coping strategies with the public to increase public awareness that women can and do serve	
Identify mentors/mentees to demonstrate new and aspiring, especially young leaders, that serving is worthwhile	
Observe local government and parliament in session to learn operational strategies	
Develop strategies with government and opposition leaders to identify affirmative action for fast tracking women into national public leadership	
Run in the local government election or volunteer for appointment as magistrates (aldermen)	
Develop national and regional networking to build alliances to increase advocacy, share best practices and develop problem solving strategies	
Increase popular participation in the political process	
Medium Term Objectives	
Creating a critical mass of women to serve in public leadership and to support one another	
Developing an enabling environment that creates opportunities for women to enter public leadership and decision-making	
Networking and alliance building nationally and regionally to increase local, regional and international advocacy, share best practices, and problem-solving strategies	
Increase popular participation in the political process	
Long Term Objectives	
Increase women's participation in public leadership	
Create a cultural shift in the quality of public leadership to make it transformative	
Transform the nature of politics in the individual countries and by extrapolation (through shared strategies) shift the culture of politics in the AC region	
Increase popular participation in the political process, governance and public demand for accountability ((Iyahen, n. d.)	
Short/Medium and Long Term Objectives	
Building cross-party, cross-class, cross-institutional, cross-disciplinary alliances	
Bridging the ethnic divide	

Items	
Interrogating internalized racism	

Participants

Recruited across political parties---local and national; women's groups, NGOs, civil society organizations, CBOs, FBOs, members of the public, political activists at the national and community levels, community service workers, and political party representatives

Proportional Participation of Countries in the 26 Training Sessions

Antigua & Barbuda **(1; 3.8%);** Barbados **(4; 15%)**; Belize **(3; 12%);** Guyana **(1; 3.8%);** Jamaica **(5, 19.2%);** St. Kitts & Nevis **(1; 3.8%);** St. Lucia **(2; 8%);** St. Vincent & The Grenadines **(1; 3.8%);** Trinidad & Tobago **(8; 31%).**

Sponsors/National Women's Groups

Antigua & Barbuda: Directorate of Gender Affairs
Barbados: Bureau of Women's Affairs, National Organization of Women (NOW), National Women's Commission (NWC)
Belize: National Women's Commission (NWC)' WINProject---WIN Belize
Guyana: The Guyana Bar Association
Jamaica: Bureau of Women's Affairs, Community Participation in Local Government (CCPLG), Jamaica Civil Society Coalition (JCSC); Jamaica Women's Political Caucus (JWPC), St. Andrew Chapter of the Business and Professional Women's Club, Women's Media Watch, Women's Resource and Outreach Centre (WROC); Women Working for Transformation (WWT); the UWI Mona IGDS; the Private Sector Organization of Jamaica (PSOJ); Rural Women's Network, Women Working for Progress (WWP); Women Shareholders in Jamaica's Boardroom; 51% Coalition
St. Kitts & Nevis: Ministry of Community Development and Gender Affairs.
St: Lucia: Ministry of Local Government**;** Engendering Local Government Symposium---1997:
Trinidad & Tobago: Hindu Women's Organisation (HWO); Network of NGOs of Trinidad & Tobago for the Advancement of Women; Workingwomen; Women's Platform Coalition (WPC)
St. Vincent & The Grenadines: National Council of Women (NCW); The Committee for the Development of Women (CDW)

Sub-Regional Sponsors

Caribbean Policy Development Centre **(**CPDC) and Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS); CPDC and Barbados; CPDC and CAFRA; CPDC, FES (Jamaica/OECS) and JWPC; CPDC and National Advisory Committees (Antigua & Barbuda), Guyana, St. Kitts/Nevis), University of the West Indies, Regional Youth Ambassadors

Regional Sponsors

CAFRA, CPDC, FES (Jamaica/OECS); CARICOM; Minister of Local Government Forum, Caribbean Association of Local Government Authorities (CALGA); Ministries of Social Transformation, Local Government and Community Empowerment and Gender Relations in St. Lucia

International /Multilateral Sponsors

UNIFEF /UN Women/ UNDP/ UNFPA/ CIDA/ DIFID, UNDEF/ UNECLAC/ Organization of American States (OAS), Gender and Youth Affairs Division (GYAD) of the Commonwealth Secretariat

