CARICOM SECRETARIAT



REGIONAL SPECIAL TOPIC MONOGRAPH

on

Gender and Development Issues



Based on Analysis of the 2000 Round Census Data of Eighteen Caribbean Countries

Prepared by:

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CARICOM CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (CCDP)

In collaboration with the

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FOREWORD

The Caribbean Community Council of Ministers, acting on the advice and recommendations of the Standing Committee of Caribbean Statisticians (SCCS), in February 2000, approved the use of a regionally coordinated approach for the 2000 Round of Population and Housing Censuses. The strategy included an activity on the **Analysis and Dissemination of Census Data and Results**, which comprised the preparation of National Census Reports (NCRs) and Regional Special Topic Monographs (RSTMs).

Fourteen Member States and four Associate Members participated in the programme. The participation of these countries in the Regional Census programme was in recognition of the value and economy of regional co-operation and coordination in executing the Censuses and for the production of comparable, high quality socio-economic data, useful in planning, and improving the quality of life and in achieving overall progress of the peoples of the Region.

The topics for the RSTM were: Gender and Development Issues; The Elderly; Children and Youth; Economic Activity, Education and Training; and International Migration. The RSTMs were undertaken by writers from within and outside of the region.

The RSTM publication, "2000 Round of Population and Housing Census of the Caribbean Community: Gender and Development Issues" was written by Dr. Leith Dunn, Head, Centre for Gender and Development Studies, Mona Campus, UWI, Jamaica and Alicia Mondesire, International Research Consultant and was reviewed by two reviewers: Prof. Chukwudum Uche, Professor of Sociology, Psychology and Social Work, UWI, Mona, Jamaica and Dr. Godfrey St. Bernard of the Sir Arthur Lewis Institute for Social and Economic Studies (SALISES), UWI, St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago. The tables for the Report were generated by Mr. Wendell Thomas, Data Processing Consultant of Trinidad and Tobago as well as by the staff of the CARICOM Secretariat. The final draft of the publication was reviewed by the CARICOM Secretariat.

The analysis of the Census was funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) through the CARICOM Capacity Development Programme (CCDP). The CCDP was designed as a strategic response to key trends and emerging priorities in the CARICOM environment with the objective of promoting the economic and social development of CARICOM through the deepening of the regional integration process. The overall aim of the CCDP was the strengthening of the institutional capacity of CARICOM to provide leadership in the regional integration process, and the enhancing of the implementation capacity of the CARICOM Secretariat to achieve clear results in core programme areas.

Specifically, the outputs of the Census Statistics Sub-Project under the CCDP were to lead to improved development planning in Member Countries and in the Region through the use of the census data and information. The deliverables comprised eighteen (18) National Census Reports; five (5) Regional Special Topic Monographs; a volume of Basic Tables; training of personnel in

demographic analysis through a seven-week workshop facilitated by UWI; and the establishment of an online facility to enable access to census data by users for analysis, research, policy formulation and decision-making.

The Census Data Analysis project was aimed at filling the gap existing in the Region and specifically within the national statistical systems in the area of demographic and population analysis, thereby enabling its use in policy and decision-making. Statisticians are in short supply in the Region and the area of demography is even more severely affected. The Census Data Analysis project provided a *common framework* for enabling comparability of the demographic transition and population characteristics across Member States based on the elements outlined in the content of the National Census Report. The process of preparing the reports also allowed for quality checks on data, with the support of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean (UNECLAC).

A major challenge that persists is that of having clean data sets for analysis. To mitigate these data challenges, a series of four training courses is being undertaken to train personnel in the Region, with the first one funded out of the CCDP and the remaining three from a multi-programme technical assistance project, with funds received from the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB). In addition, a short course for senior officials from statistical officers was also undertaken with CDB funding.

It is hoped that this Monograph on the Gender and Development issues will benefit the countries through providing analysis with regard to the gender differentials in population size, poverty, education and training, dependency, economic activity and other critical characteristics from a gender perspective that are important to aid the formulation of policy and decision-making, both public and private, such as government officials, researchers, academics, members of the business community and civil society. Furthermore, the experience gained, together with the efforts to strengthen capacity, will equip the Region to analyse the results of the 2010 Census.

The CARICOM Secretariat takes this opportunity to thank all persons and organisations who have been associated with this Statistics project.

signed

LOLITA APPLEWHAITE SECRETARY-GENERAL (ag) CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY

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The CARICOM Secretariat also wishes to acknowledge the following contributors: the Consultant writers, Dr. Leith Dunn and Alicia Mondesire who were responsible for preparing the Monograph for CARICOM; Prof. Chukwudum Uche and Dr. Godfrey St. Bernard who were the Census Data Analysis Consultants (CDAC) responsible for reviewing the first and final drafts, preparing guidelines for writers; Mr. Wendell Thomas, Consultant, who was the main data processing resource used in the production of the tabulations. All four Consultants gave of their valuable time in the production of this publication.

The CARICOM Secretariat acknowledges the hard work and commitment displayed by the Staff of the Regional Statistics, Programme, past and present as well as by other staff of the Secretariat, throughout the preparation of this publication.

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Mrs. Valerie Nam and Mr. Wendell Thomas assisted us with preparation of the tables; Mr. Daniel Townsend provided research assistance for the section on HIV and AIDS and Ms. Suzanne M. Charles formatted the text, tables and figures for the monograph. We are thankful for their vital contributions to this effort.

