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Preface

A 2001 World Bank Policy Research Report claims, that in spite of significant gains in access to basic services, in no region of the developing world, including Jamaica, are women equal to men in legal, social and economic rights.¹ Despite the use of policy perspectives based either on a Women in Development approach, or a Gender and Development approach, or more recently on gender mainstreaming, gender inequalities and inequities persist, as do women's historical lack of access to both material and non-material resources.

In Jamaica, as in other CARICOM countries, there are no legal restrictions to women being political leaders, or leaders of public sector organizations involved in the broader process of governance and policy-making. Existing social, economic and cultural constraints have meant that women do not enjoy with men, equal conditions for realizing their full human rights. Neither do the conditions exist for the majority of women to realize their full potential to contribute to the political, economic, social and cultural development of their societies.

1. World Bank 2001. *Engendering Development – Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voices*. World Bank Policy Research Report. New York. Oxford University Press.

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) works with partners in promoting the use of a gender approach generally. Through this publication, however, there is a specific focus on Gender and Governance with the overall objective of demonstrating, through research and analysis, where the gender gaps persist in important sections of the political system and process of three countries: Jamaica, South Africa and Zambia. This publication also directs the readers to areas in which progress has been made, and from which therefore, lessons for the future can be learnt.

The publication of this Working Paper on Gender and Governance has been made possible by a most effective process of collaboration between FES and the the Centre for Gender and Development Studies Mona Campus Unit of the University of the West Indies in Jamaica. The creative inputs of the partners in this process have produced a publication that will be welcomed by all persons who have an interest not only in eliminating gender inequality and inequity in governance, but also in building a greater awareness of how the historical disadvantages faced by women as active participants in the national development process can be addressed.

The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the authors, and are not necessarily those of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Judith Wedderburn

Director

FES Jamaica and the Eastern Caribbean

Introduction

LEITH L DUNN

Gender and governance is the theme of this fifth Working Paper of the Centre for Gender and Development Studies (CGDS) Mona Campus Unit. Its publication at this time is significant as the Centre for Gender and Development Studies celebrates its 15th Anniversary, the University of the West Indies celebrates its 60th Anniversary and the year 2008 also marks the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Working Paper 5 supports the Centre's mandate to "produce and disseminate knowledge based on the generation and analysis of research data on women, men and gender related issues in the Caribbean". It is a resource for teaching, research and activist outreach that have characterized the Centre's work in the last 15 years.

The Working Paper's focus on Gender and Governance has been inspired by several factors. It is part of the CGDS Mona Unit's research agenda in response to emerging gender and development issues in the Caribbean as most countries have made very limited progress in achieving gender equality in participation and leadership at the highest levels of decision-making. Wide disparities persist despite ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and their endorsement of the Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Develop-

ment Goals which include a commitment to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women (MDG #3).

The Most Hon. Portia Simpson-Miller's election as Jamaica's first female Prime Minister in 2006 and President of the People's National Party broke the political 'glass ceiling' and influenced the decision to document and analyse this historic development.

Professor Elsa Leo-Rhynie's 6th Lucille Mathurin Mair Public Lecture, entitled: "*The UWI Glass Ceiling: splinters, cracks, scratches*" published by the Mona Unit in November 2008, highlighted gender inequality in leadership and governance within the UWI over its 60-year history and provided an agenda for action which the Working Paper supports.

The Mona Unit's participation in several gender and governance policy initiatives also influenced the decision to publish Working Paper 5. There was my own interest in governance related to government and civil society partnerships for development through the Commonwealth (see Ball and Dunn, 1995, "Non-Governmental Organisations: Guidelines for Good Policy and Practice" published by the Commonwealth Foundation). Participation as a member of the DFID-funded Jamaica Social Policy Evaluation Project (JASPEV) of the Cabinet Office that promotes an integrated social policy framework, and co-chair of the governance sub-committee provided opportunities for research and analysis of the concept of good governance which includes effective participation and the integration of gender considerations in all national policies and programmes. Support to the development of national gender policies in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica as well as Jamaica's Vision 2030 Development Plan also provided opportunities for research and analysis. Serving as a member of two Commonwealth Observer Missions for elections in Southern Africa (Zimbabwe 2002 and Zambia 2006) also provided opportunities for research and analysis of gender and governance. The Working Paper also celebrates South-South Cooperation and in particular the partnership between the Caribbean and Southern Africa.

Senator Barack Obama's riveting campaign and his election as the first black President of the United States, also renewed hope that change is possible. This Working Paper therefore seeks to encourage further policy research, advocacy and activism that will significantly improve gender equality in governance over the next 15 years. It builds on the work of many Caribbean scholars (e.g. Eudine Barriteau, Maxine Henry-Wilson, Beverly Manley, Linnette Vassell); the feminist activism of groups such as the Jamaica Women's Political Caucus and CAFRA; and the institutional publications of CARICOM and ECLAC among others.

The Working Paper is dedicated to Caribbean young men and women who are major agents of change. The hope is that students at the University of the West Indies and other institutions who will become the future leaders of the Caribbean will find it useful. It supports the UWI Strategic Plan for 2007–2012 which has a clear vision of the UWI graduate as innovative, problem solving and equipped to meet the development challenges of the region. The hope is that as students (as well as academics and ordinary citizens) reflect on the issues of gender, governance and democracy in the Paper, they will be inspired to become transformational leaders, will radically change the political landscape and will create a more equitable system of governance; one in which men and women have an equal chance of leading their country, or organisation.

Structure of the Working Paper

Part 1 entitled "Breaking the Political Glass Ceiling" presents the results of three preliminary studies on the election of Jamaica's first female Prime Minister and assesses the implications for gender and governance.

Part 2 entitled "Lessons from Southern Africa" presents a case study from South Africa which shares strategies used to achieve greater gender equality in women's participation in leadership and an

adaptation of a “*Gender Checklist for Free and Fair Elections in Zambia*”, as a guide for advocacy to increase women’s participation in elections in the Caribbean.

Understanding Gender and Governance

As the concept of gender is still not well understood, it is important to indicate that the term is different from sex which indicates biological differences between men and women and describes the social relations between women and men which reflect inequality in social, economic and political realities. From a Caribbean feminist perspective, how males and females experience gender relations in the Caribbean is also influenced by differences based on age, class, colour, religion and nationality among other factors.

The term governance is different from government. The Government of Jamaica’s definition of governance is outlined in Ministry Paper 12 which addresses the Public Sector Modernisation Vision and Strategy 2002–2012. Governance is the first goal of the Jamaica 2015 Vision which is for “*Effective complementary and transparent government and civil socety society structures and partnerships, seeking to ensure the increased and sustained involvement in decision-making by the people*”. Here governance is defined as

. . . The exercise of power in the economic, political and administrative management of the country’s resources. Governance comprises the traditions, institutions and processes that determine how power is shared and exercised, how decisions are made and how authority responds on issues of public concern”.¹

UNDP (1988) also indicates that “Governance is exercised by the private sector, and civil society as well as the state, all of which have

1. See Jamaica 2015 National Progress Report 2004–2006 on Jamaica’s Social Policy Goals, prepared by Technical Working Group with Nicole A. Brown, Jamaica Social Policy Evaluation (JASPEV) (2008)

important roles to play in promoting sustainable human development". Participation by ALL stakeholders is a common thread running through these definitions and is the first characteristic of "good governance" described in the JASPEV Report. It notes that

All men and women should have a voice in decision-making either directly, or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as on capacities to participate constructively, and to exercise rights in decision-making for a given area of responsibility.

The JASPEV Report also underscores the importance of full representation of women in national and local politics. It expresses concern about the low level of participation of women in leadership positions, especially at the highest levels, despite their high level of participation in the labour force (46%) and high incidence of female headed households (44%). The Report also notes that Jamaica lagged far behind other countries in achieving equality of women in political decision making at the leadership level. Although they comprise 50.7% of the population of Jamaica, women were consistently under-represented at the leadership level. For example, the data showed that between 2002 and August 2007 women comprised only 12% of Members of Parliament; 17% of Parish Councillors and 24% of Senators. (Jamaica 2015 – National Progress Report 2004–2006, p. 68–69).

Human Rights Framework

As part of global standards of good governance, governments are assigned the role of duty bearers with responsibility for establishing an enabling environment for citizens (rights holders) to access their basic rights including the right to participate equally at the highest level of decision-making.

The human rights commitments referred to earlier are established on the principle that women's equal participation at the highest level of decision-making is a basic human right. The global human rights framework includes several instruments that are summarized below:

1. The **Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1944)** which gave women the right to vote promotes equality in decision-making.
2. The **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)** also supports this equality and Article 7 of CEDAW requires that countries that have ratified this convention should "take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in political and public life and in particular shall ensure to all women in equal terms with men the right to:
 - Vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies
 - Participate in the formulation of government policy and implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government
 - Participate in NGOs and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country". (CEDAW Convention).

CEDAW also advocates quotas to reverse the gender imbalance in political participation at the highest level of decision-making. It has established the targets of 30% of women in Parliament and 50% of women in local government by the year 2015. The Commonwealth Plan of Action for Women also endorses these targets.

The Beijing Platform for Action also supports political equality for women. Jamaica and other Caribbean countries have endorsed the Beijing Platform for Action which was a consensus agreement at the Fourth World Conference on Women held in 1995. It calls on

countries to increase action to ensure equality in the participation of women at the highest levels of political leadership.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights provides further support for action to promote gender equality. Jamaica has ratified this Convention and Article 25 states that every citizen shall have a right and opportunity without . . . unreasonable restrictions, to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives; to vote and be elected at genuine periodic elections, which shall be universal, with equal suffrage.

Millennium Development Goals

Jamaica and other Caribbean countries are also signatories to the consensus document called the Millennium Declaration (2000) with eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that must be achieved by the year 2015. As previously noted, the third goal, (MDG #3) is *gender equality and the empowerment of women*. This Declaration was endorsed by 189 countries and shapes development policy and planning at global and national levels in many countries.

The Commonwealth Plan of Action for Women and the CARICOM Programme of Action for Women also represent commitments to promote gender equality in political decision-making. National policies and practices should therefore reflect these commitments and the hope is that the Working Paper will support greater coherence between policy and practice.

Vision of Gender and Governance in the 21st Century

Against this background the vision of Working Paper 5 is a gendered Caribbean society in the 21st Century that is based on principles of human rights and equality. Caribbean societies that reflect equal numbers of competent male and female leaders at the highest levels

of decision-making. Political leaders will be more inclusive, foster greater participation and respect the human rights of all citizens, irrespective of differences related to age, sex, physical or mental ability, race, colour, class status or sexuality. Their leadership will be marked by transparency, integrity and accountability. National policies will be gender-sensitive and respond to the differential experiences and status of males and females.

Renewed Call to Action

Consistent with this vision, Working Paper 5 therefore supports advocacy to ensure that gender issues are considered more consistently in public debates, community consultations academic discourse, research, teaching, and feminist activism. The benefits will be seen in reduced levels of poverty and conflict and more equitable development for all.

Breaking the Political Glass Ceiling

The Most Hon. Portia Simpson-Miller election as Jamaica's first female Prime Minister had to be documented despite the Centre's resource constraints. Melanie Gilchrist's paper entitled "Reflections on the Making of a Female Prime Minister" therefore presents the findings from exploratory research conducted through interviews and documentary research which identify some of the factors that have contributed to The Most Hon. Portia Simpson-Miller's political development.

Research continued to document Mrs Portia Simpson-Miller's first year in office as Prime Minister of Jamaica. Shirley Campbell's paper entitled "**The Making and Unmaking of a Female Prime Minister**" documents and analyses this process from a sample of newspaper articles, published in Jamaica's two main daily newspapers between March 2006 and September 3 2007. Shirley Campbell's paper builds

on preliminary research conducted by Kinisha Correia at the request of the CGDS Mona Unit. Against the background of theories related to Gender and Development and Servant Leadership Ms Campbell explores how class, colour, gender, socio-economic challenges and scandals impacted The Most Hon. Simpson-Miller's tenure in office. This exploratory paper provides a framework for further research, analysis and theorizing on the gender and governance issues which students and other researchers will no doubt explore.

The third paper in the 'trilogy' was inspired by Mrs Portia Simpson-Miller decision to seek her own mandate from the electorate. The intense election campaign resulted in the election of Hon Bruce Golding as Prime Minister of Jamaica eighteen months after Mrs Simpson Miller had been elected. The election campaign provided another opportunity to reflect on gender and governance in Jamaica's electoral process. The CGDS Mona Unit and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung again collaborated to conduct research on how gender, class and colour were used in the media campaigns of the two main political parties. This study was based on a sample of advertisements in the electronic and print media which included cartoons published by the country's two main newspapers during the election campaign.

Public Forum on Women in Politics

In October 2007, a public forum on the election campaign was organised by the CGDS Mona Unit in partnership with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, the Bureau of Women's Affairs, the Jamaica Women's Political Caucus, the Association of Women's Organisations of Jamaica (AWOJA), the Women's Resource and Outreach Centre and the Institute of Caribbean Studies at the UWI. Preliminary results from the media research were presented at the public forum, in the form of a Power Point Presentation entitled "*Gender, Colour and Class in the 2007 Election Campaign*" prepared by Kinisha Correia. Development Practitioner, Taitu Heron, was later commissioned to

conduct more in-depth research and analysis on the media campaigns and the results are presented in her paper entitled *“Political Advertising and the Portrayal of Gender, Colour and Class in Jamaica’s Elections 2007”*.

Strategies from Southern Africa

The second part of the Working Paper shares the experience of two Southern African countries that have adopted specific strategies to achieve greater gender equality in political leadership. South Africa, Zambia and Caribbean countries face common challenges that can be addressed through South-South cooperation to find solutions.

South Africa and Zambia are members of the Southern Africa Development Cooperation (SADC) which has agreed to use quotas to increase the number of women in political leadership. South Africa has achieved the target of 30% of women in Parliament and 50% in local government. Hon. Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini’s paper on *“Lessons in Leadership and Governance: Women and Decision-Making in South Africa”* reflects on the struggle and achievements of women in South Africa to promote gender equality in decision-making. The author, Hon. Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini, a Member of Parliament and Deputy Leader of the Africa National Congress Women’s League, was the distinguished Guest Speaker at the August 9, 2005 South Africa Women’s Day Celebration held in Jamaica. This annual event commemorates August as South Africa Women’s Month and is organized by the Bureau of Women’s Affairs in Jamaica and the South Africa High Commission. I have had the honour of serving as Chair of the panel discussions held at these annual events in my capacity as Head of the CGDS Mona Unit UWI and as a founding member of the Jamaica South Africa Friendship Association (JASFA). The Centre thanks the South Africa High Commission for securing permission to publish Hon. Myakayaka-Manzini’s presentation.

The other contribution is a ‘gem’ from Zambia discovered during

my visit there as a member of the Commonwealth Observer Mission for the Tripartite Elections held in 2006. The Mission afforded opportunities to have discussions with a variety of stakeholders which included: Women's NGOs, the Ministry of Gender Affairs of Zambia and the counterpart of the CGDS Mona Unit, the Department of the Gender Affairs at the University of Zambia.

- The "*Gender Checklist for Free and Fair Elections in Zambia*", was published by the Zambia National Women's Lobby with support from the UNDP and is an excellent user-friendly advocacy tool to promote gender equality in political decision-making. It was helpful in monitoring the Zambia Elections from a gender perspective and has since been used to support the work of the Gender and Governance sub-committee of the Gender Task Force for Jamaica's Vision 2030 Development Plan sponsored by the Planning Institute of Jamaica. Zambia's *Gender Checklist* has been adapted for use in the Caribbean and is being shared as a resource to support advocacy. It will hopefully be used by researchers, activists and policy makers to promote dialogue that can radically transform the political culture of Jamaica and other Caribbean countries. The *Gender Checklist* addresses many of the factors that limit women's participation in political leadership noted by Mondesire and Dunn (1995) and Azza Kamam (1998).²

The Commonwealth Caribbean

The situation facing women in the countries of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) is similar, as recounted in these lessons from St Vincent and the Grenadines.

2. Azza Karam (ed.) (1998). *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*. Retrieved November 30 2008 from <http://archive.idea.int/women/parl/ch7b.htm>.

Lessons from St Vincent and the Grenadines

Challenges Facing Potential Women Candidates

In the history of Electoral Politics in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, only fifteen women have contested National Elections, of this number, seven won their seats. All were members of the Ruling Party.

The question was asked of the women interviewed – “*What do you see as some of the reasons for failure at the polls?*” Their responses are summarized as follows:

1. Some women feel that they are not capable of performing the duties of elected office.
2. Some would not consider giving up their “good” jobs to enter politics.
3. Family would not support the decision.
4. Politics is too dirty and ugly.
5. The public assassination, which seems to be reserved for women only.
6. The selection process by men that tends to bypass women.
7. Political Parties have no policy of mandatory female candidates.
8. Lack of mechanisms to prepare women for candidacy.
9. The attitude that women should be at home nurturing partners and children.

Robinson, N. (2003). “*A Green Corn Row of Lovers*” *CAFRA News – Women in Politics*. Retrieved on November 29 2008 from http://www.cafra.org/article313.html?artsuite=0#sommaire_5.

Jamaica Women's Political Caucus

Jamaica's reports to the CEDAW Committee on progress in promoting gender equality in governance and political leadership show this is still a challenge. In the decade and a half since 1995, there have been several interventions to address this inequality but the characteristics have not changed substantially. The Jamaica Women's Political Caucus (JWPC) is one example of women's groups across the Caribbean whose deliberate advocacy and action promote gender equality in governance and political leadership.

The Caucus is a non-partisan group of women who provide training, have conducted research, have established a Candidates Fund and have mentored women candidates from various political parties in Jamaica. Their Annual Rose Leon Public Lecture has provided many inspiring speakers to promote awareness and encourage action. Members of the Caucus have served as resource persons and Election Day panelists in the electronic media.

Mondesire and Dunn (1995)³ address issues of inequality in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels of society, in their review of the Status of Women in Sixteen Commonwealth Caribbean countries, based on national reports prepared for the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing, in 1995.

They underscore the importance of women having equal access to power and decision-making in determining and mobilizing support for national development goals and strategies. The gap between women's numerical representation in the population of Caribbean countries (50%) and their vast under-representation (10%) in access to power at the highest level is also highlighted. In reviewing the literature then available which has since grown, they cite the contributions of Henry-Wilson (1989) Anderson-Manley (1994) and Pat Ellis

3. Mondesire A and Dunn, L (1995), *"Towards Equity in Development: A Report on the Status of Women in Sixteen Commonwealth Caribbean Counties"*, CARICOM Secretariat, Guyana.

(1988) among others which point to some of the factors that contribute to this inequality. Among the factors and issues emerging from the literature reviewed by Mondesire and Dunn were:

1. The definition of democracy and the structure of participation. These were based on contesting general elections every five years and with limited emphasis in the party machinery on the mobilization and education of party members to debate issues, build consensus or support national development goals. The literature also highlighted women's historical disenfranchisement because political participation was linked to land ownership. This criterion contributed to the exclusion of women in the early legislative assemblies during the post-emancipation period.
2. Unequal access that many people have to education employment, housing and economic power. This inequality places high value on the acquisition of state power as it provides a means to distribute scarce resources. This inequality also contributes to polarization and political tribalism, divides geographic communities as well as communities of interest including women.
3. Absence of national fora for discussion of and participation in policy decision-making.
4. Absence of formal training for electoral candidates in competing and managing resources and for leadership and governance. These were also cited as factors that adversely affect the quality of participation of both women and men.
5. Absence of an "old girls network" that would give women equity in access to political power and would help to select and groom women candidates as occurs in the "old boys network".
6. Women's limited access to financial resources to contest elections.
7. A sharp sexual division of labour in many political parties which results in women being the backbone of the party but not having equal representation in the leadership.

8. Discriminatory attitudes and values among the population although there are no legal barriers and although most countries have universal adult suffrage.
9. Lack of support from the party leadership in some instances. (Mondesire and Dunn 1995, pp. 21–3).

ECLAC and CARICOM

ECLAC and CARICOM both have gender indicators related to the promotion of gender equality in political and public life. ECLAC National Gender Indicators (1999) speak to targets being set for the number of seats held by women and men in national parliaments and local government decision-making bodies, as electoral candidates and as officers in political parties; the percentage of women serving at the highest levels of office in the civil service; women employed in the public sector, at administrative and managerial levels; data on women and men registered as voters; data on the number of women and men who are eligible to vote; women in senior and junior decision-making positions in trade unions; the number of women judges, justices and prosecutors and the number of women and men in the police force by rank.