Type of Intervention

Items	
Conventions: CEDAW	
Manifestoes (Against Sexual Violence); 10-point Plan for Changing the Political Culture	
National Advisory Committees	
Public education and outreach programs	
Public sharing of women's narratives (in the market place; publications of women's narratives (books) that tell stories of healing strategies; women's achievements and contributions aimed at claiming a public persona for women other than being an appendage of men and political parties/women's contribution to local and national development	
Demonstrations, rallies, marches, sit-ins	
Bill boards/ radio and TV jingles (short stories/messages)/ community messages	
Community meetings, corner meetings, town hall meetings, church services	
Coalitions/ joint statements/alliances/networking/petitions	
Songs/poems/dub-poems/coalition of progressive artists national song competitions/ public concerts	
Strategic alliances/caucuses in parliament /in political parties/in private sector groups/ in NGOs /in CSOs/FBOs/ in mass media	
Research and Publication	
Conduct and publish research demonstrating women's status in public leadership; history of women's contribution to political leadership and establishing baseline data for monitoring and evaluating progress	
Launch of databases and web portals	
Trainers of trainers workshop/ community facilitators	
Sub-regional youth assembly	
National public fora---public education---endorsements and resolutions---formal launches	
Establish institutes for public education of women	
Catalysts for Change Project	
Code of Ethics for public office holders	
Campaigns: Put a woman in the House of Parliament; Global 50/50 campaign for financing	
Demand for Quotas: At least 40% and no more than 60% of parliamentarians must be women Advocacy for implementation of commonwealth plan of action (CPoA), which calls for a minimum of 30% women in government 30% of parliamentarians in Trinidad & Tobago **51% Coalition** Boards and commissions should have no less than 40%, or more than 60% of any sex Developed a database of women who are willing to offer themselves for public service Jamaica Stock Exchange (JSE) committed to distributing the database to company boards of directors for consideration when a vacancy arises on their boards (then Coordinator of the Jamaica Civil Society Coalition (JCSC), Carol Narcisse in interview with the author, in Kingston, Jamaica, August 14, 2012). Women purchase shares as one mechanism for getting their voices into company board rooms (Women Shareholders in Jamaica's Board Rooms 2012) One representative of the PSOJ, Joe Matalon, a member of the JCSC agreed to organize for the 51% Coalition to present its case to the PSOJ. He also agreed to use sex disaggregated data and case studies to support his presentation to the organization.	
Visioning Workshops: Visioning desired outcomes at the personal, community, and national levels and taking personal responsibility for fixing community and national problems; identify personal core values and actions and how they may act to enhance or inhibit the best possible outcomes for the individual, community and nation.	
Monitoring and Evaluation frameworks for following up on strategic interventions.	

Items	
Mentorship/ coaching/ follow-up workshops to assess strategic steps/conduct formative evaluations	

Training Activities: Content
Local government (constitutional reform/operations/friendly to women)
Transformational leadership (personal transformation/change agent/inspirational leadership)
Gender sensitive policy analysis and policy development
Constitutional rights/gendered nature/ necessity for reform to ensure women's rights and human rights
Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)---Women's Rights (Women's Human Rights)
Gender analysis and gender sensitive development of policy
Gender mainstreaming (gender analysis training for NGOs and civil servants)
How to win election/successful campaigning/self-confidence/self-esteem building/presentation of the self/conducting media campaigns/post-election evaluation process and strategy for "moving on"
Certificate course in gender & development studies

Material Outputs
Campaign manual/political campaign materials
List of best practices for campaigning, canvassing, fundraising/public presentations of self/interaction with mass media/protocols, press conferences, radio and television interviews, etiquette, strategic negotiations, law reform process
Gender sensitive policy development manual: How to analyze and develop gender sensitive policies working with broad coalitions and across political party lines
Women in politics seeking opportunities for leadership in Belize (identified women available for service)
Presentation of lists of women willing to serve in leadership on civil society boards, local government authorities, political parties, private and public sector boards and commissions (more recently in Jamaica, the list has been presented to the Jamaica Stock Exchange and the Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica
Publications on women transformational leaders in the Anglophone Caribbean: So far, five of these profiles have been/are being researched and two have been published---Dame Nita Barrow and Eugenia Charles.

Setbacks---Challenges
Women were allegedly expelled from their political parties for training with women from opposition parties;
Demotion: a minister of government in Guyana was demoted for advocating for the implementation of the abortion law;
A minister of government in Trinidad was allegedly dismissed for advocating for the passing of an abortion law and the recognition of gay rights;
The ethnic divide in Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana are exaggerated during election periods because the main groups---Africans and Indians---are divided along political party lines;
Westminster parliamentary democracy demands party loyalty hence cross-party alliances and issues opposed to party lines are near impossible to achieve.