Conclusion

The issues examined in Working Paper 5 provide opportunities to expand research and theorizing on gender and governance as a development issue. Hopefully it will also increase action to enhance gender equality in governance. On behalf of the CGDS Mona Unit I wish to sincerely thank FES Jamaica and Eastern Caribbean Office and Judith Wedderburn, as well as the authors, Mr Robert Harris the Book Designer, the staff of the CGDS Mona Unit and all who have contributed to this publication.

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Part 1

Breaking the Political Glass Ceiling

Reflections on the Making of a Female Prime Minister

MELANIE GILCHRIST

Background

In 2006, The Most Hon Portia Simpson-Miller was elected as Jamaica's first female Prime Minister. This short paper explores some of the historical and social factors that contributed to her development as a political leader, against the background of women's role in political leadership.

Women in Politics

Historically, prevailing psychological and ideological perceptions of women's roles have been one of the greatest obstacles to them participating in politics and decision making at the highest levels. The vision of participation in this context is that [women] would be closely involved in the economic, social, cultural and political processes that affect their lives¹. However, "politics has traditionally been understood to be a public activity dominated by men and requiring typically masculine characteristics . . . whilst women were identified above all with the private world of the family and the

1. Karl, M. (1995). *Women and Empowerment: Participation and Decision-Making*, London: Zed Books Ltd, p. 2.

domestic life"², hence the manifestation of the public-private dichotomy.

Political involvement and participation are crucial in advancing women's issues as well as bringing about female empowerment. "At a minimum, politics is about how people influence the distribution of resources"³. To a very large extent, women's role in public life generally and in politics specifically, has been undermined and trivialized by male hegemony. The result of this is that policies are being created and decisions are being made concerning women's lives that do not accurately reflect their conditions/realities. Further, lacking the platform to air their voices and their issues, they are unable to influence the distribution of resources within society.

Constitutional Framework

The attainment of gender equality is blurred by the existence of patriarchy. Patriarchy is manifested in the laws that govern our society, but, more specifically, in the Constitution of Jamaica which is the supreme law of the land. Chapter 3 section 24(2) of the Jamaican Constitution states that, "no person shall be treated in a discriminatory manner . . ." This provision seems to suggest that no one should be subjected to any form of discrimination. However Section 24(3) narrows the scope of what is considered discriminatory by expressly identifying race, place of origin, political opinions, colour and creed as grounds for non-discrimination, whilst excluding gender as a specific ground. The implications of this are far reaching to the extent that the Constitution becomes an instrument of patriarchy. Throughout the Caribbean, however, there have been steps to recognise gender or sex as a basis for non-discrimination. This is exempli-

2. Randall, V. (1987). *Women and Politics: An International Perspective*, 2nd edition, London: Macmillan Education Ltd, p. ix.

3. *Ibid*, p. 10

fied in the Constitutions of countries such as Trinidad and Tobago⁴, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines⁵, and Guyana⁶ to name a few.

Universal Adult Suffrage and Women's Right to Vote

The granting of Universal Adult Suffrage in 1944 set the stage for greater involvement of women in politics. However, the participation of women in politics since then has been largely confined to lower level involvement such as voting as opposed to leadership. Karl (1995) states that, "Women have made great strides forward in obtaining the right to vote and the right to be elected to political office in nearly every country, yet today they comprise only 10 per cent of the members of parliament worldwide and hold only a fraction of other leadership positions nationally and internationally."⁷

Women's Political Leaders in the Caribbean

The entire twentieth century saw only one female head of government and one head of state within the Caribbean region. These were

4. <http://www.ttparliament.org/Docs/constitution/ttconst.pdf>

Part 1 section 4 of the Constitution of Trinidad and Tobago states: "It is hereby recognized and declared that in Trinidad and Tobago there have existed and continues to exist, without discrimination by reason of race origin, colour, religion or sex the following fundamental rights and freedom . . ."

5. <http://www.icrc.org/ihl->

Chapter 1 section 1 of the Constitution of St. Vincent and the Grenadines states, "where every person in saint Vincent is entitled to the fundamental rights and freedoms, that is to say, the rights, whatever his race, place of origin, political opinion, colour, creed or sex . . ."

6. http://www.oas.org/juridico/MLA/en/guy/en_guy-int-text-const.pdf

Chapter iii section 40(1) of the Guyana Constitution states, "Every person is Guyana is entitled to the basic right to a happy, creative, and productive life free from hunger disease . . . [regardless] of race, place of origin, political opinions, colour creed or sex . . ."

7. Karl, M. (1995). *Women and Empowerment: Participation and Decision-Making*, London: Zed Books Ltd, p. 5.

Ertha Pascal-Trouillot President of Haiti and Eugenia Charles Prime Minister of Dominica. In Jamaica, in 2005, statistics indicated that of the total number of government ministers, 17.6% were women and 82.4% were men. Additionally, women held 11.7% of the seats in the Lower House and 19.0% in the Senate or Upper House⁸. In this regard, the ascendancy of Mrs Portia Simpson Miller to the rank of Prime Minister in Jamaica was not only anomalous within the Jamaican context, but within the wider more global view of women's role in public life.

Highlights of Portia Simpson-Miller's Political Career

Portia Simpson-Miller emerged onto the political landscape as councilor for the Trench Town (West) Division in the Council of the Kingston and St Andrew Corporation (KSAC) after the February 5, 1974 local government elections. She defeated her Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) opponent Richard Williams by 1,309 votes to 1,012. This victory was symbolic as it was the first time that the People's National Party (PNP) had ever won that seat. It was an extraordinary moment that was to characterize the relationship between Mrs Simpson-Miller and the PNP in the future.

Mrs Simpson-Miller's involvement in politics began well before she became a councilor. It is well known that she attended political meetings during her adolescence and generally took an active interest in politics. Her movement into representational politics was significant as many women stumble or fail to overcome the inherent obstacles that prevent them from holding leadership positions. Karl (1995), notes that "While women comprise a substantial part of the membership of political parties in many countries, they are regularly excluded from leadership."⁹ However, it would seem that Portia

8. United Nations Development Programme. (2005). United Nation Human Development (UNDP) Report.

9. Karl, M. (1995). *Women and Empowerment: Participation and Decision-Making*, London: Zed Books Ltd, p. 65

Simpson-Miller's entrance into representational politics was well timed as there were calls being made within the Jamaican society for women to enter politics "to help move the nation towards more responsible action and to lessen the burden of poverty, illiteracy and the hardship of austerity"¹⁰. She was elected along with five other women to the Kingston and St Andrew Corporation (KSAC).

Thirty two years later, at the age of sixty, Portia Simpson-Miller was elected President of the People's National Party and then later, by consensus, Prime Minister of Jamaica when Percival James Patterson retired from active politics. This phenomenal moment in the history of Jamaica requires significant analysis as it potentially marks a turning point in the involvement of women in Jamaican politics.

Only four years after entering representational politics in 1974¹¹, Mrs Simpson-Miller was able to climb to the rank of Vice President of the People's National Party (PNP). It is undoubtable that her charisma and sense of connectedness to the working classes were important factors. However, to a very large extent, she employed a unique leadership style that is attributable to her background and arguably to her sex and gender.

The political culture within Jamaica is one that rewards leaders that are able to connect at the grass roots level with the masses of ordinary Jamaicans. Leaders such as His Excellency Sir Alexander Bustamante and His Excellency Norman Washington Manley were made famous and were rewarded politically for their ability to fight for the cause of the working class. Bustamante commenced his political career with his first victory in the 1944 election, and retired undefeated in 1962¹². Norman Manley served four undefeated terms.

10. "Women urged to Enter Politics". (February 13, 1974). *The Daily Gleaner*, p. 22.

11. Jamaica Information Service. (2006). "Portia Simpson Miller" Retrieved on October 18, 2006 3:21 pm from <http://www.jis.gov.jm/Minister%20Profiles/html/9.htm>

12. Article on Bustamante (January 28 1996) *Sunday Herald* p. 64.

Since 1974, Mrs Simpson-Miller has won every single general election that she has contested. She was even returned to parliament when the PNP was disastrously defeated in the 1980 elections. She did not contest the election of 1983 which was boycotted by the PNP.

Mrs Simpson-Miller's ascendancy to leadership is linked to her consistent commitment to the cause of the poor and marginalized. She has been described as, "An advocate for the poor, the dispossessed, the oppressed and all those who remain voiceless and faceless in the corridors of power."¹³ One of the most marginalized groups within the Jamaican society and elsewhere across the world are women. This, by extension includes women in Jamaica. Their marginalization is both economic as well as political, and extends to their exclusion from the highest levels of the decision-making process.

At the time of her appointment to the post of Prime Minister, the question of whether or not Mrs Simpson-Miller would use her position as a platform for advancing women's issues became relevant. Her appointment also highlighted the need for investigation into the factors that may have accounted for her success in politics, a field traditionally 'owned' by men.

Anna Tibaijuka, a Professor in Tanzania notes that, "Women have tried to enter politics trying to look like men and that this will not work". She goes further to say that "[they] have to bring their differences, their emotions, their way of seeing things, even their tears to the process."¹⁴

Mrs Simpson-Miller is well-known for openly demonstrating her emotions and she has been accused of hugging and kissing everyone with whom she comes into contact. Some have interpreted this as a negative trait but, at the very least, it defines her political persona, a persona that has amplified her appeal to the Jamaican populace and

13. Jamaica Information Service.(2006)."Portia Simpson Miller" Retrieved on October 18, 2006 3:21 pm from <http://www.jis.gov.jm/Minister%20Profiles/html/9.htm>

14. Karam, A. (1998). *Women in Parliament: Beyond Number* (Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, p. 33.

makes her human and approachable. She was actively engaged in government and politics before she rose to the position of Prime Minister.

Between 1983 and 1989 Mrs Simpson-Miller served in the Parliamentary Opposition as Spokesperson on Women's Affairs, Pensions, Social Security and Consumer Affairs. After the PNP won the 1989 election she was appointed Minister of Labour, Welfare and Sports and served in this capacity until 1993 when her portfolio was downsized to Labour and Welfare only. In the Cabinet reshuffle of 1995, she remained Minister of Labour, and the portfolios of Social Security and Sports were added to her responsibilities. This indicated increased confidence of the then Prime Minister in her capabilities to manage a wider portfolio of national duties. Her ministerial portfolio changed significantly in 2000 when she was appointed Minister of Tourism and Sport and again in 2002 when she became Minister of Local Government and Sports. Her relatively short stint as Minister responsible for Tourism and her appointment to Local Government also indicated where the administration felt her skills would be best utilized.

These Ministerial responsibilities enabled Mrs Simpson-Miller to prove her leadership capacity and to gain important political and administrative experience as well as knowledge across a wide range of Ministerial portfolios. These experiences were no doubt important in preparing her for higher leadership responsibilities. The diversity and scope of her responsibilities were also important as they demonstrated the capability of women as political leaders. These appointments helped to bridge the gap between the numbers of men vis-à-vis women in parliament, to broaden the scope of areas in which women served, and demonstrated the meaningful and functional ways in which women can contribute to national development.

It is also important to note that there is a hierarchy and sexual division of labour in the allocation of Ministerial portfolios assigned to men and women. Consistent with occupational stereotypes that place women in professions that reflect their gender roles in the

household, Ministerial portfolios are often assigned to women in “soft” areas such as education, health, social services, gender and family affairs. In contrast, men tend to be placed in charge of more prestigious Ministries and ‘hard’ areas such as finance and foreign affairs.

While Mrs Simpson-Miller was never appointed to manage finance or foreign affairs, she was given opportunities to demonstrate her leadership at a higher level and, on several occasions, was appointed by the then Prime Minister to act during his absence from the country. The first of such occasions was in 1996 when Prime Minister P.J. Patterson and his deputy Seymour Mullings were abroad.¹⁵ This was the first time that a woman had ever served as Acting Prime Minister in the history of Jamaica. At the time, Mrs Simpson-Miller’s selection was a matter of great controversy, and there was speculation on whether it was a political strategy orchestrated to heighten support for the ruling party or whether Mr. Patterson was sending a signal that greater things were to come for her within the party. Whatever the reasons for her appointment, they characterized a major turning point in Jamaica’s political history. The decision also defied cultural norms which dictated the scope of women’s role in the society. The decision also signaled to Jamaicans, the possibility that one day a woman could become Prime Minister.

Prior to and following her election as Prime Minister in 2006, there was speculation about how Mrs Simpson-Miller would perform. There were high expectations which derived not so much from the fact she had been newly appointed, but more so that she was the first female Prime Minister to be elected in Jamaica.

Portia Simpson Miller’s journey from a young girl interested in politics, to her appointment as a local government counselor in 1974, to her several appointments as a Minister of Government, her stints as Acting Prime Minister and her eventual appointment in 2006 as Prime Minister of Jamaica, cracked the “glass ceiling”. Her achievement

15. “Portia Acts as PM”, *The Observer*, May , 1996

demonstrated that women can assume the highest level of political leadership in Jamaica. These short reflections will hopefully encourage more in-depth research on gender and governance as the country works to ensure that any child, regardless of sex or socio-economic status, can fulfill their dream of becoming a national leader.

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The Making and Unmaking of a Female Prime Minister

SHIRLEY CAMPBELL

This essay reviews The Most Hon. Portia Simpson-Miller's first year in office as Prime Minister of Jamaica. It is based on a preliminary content analysis of articles published in the print media in Jamaica. The newspaper articles informing the content of this paper were compiled by Kinisha Correia who also wrote the first draft of this paper. The research was expanded and the article was rewritten by Shirley Campbell.

This essay examines print media representations of The Most Hon. Portia Simpson-Miller's one year and six months as Jamaica's first female political party president and prime minister. The exercise begs the question: Did a confluence of forces – her class background, her gender, resistance to her leadership within and outside her political party, the legacy of 17 years of People's National Party (PNP) rule and a spate of 'scandals' hasten her demise? A logical follow up question is: What lessons may be learnt from the experience?

On March 30, 2006, when The Most Hon. Portia Simpson-Miller was appointed as Jamaica's first female and seventh prime minister, she joined the ranks of formidable contemporary female leaders from the South; Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf of Liberia

and Michelle Bachelet of Chile.¹ Although the PNP had been governing the country for 17 years when Mrs Simpson-Miller assumed office, and there were significant economic and socio-cultural challenges confronting the country, a national poll showed that 78% of Jamaicans supported her leadership (Campbell & Manning, 2007). She remained in office for approximately one year and six months before losing a closely contested national election to Hon. Bruce Golding then leader of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). Throughout her short term as Prime Minister of Jamaica Mrs Simpson-Miller's performance was subjected to microscopic scrutiny, some unflattering, which was documented in the mass media. Her popularity, as reported in national polls, was marked by dips and surges yet she consistently remained the most popular political leader in Jamaica. Anecdotal evidence suggested that Mrs Simpson-Miller could easily have won the national elections if it were not for opposition inside and outside the PNP to her working class background. The 'scandals' which undermined the integrity of party members, her leadership style and alleged bias towards the poor and marginalized were also identified as detractors from effective leadership. The suggestion was also made that she used gender issues as an electoral ploy. Was this anecdotal evidence borne out in the print media?

An Exploratory Study

This article begins an exploratory study of popular discourse, as reflected in the print media, regarding the issues which impacted Mrs Simpson-Miller's time in office. By extrapolation those impacts are

1. Mrs Simpson-Miller's appointment as prime minister resulted from her election as President of the People's National Party (PNP) by party delegates following the retirement of the The Most Hon. P. J. Patterson as party leader and Prime Minister of Jamaica. Because Mrs Simpson-Miller was not elected in a national election there was discussion regarding the need for her to obtain her own mandate in order to rule more decisively.

regarded as contributory factors towards her ascendancy and decline as prime minister. Tabulated below are the newspaper findings. The data are also presented in a Pie Chart in order to highlight the proportionate representation of the more critical issues. An analysis of the data follows, using the combined framework of gender and servant leadership theories as a point of departure for the discussion. The implications of the analysis, lessons learnt and recommendations for further research conclude the essay. The use of content analysis as a methodology is based on the assumption that the mass media influences and prioritizes the agenda for popular discourse (de Bruin, 2004).

As this is a Working Paper it means that the article is a preliminary attempt at analyzing Mrs Simpson-Miller's term in office as represented in the main print media with the largest circulation. It is also important to note the possibility that a more rigorous analysis of the data might have been done by a discursive review of the language and images, the physical space and juxtaposition of articles in order to offer a more in-depth analysis of the media coverage given to Mrs Simpson-Miller's leadership. Similarly, a comparative analysis of the coverage given to then Opposition Leader – Hon. Bruce Golding – would enable a more meaningful reflection of how leadership style, gender and class differences were treated in the print media. No doubt such an analysis will be done in the future. As a preliminary study it should also be obvious why more questions than answers are raised.

The paper is structured as follows: The main themes are tabulated and also presented in a Pie Chart to enable a more graphic representation. Immediately following is an analysis of Jamaica as a gendered space as well as a theoretical outline of Servant Leadership. Both theories are considered relevant for analysing Mrs Simpson-Miller's leadership because anecdotal evidence suggested that she used her gender as an electoral ploy. Servant-leadership is offered as an additional, if not alternative (to populism) lens through which to view her leadership style. In other words was she biased towards the poor and mar-

ginalized and acted to alter the status quo? Or, was she mission driven, spiritually inspired and committed to advancing the well being of all Jamaicans? The text will be used to demonstrate these contestations as reflected in popular discourse in the print media. Below are the main themes based on frequency of representation.

Main Themes and Proportional Representations

Newspaper articles in two main publications – The *Daily* and *Sunday Gleaner*, and *The Jamaica Observer* (Daily and Sunday), were analysed to identify the main themes which dominated popular discourse – during the period leading up to and during Mrs Simpson-Miller’s reign as Prime Minister of Jamaica. Ninety five articles including editorials, opinion columns, letters-to-the editor, news stories and cartoons published between the periods November 2005 to June 2007 were examined. The main themes in terms of frequency of representation in headlines and the body of the text (single words, phrases, paragraphs, entire articles and cartoons) were selected. The results are detailed in Table 1 below and are followed by a Pie Chart which indicates the proportional distribution of the more critical themes which are analysed in the paper. If the proportional representation ranks the significance of each theme, what are the conclusions that can be drawn about Mrs Simpson-Miller’s leadership? Do the print media bear out the anecdotal evidence? More questions than answers were promised.

Leadership descriptions most frequently used to describe Mrs Simpson-Miller were: populist, charismatic and, or spiritual (16%). When that theme was combined with words describing her as biased towards the poor and socially marginalized (11%), the figure climbed to 27%. The next highest figure was 14% which described the unfavourable impact that ‘scandals’ had on Mrs Simpson-Miller’s leadership. The proportion of articles describing national economic development plans was 12%; and the economic and socio-cultural

Table 1: Main Thematic Representations of Portia Simpson-Miller in the Jamaican Print Media: March 2006 to June 2007

Main Themes	No. of Themes	Percentage
Populist/Charismatic/Spiritual Leader	28	16
Unfavourable Impact of Scandals	25	14
National Economic and Development Agenda	21	12
Call for Unity, Peace, and a Crime Free Society	20	11
Defender of the Poor and Marginalized	19	11
Economic and Socio-cultural Challenges (Legacy)	17	10
Gender as Political Capital	16	09
Inability to unite the PNP and the Country	11	06
Presentation of the Self	10	06
Tensions with the Media	08	05
Total	175*	

* The total number of articles examined was larger than 95 because some articles had more than one theme. The themes are ranked based on frequency.

challenges, the alleged legacy left by Mr Patterson’s 17 year government, were 10%. Articles suggesting that she used her gender as a political ploy were at a relative low of 9%. Mrs Simpson-Miller’s inability to unite the PNP and all social forces in the country as well as presentation of the self (her personality) tied at 6%. Articles reflecting tensions with the media were 5%. See Figure 1 for the Pie Chart representation of the themes. Two themes are excluded from the Pie Chart, Mrs Simpson-Miller’s calls for unity, peace and a crime free society and descriptions of her personality – for example, trustworthy, transparent, honest, and hard working. Those themes were excluded from the analysis and discussion which follows, not because

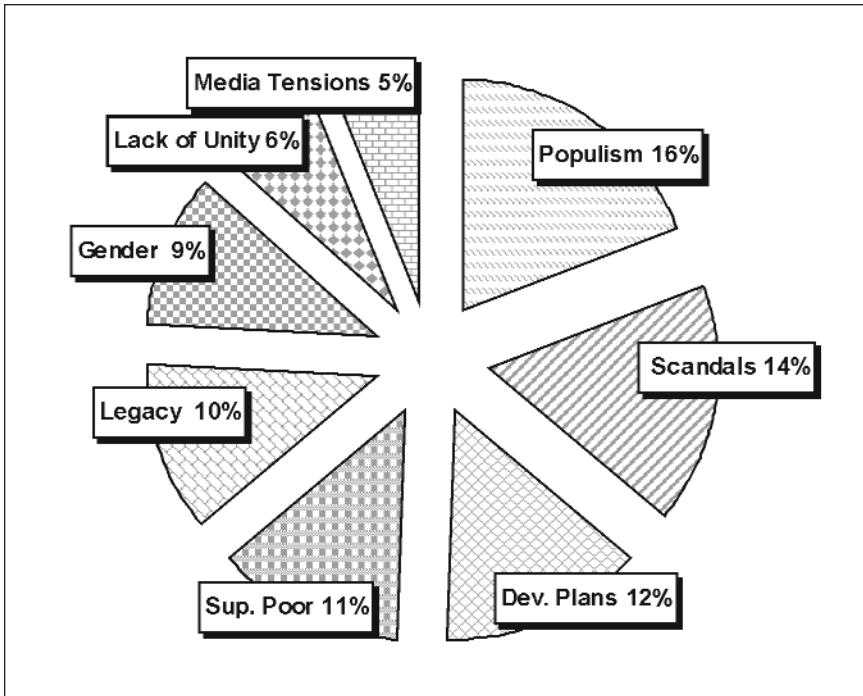


Figure 1: Percentage of Themes Reflected in the Main Print Media

they are insignificant but because the descriptors were also used to characterise her leadership style and are consequently subsumed under the leadership theme.

It should be obvious that by ranking the frequency of presentations the media indicated that Mrs Simpson-Miller was populist and consequently biased towards the poor and marginalized. Combined those themes occurred 27% of the times. In addition, the frequency of themes indicated that the second most influential issue was 'scandals'. The third was the economic and development plans that she presented to the nation. These plans are significant because they benefited all social classes (12%), and indicated an act on Mrs Simpson-Miller's part to be inclusive. In fact, the national development theme was 1% larger than the programmes for the poor and marginalized

(11%). Based on that representation, it is logical to ask the question whether the notion that Mrs Simpson-Miller had a preference for the poor and marginalised was more perception than reality. A more in-depth analysis of contending views expressed in the articles, may serve to answer that question.

The economic and socio-cultural challenges which confronted Mrs Simpson-Miller when she entered office (10% of the articles) are also important because the discourse suggested that, on the one hand, without Mrs Simpson-Miller's popularity, public perception of her honesty, trustworthiness and incorruptibility, the PNP stood no chance of winning a fifth term in office. On the other hand, some writers suggested that the social challenges meant that she inherited a large deficit which undermined her capacity to lead. Summaries and direct quotes will be used extensively to give 'voice' to the text as well as to emphasize the themes and their implications. Before that analysis is done however, a gendered perspective of Jamaica's socio-cultural context was done. The idea was to demonstrate why the female gender is significant in national politics and why the concept was centered in Mrs Simpson-Miller's campaign for presidency of the PNP and her rule as Prime Minister of Jamaica. Did that gendered focus undermine her leadership? The data will also be examined in order to answer that question. In addition, in order to evaluate Mrs, Simpson-Miller's leadership style, the concept of populist leader is contrasted with that of servant-leader. The question which arises is whether she advocated the altering of the status quo in favour of the poor and marginalized, or that she was a mission driven, spiritual servant leader who was committed to improving the lot of all Jamaicans. The data will also be examined to answer that question.

Jamaica as a Gendered-Space

Nine per cent of the media articles suggested that Mrs Simpson-Miller used her status as "Woman" to attract female support. The paper will

later examine what Mrs Simpson-Miller said and what was said about her that supported or challenged that view. Before that discussion however, it is worthwhile to examine why any female candidate might attract the female vote in Jamaica. Historically, women in both main political parties, the PNP and JLP, play a significant role as party organisers and workers (Figueroa, 2004). Yet in 2006 women accounted for only 18% of cabinet ministers, and 12% or seven of the 60 members of parliament (*Jamaica: Gender Gap Index*, 2006).

At the oldest of Jamaica's five indigenous universities, the University of the West Indies, approximately 75% of the students are females (*Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica*, 2004). In approximately 50% of urban households in Jamaica women are the main income earners, and 30% of those households live below the poverty line (*Women of the World: Laws and Policies – Jamaica*, 2000). Social legislation and programs which focus on women and children also constitute a significant proportion of public expenditure (*Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica*, 2004). For example, Jamaica has a Maternity Leave law which, after one year of continuous service, provides for two months paid leave and one month unpaid (*Women of the World: Laws and Policies – Jamaica*, 2000); legislation on equal pay for equal work (CEDAW, 2001) and a Family Court which is allegedly biased towards women ("Dads Lash Out", 2003).

At the same time, the crime and violence (over 1600 homicides in 2005) which gave Jamaica the dubious distinction of being called the murder capital of the world (Tafari-Ama, 2006), has adversely and disproportionately affected women and children. The Jamaica/UNICEF child protection report notes that:

Sexual crimes against children are rampant, with girls primarily as the victims. In 2006, children and adolescents made up an alarming 78 per cent of all the sexual assault/rape cases admitted to public hospitals. In the same year, girls under 16 years as victims, accounted for 32 per cent of all sexual assaults in Jamaica (2006).

In addition, unemployment among women is nearly twice that of

men – when that situation is juxtaposed with the fact that approximately 50% of households are headed by women, who are mainly employed in low income, low-status service jobs, it should not be surprising that political analysts assumed that women were Mrs Simpson-Miller’s natural ally. Other social manifestations of gender inequality which allegedly aligned Jamaican women with a female leader included the fact that legislation favourable to women is not enforced. Many women are still being paid less than men for equal work (CEDAW, 2001) and women have to study four years longer than men to receive equivalent pay (The Construction of Gender Indicators . . . , 2000). In addition, women are confined to the ‘softer professions’ – human resource, administration and middle management, and to jobs associated with nurturing such as teaching, nursing and the domestic service sectors. In fact, over 70% of teachers are females yet they are only a small percentage of principals. The literacy rate among women is 86% as opposed to 74% among men (Jamaica: Gender Gap Index, 2006).

This gendered backdrop of inequality and struggle indicates a dialectical dynamism of progress and continued oppression – the tide on which Mrs Simpson-Miller allegedly carefully crafted a gendered performance and consequently floated into office. When the context is considered the discourse seems moot. Writer Wilmot (2006) agreed, “It is fitting that she be prime minister he said, “Seventy-five per cent of the students at the University of the West Indies are women, most households are headed by women and women dominate many professions and sections of the business and public bureaucracy . . . yet having a woman prime minister would be futile if she did not play to the strength of women.” As to whether Mrs Simpson-Miller did or did not “play to the strength of women” will be explored further.

The Characteristics of Servant Leadership

The majority of articles referred to Mrs Simpson-Miller as populist, a few (4 out of 28) indicated she was charismatic and several described

her as spiritual because of her espoused alignment with the Christian Church.² Populism has a nuanced definition and varies with context, however Roberts (2003) notes that populism is “conventionally understood as a form of personalistic leadership that mobilized diverse popular constituencies behind statist, nationalistic, and redistributive development models” (p. 1).

Similarly, Buddan (2007) evaluating Mrs Simpson-Miller’s performance after one year in office noted, “Many at home and abroad have called her populist, however . . . The term ‘populist’ is itself very imprecise. It can refer to persons whose beliefs range from religious fundamentalism to fascism, and to democracy, and in fact to any movement critical of a status quo that preserves the privileges of the rich and neglect (*sic*) the needs of the poor”. Were Mrs Simpson-Miller’s programmes to alleviate poverty simply redistributive, or productive? Did her emphasis on the poor and marginalized neglect the middle and upper classes? In seeking to answer those questions it may be useful to examine Mrs Simpson Miller’s leadership through the prism of Servant-Leadership. Although the concept is more specific to organizational leadership it has been extended to evaluating general leadership especially where change is transformational and grounded in spirituality and hope.

The concept of *Servant-leadership* was first articulated by Greenleaf (1970, cited in Spears, 2004). Servant-leaders are driven to serve, they are focused on the strategic mission, take a holistic approach to decision making, and facilitate processes which are collaborative, participatory and inclusive. She or he is empathetic, altruistic, and moralistic; uses a team approach to building community and facilitates the development of human capital. The litmus test of the servant leader is whether the conditions of those who are served

2. During her term in office Mrs Simpson-Miller, called on the Christian Church to pray for God to give guidance to her leadership. She encouraged the appointment of Pastors to Public Boards, and generally requested that Church Leaders act as moral barometers for the society (Church Cannot Afford to Sleep, 2006). She was also unapologetic about embracing the Christian Church (Dunkley, 2007).

improve, whether the groundwork for transformative change is being laid (Spears, 2004). This paper will demonstrate that the same evidence which is presented to 'prove' that Mrs Simpson-Miller was a populist leader may also demonstrate that she was a servant-leader. In addition, the evidence suggests that she placed an almost equal emphasis on national development – 12%, which would have benefited all classes, as she did on programs targeting the poor and dispossessed – 11%. Perhaps, as one writer suggested, by focusing on alleviating the debilitating conditions of the majority of Jamaicans (the poor) Mrs Simpson-Miller had the foresight to know that the overall prosperity of Jamaica rests on the improvement of the conditions of the most vulnerable and marginalized (Morgan, 2007). The paper will also examine the pros and cons, of Mrs Simpson-Miller's leadership in relation to her emphasis on development programs.

Was Simpson-Miller Populist or Servant-Leader and Pragmatist?

As stated earlier, the majority of articles focused on Mrs Simpson-Miller's popularity, which was dubbed the "Portia Factor". The fact that she was called "Sister P" and "Mama P" was presented as evidence that the poor and marginalised were dependent on her and she catered to them by announcing social programmes such as housing for the needy, loans for small businesses, and legislation for protecting the family and children. The argument was that she supported these populist programmes to get electoral support, to the neglect of long-term investments that would enable national development. It was foolhardy the political pundits argued, that she was pursuing these policies in a situation of scarce national resources, a mounting international and domestic debt and the promise to international lenders that the country would eliminate deficit financing of the budget. Opposition to and support for these views are extensively quoted below.

Evaluating Mrs Simpson-Miller's performance after one year as Prime Minister, Buddan (2007) stated:

Leaders sometimes have to contain the populist impulses that exist within their own country because if mass expectations rise faster than the country's resources and institutional capacity can service them instability results . . . Mrs Simpson-Miller has actually been careful to resist the populist pressures from within the society. She has professed her religious faith without threatening national mobilization of believers against some immoral and unjust order in the fashion of Sunday preachers. She has repeated her belief that more benefits from investments and gains from globalization must reach the poor without planning wide-scale redistribution of wealth, or rejecting globalisation, as anti-globalists might wish. She has insisted on the need for early childhood education and respect for family without calling for an overthrow of male systems of power and patriarchy, as radical gender prescriptions would hope . . . She has not started a class war, a race war, or a religious war. She has not pursued popularity at the risk of everything else as her poll numbers have shown . . . Investments continue to come in, [and] economic growth is strengthening."

The article continued, "Inflation was at its lowest in 18 years;" the IMF had given Jamaica its best review ever, and international credit agencies were satisfied with the macro-economic variables." Most importantly, the writer concluded that Mrs Simpson-Miller had demonstrated that "popularity does not come from populism and that compassion does not negate reason."

It is also worth quoting extensively from Dr. Henley Morgan's column in *The Jamaica Observer* on Mrs Simpson-Miller's announcement of the plan to implement micro-enterprise business incubators island-wide. He ranked the decision as "among the most important policy announcements in the last 20 years," which, if carefully nurtured, could transform the economic landscape in the inner-city and other marginalized communities across Jamaica. "It is important that every Jamaican be awakened to the possibilities arising from this bold initiative," Dr. Morgan emphasised. "This pragmatic step by the

Jamaican government is consistent with the vision of Luis Alberto Moreno, President of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB).” Mr Moreno advocated for the poor and marginalized in Latin America and the Caribbean to benefit from globalization. “One month ago the IDB staged its Opportunity for the Majority Regional Conference right here in Jamaica. Country Manager Gerald Johnson and his local team, along with the team out of the Washington Office, are to be congratulated for creating an opportunity, for individuals and their respective organizations involved with ‘empowering the bottom of the pyramid’, to network and share their experiences. He continued, “Lets face it, big business is important, but micro-and small enterprises are vital to economic advancement, particularly in a country such as Jamaica where the number of self-employed or own account workers is expanding in an exploding underground (informal) economy. One dimension of the problem in Jamaica is the tendency for public and private capital to be invested in people who are already rich in pocket but poor in ideas, instead of in people (the majority) who may be poor in pocket but are rich in ideas. In local politics it has long been suspected that changing the ‘trickle-down’ economic paradigm supported by her predecessors is where the prime minister’s heart is. If the announcement in her budget presentation is an indication that the outmoded development pyramid is to be inverted (turned on its head), is something worth shouting about YES!” (Morgan, 2007).

Not only did Mrs Simpson-Miller’s approach find favour with the IDB but also with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) which met for its 96th session in Geneva Switzerland on June 12, 2007. The conference theme was “The Decent Work Agenda”. Mrs Simpson-Miller’s vision for improving the conditions of the poor as leverage for enhancing development was very clearly articulated at that meeting. “We have an obligation to address the issue of poverty in a meaningful way, or face the prospect of being caught up in the devastating wake of a human tsunami of frustration, rape and rebellion.” The provision of decent work for the world’s people “reflects the need to

balance economic and social development [which is] reflective of my own passionate commitment to ‘balancing people’s lives while balancing the books’. This is not a choice. It is a global imperative. ... Economic activity must drive the creation of jobs as jobless growth is not a viable option. We have placed economic growth with jobs at the heart of our economic plan . . . under the theme today’s ‘Jamaica means business’ we pursue financial investments that will make a significant contribution to poverty reduction, while providing a fair return on investments.” Can anyone deny that Mrs Simpson-Miller’s presentation was visionary, promised transformational change, and was pragmatic and more in keeping with the activities of a servant-leader rather than a populist leader? There were columnists and reporters who did. This is what some of them argued.

Evidence of Populism

Manning (2007) reported in a *Daily Gleaner* article the opinions of significant public figures on the anniversary of Mrs Simpson-Miller’s rule as Prime Minister and Economist Errol Gregory commended Mrs Simpson Miller on her second Budget Presentation. He said, “The main positive was the goodies. They were consistent with the theme of the family [on which her presentation was centered] and some attempt at protecting those who were vulnerable. That’s the only serious positive.” He continued [the budget is] “an impressive wish list (free health care for children, UDC projects, projects for the poor) “nothing to deal with the economy.” Mr Gregory felt that more should have been said on managing crime, and housing for the middle class. “I think the issue now is whether or not that [the budget] really just represented an attempt to influence voters at this point.”

Lecturer Charlene-Pryce, at Northern Caribbean University said that during her presentation, Mrs Simpson-Miller “was confident and at ease, organized and compelling [however] it was a speech focused more on depth than breath, and the youth were the main winners,

education, health care, youth-service budget increase, among other initiatives. She spoke to issues of the heart but she was “idealist and not a realist. She stood on a Michael Manley-like platform and echoed a broad social agenda as the catalyst for development. This will resonate mainly with women, the poor, the youth and the disenfranchised. Time and history would have proven, however, the greater economic pragmatic directions are needed to bolster such a social platform . . . the hard-core questions of finance and investment were not really addressed.” She wanted to hear how the multiple effect of the 9 billion spent on Cricket World Cup would be garnered for national development. How direct foreign investment would be solicited. How trust could be restored in politicians and public servants, how law and order and equal treatment under the law would be guaranteed. She also wanted Mrs Simpson-Miller to state how the loss of income to the State by giving free health care to children under 18 would be compensated for in terms of government revenue. Financial analyst John Jackson also felt that the budget presentation was improved but was nothing more than delivering goodies in an election year. No consideration was given to the national resources that would be needed to make the programs possible nor was the issue of long term development considered. He said, “The Prime Minister has not spoken to putting the economic house in order. What she has spoken to are goodies to make the situation worse than it now is. Rather than dealing with the fundamental issue of cost of money in the system, she goes into her little bag of tricks, pulls out an NHT deal (lower interest rate on NHT mortgages). “There is total disregard for the public sector financier . . . banks and building societies [will] suffer [because] they cannot be competitive These policies will lead us on a pathway of self-destruction.” (Manning, 2007b). The discerning reader will ask if the social programs were self destructive or building the foundation for leveraging national growth and development. The reader needs to examine the evidence and decide.

Managing the Scandals

Fourteen per cent of the articles indicated that Mrs Simpson-Miller's greatest challenge was the spate of scandals which rocked the PNP. In a review of her first year in office Miller and Campbell (2007) wrote, "A number of scandals dogged the PNP administration leading to declines in both the Prime Minister's and her party's ratings in national polls. The first year of her administration will be marked by the spectre of Trafigura,³ Sandals Whitehouse⁴, Carib Cement and the Memorandum of Understanding II⁵ . . . Sharp divisions within the ruling party also contributed to a decline in the Prime Minister's political stocks." The writers attributed a 20% decline in the PNP's

3. What became know as the Trafigura Affair was initiated by Hon. Bruce Golding, then leader of the JLP Opposition party in October 2006 who announced that Trafigura Beheer the Dutch based company that was contracted to lift and sell Nigeria crude oil sold on the international market on behalf of Jamaica was involved in corrupt practices with the PNP. The Nigeria government sells the Jamaican government oil at a subsidized rate which Tafigura Beheer then sells at an inflated rate and pays the Jamaican government an agreed-on price difference. Trafigura had lodged 31million Jamaican dollars to an account named CCOC. The account belonged to Colin Campbell, then General Secretary of the PNP and Information Minister. The JLP persisted in suggesting that the PNP was involved in corrupt practices. The money was eventually returned to Trafigura after nearly six months but not before a lot of controversy which suggested that corruption was involved, and that Mrs Simpson-Miller was unaware of the corrupt practices in the party etc. Political analysts suggest that it was that issue which lost Mrs Simpson-Miller the election or more accurately enabled the JLP to win the national elections.

4. Massive cost overruns on a hotel which was a joint project between Sandals Resort Hotel and the government's development agency – the Urban Development Corporation (UDC). The controversy led to the resignation of the Chairman of the UDC, a Parliamentary hearing, and further tarnishing of the PNP government as a corrupt entity.

5. Another controversy emerged around the Carib Cement Company which enjoyed a monopoly on cement production in the island and requested that the government control the importation of cheaper cement into the Jamaican market. Media reports suggested that the government had acquiesced to the Cement Company's demand because there was a secret deal between them.

popularity between March, when Mrs Simpson-Miller became leader of the Party, and October 2006; her support also declined from 78% to 56%. The Party's popularity declined even further when the JLP flagged and persisted in publicising the Trafigura Affair. None the less Mrs Simpson-Miller remained the most popular politician.

Garwin Davis was inspired to write: "Despite a year largely defined by her handling of the Trafigura Affair, and the seemingly endless bickering among party colleagues, Prime Minister Portia Simpson-Miller still enjoys the approval of a majority of Jamaicans." The majority of Jamaicans still felt that she would do a better job as prime minister of Jamaica than Bruce Golding. Even though Bruce resonated more with the intellectuals and had managed to gain traction from the controversy surrounding the Trafigura Affair she rebounded from the positives of her budget presentation, the social programmes and the successful outcome of the Cricket World Cup. He concluded his piece by noting "that even her ardent critics admit that she has the capacity to motivate and energize [and] the fact is that the voters tend to disassociate Simpson-Miller from the running of the government." (Davis, 2007a; 2007b).

The impression that Mrs Simpson-Miller was different from the government was reinforced when she deliberately, or inadvertently responded to a query as to whether the Trafigura money had been returned as she had instructed. "Don't ask me ask the PNP" (Smith, 2007a). The heat on her leadership was intensified when Christopher Tufton, now Minister of Agriculture, called for the investigation of the Trafigura Affair under the Money Laundering Act (Tufton Wants Assets Seized, 2007). Mrs Simpson-Miller responded by offering to "open up the [PNP's] books and the accounts" to public scrutiny. She dared the Opposition to do the same (Myers, 2007).

Mark Wignall, (2007a) who had initially supported Mrs Simpson Miller when she assumed office, weighed in on the Trafigura matter; he commented: "Faced with her first real crisis as head of the country's affairs, [she] thought it better to hide behind the coat-tails of the

senior men in the party. So effective was her 'junior' silence that at times we weren't sure who was in charge . . . when political leaders [leave] second-tier leaders to stir the pot and season the mix, all to hide the real taste of the rotten meat, I have no further use for them." Did the electorate agree with Wignall's position? Not entirely. Mrs Simpson-Miller remained the most popular political leader despite some slips as stated earlier. It is true that the electorate made a distinction between Mrs Simpson-Miller and her Party – the PNP.