Appendix II
Donor Agencies that Supported Transformational Leadership Interventions

Women Leaders as Agents of Change project was supported by UNIFEM/UNDP;

Women for Political Participation Project was supported by the OAS, UNIFEM, CIM and IDI;

Engender Political Participation project was coordinated by the CPDC, FES and IGDS, and funded by AIDB, FES, and CIDA;

Strengthening Women's Leadership was executed by the WROC and funded by UNDEF, FES and CIDA;

Women as Agents of Change project was funded by UNIFEM/UNDP and coordinated by the Bureau of Gender Affairs and NOW in Barbados;

Engendering Local Government Symposium to kick-start the wave to support women's integration into local government was funded by the Commonwealth Secretariat;

Engendering Local Government in Trinidad and Tobago was funded by UNDEF;

Women in Politics---training for transformational leadership in Belize, were funded by AIDB and UNIFEM.

Appendix III
Research Participants and Data Collection Methods

Names	Data Collection Method
Andaiye: Highly respected member of the ACWM. Founding member of the Working People's Alliance in Guyana and Red Thread. Passionate advocate for autonomous women's organising, wages for women's unpaid labour including household labor, and working class leadership of organisations. Renowned for speaking her truth. She is a citizen of Guyana.	Skype interview
Peggy Antrobus: Caribbean Transformational Leader with a tradition for institution building nationally, regionally and internationally. Passionate about community development and empowerment using indigenous resources. Founding head of WAND, founding Director of DAWN, a self-declared feminist and an unrepentant advocate for the reform of IFIs toward catering for fulfilling the basic needs of people of the South.	Written response and Skype interview
Erna Brodber Veteran community activist who uses knowledge building as a tool for community-empowerment and development. She is highly respected for researching and disseminating the history of Africans in the Diaspora. She promotes the establishment of Black Spaces for interrogating, deconstructing and reconstructing African experiences in the West as tools for self- and community emancipation.	Written response (brief) and telephone verification

Names	Data Collection Method
Lana Finikin: Managing Director of Sistren Theatre Collective which is celebrated worldwide for its use of community animation for advancing women's rights. Founded in 1977 as a predominantly working class group, Sistren has used several art forms to engage the public in confronting women's oppression and discrimination in the society.	Focus group discussion (FGD) and telephone follow-up interview
Honor Ford-Smith: Well known as the founding Artistic Director of Sistren Theatre Collective, she steered the group to achieving several successes. Under her leadership Sistren produced several plays and other performance pieces and products that forced the public to confront issues plaguing the society such as sexual violence and incest, poverty, and social antagonisms among different social groups. They presented their messages to local, national, regional and international communities using various forms including publishing and dramatizing their life histories.	FGD and written e-mail response (follow-up)
Joan French: highly respected for her insight, outspokenness, and independent thought, Joan has been at the forefront of the women's movement for decades. She was a stalwart of the teacher's movement, a member of Sistren and CAFRA. She is well known for her efforts at seeking to promote a regional women's movement.	FGD and face-to-face follow-up interview
Rupert Lewis: Highly respected as a radical black Garvey scholar who was a leader of the Abeng Movement (Black Power group in Jamaica), the Workers Party of Jamaica and a supporter of the women's movement.	Telephone interview

Names	Data Collection Method
Syringa Marshall-Burnett: President of Jamaica's upper house – the Senate serving three prime Ministers. Highly respected for her professionalism as a career nurse practitioner and lecturer. She served as President of the Nurses Association of Jamaica and on regional and international professional nursing bodies. She is an ardent supporter of the women's movement.	telephone interview
Carol Narcisse: Convenor of the JCSC is a long-time supporter of the women's movement and was very active as an advocate for the teaching profession. She is an outspoken critic of government policy that violates citizen's human rights and advocates especially on behalf of children	Skype and telephone interview, follow-up discussion on Skype and interview using revised questionnaire
Imani Tafari-Ama: development and gender specialist, social critic and advocate for the Rastafari Movement of which she is a member. Her advocacy takes many forms, lecturer, author, poet and film maker.	Face-to-face interview
Gemma Tang is a veteran of the ACWM who has served on CAFRA's Executive. She has authored several publications on gender discrimination and the need for gender equity in the region. She is very insightful in discerning gender issues and how to negotiate them,	Telephone interview

Names	Data Collection Method
Marjorie Taylor: A Former President of the PNP Women's Movement, Ms. Taylor started her political career at a very early age. Before starting high school, she served as Secretary to two political groups, one of which she co-founded. She wears the enviable title of being the first woman of working class background to lead the women's movement and praises Beverley Anderson Manley (now Anderson Duncan) for mentoring her into that space	Telephone interview
Linnette Vassell: Coordinator of the Women's Resource and Outreach Centre (WROC) is a veteran of the women's movement. She is highly respected for her advocacy work in advancing women's rights, particularly the maternity leave law and building coalitions across political parties and social groups. She is currently a leading advocate of the 51% Coalition in Jamaica, which is lobbying for a temporary quota system that is seeking to have no more than 60% or less than 40% of either sex represented in parliament and on public boards and commissions.	Telephone/Skype interview