Another Scandal: Lisa Hanna as Candidate

The quality and style of Mrs Simpson-Miller's leadership also acquired the status of 'scandal' when she "imposed" beauty queen and former Miss World, Lisa Hanna as the PNP candidate in South East St. Ann. Hanna's selection was at the expense of four locals who vied for the position. Davis & Thompson (2007) suggested that the decision was "ill-advised" and that apparently Mrs Simpson Miller had not anticipated the "resistance to the announcement which forced her to lose her cool"⁶ Burke, (2007) wondered whether the breach of imposing an outsider [Hanna] in a stable, somewhat conservative community could be mended in time for the elections. He also pondered at the internal workings of the PNP when Mrs Simpson-Miller's reaction to the resistance of the constituents was leaked to the media. Jean Lowrie-Chin (2007) described the selection of Hanna as a "shock" to the nation and Mark Wignall (2007b) urged the four local contenders, who had been bypassed, to run as independents.

Wignall vilified Mrs Simpson-Miller in his column (2007b),

6. Controversy surrounded the selection of former Miss World Lisa Hanna as PNP Candidate for South-East St Ann without consultation with party representatives in the constituency. At the time there were four PNP members contending for the position. They were not only bypassed but learned of the selection of Hanna at a meeting at Party Headquarters. The constituents strongly objected to which Mrs Simpson-Miller allegedly responded harshly. Her comments were leaked to the press.

“Having smelled the rat of PNP defeat, it seems that the powerhouses have begun to lose their heads. Not surprisingly, the prime minister, who has never really merited the love and admiration of some of those who still remain blinded by her ‘mythical’ abilities, lost hers first.” He continued “Persons placed in positions too lofty for their limited abilities tend to shout like spoiled children whenever it dawns on them that they just don’t have it. So they rant and rave and threaten, and resort to the tactics of the bully when their directives are not followed. It is the standard *modus operandi* of the weak leader or the person who was cut out for responsibilities somewhat more fitting for a place lower down on the duty rung.” He concluded “Her present action has blown apart the façade of ‘her love for poor people’. If ‘poor people’ and the ‘community’ were an important part of her agenda, one of the contenders from SE St. Ann would have been chosen. Nothing has changed in Simpson-Miller. It is still the raw politics and the status quo running things. And we thought she was different. How wrong we were”. Was Mrs Simpson-Miller deserving of such vitriol?

Even the Gleaner Editorial (2007) commented on the issue, the involvement of constituents in the selection of candidates “has been tossed aside by the PNP president in what appears to be a preemptory overriding of the party constituents in the selection of former beauty queen Lisa Hanna for the South East St. Ann seat.

On the face of it, this may seem to be a ‘strength of a woman’ ploy related to intra-party manoeuvrings, except that the vocal protests from supporters in the constituency are negative symbols the party can ill-afford in the context of what could be a close election.” Interestingly this Gleaner Editorial also lamented the controversy surrounding the media’s coverage of Mrs Simpson-Miller. The controversy surrounding the selection of Hanna resurfaced the issue of class conflict in the PNP and the wider society. Was Mrs Simpson-Miller capable of unifying different stakeholders? Two writers gave their opinions:

Class War or Class Unity in the PNP

On the anniversary of Mrs Simpson-Miller's election as leader of the PNP and the government, all six regional Executive Councils passed resolutions supporting her leadership. None the less a news item noted that "a few months after her inauguration, Simpson Miller started attracting flack for her leadership, and the cracks in the PNP grew wider. "Party insiders say that Patterson [former party leader and PM] eventually had to step in and heal the wounds, and since then the PNP has sought to portray an image of unity" (PNP Gives Portia, 2007). These sentiments about opposition to Mrs Simpson-Miller's leadership were repeatedly expressed in the media. For example, in response to the controversy concerning the biased coverage she received in the media – one writer stated that the media was not to be blamed for reporting unflattering images of Mrs Simpson-Miller. The problem started "during the presidential race when comrades vilified Sister P in the worst ways possible . . . it cannot be denied that a class war is most definitely in the mix" (Opposition Hoping, 2007).

Similar sentiments were expressed by columnist Lloyd B. Smith (2007b) who emphasized that Mrs Simpson-Miller was not welcome at Vale Royal⁷ because "she is from the wrong side of the fence [and she is perceived to lack] intellectual depth [and] managerial skills... Mrs Simpson-Miller and her avid supporters [contend] that the real reason behind their rejection of her is because she cannot be corrupted by special interests, because she is of and for the poor and because she does not speak with an upper St. Andrew accent or possess those appurtenances peculiar to that class". He concluded that Mrs Simpson Miller had an "abundance of charisma" which is why the elections were not so much about the PNP's fifth term but Portia's first.

This perspective was echoed by Mrs Simpson-Miller herself when she responded to the JLP's slogan "time for a change" with the quip

7. Official residence of the Prime Minister of Jamaica.

“When you hear them telling you about wanting a change, tell them Portia is the change.” If you want me to remain as the Prime Minister you must support the party’s candidates” (Frater, 2007). It should not be surprising therefore, when (Smith, 2007c) said that the Jamaican voter faced a dilemma of whether to vote for Sister P or JLP. “What kept the PNPs hope alive was the “Portia factor” – while the JLP commanded private sector funding because “she is not one of the boys” the electorate was faced with the dilemma: “Should they go with the popular lady whom they like and trust, but don’t like or trust her party, or should they go with the popular party at the moment but whose leader they don’t like or trust enough?” The electorate went with the JLP but in a very closely contested election; the JLP won by 3% of the votes.

It may also be an indictment of Mrs Simpson-Miller’s leadership that she did not move decisively against those who opposed her in the PNP. Mark Wignall (2006) who initially supported Mrs Simpson-Miller but grew increasingly disillusioned with her leadership, at the beginning urged her to get “her own mandate to impress her stamp of approval on the job” and to move swiftly to “distance herself from the Patterson regime. Closely examine his policies and programmes [and if necessary] discard them” he suggested. He also warned her that if she failed to do so the “media will be less favourable [and] all the ills of the society will be blamed on her.” He also encouraged her to “Get rid of those [Cabinet members] who will not work with her” and advised her that she had “Six months to deal with the crime situation – otherwise the love will grow sour”. In a letter to the Editor (2006) one writer also lamented that Mrs Simpson-Miller’s pledge “to build Jamaica up from the communities – one by one” was unrealized. The writer blamed her reappointment of certain Cabinet ministers as the reason for renegeing on her promise.

Did Mrs Simpson-Miller try too hard to unite the PNP after the acrimonious presidential race with the three men, two of whom had Doctor of Philosophy degrees and one of whom was a medical doctor? As a female from a working class background, with an under-

graduate degree, were her expectations that she could rally the troops in a traditionally middle class led PNP unrealistic? Should she have followed the example of Sir Alexander Bustamante, founder of the JLP, who tolerated no opposition to his leadership? Was it her class or her competence that worked against her? Again the reader will need to examine the evidence and decide. Or was it her gender? Was there any truth behind the idea that she was excluded because she was not a member of the boys' club?

The Gender Card

Did Mrs Simpson-Miller use her gender to gain the female vote? Campbell and Manning (2007) seemed to agree by suggesting that she did just that when she launched her campaign for party president in January 2006, the rally "like others to follow, was flooded with women who shouted what became a slogan of her campaign, "Woman time now, Portia time now" (Campbell & Manning, 2007). Yet in her acceptance speech as Prime Minister of Jamaica Mrs Simpson-Miller made an impassioned plea for national unity irrespective of gender, race or class. "We cannot build the harmony and peace that this society so desperately needs unless all Jamaicans know that they will be treated with dignity and respect," she said. She repeated her plea for inclusiveness in her International Women's Day address (IWD, 2007). She called on "every Jamaican woman and man [to] take a stance against those who continue to beat, rape, murder and sexually and carnally abuse the women and children in our society . . . to make a personal pledge to respect the life and the rights of every human being, regardless of gender . . . to clean up our personal relationships and find a way to talk out disagreements, instead of resorting to violence." As in several other speeches she called on females to play a special role in ending violence by exposing "shameful acts of terror against other women and girls . . . Together in partnership with our brothers, we can stop the violence and remove all other obstacles that keep us back" (More Challenges . . . , 2007).

Even in the period leading up to her campaign for President of the PNP, in November 2005, Mrs Simpson-Miller, though claiming her feminine gender remained inclusive: “I am without doubt a woman with a vision, on a mission for hope, empowerment, development and prosperity for all Jamaicans. Is Jamaica ready for a female Prime Minister? Certainly. They say that women hold up half the sky . . . I’d say we do much more. As women we have a unique opportunity to define the world that we live in. We are the nurturers, the care givers, the backbone of the economy, and we hold the power to inspire change.” “We must engage our men, our youth, our elders – every single Jamaican – because every single one of us has a role to play if we are to make Jamaica once again a place where we are safe, proud and prosperous. I see a bright future for Jamaica, and I’m prepared to let every Jamaican know that we can get there.” And I am prepared to lead Jamaica there” (I am a Woman, 2005).

With such an inclusive and powerful message it was not surprising that Mrs Simpson-Miller gained the support of the Association of Women’s Organisation of Jamaica (AWOJA) an umbrella organisation of over 25 urban and rural women’s groups in Jamaica. In the *Flair Magazine* of March 6, 2007 (a Daily Gleaner publication) AWOJA congratulated Mrs Simpson-Miller on being elected as President of the PNP and prime minister designate of Jamaica. “We are thrilled at her success [she has] propelled Jamaica into the forefront of countries with women in positions of political leadership [we commend her for her] excellent and states-woman-like conduct of the campaign.” [and thank her] for “her loyalty and support of women’s organisations over the years.” The organisation pledged to give Mrs Simpson-Miller their support during her tenure of office (McKenzie, March 6, 2007)

Given the gendered context that is Jamaica, it seemed inevitable that Mrs Simpson-Miller would appeal to women, and may have even gained a disproportionate amount of support because of her gender. She obviously referred to women in many of her public presentations, especially in her appeals for them to support an end to crime and violence by exposing those guilty of gender-based violence. It

was also logical that the social programmes which she emphasised would have a special appeal for women because as single mothers a significant number head low-income households and live in poverty. Based on the specialised needs of women and children in the Jamaican society was Mrs Simpson-Miller overly biased towards women? It seems not and maybe the relatively small number of articles (9%) focused on that theme was indicative of the emphasis that she really placed on women. And what of the economic and social challenges that Mrs Simpson-Miller inherited – did those contribute to her loss of the national elections?

Economic and Socio-Cultural Challenges

Commenting on the state of the economy Ken Chaplin (2006) said of Mrs Simpson-Miller's maiden speech to Parliament: It was "good that she addressed issues of poverty [because] it was necessary to improve the conditions of the marginalised (Chaplin, 2006). What were those conditions that the Prime Minister inherited? Chaplin expressed his views of those challenges in several columns. In reviewing Mrs Simpson-Miller's performance after her first year in Office he said, "The health service is appalling, primary and secondary education is backward, parochial and farm roads around the country look like the people are living in a jungle. Citizens pay high property taxes but many have to repair their roads. The bridges on some of the roads are falling down. Domestic water supplies are severely inadequate, many police stations are dilapidated, some have no cars to answer emergency calls and crime has become intolerable and scary. The justice system is under funded, leading in delays in cases, some for as long as five years. It also militates against the poor." He argued that on that basis the government did not deserve a fifth term. "To have a chance in the general election, government will have to make considerable improvements in these areas. Prime Minister Portia Simpson-Miller has been in office for one year and the misgovernance (sic) is not her

fault but the undesirable legacies of former Prime Minister PJ Patterson. However, people are arguing quite seriously that Mrs Simpson-Miller has shown no inclination to take a new path, waiting, as she put it, for her own mandate. But she was given a mandate from the moment she was sworn in as the new Prime Minister (Chaplin, 2007). In all fairness to Chaplin he also commended the government for the National Health Fund (NHF)⁸ and the Programme for the Advancement Through Health and Education (PATH).⁹

The accuracy and or inaccuracy of Chaplin's statement is not being evaluated, the fact is that it was published, and so represents an element of popular discourse which may have challenged Mrs Simpson-Miller's ability to win a national election. It is little wonder that writers such as Smith (2007a) felt that the 2007 election was more a matter of Sister P's first term rather than the PNP's fifth. Wignall (2007c) also expressed the view that the only reason the PNP had selected Mrs Simpson-Miller was because the Party had fizzled its political capital and could only win a fifth term with her as leader. It should be obvious that if the article were accurate the presumption that the political and socio-economic challenges confronting Mrs Simpson-Miller when she assumed office would definitely have made it difficult for her to win the national elections. Yet, so significant was her support among the electorate that she narrowly lost the national election.

In addition, the successes of the government paled in light of the scandals and the social challenges, especially escalating crime and violence. The positives highlighted by the media were – the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) which Mrs Simpson-Miller

8. The National Health Fund (NHF) is a programme which provides subsidized drugs for the elderly, especially those with chronic illnesses.

9. PATH is a program funded by the Jamaican Government – the Ministry of Labour and Social Security and the World Bank which gives cash grants to the most needy. Certain compliances are required in order for the recipient to benefit from the program. For example, in order for children up to 17 years to benefit they must have a minimum of an 85% attendance rate at school.

signed with the Venezuela Government to supply natural gas to Jamaica (Thompson, 2007). That increased supply of energy meant that the planned expansion of the alumina and bauxite industry could proceed. Her budget speech, after one year in office, indicated that 850 million was committed to micro-enterprise loans financed by the National Insurance Fund (NIF). “Inflation was 5.8 per cent, the lowest in decades; interest rate lowest in 20 years. A 24% growth in the agricultural sector and [Net International Reserves] NIR was US 2.4 billion (PM Outlines Future Plans, 2007). With these economic plans on the horizon, Mrs Simpson-Miller was poised to gain her second term in office, but. . . .

Discussion

A qualitative content analysis methodology was used to undertake an exploratory study of Mrs Simpson-Miller’s relatively short time in office. The research approach was considered appropriate for two reasons: 1) because the study was exploratory and its documentation is in the form of a Working Paper. The implications are that the study is preliminary and a more detailed study will be done in the future, 2) the author wanted to make the paper less of a personal opinion piece and more objective by presenting the voices of writers. None the less some perspectives may have been included or excluded which might have made the analysis more rigorous. But as stated earlier, the paper is a preliminary document and feedback regarding inclusive/exclusive material or any other comment is very welcome.

That aside however it is undeniable that Mrs Portia Simpson-Miller made history by not only being the first female to become the president of a main political party and prime minister of Jamaica but she, of a working class background, was elected to lead the PNP – which was founded by the liberal middle class and led by the middle class until she came into office. In spite of the fact that she assumed office after 17 years of a PNP government, and that she was confronted with

social challenges, resistance to her leadership – inside and outside - the PNP. It is also evident that while some persons found her leadership style to be inclusive, consultative and developmental (others found it authoritative and fractious) she remained the most popular political leader in Jamaica. She consequently, narrowly lost the national elections to Hon. Bruce Golding who was apparently preferred by the private sector and some of the middle and upper classes. Some writers felt that Mrs Simpson-Miller’s popularity stemmed from the “goodies” which she announced for the poor and marginalised and female support for her gender.

Others felt that she lost the election because of her indecisive leadership both within the PNP and the government. For example, the question was repeatedly asked why she waited for such a long time to call the national elections. Some writers such as Morgan suggested that it was the resistance to her leadership within the PNP that undermined her options at the national level. The fact that her leadership was challenged in 2008, the first time that the leadership of any incumbent president of the PNP has been challenged lends credence to the idea that opposition to Mrs Simpson-Miller’s leadership remained after the 2006 elections. The fact that she won with a greater majority this time around when her opponent seemed so confident of victory, should have some message for the Party and the country.

Lessons

So what are some of the lessons that could possibly be learned? On the surface it seems that:

1. All classes need to accept the fact that Mrs Simpson-Miller is the PNP delegates’ choice to lead the Party and that she is also the most popular politician in Jamaica – the “Portia factor” is real. It appears to be grounded in popular perception that she is genuine, honest, trustworthy, and caring. All politicians can learn

those lessons. Adams (2006) calls it a combination of emotional intelligence and common sense.

2. Jamaica is seriously affected by gender-based violence which needs to be confronted as a society and given more attention by the state;
3. The poor and the marginalised in the society need to be integrated into the national economy and leveraged for national development as a way of creating a more humane society and improving people's lives;
4. The society needs to examine its class prejudices and stereotyping of the "Other" with a view to evaluating how differences are robbing the society of potential human capital that could enhance national development for all;
5. Leadership training and development need to be integrated into PNP and JLP party activities in order that leaders at all levels of these organisations can be trained and preparation for leadership succession and be systematically developed;
6. Jamaica needs transformational leadership which can motivate and energize the nation to work towards a clearly articulated vision. A vision which is developed in consultation with the mass of the people in order that they will commit to becoming a part of the solution and less of the problem.

Conclusions

Mrs Simpson-Miller will go down in history as Jamaica's first female president of a major political party, the PNP, and Prime Minister of the national government. She came to office when she was elected by her party's delegates and the incumbent prime minister resigned. In spite of being Jamaica's most popular politician she lost a closely contested national election to the opposition after being in office for one year and six months. The implications of her loss are significant

because they suggest that the country has deep class divisions and serious challenges about how to build coalitions across social, economic and even gender divides. It would appear that there are also challenges relating to leadership style, and leadership succession. Perhaps, most importantly there are implications for the urgent need to attend to social inequalities, prejudices and negative stereotypes that are deeply embedded in the Jamaican psyche.

It is highly recommended that further studies be done to identify the gendered nuances in the society impacting leadership in order that more female participation in the political process can be facilitated. The content analysis methodology is also highly recommended because it enables an 'objective' analysis of issues in a society where the political divide is deep and biases may easily undermine the research process.

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Political Advertising and the Portrayal of Gender, Colour and Class in Jamaica's General Elections 2007¹

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Abstract

In March 2006, Mrs Portia Simpson-Miller became Jamaica's first female Prime Minister and for the first time, the role of women as political leaders occupied a critical space in public debate. Political advertising was a dominant form of communication between the politicians and the electorate. Along with gender, intersecting issues of colour and class took centre stage in discussions regarding leadership, the state of the country and the ability to govern. Through content analysis of selected political advertisements in electronic media (TV) and print media including the use of cartoons, this paper examines how gender, colour and class were portrayed during the campaign of Jamaica's general elections 2007, with particular emphasis on the candidates for the Office of Prime Minister: Mrs Portia Simpson-Miller and Mr Bruce Golding.

Introduction

In March 2006, Mrs Portia Simpson-Miller became Jamaica's first female Prime Minister and for the first time, the role of women as political leaders occupied a critical space in public debate. Political advertising was a dominant form of communication between the politicians and the electorate. Along with gender, intersecting issues

1. This paper benefited from initial research conducted by Kinisha Correia on Gender, Colour & Class in the 2007 Political Campaign for the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and the CGDS, Mona Unit.

of colour and class took centre stage in discussions regarding leadership, the state of the country and the ability to govern. Set against the background of male dominance in politics, content analysis is done of selected political advertisements on TV, in print and electronic media and in cartoons. The paper examines how gender, colour and class were portrayed during the campaign of Jamaica's general elections 2007, with particular emphasis on the candidates for the Office of Prime Minister, Mrs Portia Simpson-Miller of the People's National Party (PNP) and Mr Bruce Golding of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP).

Gender, often implicit and inscribed in male dominated political spheres, became a distinct criterion for leadership with the ascendancy of Mrs Portia Simpson-Miller as President of the People's National Party and subsequently Prime Minister. As months on the campaign trail passed by, the debate, exchanges of opinion and range of political advertisements became more intense and frequent as the election date drew nearer in September 2007. The use of political advertisements became a dominant form of communication between politicians and their publics (Hughes, 2003). In an electoral environment, political advertising is used to ensure that the public is aware of the weaknesses and strengths of candidates at the level of policy, issues and personality. Fox and Oxley (2003) argue that gender stereotyping, linked to traditional sex roles also pervade in electoral environments. Similarly, gender stereotyping does not usually stand alone and is often accompanied by class and racial stereotypes. The unique dynamics of the political environment saw gender, class and colour intersect significantly during Jamaica's general elections of 2007. This provided the impetus to analyse how these factors influenced the campaign advertising.

The sample of political campaign advertisements and cartoons selected for analysis spanned the period between the announcement of the general elections between April when Mrs Portia Simpson-Miller assumed the leadership of the PNP and the election on September 3 2007. The election had previously been announced for August 27, 2007 but was rescheduled for September 3 because of the

passage of Hurricane Dean. However, the electoral campaign had unofficially begun several months before.

Two units of analysis were used for the study: a) political campaign advertisements in the print and electronic media and b) political cartoons by Las May and Clovis each produced for one of the two leading local newspapers. The criteria used to select the sample of political campaign advertisements to be used for analysis were those which addressed the interlocking issues of gender, colour, and class as determinants of political leadership to attract or deter voters. Some advertisements were chosen if issues of gender and/or class were more prominent while others were selected if the overtones of class and colour were more present than gender. Political campaign advertisements in the print and electronic media were selected for analysis if they had at least two of the three categories of interest: gender, class and colour. The cartoons were also selected using the same criteria. Those with all three factors were automatically included. Those selected were the one that the author felt best represented all three categories.

The sample included the following advertisements in print and electronic media:

1. Party Manifestos (2)
2. TV advertisements (15 JLP and 10 PNP)
3. 5 selected print advertisements each from the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People's National Party published during the election campaign period
4. 14 Political cartoons from each of the two cartoonists²

Cartoons are not paid advertisements by political parties as is the case with the party political advertisements, however they are visually powerful and capture the essence of burning issues in a given society. Cartoons by Clovis in the *Jamaica Observer* and by Las May in

2. While the sample included 30 cartoons only 15 are discussed in this paper.

the *Daily Gleaner* were selected and analysed based on their representation of the leaders of the two main political parties in relation to gender and class and to a lesser extent colour. A review of the cartoons produced during the political campaign for the 2007 general elections, showed that the cartoons were strong on humour, artistry and political satire, and were effective in setting a media agenda. While the cartoonists claimed no political persuasion, their contribution to the debate and how issues of class, gender and colour were represented, could not be overlooked.

The Ideological and Societal Context

The choice of a male and female candidate for leadership of the country presented a major ideological challenge to traditional beliefs and practices. The ideological foundation of political leadership in an English-speaking Caribbean state such as Jamaica is often not acknowledged. This ideological foundation is steeped in the Enlightenment discourse of liberalism, which followed the post-emancipation period (after 1838). There was strong evidence of this discourse with the prospect of a woman becoming Prime Minister, which questioned the very foundations upon which Westminster liberal democracy stands. The key features of this discourse include the belief that rationality is the mechanism or means by which individuals achieve autonomy; the notion that an individual citizen is a male household head; the separation and differentiation of society into the private and public, the world of dependence, the family, and the world of freedom, the state and work; and finally, the gendering of that differentiation so that women are posed in opposition to the advancement of civilization (Flax, cited in Barriteau, 2001). Women, in this ideological foundation, are secondary citizens, without rationality and reason. They are perceived as emotional and nurturing, suitable for their role in the domestic sphere where it is perceived they naturally belong. Men on the other hand are perceived as rational

beings who use reason to free themselves of domestic life, and which prepares them for a public life of civic duty and freedom.

Interestingly, these ideational concepts had no relevance under slavery where both enslaved Black men and women provided free labour to build the former British Empire. In that context, based on the racist hierarchy of Empire, the tenets of enlightenment discourse resided only with white protestant males as plantation owners or overseers. It was only after emancipation that the public man/private woman dichotomy and the notion of the male breadwinner and dependent housewife were promulgated with great force, albeit within a racialised framework. This created an ideological conflict, to date unresolved, for a majority Black population, whose socio-economic realities never allowed them that "luxury". The historical experience of slavery ensured that Black women in the Caribbean always worked, thus Black men have never been sole breadwinners. While this ideology buttressed the formation of the state, it also generated what Barriteau called "subsequent psychic and material burdens for women and men" (2001: 34).

Liberal ideology locates women in the private sphere and their activities and contributions to society are promoted as belonging in that sphere. The problem is that private is subordinate and less valuable than the public, and this has followed women into public spaces. Barriteau argues that even when attempts are made to reject these inequalities, by articulating other notions of equality embedded in liberalism, women are met with resistance. Consistent with enlightenment thought, "women represent the family and sexual life, not the cerebral qualities of public virtues" (Barriteau, 2001: 37).

Slavery also created sharp class distinctions in Caribbean societies that continue to influence contemporary life. In Jamaica, middle class sensibilities reign in social and political spheres. While not as strict as they were during the colonial era, Jamaica's upper and middle classes are often ascribed along a continuum. This ranges from European white, Jamaican white, near white or the middle complexioned category of 'brown', (black-skinned), Chinese, Indian, and the

working class majority of African descent or Black. The result is a textured Jamaican society characterized by colour and class distinctions. In situations where colour does not necessarily matter, class sensibilities, command of the English language, the school one attended, one's associates and their networks, and whether one is rural or urban, are unwritten categories of judgement, and criteria for acceptance or subtle rejection, inclusion and/or exclusion.

Thus the Jamaican society becomes a complex set of social relations founded on maintaining a status quo built on a range of inequalities based on gender, colour and class. The dichotomies end up as subtle competitions for membership in local upper classes and for social ranking, whereby race/complexion becomes the criterion for determining social position, a range of capitalist expressions of power, and criteria for participation in political life.

Stone (1985, 1980), Lindsay (1974, 1979), Meeks (1996) and Buddhán (2006) are among those who have argued that since the nationalist era in the 1950s, the middle class, especially the 'brown' middle class has dominated Jamaican politics and as such the value systems, and the agenda setting of national politics and development. This domination of class and colour saw the side-lining of race issues in the Black Power era of the late 1960s and the ambivalent response to cultural nationalism in the 1970s. According to Meeks (1996:126) Jamaica's political system has been sustained by "a series of unwritten pacts and compromises between the largely brown middle class and educated middle upper classes who actually controlled state power, and the black working and lower classes who voted for them and occasionally engaged in internecine warfare in the rank and file of either party". Class and colour, then, have always been recognised in the political landscape. Gender on the other hand, has analytically been given a backseat for the most part, even though women have always constituted a significant number of the political party machineries. Since Universal Adult Suffrage in 1944, women have participated in representational politics at national and local government levels but have been consistently less visible than men at the leadership levels.

The pervasive male-dominated political environment has not traditionally facilitated women entering and remaining in representational politics without significant challenges to sexism. It has been said that politics is a man's game and government is a men's club (Samarasinghe, 2000). Indeed, Dunn and Hamilton et al. (2007: 1) point out that since women gained the right to vote, female representation in government stood at 3% and this increased unevenly to 11.7% in 2004. Between 1953 and 2000, the country was usually represented by only one female Cabinet Minister. The exceptions were short periods in 1976, 1980 and 2000, when there were two female Cabinet Ministers in the House. At present, women are 12% of Parliamentarians; 24% of Senators; and 17.6% of Cabinet Ministers (BWA, 2005; Dunn & Hamilton et al (2007).

Consistent with this trend of under-representation of women in political leadership, data on the 2007 elections showed that twenty-one (21) women contested (14.4%): PNP 10, JLP 7, small independent parties – 4. Eight women were elected, five from the PNP and 3 from the JLP. This was a small increase compared to the 2002 elections where 6 women were elected out of a total of 60 seats. Among the women elected in the 2007 elections, 2 are new Members of Parliament for the PNP and 1 for the JLP (Jamaica Gleaner, Jamaica Elections 2007; Wedderburn, 2007).³

Some have argued that the structure of the electoral system may also affect women's share in political representation. Women are expected to make greater headway in electoral systems where voters chose among party lists in districts rather than among individual candidates in single member districts (Kentworthy & Malami, 1999: 237). However in countries that have electoral systems where votes are cast

3. The final seat count after elections was JLP 33 and PNP 27. The JLP won 50.18% of the popular vote to the PNP's 49.82% Neither party was able to obtain as much as one-third of the electorate. The voter turn-out was also low: with only 60.4 % of eligible voters choosing to vote. Details by constituency and MPs are also available at www.jamaicalabourparty.com and www.peoplesnationalparty.com.

for individual candidates in winner-takes-all contests, (such as Jamaica), unfavourable attitudes towards women as politicians on the part of both the political elite and /or voters of both sexes are likely to play a more influential role in determining women's share in the leadership of the political arena, as well as the nature of that participation.

Additionally, political leadership in the Caribbean has been characterised by charismatic authoritarianism within a democratic framework. The source of charismatic authority is widely accepted to be derived from the personality of the leader rather than from legal rules or tradition, and assumes individual incapacity for self-directed participation. Rather, participation is relatively passive, reactive and election-oriented. There is generally individual subordination to the 'wisdom' of the leader and to party tradition (Emmanuel, 1993). This characterisation of charismatic leadership is also male-centred with inscribed codes of patriarchy as the standards of leadership. A plethora of cultural norms, traditions and inherited political philosophies keep women out of the public sphere of politics. For women entering the political arena, British colonial ideology of the 1950s set the tone for their involvement. Vassell (1995) points out that this ideology stressed 'service' as opposed to 'rights' and the pursuits of women's rights was restricted to the elaboration of labour demands and did not embrace calls that questioned or sought to balance the power relations between men and women. Since then, specific interests of women and women's participation have tended to be subsumed into the general rhythm of the male-dominated political landscape.

Gender, depending on where one is positioned in the colour/class stratification, would also have to be manoeuvred into the process. Therefore, irrespective of the socio-economic progress or educational achievement made by some women, systemic cultural barriers such as attitudes towards the role of women in politics and prevailing unequal gender ordering of society, may prevent women from participating equally in politics and decision-making in Jamaica (Dunn, Hamilton et. al, 2008). This is so despite advocacy for increasing the

participation of women in representational politics and local government (Vassell and Hamilton, 2007).

Analysing these dimensions is instructive because the presence of a female prime ministerial candidate, fundamentally of African descent and of working class origins, made the environment qualitatively different from previous elections. Other issues also made the 2007 elections distinctively different. First, both parties had new leaders as prime ministerial candidates, each one needing her or his own mandate to govern. For Mrs Simpson-Miller, she had secured her leadership as Prime Minister and Party Leader from PJ Patterson in an internal party election, while Mr Bruce Golding had inherited the leadership of the Jamaica Labour Party from Rt. Hon Edward Seaga unchallenged. The JLP had been waiting in the opposition wings for 18 years. In addition, although Mrs Simpson-Miller was leader of the PNP, it was not without deep internal divisions which affected not only the public face of the party during the electoral campaign but also its own capacity and her organizational skills to keep the party unified. Third, among the potential voters was a cadre of youth recently eligible to vote and who had only known the leadership of the PNP (Wedderburn, 2007).

Fourth, these elections demonstrated the extent to which colour and class intersecting with gender, had shaped the overall tone of the electoral campaign (Wedderburn, 2007). This is the context in which the paper analyses how gender, colour and class were portrayed in political advertisements from the period April 2006 (shortly after Portia Simpson-Miller became Party President and Prime Minister) to September 2007, when general elections were held. The analysis was based on the following questions:

- a. What were the main messages of both political parties, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP), and to what extent did they address gender issues impacting both men and women in Jamaica?
- b. Who were the main target audiences for these messages in terms of gender, colour and class?

- c. How did these advertisements and cartoons portray the two main political leaders: Bruce Golding (JLP) and Portia Simpson-Miller (PNP)?
- d. How were gender, colour and class reflected in the political advertisements and the cartoons?
- e. What was the likely impact that this appeared to have on Mrs Simpson-Miller and the PNP campaign and on Mr Golding and the JLP campaign?
- f. What lessons emerged from the content analysis of the advertisements and cartoons that can serve as a guide to promoting gender equality in governance in the future?

Gender, Colour and Class Stereotyping and Political Advertising

Many actors – voters, party officials, candidates, and journalists – transfer their stereotypical expectations about men and women to their candidates. The result of this stereotyping is that certain personality traits and areas of policy expertise come to be regarded as “feminine” and others as “masculine”. Studying the impact of the prevalence of gender stereotyping in an electoral environment is a challenging task as stereotyping can often be subtle, subjective and difficult to measure empirically. Nevertheless, this paper begins with the understanding that gender stereotypes are rooted in historically socialised roles that have encompassed the lives of men and women. While a set of gender roles as expected norms are not as rigid as before, the effects of traditional socialization are also reflected in the electoral arena generally. Most notably, male and female candidates are often attributed with certain characteristics that are consistent with the traditional roles of men and women. Researchers have found that female candidates are perceived to be better suited than men to address issues such as education, health care, the environment, the arts, poverty reduction, social welfare and consumer protection. Male

candidates on the other hand, are seen as more competent to address issues such as the economy and business, crime control, foreign trade, foreign policy, and agriculture. Furthermore, women have been identified as being more compassionate, willing to compromise and to be oriented towards people, while men have been viewed as more assertive, active and self-confident (Burrell, 1994; Wells, 1999; Fox & Oxley 2003).

Burrell (1994) points out that gender stereotyping in the political arena has a number of important electoral consequences. First, many of the other stereotypes, such as class and colour may not carry as much weight unless these are also tied to gender. It is this combination that may work to the advantage or disadvantage of the candidate in any given electoral environment. Second, whether this is perceived as an advantage or disadvantage is highly dependent upon the financial backing of political campaigns as well as the marketing machinery behind the political campaign. Generally, it has been agreed that because politics and elections in particular have been dominated by men, the election environment favours male candidates. A comparative study by Leonie Huddy and Nayda Terkildsen (1993) found that female candidates were preferred at the local government level, while male candidates were considered to have more expertise for national and executive offices.

Several factors shape these attitudes. However, the media as a key socializing agent which plays a critical role in shaping opinions and promoting values and attitudes in any given society, including Jamaica. As such the media will reinforce gender, class and colour stereotypes. Both the print and electronic media have been criticized for perpetuating gender, class and colour hierarchies. Previous studies by Senior, 1972; Waters, 1985; Heron, 1998, have shown that the media is a critical actor in the political arena, in the delivery of messages and in the formation of public opinion. In an electoral environment, the delivery of messages to inform public opinion is often more intense and deliberately filtered to illicit particular reactions from potential voters.

Kahn and Goldenburg (1991) point to the powerful role the media plays in relying on certain stereotypes when covering male and female candidates, and if this reliance creates differences in coverage, then media treatment will have important consequences for voter information and candidate preference. Class and colour differences along with gender, are also persistent because they serve as master metaphors that give meaning to myriad western dualities that were inherited from colonialism, including public-private, rational-intuitive, active-passive, hard-soft, thinking-feeling, white-black, primitive-civilized, high class-low class, masculine-feminine and many more. These hierarchical binaries become embedded in perceptions and evaluations of candidates that go beyond the male/female dichotomy. In Jamaican society, having 'class' or 'coming from somewhere', are notions of belonging, social standing and behaviour. If one is deemed as having no 'behaviour', or no 'class' and comes from 'nowhere', then he or she will not qualify for membership into higher social circles. What is constituted as appropriate behaviour is tied to perfect enunciation of the English language, deportment (not divorced from 19th century Anglo-Saxon performative ethics of purity for women and chivalry for men), dress code, body language and commanding 'respectful' presence (Bryan, 2000). All these would find expression along the continuum of binaries mentioned above. As we will show, the period of the 2007 election campaign provided ample ground upon which gender, colour and class interplayed and perpetuated these binaries. The political advertisements provided the perfect analytical stage.

Understanding the nature of political advertising was key to the interpretation of the findings. It was found that while political advertising was increasingly being used in electoral campaigns across the world, not all researchers considered it beneficial to the democratic process (Hughes, 2003). Nevertheless, political advertising is used to ensure that it purposefully and strategically informs the public of the weaknesses of an opponent candidate while emphasizing the strengths of the sponsoring candidate. The candidates control the

message to the audiences and therefore use the media to portray the sponsoring candidate with positive images and the opponent with negative images. These advertisements, more often than not are associated with personality rather than policy differences.

Over time, political candidates' use of advertising has evolved, making researchers capable of identifying and categorizing four types of political advertising: (i) attack advertising; (ii) comparative advertising; (iii) positive advertising; and (iv) negative advertising. These types are used at various stages of an electoral campaign. It was found that in the case of Jamaica, as elsewhere, the use of political advertising is part of the campaign machinery for the sole purpose of manipulating votes, secondarily followed by the provision of useful information on the candidates (Pinkleton, 1998, Hughes 2003).

Attack political advertising involves an aggressive and often malicious one-sided assault on an opponent designed to draw attention to her/his weakness in character, leadership style or approaches to policy issues. Comparative political advertising identifies a competing candidate and by drawing comparisons, implies inferiority and degrades prospective voters' perceptions of the targeted candidate (Pinkleton 1998). This type of advertising often uses extracts from speeches of opposing candidates to communicate negative information and to imply the positive opposite to the sponsoring candidate. This type of advertising also identifies the targeted candidate and contrasts specific aspects of the candidates' records, experience or policy positions, then positions the sponsoring candidate as the obvious and better choice. The third type, negative political advertising, assaults a targeted candidate's image and/or position and is deliberately designed to illicit a negative appeal from the viewer (Hughes 2003). The fourth type – positive advertising, presents the perceived strengths and good qualities of the sponsored candidate. In all four instances of political advertising, image and leadership qualities are given more prominence than exigent issues of the society. The communication strategy of 'memory recall' may be used in all types of political advertising, whereby the advertisement would use specific

phrases or words to be negatively associated with a candidate. Upon analysis, it was found that all four types of political advertising were utilised during the period of the 2007 general election campaign. Against this background, what prevailed in the findings? What were the noticeable trends? Could we determine the extent to which the advertisements were able to set the campaign agenda? Do advertisements have the power to sway voters' choice of a candidate? If they do, how does this occur?

The Findings

Analysis of the political advertisements showed that both parties used the television far more than print media for political advertising, in order to reach a wider audience. Most of the TV advertisements were aired during prime time⁴, such as during the evening news where they were most likely to get a captive audience. With the exception of the cartoons that addressed an agenda determined by the artistes, the media advertisements were aimed at the general Jamaican population. However some advertisements targeted specific groups more than others. Groups portrayed in the range of advertisements for both parties included 'images' of working class men and women, educated middle class men and women, corporate citizens, rural men and women, inner city men and women, children and other youth. More PNP advertisements made references to the poor and showed more scenes and clips from working class men and women. On a whole, the JLP had established greater presence on television and their advertisements were more consistent, technologically savvy and appeared more frequently than those of the PNP. Under Mr Golding's leadership, on the basis of the campaign alone, the JLP was more united than it had been in previous years (Wedderburn, 2007). The JLP also seemed to have far more financial support for their campaign than did the PNP.

4. A few advertisements were also created and aired on youtube.com. However, these are not analysed here.

The ruling party, PNP, was portrayed by the JLP campaign machinery as representing no change for the betterment of the Jamaican population and a perpetuation of economic mismanagement, social misery and corruption. The JLP campaign also 'sold' the idea to potential voters that the JLP was "Help and Hope Restored" after 18 years of governance under the PNP. The PNP on the other hand, presented their ruling party as one that had embraced progress in certain areas of development, such as health, education and tourism, and professed to continue along the same "course" of progress. The JLP was portrayed by the PNP as indecisive, and untrustworthy, with superficial leadership, plenty talk and no action. While fulfilling the typical requirements of political advertising, messages from both sides of the political divide were developed and disseminated through campaigning in response to and in opposition to the other, rather than as a platform in and of itself. This approach perpetuated the partisan nature of Jamaican politics.

The Party Manifestos

Party manifestos of both the JLP and the PNP outlined the roadmap for development that each would have taken if given the opportunity to rule⁵. The manifestos are expected to articulate the issue positions that would be popularly condensed at rallies and in debates. Both party manifestos focused on the competence of the leader, surrounded by loyal secondary candidates who could advance Jamaica's development. The party manifestos published in print form and on party websites were tools used mainly to target the middle class voter,

5. Both documents are substantive enough to warrant detailed analysis from the perspectives of gender, development strategies and policy outlook. It would also be useful to examine the extent to which voters actually read the party manifestos, whether in part or in their entirety and how much, if any influence they had on the candidates and the party of choice.

the issue-oriented voter and for use by commentators and journalists engaging in debate. The manifestos also contributed to the formation of public opinions surrounding critical issues in the election.

The JLP's main message was "Jamaica Needs a Change Now" and promised an opportunity for change after 18 years of a PNP-led administration. This message was heavily promoted through media advertisements. The JLP's manifesto "A Better Way for a Better Jamaica", was a substantive document of 127 pages, which set out the party's perceived path for Jamaica. It focused on a range of issues: governance, financial management, economic development; education and job creation; crime prevention, security and justice; public utilities and disaster preparedness; local government and the environment; healthcare and housing; information, culture and the arts; child protection, youth, sports and communities; poverty alleviation, the disabled and the elderly.