Names	Data Collection Method
Focus Group Discussion: Shanique Campbell, Ayesha Constable and Nadeen Spence joined the focus group as young women representing the women's movement on the campus of the University of the West Indies. Hilary Nicholson, is an outstanding member of the ACWM, was also a backbone member of Sistren and CAFRA, and founding head of Women's Media Watch, Judy Wedderburn is also an outstanding member of the women's movement, who travelled across the country to deliver political consciousness raising sessions to communities. As a development economist and head of the Friederich Ebert Stiftung NGO, she supports several educational and development projects that advances the ACWM.	Shanique Campbell, Ayesha Constable, Lana Finikin, Honor Ford-Smith, Joan French, Hilary Nicholson, Nadeen Spence, Judy Wedderburn, Shirley Campbell (researcher)

Appendix IV
Emailed Questionnaire

Dear _____,

Good morning! I hope this note finds you well. You are receiving this e-mail because we are excited to get your opinion on how feminists /womanists in the 70s/80s and 90s struggled to create a new type of leadership/a transformational type of leadership in the English-speaking Caribbean. The methods/strategies that you used to get your ideas across, the discussions that you had; the successes that you experienced and the challenges that you encountered and how you overcame them is also of interest to us. We would also like to hear about the alliances that you built as individuals, at the level of your organisations, your political parties, the links that you made regionally and internationally. Lastly, we would also like to hear your recommendations for going forward. Please continue to read below to get a more complete idea of the issues over which we are mulling.

Immediately below that are seven questions that we would like you to reflect on and answer. You can do so by writing your responses in the body of this e-mail (and then hit the reply button) or I will be happy to visit with you for an interview, talk with you on the telephone, or via Skype. We are also prepared to meet you in small groups (in fact, this has proved very useful as persons help one another to recall) to share our reflections on the period and the leadership that emerged at that time. We can discuss your preferred approach further – In addition to this e-mail I will be calling those of you for whom I have numbers in order to follow-up. My number is XXXXXXXXX, and please feel free to call me for further discussions. Thank you. Please continue.

My name is Shirley Campbell, a member of a team of researchers led by Project Coordinator and Lead Researcher, Dr. Gabrielle Hosein, of the Institute for Gender and Development Studies (IGDS), at the University of the West Indies (UWI), St. Augustine Campus. The project is called "Politics, Power and Gender Justice in the Anglophone Caribbean: Women's Understandings of Politics, Experiences of Politics, Political Contestation and the Possibilities for Gender Transformation." The project, which is sponsored by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and executed by the IGDS, St. Augustine Campus is examining how women have strategized to make advances in political leadership, the development of national gender policies, quotas and womanist/feminist advocacy.

My task is to investigate the historical background and macro-regional context within which womanist/feminist advocacy in the Anglophone Caribbean struggled to create a different kind of leadership - a transformational type of leadership over several decades. The lessons learned and best practices regarding strategies will be documented to inform future action at the individual, institutional, national and international levels of women's advocacy.
The objectives of the study are:
  • to analyze the historical background and macro-regional context within which womanist/ feminist advocacy in the region focused on creating a different kind of leadership – a transformational type of leadership; [we are aware that the word "transformational" was not being used at the time but we are agreed that the qualities that we struggled for were transformational – so do not be turned off by the word – we are however embracing the concept/ the idea].
  • to explore the experiences and understandings of women to determine the factors that enabled or impeded the transformation of leadership and gendered power relations;

- to identify what enabled or hindered the advance of women in political and other positions of public leadership in society; and
- to detail advocacy strategies which should govern democratic practices, with a view to advancing women's rights and gender equality across both state and non-state sectors.

Advocating for Women's Transformational Leadership
In addition to the overarching objectives outlined earlier, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

1) What is the history of the idea and movement around women as transformational leaders in public life? What were the debates, strategies, successes and limitations?
2) To what extent has womanist/feminist advocacy empowered women to be transformational leaders in public life in the Anglophone Caribbean?
3) In what ways has the women's movement influenced institutions (state and non-state) and individuals, at various stages and levels, at which the movement participated?
4) How did women advance the idea of transformational leadership among women in political life?
5) What strategies did womanist/feminist organizing in the region use to influence how women performed in political life, contest elections, engage other women and men and led and made decisions?
6) How did the womanists/feminists movement attempt to empower women to change the systems in which they exercised power and to transform the concept and exercise of power itself?
7) How were the tensions and differences between women in the women's movement and women in politics debate and negotiate to transform how political power and leadership were exercised?
8) To what extent did womanist/feminist advocacy make advances and or experienced setbacks in the region; and
9) What was the historical and regional context within which the womanist/feminist struggle for transformational leadership unfolds?