Most of these areas impact men and women differently and some require gender-specific interventions. However, gender biases or imbalances as a problematique within Jamaica's development framework were subsumed under poverty alleviation. Each section of the JLP manifesto outlined problems followed by pledges and promises of what would happen in a JLP administration. Framed in the combative stance of deprivation and of suffering under the PNP administration, the message was that a change in the ruling party would bring about deliverance and development under the JLP. The manifesto outlined how the JLP would face the challenges ahead and make up ground for the country's many problems: a sluggish economy, crippling national debt, unemployment, weak agricultural sector, high levels of crime, poor education, unskilled labour force, corruption, inadequate health services, poor roads, lack of water supplies, abuse of human rights, poor justice system and a crumbling social order. Areas such as governance, health, education, crime prevention, violence and justice which have known and well documented gendered challenges were not subjected to any gender analysis. For example, sections such as governance, with pledges to

improve the effectiveness of the people's representatives could have included a gender component seeking to address the imbalance of female participation in politics at all levels. Under crime, security and justice, where male involvement in crime is substantial, and violence against women and children has been on the rise, no attempt was made to address such gender-specific challenges. Similarly, in an area such as unemployment where twice the number of women are unemployed compared to men, no gender impacts were acknowledged and no solutions were proffered.

The JLP manifesto made specific pledges to alleviate poverty, facilitate prosperity, and enhance culture. Special attention was paid to enhancing youth involvement, economic growth and business development with a focus on wealth creation (as opposed to poverty reduction). This strategy would have been more appealing to the middle class and the business elite. The manifesto specifically mentions: "gender mainstreaming" under the section, 'Poverty alleviation, disabled and elderly'; the party's commitment to the principle of gender equality and; the need to redress negative imbalances affecting women. Gender initiatives capture one page, with pledges made to address societal biases against women and gender imbalances through policy development, legislative reform, employment and protection from violence. The manifesto offers "commitment to the people of Jamaica" and a readiness to govern with a "kinder brand of leadership" that is confident, responsible, accessible and experienced.

The manifesto of the PNP, "Our Pledge to Fight Poverty", also a substantive document of 130 pages declared its class orientation with its title. Fighting poverty would mean a predominantly working class agenda, which would not have gone down well with the minority middle class. Nevertheless, the PNP manifesto presented to the potential voter an administration that would go "full speed ahead" to tackle poverty and a wide array of cross-class issues such as: constitutional reform; justice; public order, security and safety; economic planning and management; wealth and job creation; tourism as an

engine of economic growth; the environment; revolutionizing energy; education and training; a social agenda; governance and community development; and foreign policy and the Diaspora.

While the JLP manifesto did not have the frills of photographs and colour, the PNP manifesto had these throughout the document. Images of Portia Simpson-Miller in the media, often portrayed her among children as a loving mother, as a woman of God leading her party delegates in prayer; commanding a conversation at a table with other politicians (mostly men), or among a crowd of people showing concern for the elderly through the grasping of a hand and a smile or hob-knobbing with other statespersons such as US President George W Bush or King Carlos of Spain. These images were interspersed throughout the PNP manifesto with additional images of youth, the police force, tourism workers, construction workers, to elicit perhaps, the idea that the PNP is a party of inclusion and action. Images of other rank and file members of the PNP were also shown, such as Peter Phillips, Maxine Henry Wilson, Omar Davies, Roger Clarke and K D Knight in positions of leadership, on the job, mingling with 'ordinary' Jamaicans, i.e. the working class.

In terms of the content of the PNP manifesto, the party was presented as a party of achievement and continuity. Wedderburn (2007) reminds us that this was in contrast to the fact that Mrs Simpson-Miller won the PNP party presidency on a platform of change away from corruption and tribalism, towards transparency, community empowerment and popular participation in governance. The mandate of the manifesto on the other hand declared "not changing course", from the PNP way of doing things the 'same ole way', as it had been during its 18-year dominance of government. Thus, the manifesto had perfunctory acknowledgement of crime, violence, injustice, inadequate health care, and then spent much time portraying "landmark achievements" under a PNP-led administration. These focused on the manufacturing sector, tourism, education, labour market reform (especially construction), and agricultural investments, among others. Couched in language similar to that used in the JLP

manifesto, the PNP manifesto outlines its perceived achievements followed by commitments and promises of continuity and new initiatives, if given the mandate to do so.

The PNP manifesto gave more attention to a "social agenda" which included health and wellness; youth and family life, gender equality and gender equity; the elderly; persons with disabilities and children with special needs. Like the JLP manifesto, only one page was devoted to gender issues with proposed initiatives to eradicate gender-based violence and establish shelters for survivors, and to remove gender biases in existing legislation.

Neither party manifesto illustrated efforts to mainstream gender throughout the various issues addressed in the overall document. In addition, the treatment of gender in both manifestos illustrated the limited understanding of gender inequality as a barrier to meaningful development and governance. It was at best, superficial and rhetorical. In essence, neither of the documents substantively tackled or provided alternatives away from inequalities that were already based on gender, class and colour, and consequently, neither party manifesto offered any change in development policy outlook. Attempts at mass class appeal were made in the JLP manifesto with a focus on finance and wealth creation (as opposed to poverty reduction). This appeal sought to identify more with the young voter and the middle class. The PNP manifesto acknowledged the visibility and persistence of poverty by targeting it directly, which made the party more attractive to voters who were working class. The approaches outlined in the manifestos more or less, maintained in their respective campaign advertisements.

Both manifestos suggested development would continue along an unquestioned and submissive path of neoliberalism. This implied further dependent entrenchment and marginal participation in global capitalism. It also combined with textbook efforts to achieve economic growth, macroeconomic stability, and fiscal discipline. The analyses of both manifestos showed that the country was exceptionally limited by extensive debt overhang, restricted spending on social

services and limited facilitating of social well-being. Arguably, they could be seen as simply typical political documents laden with heavy rhetoric of promises, pledges and commitments which based on the development path accepted, could provide none.

The Political Advertisements

Most if not all of the political advertisements made for TV that were analysed had several inferences to class, colour and gender. Class and gender were more explicit, while colour was more implicit. In the PNP advertisements, there was a strong appeal to the working class, which featured more often in their ads, than any other class group to defend the PNP's performance and Mrs Simpson-Miller's competence as a leader. The JLP on the other hand, seemed to make a wider class appeal by showing both poor and middle class examples – suffering alongside prosperity – and that under the PNP, things would only get worse.

For the JLP, the comparative approach was used in advertisements depicting Mr Golding as leader. He is also shown as a man of the people, blending well with the ordinary folk, moving with ease among the poor. In one comparative advertisement in particular, there was the uttering of "Driva" meaning driver/the person in charge. In this advertisement, Mr Golding was at a political rally, his stance was charismatic and charged. He was calling out many of the social ills that need changing, and he declares confidently that "I am the driver" for that change and for a "better Jamaica". The Jamaica Labour Party presented leadership under the persona of Mr. Bruce Golding as firm, no-nonsense, in-charge, often juxtaposing the opposite qualities within the PNP for effect. Additionally, messages of leadership in the political advertisements showing Mr Golding as leader also had class undertones. The ads promoted him as educated, efficient, well-rounded, articulate and having stately qualities. Attached to these qualifiers for leadership was Mr Golding's 'brown' middle

class background, implying that middle class-ness is required for leadership⁶.

The JLP's attack ads on Mrs Simpson-Miller had hints of class prejudice. They focused on her working class origins, and portrayed her as 'under-educated' and 'inarticulate'. The PNP's positive advertisements of Mrs Simpson-Miller, proudly claimed her working class origin as a plus. She was portrayed as a woman who had survived the struggle and had risen to the top. She symbolized a woman who is strong and Black – like the majority of Jamaican women. These ads would have appealed to working class women seeking to win their votes.

In general, the PNP appeared to have more political advertisements that specifically targeted the poor, "the masses". These portrayed Portia Simpson-Miller as a compassionate leader always concerned with problems of the working class. Cast in stereotypical roles of women, specific PNP advertisements gave attention to women as strong leaders, workers and mothers, with Mrs Simpson-Miller as one who has stood the test of time, being a Mother and Sister to many. One PNP advertisement in particular, in using the comparative approach, chastised the JLP as being disrespectful to women. Visual cuts made references to disparaging remarks uttered by JLP candidates about Mrs Simpson-Miller as a leader that were specific to her womanhood.

The JLP made a counter-response to the PNP's "disrespectful to woman" advertisement. This was in the form of a series of positive advertisements using Bruce Golding's immediate family. First, was an advertisement with Mrs Lorna Golding, his wife endorsing him as supportive of women's empowerment through his proven and exemplary support in the establishment of her bakery. It was interesting

6. This class bias was also seen in the electoral battle within the PNP for party presidency between Dr Peter Phillips and Mrs Simpson-Miller, where within the party, there were many attacks on Mrs Simpson-Miller's working class background, education and language skills as impediments to her leadership.

that this endorsement was given with Mrs Golding standing behind a bakery counter, holding a cake.

The other two family advertisements were also of the positive type – endorsing Mr Golding’s candidacy. The advertisement with their daughter, Sherene Golding placed her in a female stereotypical location – inside a kitchen, albeit with her hand comfortably holding a pile of books, and ironically, she was also opening a cupboard to take out something. Like her mother, she also gave a similar endorsement of her father as a competent leader and the importance he places on education. The approach of these advertisements raised certain questions. If gender was not important, given the topics they were raising (education and business), why not place Sherene in a study? Why not place Mrs Golding in her office at the bakery, since it was her business? Instead, the stereotype prevailed.

In contrast, Stephen Golding, their son, is shown with his dreadlocked self, outside, by a beach, receiving a plate of fish and bammy from a faceless female vendor. He then comfortably finds a bench among the fisher folk, and endorses his father’s candidacy as a man who has a clear understanding of history and identity, which influences his visionary understanding of the people’s needs. The advertisement linked the predominantly working class image of dreadlocks with history, culture and national heroes such as Marcus Garvey. The advertisement with Stephen Golding elicits a positive response from the viewing public to Bruce Golding.

In the ads with the Lorna Golding and Sherene Golding, both occupy stereotypical locations of the female (being inside/private and serving or preparing food), and both are doing something else while endorsing Bruce Golding’s candidacy. The advertisement with Stephen Golding on the other hand, stereotypically portrays the man being outside, and benefiting from the silent hand of patriarchy in a matter a fact way. Doing nothing else, he awaits a plate of food to be handed to him, while he endorses his father’s candidacy.

The positive PNP advertisements of Mrs Simpson-Miller portrayed her as a leader who had stood the test of time, “A Woman of the

Times", a pioneering female politician with an extensive track record in her political career and dedicated service in the fields of labour and social security, sports and women's affairs. The advertisements identified her as a leader who was caring, compassionate, endearing, wise, engaging, spiritual, supportive and capable. Although not undermining these traits as positive for leadership, these were not highly regarded in a tradition which uses the masculine lens of leadership, and were more aptly, stereotypical traits associated with being female. Arguably, the question arises: are these qualities critical to managing a country? In that sense, these 'female' qualities could have been seen as barriers to popular perceptions of what "real" leadership required.

Another strategy of the PNP that came out strongly in the advertisements was the portrayal of Mrs Simpson-Miller as a nurturing, compassionate and motherly black woman who was endearing to all – "Mama P" and "Sista P", accompanied by images of the party leader giving a hug to a man, embracing children, comforting a woman. Gender stereotyping here was apparent, constantly placing Mrs Simpson-Miller in a reproductive role as mother in a public space, where in comparison, the JLP did not find it necessary to focus on Mr Golding's role as father, to be qualified for leadership.

The attack advertisements also had their flair and increased with intensity as the election date drew nearer. The PNP advertisement, "flip flop", portrayed the character of Mr Golding as untrustworthy by splicing together clips of statements he had made, a few years ago, when he left the JLP to form, a third party, the National Democratic Movement. The advertisement showed him acknowledging association with gunmen, and his declaration of "bangarang" against the police if they took action in his constituency of West Kingston. The question asked in the PNP's advertisements was: can you trust this man? The JLP advertisement responded with the message – "Portia cyan manage de Prime Minista wuk" (Portia cannot manage the Prime Minister work). The advertisement showed clips which deliberately exaggerated motions of Mrs Simpson-Miller in her infamous "Don't draw mi tongue" speech. She was portrayed as a leader who

was out of control, inarticulate and a virago. The class nuances in this advertisement were instructive, where 'raucous' and 'virago' behaviour are associated with not just being working class, but racially stereotyped as "Black". The gendered nature of the JLP advertisements played on gender and class, specifically stereotyping Mrs Simpson-Miller as emotional, unable to lead and therefore unstable for leadership. A comparative advertisement of the JLP was also replete with negative class stereotypes: "We found money". In this advertisement, clips spliced from the debates put on by the Jamaica Debates Commission during the campaign, again portrayed Mrs Simpson-Miller as a leader who "cyan manage de Prime Minister wuk". When asked how she would fund changes in the health sector – the advertisement splices a part of her speech where she says "we found money" with very little elaboration of the details of where and how this money was found. The narrator in the advertisement declares – "we found money? what kinda answer dat Sista P?" This was followed by a blackboard with the words 'we found money' deliberately distorting the written letters to connote illiteracy. Again the class bias in this advertisement comes out by associating Mrs Simpson-Miller with "uneducated" and "ignorant" behaviour, the stereotypical prejudiced descriptions of the Black working class, linking these characterisations as making her 'unfit' for leadership.

What was clear throughout the campaign was how much the advertisements focused on portrayals of leadership, character, image and attacks on whom or which party had done what. There was much debate about the impact of the political advertisements and whether or not they were actually effective in contributing positively to the electoral process and voter participation. The intensity and reliance on TV advertisements more than the other types of media demonstrated that the stakes for the elections were high. The environment was very combative with campaign advertisements often resorting to character assassinations that were highly nuanced in class and gender tones, more so than in colour.

The Newspaper Advertisements

The newspaper advertisements were the third most popular types of political advertisements after television and radio. The newspaper advertisements focused on identifying the issues and positions that each Party would be taking as its mandate, the cadre of candidates, rather than class and colour. Having been the Party in office, the PNP highlighted "landmark achievements" and how much the Jamaican population had benefited from a range of government programmes. It therefore saw no need to change course or change direction. The advertisements then focused on what else would be done going "full speed ahead" in the same direction, with Mrs Simpson-Miller at the helm. The JLP's advertisements on the other hand, offered a range of 'new' faces that the country would embrace under the JLP. These persons were used to illustrate how much more capable a team the JLP had, compared to the PNP. The new JLP team was portrayed as being able to create a new and "better way for Jamaica". In the advertisements focusing only on Mr Golding, emphasis was placed on his 'efficiency', astuteness, and his 'readiness'. In one popular advertisement, he declared him the 'driver' of change for Jamaica.

One positive PNP advertisement was a full-page advertisement, "You can Trust Portia! Vote for Portia and the PNP", which included a list of achievements in transforming education in various ways, important to teachers and parents. A second PNP advertisement, using an indirect comparative approach, hinted that the JLP, through the use of their party colour, green, would be making only "promises, promises" of free education, by pulling from previous actions of the JLP government when it held power in the 1980s, when specific educational services were withdrawn.

For both the PNP and the JLP, the newspaper advertisements did not focus on direct character assassinations and denigrations as did the advertisements for television. Class prejudices thus did not surface. However both parties used the strategy of promoting women as political candidates. There was a deliberate effort by the PNP to pres-

ent the Party as sympathetic to women's issues and embracing women in the cadre of its leadership. One ad in particular – “Women shaping the future”, had a profile on the ten (10) PNP female candidates, including Mrs Simpson-Miller, with a closing statement that read, “The People's National Party believes that the full potential of our country can only be reached with the involvement of women”. The JLP provided their own advertisement but focused only on one of their female candidates, Mrs Sally Porteous, a light skinned Jamaican. The advertisement placed her as a Member of Parliament who is caring and involved in her community, who assists with basic schools and liaises with the rural folk. Likewise, this advertisement also stereotyped Mrs Porteous' qualities based on her womanhood rather than her professional talents that would qualify her for candidacy as a Member of Parliament.

The Cartoons

Most of the cartoons by Las May in the *Jamaica Gleaner* (LMJG) and Clovis in the *Jamaica Observer* (CJO) did not reflect colour stereotypes. They were however replete with gender and class stereotypes. These were sometimes accompanied by religious imagery associated with popular religions dominated by the working class, such as Revivalism and Pentecostalism. Generally, there was a clear bias against Mrs Simpson-Miller in the both sets of cartoons. In all of the cartoons reviewed using the criteria previously discussed, her leadership qualities came under much more scrutiny and attack. By and large, the cartoons portrayed Mrs Simpson-Miller as incompetent, flustered, crass and confused. Mr Golding was shown by Las May as stressed, posturing and anxious to govern. Advertisements by Clovis showed more obvious bias against Mrs Simpson-Miller and none of his cartoons painted Mr Golding in a negative light. Las May on the other hand portrayed both candidates, albeit with gender bias against Mrs Simpson-Miller. In all of the cartoons, Mr Golding received no attacks on his persona as a man.

As previously mentioned, the Jamaica Debates Commission organised a series of debates between the two party leaders as well as between other key candidates during the election campaign. After these events, there was a lot of public discussion about how the two leaders performed. Many people thought Mrs Simpson did not handle the debate very well, in contrast to Mr Golding who many felt, answered the questions more comprehensively and confidently. In essence, the performances of the two leaders during the debates provided room for more attacks on Mrs Simpson-Miller's leadership qualities and further questioned her ability to run the country. As is seen in Las May's cartoon (LMJG #1), when introduced as the most powerful party leader, she unconfidently asks herself "is PJ here?"

LMJG #1



Throughout the election period, "mother" became the descriptor for Mrs Simpson-Miller as leader. This was invariably picked up by the cartoonists as well. For example, in LMJG#2, her leadership qualities squarely place her in the gender role of a mother and an incompetent one at that.

LMJG #2



Here she is bathing the overgrown ‘baby’ former MP Philip Paulwell who, according to press reports, was implicated in a financial scandal. As the cartoon implies, she continues to bath the ‘baby’ even though the water is stink of corruption. So the proverb, ‘don’t throw out the baby with the bath water’ is turned on its head and Ms Jane Public is shown covering her nose from the stench of the ‘scandal’ water, saying to ‘Mama P’ – “dah bath wata deh waah dash weh” (that bath water needs to be thrown away). Mama P continues to bathe her ‘baby’ Paulwell in dirty water seemingly ‘unaware’ of the ‘smell’. The cartoons deliberately and consistently mocked Mrs Simpson-Miller’s capacity as a leader who keeps her word, as several months before she publicly declared during her inaugural speech as Prime Minister, that she would root out corruption. The image of her as ‘mother’ bathing the ‘baby’ and seemingly oblivious or turning a blind eye to the ‘corrupt’ dirty water depicts how she was perceived as handling the former MP’s alleged involvement in a corruption scandal.

LMJG #3



In the cartoon above, (LMJG#3), Las May captures the tension of the election race and has a go at Mr Golding. Here, Mrs Simpson-Miller is the driver rather than the self-declared Mr Golding. Mrs Simpson-Miller is going full speed head with religious prophecy and polls on her side, while Mr Golding appears here to be a mere pedestrian in comparison, anxious and sweating that he might be run over at the 'election' crossing. But the fact that he is depicted as still stepping out in the road at the incoming speedy driver, could also illustrate desperation.

In LMJG#4, class undertones are implied in a conversation between Ms Jane Public and Mr Golding.

In his readiness to tackle the debate with Mrs Simpson-Miller, the cartoon has Mr Golding appearing at the podium early, already seemingly pontificating on issues guided by the JLP Manifesto. He is so early, Ms Jane Public, portrayed as an ancillary worker cleaning the studio (perhaps) informs as such using language that often denotes

LMJG #4



communication between poor (female) domestic workers and their employers from the middle and upper middle classes, and refers to him as Mr. Bruce rather than Mr Golding or Bruce and calling him “Sar”. The cartoonist doesn’t portray Mr Golding interrogating or questioning the power nuanced conversation, rather he answers authoritatively, “I know but I am ready!” Neither of the characters in this cartoon is shown questioning their social standing.