In order to make the discussion more manageable we organised the ideas above into seven questions: these were:
1) What inspired the search for a different style of leadership in the 1970s, 80s and 90s?
2) What was the new style of leadership that you wanted?
3) What were the challenges that you encountered trying to implement this new type of leadership?
4) How did you overcome those challenges?
5) What were the successes that you experienced – individually – institutionally – regionally – internationally?
   (Individual)_____
   (Institutional)_____
   (Regional)_____
   (International)_____

6) What are your recommendations for going forward? (What lessons have you learned?/ What are some best practices that you learned?)

7) What are your suggestions for us to continue this discussion? How can we explore the issues that remain unresolved?

Please feel free to write/talk as much as you want to do not be constrained by the number of lines.

Thank you so much for participating – it is greatly appreciated.
Warm regards.
Shirley A. Campbell

APPENDIX V

Revised Questionnaire
Politics, Power and Gender Justice in the Anglophone Caribbean

Q1.   1.1 o Female   1.2 o Male

Q2.   What is your age range?

2.1   o < 20 years; 2.2 o 20-30 years; 2.3 o 31-40 years; 2.4 o 41-50 years; 2.5 o 51-60 years; 2.6 o > 60 years

Q3. Country? _____

Q4. Are you a member of a women's group/advocacy group? 4.1 o Yes; 4.2 o No.

Q5.If yes what is the name of the group? _____

Q5. What is your understanding of "Transformational Leadership"?
_____
_____

Q6. How did you learn about transformational leadership?
_____
_____

Q7.   Based on your experience of leadership in the Anglophone Caribbean region do you consider TL important?
o Yes; o No. (Tick your response) If yes ... why do you think it is important? If "No" go to Q8
_____
_____

Q8. Do you practise TL? o Yes; o No If "Yes" Describe what you do when you are practising TL? If "no" go to Q10
_____
_____

Q 9 What, if any difference has practising TL made in your life - overall?
9.1 In your family_____
9.2 In your community?_____
9.3 In your organisation?_____
 Q.10 Have you seen others practise TL? o Yes; o No If "Yes" Please give an example of why you say she or he practices TL.

_____
_____
_____

Q.11 Have you done anything (individually or collectively) to advance TL in your work?
o Yes; o No If "No" go to Q12
11.1 If "Yes" What have you done? _____
_____
_____

Q12 If "No" Do you know of others who have individually or collectively taken steps to effect TL in their work? o Yes; o No If "Yes" what have they done? If "No" go to Q14.
_____
_____

Q13 What are your reflections on your advocacy/action in terms of
13.1 strategies used? _____
13.2 lessons learned? _____
13.3 networks built? _____
13.4 knowledge produced? _____
13.5 impacts had? _____

Q 14 What reflections do you have regarding challenges and resistances to being a TL:
14.1 At the interpersonal level? _____
14.2 Ideologically? _____
14.3 Political? _____
14.4 Economically? _____
14.5 Organisationally?_____
14.6 Masculinism? _____

Q15 Have you seen any changes in leadership behaviour in the region since the talk of transformational leadership in the 1990s? oYes; ® No If "yes". If "No" go to Q16
15.1 What do you think is responsible for this change? _____
_____
_____
_____
15.2 What contribution, if any, do you think feminist/womanist struggles around the region have had on leadership generally?
_____
_____
_____

Q 16) What lessons, can we learn from the history of advocacy and struggle around TL in the region?
_____
_____

Q 17 Do you know if these strategies/processes/lessons have been documented? o Yes; o No If "yes"

Q18. What are your recommendations in the current period to advance women's TL in the following organisations?

18.1   Political parties: _____

18.2   Private sector leadership: _____

18.3   Community based groups: _____

18.4   Trade unions: _____

18.5   Church leadership: _____

18.6   School leadership: _____

Q19. Some people say that "When women get into top leadership they forget to support the policies and the laws that would advance women's rights and equality." Do you believe that this statement is: ®True or ® False (Tick your preferred answer.)

Q20. What are the top three things that you would do to make sure that when women get into top leadership they support women's rights and gender equality?

20.1 _____

20.2 _____

20.3 _____

Q21. What are your top three recommendations for involving more young women (and men) in the women's movement going forward?

21.1 _____

21.2_____

21.3 _____

Thank you so much