Again, in LMJG#5, performance of the two main political candidates in the national debates received considerable attention. Their performance was perceived as having a major impact on the percentage of swing voters or voters who had not previously voted for either party. The cartoon shows Mrs Simpson-Miller as being obsessed with her appearance. This reflected a gender stereotype of women which suggests that they focus more on appearance than on performance, talent or intellectual ability. None of the male candidates, including Mr Golding received as much attention from the cartoonists or on

LMJG #5



television on issues such as appearance and mode of dress.

Mrs Simpson-Miller's performance in the debate, on the other hand, was represented as unintelligent and an embarrassment to the other top leaders/candidates in the PNP (as shown in CJO#1). Clovis, more often than not, dresses the former Prime Minister in clothing of the revivalists, pencil in hair to boot, ridiculing the African derived religion and its working class status. Assigning this 'label' to Mrs Simpson-Miller is also an attack on Mrs Simpson-Miller and her class origins.

Unlike Mr Golding, Mrs Simpson-Miller was subject to much interrogation of her personal life, her spending patterns and questions of whether she was using government monies for personal business. She made the error of responding that she uses the credit card given to her by her husband. In one particular cartoon⁷, Las May had exploited this along with a previous faux pas ("a long time unu waan

7. Permission was not granted by the cartoonist to reproduce this cartoon here.

CJO#1



draw mi tongue”). Wading in disrespectful waters, the former Prime Minister is depicted in scantily clad clothing, posturing like a stereotypical working class woman, hand on hip, bangles on her wrists, ring in her nose and shoes kicked off, ready to curse – “a long time unu waan draw mi tongue” . . . Seet mi husband gimme credit card”. The cartoon took many liberties with her. It demonstrated blatant class prejudice, sexism and a lack of respect for the Office of Prime Minister – because she is a woman.

Another cartoon by Las May (LMJG#6) when analyzed, also makes a mockery of Mrs Simpson-Miller’s Christian faith. Shortly after being sworn in as Prime Minister Mrs Simpson-Miller publicly declared her strong belief and faith in God. This resonated well with some citizens but not with others, as the island is constitutionally, a secular state. She sought spiritual advice from a local, very popular minister of religion, and this was further publicised and generated even more debate on whether religious faith was important in leadership. The cartoon

LMJG #6



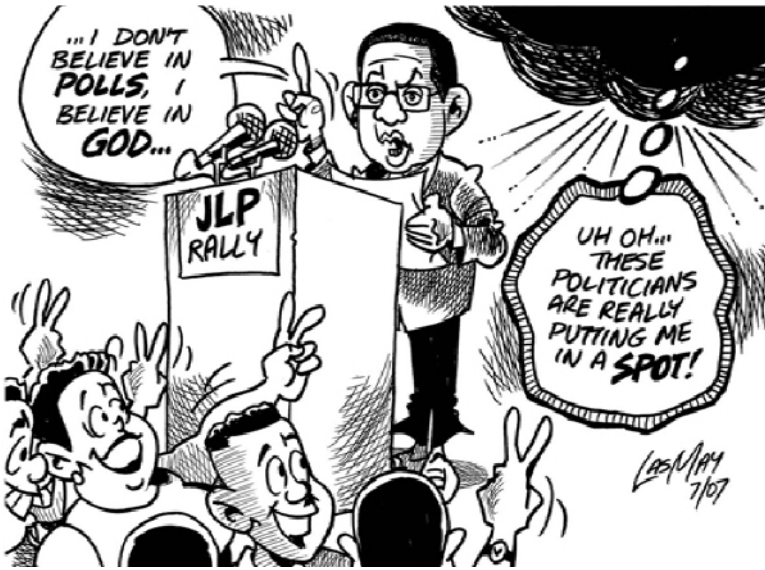
depicts what is interpreted as an over-reliance on religious prophecy by Mrs Simpson-Miller, rather than belief in her own qualities as a leader who could run the country. So Reverend asks, as she packs her suitcase when the polls begin to favour the JLP, "but who do you trust me or the polls?"

The JLP responded with its own religious strategy. At JLP rallies, Mr Golding soon professed himself to be a man of God, so much so that this point was not missed by Las May (LMJG #7) who succinctly captured this as a tool of political manipulation when "God" responded "these politicians are really putting me in a spot".

Cartoons by Clovis also attracted gendered defamations of character along with stereotypical depictions of class.

In the cartoon below (CJO#2) Clovis shows what is in Mrs Simpson's "closet", which does not include political secrets, scandals, pacts or socio-economic agendas, that would elicit the kind of attention when looking at male candidates. The cartoon rather facetiously

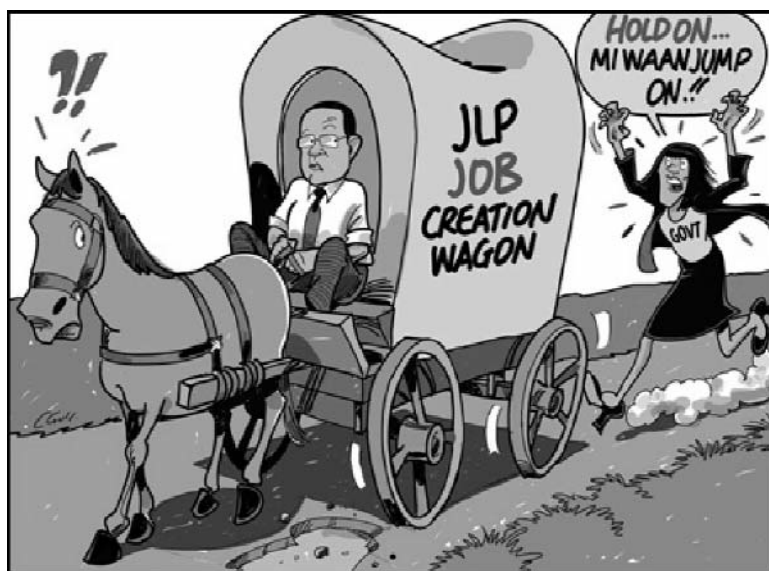
LMJG #7



CJO#2



CJO#3

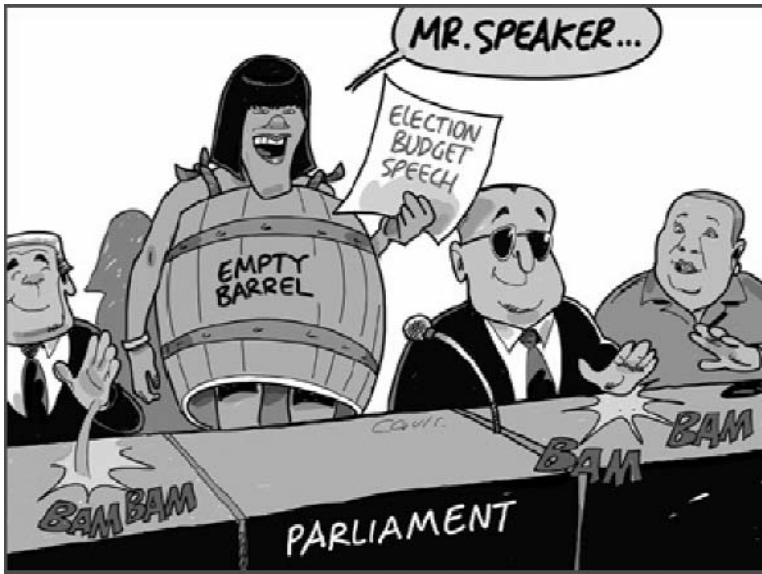


amplifies the idea that a woman has a closet full of clothes and shoes that preoccupies her mind more than anything else. Clovis' portrayal of Mrs Simpson-Miller as an electoral candidate, is not her preoccupation with the nation's business and her performance, but rather her concern with physical appearance.

CJO #3 questions Mrs Simpson-Miller's leadership qualities. Here, the cartoon implies that she is incapable of handling the job of Prime Minister, so much so that she is desperately chasing down her political opponent for a job. And while Mr Golding reacts by raising an eyebrow, it is the horse that appears stupefied.

In CJO#4, Mrs Simpson-Miller's character and leadership qualities are again undermined. Clovis's cartoon depicts Mrs Simpson-Miller as "an empty barrel making noise" during her budget presentation. This perpetuated the stereotype that she lacked intellect, especially in matters such as governance and state management. Whatever one's opinions are of her intellectual abilities as a person, the cartoon

CJO#4



disrespects the Office of the Prime Minister, and hits below the belt by putting her in an empty barrel, suggestively unclothed.

CJO#5 has various class observations. Because Mrs Simpson-Miller had postponed elections when Hurricane Dean hit the island, hurricane relief funds had to be disbursed to the needy. Much debate was made of the decision which was viewed as a tool of patronage to garner votes among the poor, i.e. pork barrel politics. Here Clovis' cartoon shows Mrs Simpson-Miller again decked out in Revivalist clothing, doling out benefits to her 'masses' who expectantly await the benefits from "Sista P" saying "Fly de pork barrel Sista P!".

CJO#6 on the other hand, depicts Mrs Simpson-Miller in perhaps a middle class environment, donned in a suit this time, ushering her 'son'(Jamaica's youth) outside on the streets to beg. Again, as leader, she is depicted as Mother, not Prime Minister, while the JLP candidate looks on in innocent bewilderment.

Arguably, one of the most sexist cartoons published during the

CJO#5



CJO#6



CJO#7



campaign period was CJO#7. In it, the cartoonist draws the former Prime Minister lying on a beach as ‘government’ putting her in a compromising position, flirting with a man called “world cup cricket”, representing the conflicting issues at the time. These included: balancing the country’s responsibilities associated with the hosting of World Cup Cricket and the government’s response to an influx of Haitian refugees. Regardless of how sensitive the scenario was during the World Cup Cricket season, how she handled the situation was not critiqued on its own terms. Instead, Mrs Simpson-Miller was portrayed in a compromising and sexual position because she is a woman. The fact that she was Prime Minister at the time was ignored, and again, blatant disregard was shown to the Office of the Prime Minister.

Conclusions

The review of political advertisements in the electronic media during the 2007 election campaign demonstrated various ways in which political leaders interact and reinforce cultural ideas about gender, class and colour. It also showed ways in which the political campaigns served as a stage for their symbolic re-enactment. The advertisements showed in many nuanced ways, how the interactions of gender, colour and class are constructed, symbolized and performed. In a political environment that was unaccustomed to top female leadership, the review demonstrated the extent to which male domination could set the parameters, criteria and the competition. For Mrs Simpson-Miller, while she was under attack as another political candidate would have been in similar circumstances, her citizenship as woman was used as an unfair measure to judge her capacity (or lack thereof) as Prime Ministerial material. In contrast, there was no evidence that Mr. Golding's public citizenship was debated or even questioned in a way that tested or provoked his manhood.

Knowledge of exactly how citizens may have been reacting to this performative space is limited. Without further customer surveys to investigate how the political advertisements impacted males and females, we are left to speculate based on anecdotal evidence found in editorials and opinion pages of journalists (See article in this Working Paper by Shirley Campbell).

Notwithstanding, the general elections of 2007 demonstrated how deeply entrenched power and authority have become in a prescriptively male public domain. The Enlightenment discourse, three centuries later, is alive and well in Jamaica. The JLP advertisements often showed Mr Golding comfortably commanding authority, as if being at the helm was the most natural place for him to be. The JLP advertisements, particularly the negative and the attack ads, undermined Mrs Simpson-Miller's image as a leader. It is possible that this may have lost her some support from sections of the middle and upper classes and corporate sector. Negative advertisements of Mrs

Simpson-Miller, especially those making a mockery of her leadership capacities, and her leadership qualities, may have lost her support from some middle class and working class voters. In terms of a classist response, it is quite plausible that some among the middle and upper classes were already uncomfortable with a Black woman from the working class as leader of the country. Those characteristics alone would have presented a barrier to some. For others, it may have been a 'wait and see' based on how she performed as leader. Therefore the advertisements which exaggerated her behaviour as uneducated and raucous, and its subtleties as 'low class' would have impacted negatively. In essence, this could have played a major role in forming public perception.

Even the positive advertisements of Mrs Simpson-Miller or say, of Mrs Sally Porteous of the JLP, did not break the patriarchal mould and the public/private dichotomy. In both instances, the portrayal of women as citizens beyond the capacities of social reproduction was not attained. Leadership was assumed, unquestioned and inscribed as a male domain. Where a woman entered, her leadership qualities were questioned not because they should not be, but because she was entering terrain that was not her 'designated' location. This is what became evident not just during the election campaign, but during Mrs Simpson-Miller's tenure as Prime Minister.

The study also showed that the media plays a powerful role through socialization. It reflected ways in which coverage of male and female candidates showed gender bias which could hinder a woman's possibility of success in the political arena. Similarly, the portrayal of gender along stereotypical lines in electoral campaigns that are uncritically promulgated through the media, also implicitly perpetuates gender inequality in governance generally, and undermines the value of women in particular. A distinguishing feature of patriarchy is the way it creates dualisms and hierarchies in almost every aspect of life. The most prominent and powerful is the separation of public and private and the relegation of men and women into their 'respective' spaces (Barriteau, 2001). Additionally another com-

mon strategy of patriarchy demonstrated during campaign period was the undermining of women's intellect and reason by focusing on appearance and the body instead. This was evident in several cartoons, reflecting an outdated notion that women are separate from reason.

These ideologically laden concepts were shown to be deeply rooted in the Jamaican psyche and were played on at different times during the campaign by both parties, as well as by the cartoonists. The Clovis cartoons in particular effectively showed how patriarchy works by the creation of myths, meaning, metaphors and narratives in his drawings, identifying his characters in their assumed place. His portrayal of Mrs Simpson-Miller in her role as woman yet incompetent, Prime Minister yet unclothed, leader yet flustered, is but one example of the expected roles and unequal power relationships that govern patriarchy and an ideological acceptance of this norm.

During this election campaign, the PNP promoted Mrs Simpson-Miller as a mother/leader. Studies have shown that this strategy is quite common. For instance, in Sri Lanka, prominent female political leader, Sirima Bandaranaike was often referred to as "amma" (mother) and this became a popular rallying cry during her campaign as well. It is felt that using the 'mother syndrome' repeatedly by female political figures would capture the attention of the electorate as a caring person. However, it was also found that this trait was not what won women seats, rather it was traits such as decisiveness, commanding authority and the impact of their own agency (de Alwis cited in Samarasinghe, 2000).

Therefore, for women who wish to enter the political arena as leaders in their own right, playing on gender stereotypes as an election strategy is likely to backfire. The strategy of portraying Portia Simpson-Miller as "mother", "Mama P", "Sista P", caused much ridicule and buffoonery and did not appear to serve her well. This speaks to a continuous structuring of women's value only through their reproductive roles, although there are many other roles of citizenship that they experience. This confinement is an ideological one

steeped in upholding an unequal status quo, even if material relations of gender may differ or improve. A lesson to learn here is that the mother imagery, takes away from seeing women as transformative leaders, imbued with personal and professional power, with the capacity to demonstrate an understanding of decisive leadership, a quality that is available to all men and women. The mother imagery in a public space remains a private image and therefore not valued in the game of politics.

While the PNP portrayed the mother stereotype and stressed Simpson-Miller's leadership as one of "compassion and strength", in an election environment that defines leadership in arguably traditionally masculine categories such as stern, rationale, robust, this imagery did not augur well for the former Prime Minister. Some attempt was made by the PNP to strategically use gender and womanhood to garner votes. Given the history of the PNP in power for almost 20 years, a gender ticket alone could not have worked. Men in a sense, being in a dominant position, do not have to take gender into consideration, as their power is inscribed and is underpinned by a cultural code of practice that sidelines women when male power is challenged. Women entering the political arena, have to strategically manoeuvre the spaces available to them or the spaces they managed to carve out for themselves. However in so doing, they may sometimes be complicit to the very structure of patriarchy that often patronizes and marginalizes them from key circles of power and decision-making. The current political environment suggests that 'successful' leadership for women has to be achieved in a manner that has less to do with gender stereotyping, and more to do with playing the game, assimilating into a male dominated space of leadership.

The defining essence of leadership is to be in charge, and publicly so, that is, to be responsible for national decisions taken. To lead is to evoke action in others in a socio-political setting intended to produce, a set of anticipated or desired outcomes. The exercise of power and authority in politics occurs at national, regional and international levels, and forms the nucleus of leadership. None of these

tenets of leadership reside in men alone, giving them sole right to express them. These are qualities also imbued in women. The challenge has been for women to supersede their role as mother and vessels of life prescribed by patriarchy as their only contribution to citizenry and society, and not be confined to those boundaries as the norm.

Research has shown that gender, along with class and colour are further complicating factors. Female candidates are subjected to more interrogation of their background and educational qualifications when they emerge as candidates. If the candidate is also a person of colour, man or woman, the same level of interrogation or maligning by the media coupled with negative advertising also takes place. Class maligning in advertising takes place by heralding the status quo of middle class leadership as the standard. This is done by critiquing candidates on their ability to conform to that status quo – can they speak ‘well’? Can they mix and mingle with other state leaders? Are they sufficiently educated to represent the State? (King & McConnell, 2003: 846).

All these issues emerged during the election campaign period, and in most cases, there was bias against Mrs Simpson-Miller because of her sex, class origin and implicitly, her colour. The domination of politics by the middle class with its undertones of colour, can determine one's entry into the game, how one enters and the favours extolled within, as a result of that ‘membership’. Mockery was made of previous political leaders, for instance, Alexander Bustamante who had ‘colour’ but not the class. Marcus Garvey was also excluded because he was “too Black”, rural and working class. His agenda had threatened the foundations upon which the status quo has been upheld from enslavement to present day, that is, inequality.

Open discussion on the African/Black origin of the poor majority is problematic. The association of colour alongside poverty with its historical inequality can be made invisible in the discourse “out of many one people” or argued as divisive in a society that upholds ‘multi-ethnic’ harmony as its national motto. Yet class becomes pervasive when

its ethos defines social membership. If one speaks truth to power, Mrs Simpson-Miller was not excluded from this unkind environment, and it became worse once she became Party President and then Prime Minister.

The election campaign provided an open book lesson on the iniquitous landscape of Jamaican politics and the extent to which leadership is defined by outdated codes. Where leadership lacks integrity, what are the grounds for transformative change? There is something sad here, that urgently requires more attention.

The current political dispensation continues to be entrenched in an atmosphere of rhetoric and postulation rather than an atmosphere of integrity and genuine intentions to make substantive changes to the myriad of social and economic problems and challenges facing the people of Jamaica. Mrs Simpson-Miller and Mr Golding are part of this atmosphere. Taking the experience of Portia Simpson-Miller as a lesson, we must ask ourselves, if gender equality in governance is achievable, what new criteria will women bring that will positively change the expressions and examples of leadership in order to really “change course”? How can the few women that are in governance now be supported nevertheless, to make positive incremental ‘progress’ in a political environment with limited political will and few intentions to change? If anything, this electoral campaign has shown that it is the criteria for leadership that needs to change. And what will women who chose to enter public office bring that is quantitatively and qualitatively new?

The election period in 2007, gives two possible options. First, play it safe and subscribe to the patriarchal game of politics, that is, get involved, find allies and do what one can with the rigid limitations of the status quo. Examples from South East Asia point to efforts by female politicians to manipulate the mother image within a patriarchal political structure with measured success. These efforts emphasized women’s role in social reproduction such as unpaid work, access to maternal health care and family planning and took them out of the realm of the private/subordinate into the realm of public office as

key development challenges to tackle (Samarasinghe, 2000). Or second, women who may wish to be more expansive in expressing their citizenship, can choose to enter politics, with gendered lens, and as brave and transformative leaders raise concerns about continuing inequality and denial of class tensions, about empowerment and participation, about blurring the rigid boundaries of private and public, and finally, about the ostensible invisibility of ideology in development and development paths that are really supposed to be about enhancing the social, economic and political well-being of both women and men.

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Part 2

Lessons from Southern Africa

Lessons in Leadership and Governance¹

Women and Decision-Making in South Africa

MAVIVI MYAKAYAKA-MANZINI

Background

South African women share the same history as other women in the world whereby for a long time they were excluded from decision making in all spheres of life ranging from the family to national, political, economic and social decision making structures. The Suffragettes movement which swept the world in the 18th century demanding the right to vote for women, also reached South Africa. But because of the colonial apartheid system, when it came to South Africa such a vote was extended to white women only. The black women continued to suffer what we called the three-fold (triple) oppression and exploitation of women, which manifested itself in: the denial of all basic human rights including the right to vote (national oppression affecting both black men and women); exclusion from the economy as owners of the means of production; being paid less for selling their labor (class); and being excluded within their communities in decision making processes and treated as

1. This is an edited version of a paper entitled "Women in Decision-Making: The case of South Africa" that was presented at a Seminar for South Africa Women's Day held in Jamaica on 9 August 2005, sponsored by the Bureau of Women's Affairs and the South Africa High Commission in Jamaica.

second class citizens because they were women destined for social reproduction functions within their societies (gender discrimination and oppression).

Thus the present achievements made in South Africa are intrinsically linked to the role women played in the struggle against apartheid and in the struggles waged within the liberation movement itself led by the African National Congress (ANC). In first 30 years (1912 to 1942) of the founding of the ANC, known at that time as the South African Native National Convention-SANNC) women were excluded from being full members. They were accorded the status of auxiliary members who could participate in the deliberations and activities of the ANC but could not vote or be voted into the leadership. This situation in the ANC was neither surprising nor exceptional. It was influenced by the international and local traditional societies which were patriarchal in nature. In 1912, South African political decision making processes were still male dominated; even the white colonial government did not allow (white) women to vote. SANNC was intended to unite the African people, and was constructed to express an alliance between the traditional rulers, the educated petty bourgeoisie and the aspirant middle class.

Women's Political Activism

The exclusion of women from decision making did not of course mean that women were absent from the political activities. Women attended the founding meeting of SANNC in 1912 and in 1913 they founded the Bantu Women's League led by Charlotte Maxeke. Through this organization they organized their own campaigns to address the oppression and exploitation of women. They organised successful campaigns against the extension of passes to women, against the rise of food prices and repression of the apartheid regime. As a result of their participation and struggles, the ANC extended full membership status to women in 1943. Many of the South African

Women who became leaders of the ANC cut their political “teeth” in the women’s movement and in the trade unions.

The highlight of the participation of women in the anti-apartheid struggle was in 1950 when they led campaigns against poverty, inferior education and the pass laws. August 9 1956 was one of the major milestones when 20,000 women converged at the Union Building in Pretoria to protest the extension of pass laws to women, under the banner of the Federation of South African Women.

During the period of the banning of the ANC, women continued to participate in politics and occupied leadership positions in the four pillars of our struggle. These were: underground activities, mass mobilization, the armed struggle and international mobilization.

It was against this background of active participation of women that the ANC committed itself to a vision of a non-sexist, democratic, non-racial and prosperous South Africa. Gender equality and the emancipation of women found expression in policy pronouncements of the ANC. This commitment also found expression in the period of negotiations, the writing of the interim Constitution and the development of the Reconstruction and Development Programme. This laid the basis in the mainstreaming of gender issues into our present Constitution, government policies, laws and programmes.

During the period of constitutional negotiations, which brought a political settlement to the conflict in South Africa, women across political lines came together to form the Women’s National Coalition (WNC). The WNC was initiated by the ANC Women’s League, and brought over a hundred women’s organizations and groups throughout the country together to develop a Women’s Charter for Effective Equality.

The WNC strengthened the position of the ANC Women’s League on gender issues. It opened up the debate on women’s emancipation and gender equality in the country. It was during this period that the ANC went further in deepening its understanding of the structural and complex nature of gender oppression. They recognized the need to adopt extra special measures such as affirmative action and a quota

system to increase the representation of women in decision making in politics, the economy, and in all areas where women have been historically excluded.

The Constitutional And Legal Framework

The Constitution of South Africa defines the country as united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic. The Constitution also contains a Bill of Human Rights with effective equality, and human dignity as some of its tenets. Driven by these Constitutional imperatives of gender equality and non-discrimination, the South African government has put in place clear targets to promote the advancement of women in decision-making positions.

Other Mechanisms to Promote Gender Equality in Governance

The Constitution also prescribed the setting up of the Commission on Gender Equality as one of the institutions to support democracy. This Commission is charged with promoting respect for gender equality as well as the protection, development and attainment of gender equality. It monitors, investigates, conducts research, educates, lobbies, provides advice and reports to Parliament on issues concerning gender equality.

The South African Constitution does not prescribe any quota for women in decision making structures. As a signatory to the CEDAW Convention, the 1997 Southern Africa Development Coordination (SADC) Heads of State Declaration on Gender Equality and Development and the African Union (AU) Decisions on Parity Representation in all its structures and government, means that the South African government as members of these institutions, has an obligation to implement these decisions.

Political Commitment

As far back as 1994, in his very first statement to the South African Parliament, former President Nelson Mandela made a commitment of his democratic government to gender equality. He said:

Freedom cannot be achieved unless the women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression. All of us take this on board that the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme will not have been realized unless we see in visible practical terms that the conditions of women in our country has radically changed for the better, and that they have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life as equals with any other member of society. (President Nelson Mandela, 24 May 1994).

This statement laid the basis for government policies, laws and programmes which have characterized South Africa's commitment to gender equality in the past 11 years of its democracy. Various government departments have come up with policies and laws to effect gender equality and the participation of women in decision making in the political, economic and social spheres.

Women's Leadership in the Public / Civil Service

The White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service of 1995, the White Paper of Affirmative Action in the Public Service of 1998, and, and the Employment Equity Act of 1998, together form the basis of promoting women's equal access to and their full participation in power structures and decision making in the South African government. A minimum target of 30% was established for women in management positions in the public service. All employers are required by the Equity Act to ensure that the profile of their establishments exponentially reflects the demography of the country and women constitute 52% of the population.

Analysis of data since these measures were introduced shows a

trend which indicates that the representation of women in the public service management at provincial and national government spheres increased from 8% to 27% from 1995 to December 2004. This left only a 3% gap of the target prescribed. The senior management service of the South African Public Sector is comprised of Directors to Directors – General, many of whom are women. The review however shows that the pace of change at local government level has been slower. The picture at the administrative management level remains particularly concerning, with women comprising only 9.5% of municipality managers and only 13% of officials in the Planning and Implementation Support Centers.

Women's Leadership in the Judiciary

Changing the racial and gender profile of the South African judiciary constitutes a significant milestone achieved with regard to the transformation of the judicial system. In 2005 women constituted about 28 (13.52%) of 207 of the country's judges, one of whom is a Deputy Judge President. Prior to 1994, there were two white women judges and only one black male judge, the rest were all white males.

In 2005, women also accounted for 35% (632 of the 1779) of all Magistrates. They occupied 31% (413/1323) of the Ordinary Magistrate positions, 20% (31/148) of Senior Magistrate positions and 18% (50/274) of Regional Magistrate Positions. Six (6) of 24 Chief Magistrate positions (25%) are occupied by women and 4 of the 10 Regional Court Presidents (40%) are women. This data reflects great strides with regard to achieving greater gender balance at all levels of decision making in the judiciary when comparing to where we were in 1994.

Women's Leadership in the Armed Forces

Although the armed forces have traditionally been male dominated, women are increasingly entering this sector and are being represented in leadership positions. In 2003, there were two (2) women Majors General and eight (8) female Brigadiers General in the Armed Forces. Most women in the senior management are appointed as Colonels, and women made up 12% of the total number of people appointed at this level in 2003. However this 12% in 2003, was almost a three-fold increase from 4.06% in 2002.

Women in Leadership in the Police Services

Data for 2005 show that out of a total of five (5) deputy national commissioners appointed, one (1) was a woman. Four (13.8%) of the 29 Deputy Provincial Commissioners of Police were women. Out of a total of 11 Divisional Commissioners, three (3) (27.3%) were women. There were 20 (16.7%) women of 120 persons appointed at Assistant Commissioner level. Some 76 (16.9%) of 450 Directors in the Police Services were women.

Women in Leadership in the Corporate World

The South African Women in Corporate Leadership Census 2004 commissioned by the Business Women's Association was South Africa's first exhaustive analysis of women on Boards of Directors and in Executive Management of Public Companies in South Africa.

The study found that:

- Women are significantly underrepresented in the boardrooms of corporate South Africa. Women held only 7.1% of board directorships;
- Women were significantly underrepresented in top corporate

leadership positions. Only 3% of the Chairs of Boards in South Africa were women while only 1.9% of Chief Executive Officers were women;

- Some 14.7 of executive managers were women;
- While 11.8% of South African boards have two or more female directors, almost 60% of South African Boards have no women directors at all;
- State owned enterprises (SOEs) fared better than companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE). For example, 5.9% of directors on the JSE listed companies were women while in the SOEs 26.8 of directorships were held by women. Similarly while only 5.8% of the JSE listed companies have a quarter or more of their director positions occupied by women, within SOEs 52.9% (9 out of 17) have 25% or more of their director positions occupied by women.

Women in Leadership in Institutions Supporting Democracy

These are quasi government institutions established by the Constitution to support the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa. Women have played an important part in deepening democracy in South Africa by ensuring an effective electoral system. The Independent Electoral Commission is headed by a woman and its CEO is also a woman. It has gone further to ensure that its staff component constitutes 62% women. Whilst the Electoral Act does not stipulate quotas for women, it provides for measures to be taken which ensure that women are integrated into both elected and non-elected positions. However it is only the ANC that has a quota system of 30% women in decision making positions since 1994. The last National Governing Council of the ANC has adopted the principle of parity in gender representation (50/50). This will definitely go a long way in further raising the number of women in parliament and in executive positions.

Women Serving in the Foreign Service Abroad

In February 2005, twenty-three (24.2%) women served as Ambassadors and High Commissioners. This was a marked increase from the 17.4% which obtained in 2001. Later in 2005, there were a number of appointments which might have further increased this February 2005 figure. Overall, there were 229 (40.25%) women employed in South Africa's Missions abroad, and this figure included women serving as Ambassadors and High Commissioners.

Women in Political Decision-Making Processes

The Constitution of South Africa provides for the promotion of equal rights for women and men to engage in political activities. It also guarantees both sexes freedom of association, and membership in political parties and trade unions. Freedom of association, including membership in trade unions is further guaranteed in the Labor Relations Act of 1995. So far only the ANC has taken advantage of going further than the Constitution by building in concrete mechanisms to ensure this. In the last general elections held in 2004, there were some improvements in the other political parties. Of the ten main parties, seven (7) achieved at least 30% of women in their list of candidates.

It is in this area of political decision making that South Africa has made tremendous strides when it comes to the representation of women since 1994 especially in the national and provincial legislatures. However, at the local level despite progress made, women's leadership in this sphere still lags behind.

Prior to 1994, women constituted 2.8% of members of the country's National Parliament and 0.8 of the members of the Cabinet Committee. In 1994 this increased and women constituted 25% of the representatives of the Parliament of both the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP). In 2004 this number

rose to almost a third, with women representing 150 out of 454 (33.96%) of the members. In 2005 there were 22 women (44.89% appointed) appointed as Ministers and Deputy Ministers at National level. In addition, a woman was appointed Deputy President of the country, further strengthening the number of women in decision-making positions.

Women Ministers in 2005 occupied the following portfolios: Agriculture and Land Affairs, Communication, Education, Foreign Affairs, Health, Home Affairs (Interior), Housing, Justice and Constitutional development, Minerals and Energy, Public Service, Public Works and Water Affairs and Forestry.

Women as Deputy Ministers occupied the following portfolios: Safety and Security, Foreign Affairs, Art and Culture, Minerals and Energy, Environment and Tourism, Trade and Industry, Provincial and Local Government, Social Development, Health and Correctional Services.

Since the Parliament was established in 1994 the Speaker and Deputy Speaker have been women, while in the National Council of Provinces one of the presiding officers has been a woman. Women also chair various Parliamentary Committees.

The number of women in leadership positions at the Provincial level has also improved. A great leap was made in 2004 in the country's nine (9) provinces with regard to the representation of women. In 2004, four (44.44%) of the 9 Premiers of provinces were women. Prior to 2004, women made up 24% of the overall figure of provincial legislators. In 2004 this figure increased to 32.3%. With the exception of Kwa-Zulu-Natal, great strides have also been made in the representation of women in Provincial Executive Councils, with Gauteng having a 50% representation, and the others ranging between 27% and 31%.

There have also been improvements in women's participation in leadership at the local level of governance. In 2005, 28% of the Councilors were women. This was a marked increase from the 2002 figure of 16.9%.

Conclusions

Clearly great strides have been made in South Africa with regard to the involvement of women in positions of power and decision-making at several levels. With women having a critical majority as legislators and as executives the voice and concerns of women have been brought to the fore. We have therefore gone beyond numbers to ensuring transformation of the lives of the poor; and women constitute the poorest of the poor.

Women in the leadership positions previously examined, have contributed by ensuring that the Parliament and the country's Executives adopt laws, policies, budgets and programs that address the needs of women. Among these have been: the creation of a comprehensive system of health care readily accessible to women and children; social development systems that address people at risk especially single mothers; water and forestry community projects to achieve reforestation and sustainable development programmes that benefit rural communities environmentally and financially; the implementation of programmes that increase women's access to small and big business and that finance economic opportunities; the introduction of laws doing away with gender discrimination in taxation; the choice of women to terminate an unwanted pregnancy; and the introduction of laws governing marriage and divorce, maintenance, domestic violence, inheritance, housing and the protection of domestic and farm workers. Programmes have also been introduced that benefit women such as: the women's budget, electrification programmes, provision of safe drinking water, sanitation and housing. Women's position in leadership has helped to place these issues high on the priority list of the government.

Since 1994, the foundation for gender transformation has been laid but much still remains to be done to change the lives of the poor and to change mindsets of persons in our society to better promote gender equality.

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Zambia Best Practice in Promoting Gender Equality in Political Decision-Making

Lessons adapted from the Gender Checklist for
Free and Fair Elections in Zambia
The Zambia National Women's Lobby (May 2006)

Pre-election

- Have relevant international instruments been ratified?
- Are international instruments localized ?
- Are special provisions available to promote affirmative action in the National Gender Policy
- Has a Strategic Plan been developed to implement the national gender policy
- Have any of the following factors influenced the country's ratification or adoption of agreements:
 - Lack of political will by government?
 - Ignorance of political instruments?
 - Insufficient advocacy on the women's agenda?

Constitutional Framework

- Constitution stipulates that the electoral system must guarantee full participation of all citizens including women?
- Constitution has a mandate to domesticate international and regional treaties?
- Constitution entrenches elimination of discrimination against women?

- Language of the Constitution is gender-sensitive?
- Language of Constitution is user-friendly?

Legal Framework: Electoral Law

- Law establishing the Electoral Commission provides for equality of opportunity between women and men in the selection and appointment of office bearers and decision-makers at all levels?
- Law provides for the right of every woman and man to participate in all activities of the election process?
- Law provides for an election code and for its enforcement?
- Law clearly outlines responsibilities of the different actors in the electoral process?
- Law clearly outlines possibility of both men and women to contest electoral results when their rights have been violated?
- Law is well publicized and known by all stakeholders?
- Electoral Act makes provisions for political parties to have a gender-positive Constitution and Manifesto in order to be eligible to register as a political party?

Political Violence and Intimidation

- Law has clear provisions against violence including sexual harassment?
- Law provides for conflict resolution and management mechanisms?
- Violence experienced during the pre-election period?

Civic and Voter Education

- Electoral commission has a mandate to carry out/or coordinate civic and voter education activities?
- If answer to 1 is yes, is the civic and voter education gender sensitive?

- Do civic education and voter education target both women and men?

Nomination Process

- Nomination process is easy to understand for all interested candidates?
- Nomination process disadvantage women in any way?
- Candidates particularly women face any violence or intimidation during the nomination process?

Campaign Process

- Does the law have clear provisions against electoral corruption and other malpractices?
- Can the Electoral Commission guarantee the rights of party members' candidates and voters especially women with respect to their rights to safety and property during election campaign rallies?
- Is the campaign period free of violence and intimidation, especially of women?

Media

- Frequent and quality coverage of women contestants by governments and private media in the manner that is not gender stereotyped?
- Media has code of conduct that:
- Recognizes gender equality as an important aspect of democracy and commits to accordingly report on this in an election?
- Commits to reporting on all women candidates at least as frequently as it reports on men candidates?
- Provides for women and men to be accorded equal opportunity to present their campaign messages?

- Recognizes gender issues such as domestic violence and discriminatory laws and practices as important electoral issues?

Institutional Framework: Electoral Commission's structure

- Do the selection procedures and appointments for decision-makers and officers provide for equal opportunity for women and men?
- Does the Electoral Commission have independent and autonomous powers?
- Does the Electoral Commission have set targets for gender equality, i.e. monitoring indicators etc?
- Is there a visible and transparent mechanism for dialogue between the ECJ and electoral stakeholders?
- Is the Electoral Office accountable to electoral stakeholders?

Registration of Voters

- Is information on registration available to every woman and man in every locality?
- Are the registration forms available legible?
- Can registration centres be safely accessed by women with babies, pregnant women and aged women and men?
- Did the time allocated for registration take account of busy work schedules? Was it flexible enough to allow for early and late times for registration?
- Were illiterate women and men or those who have difficulty in communication enabled to register?
- Did the voter register indicate sex of registered voters?
- How many women registered to vote?
- How many men registered to vote?

Enforcement of the Electoral Process: Law enforcement agencies (e.g. Police, Anti Corruption Commission, Human Rights Commission; Drug Enforcement Commission etc).

- Did the following stakeholders adhere to the electoral code of Conduct?
- Law enforcement officers
- Political parties and their candidates
- The Electorate
- Monitors
- Was there a tendency for law enforcement officers to be biased towards a particular party?
- Do people know which laws protect them from electoral malpractice?
- Is gender awareness among law enforcers high?
- Evidence of police bias in issuing notices for public rallies?
- Easy to collect evidence of corruption and other forms of electoral malpractice?
- Were mechanisms in place to manage conflicts before, during, and after elections?
- Is there a clear mechanism to coordinate enforcement?

Political Parties

- Constitutions of each political party incorporate gender equality to ensure equal representation and participation of women in all decision-making structures at all levels as well as in the activities of the party?
- Visible recognition of women's achievements and gender issues within political parties?
- Political parties adopt processes that are democratic and transparent for parish council and general elections?
- Political parties include commitments to promote gender quality

among their priority issues in their manifestos and campaign platforms?

- Political parties have awareness building programmes specifically for women, to enhance their capacity, understand the agenda of the party and build their confidence etc?
- Political parties have set norms and standards to promote the position of women in their party, and to prevent sexual harassment and sexual abuse of women?
- Did any of the following political party behaviours impact negatively on women's participation in politics?
 - Late adoption of candidates?
 - Founder syndrome? /tradition?
 - Poor civic education and mobilisation around issues of national importance?
 - Women not understanding and contributing to the party's political ideology?
 - Women in the party not able to effectively articulate gender issues and advocate for a gender agenda?
 - Lack of clear methodology to mainstream gender into Political processes?
 - Patronage system exists and there is concentration of appointment powers is centralized?
 - Unclear role of women's arms of the party?
 - Unsupportive attitudes from party hierarchy?
 - Low and weak representation of women at executive level?
 - Evidence of tribal politics impacting on women's participation?
 - Weak strategies for increasing women appointment as candidates for MPs and councillors?
 - Poor funding of political parties.

Election Phase – Procedures for Voting

- Facilitates persons with special needs on Election Day?
- Are voting centres close to majority of people?

- Ballot papers are printed in large size and photos of persons for whom the electorate is voting, are clearly marked for semi-literate and illiterate women and men to enable them to cast their vote?
- Is the right to vote in secret preserved for all citizens regardless of sex?
- Were women candidates enabled to be well represented by their agents to allow them to verify the fairness of the election?
- Is safety of women after dark an issue?
- Did errors in the voters list prevent many vulnerable people from voting?
- Are polling stations placed in safe areas, free from violence?
- Is there a visible presence of women as election officials?
- Was any violence experienced on Election Day?

Post Election Phase

- Did an increased number of polling stations create any difference in voter registration?
- Did the voter registration process especially commit to involving women?
- Did the results indicate how many women, men and young men and women voted?
- Was there any violence in the immediate post election period?

Women's Participation in Elections

- Evidence of lack assertiveness on the part of women?
- Evidence of social and cultural constraints?
- Evidence that women lacked education and awareness?
- Evidence that women lacked resources for campaigning?
- Evidence of lack of community support?
- Appointing authorities are male-dominated?
- Multiple roles of women?
- Lack of transparency in the nominating process?

Civic and Voter Education

- Did civil and voter education contribute in any way to increased voter participation particularly of women?
- Has civic education achieved the desired impact in terms of women's participation in elections?
- If civic education has had a poor impact, is it because of:
 - Use of ill trained volunteers?
 - Inability to reach all the corners of the country?
 - It focuses insufficiently on the pre-election period?
 - Lack of gender mainstreaming or monitoring tools?
 - Lack of sex disaggregated data on leadership within monitoring structures?
 - Lack of follow-up on gaps emerging from monitoring?¹

1. The Zambia Checklist also had a section on "Cooperating Partners" but this was not considered relevant to the Caribbean context and was therefore not included.

Contributors

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