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Leith Dunn and Alicia Mondesire

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

1.	ARV	Antiretroviral (Drug)
2.	CAREC	Caribbean Epidemiology Centre
3.	CARICOM	Caribbean Community
4.	CCNAPC	Caribbean Coalition of National AIDS Programme Coordinators
5.	CDB	Caribbean Development Bank
6.	CDC US	Centre for Disease Control and Prevention
7.	CDERA	Caribbean Disaster and Emergency Relief Agency
8.	CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
9.	CGCED	Caribbean Group on Cooperation in Economic Development
10.	CHRC	Caribbean Health Research Council
11.	CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
12.	CMC	CAREC Member Countries
13.	CRC	The Convention on the Rights of the Child
14.	CRN^+	Caribbean Regional Network of People Living with HIV/AIDS
15.	CSEC	Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate
16.	CSW	Commercial Sex Workers
17.	CXC	Caribbean Examinations Council
18.	DAC	Development Assistance Committee
19.	DPU	Development Planning Unit
20.	FBO	Faith Based Organizations
21.	GAD	Gender and Development
22.	GDI	Gender Development Index
23.	GDP	Gross Domestic Product
24.	GRF	Gender Roles Framework
25.	ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
26.	IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
27.	IGDS	The Institute of Gender and Development Studies (University of the West Indies)
28.	ILO	International Labour Organization
29.	ISDR	International Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction
30.	LFS	Labour Force Surveys
31.	LSMS	Living Standards Measurement Surveys

32.	MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
33.	MICS	Multi Indicator Cluster Surveys
34.	NA	Data Not Available
35.	OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
36.	OECS	Organization of Eastern Caribbean States
37.	PAHO	Pan American Health Organization
38.	PANCAP	Pan Caribbean Partnership Against HIV/AIDS
39.	PCU	PANCAP Coordinating Unit
40.	PLWHA	People living with HIV and AIDS
41.	PWD	Persons with disabilities
42.	RSTM	Regional Special Topic Monographs
43.	SRF	Social Relations Framework
44.	UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
45.	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
46.	(UN)ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
47.	UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
48.	UNGASS	United Nations General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS
49.	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
50.	USAID	United States Agency for International Development
51.	WHO	World Health Organization
52.	WID	Women in Development

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This Gender Monograph identifies and analyses sex and gender differentials in data from the year 2000 Round of Population and Housing Census in 18 Commonwealth Caribbean states, fourteen of which are CARICOM Member States and four Associate Members of CARICOM. Using gender as a tool for analysis, the study examines sex disaggregated data to describe trends in eight categories: demography, education and training, union status and religion, economic empowerment, housing, various dimensions of vulnerability, crime and violence, and governance. The analysis was conduced by computing and statistically comparing gender differentials as indicators of the relative advantage or disadvantage associated with the particular gender characteristic.

The evidence emerging from the analysis was used to make recommendations related to policies, programmes and further research; as well as suggestions to collect more disaggregated data from the census. Trends were examined within countries and results were compared across countries. Inferences were drawn on the implications of trends observed across countries. Similarities were noted which may have related to geographical, economic, cultural, ethnic or other factors. Efforts were made to corroborate data with published data from secondary sources. The scope of the census defined the type of data that could be analysed. The regional scope of the research, covering comparative data for 18 countries, delivers an analysis which is broad rather than deep. It excludes examination of differences within each country that could be explained by comparing, for example, rural and urban differences.

1.1 Scope and Methodology

This Gender Monograph covers 14 CARICOM member states and four Associated States. The member states are: Antigua and Barbuda, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominican, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago. The Associated States are: Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands and the Turks and Caicos Islands.

These countries reflect considerable geographical, historical and cultural diversity which influence gender relations at the national level. The group includes large land masses such as Guyana and Suriname in South America, Belize in Central America, and island states from Bermuda in the Atlantic to Trinidad and Tobago in the South Caribbean. They share a common history of British colonialism and are members of the Commonwealth. The economies of these countries share important similarities but also a diversity which has an effect on gender relations. All are open economies affected by globalization.

The study presents findings from the gender analysis of the 2000 Round of Censuses.

Where data were available, a comparison was made with census data from the 1990/1991 Round of Censuses which was analysed in the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) publication entitled "An Analysis of Census Data in CARICOM Countries From a Gender Perspective" (Mondesire and Dunn 1997).

The study examines trends and assesses progress on some key gender equality indicators which provide a useful guide to analyzing existing policies and making recommendations to enable Caribbean states to achieve their goal of becoming developed countries in the 21st Century.

1.2 Structure of the Gender Monograph

Chapter 1 defines key concepts and methods, outlines the main theoretical frameworks and briefly reviews the literature on gender and development. This provides a framework for analyzing and interpreting data from the 2000 Round of Censuses from a gender perspective. It also assesses the extent to which Caribbean countries have strengthened their political commitment to gender equality and human rights by ratifying relevant regional and international conventions and agreements. The political commitment to these agreements is also assessed by examining whether and to what extent countries have fulfilled their reporting requirements to the relevant human rights committees which monitor progress in achieving agreed goals and targets. Trends in legislative changes to support gender equality are also highlighted. Chapter 1 concludes with an overview of some of the main gender and development issues facing the Caribbean as part of the context for interpreting the census data, and proposes recommendations to promote the gender equality policy agenda for the 21st Century.

Chapter 2 answers two questions: What have been the major demographic changes since the last census? What are the implications for gender policy and planning to promote gender equality? The chapter therefore presents a gender analysis of selected demographic data from the 2000 Census Round and compares this w0ith trends noted in the 1990/1991 Census Round. This includes a gender assessment of the size, distribution and growth of the population, dependency ratios, and changes in household headship. It complements information provided in other RSTMs in this series such as ageing and migration. Its main contribution is a gender analysis that can be used for policy development and planning to support gender equality and the empowerment of women.

Chapter 3 examines emerging trends in the 2000 Round of Censuses related to education and training to answer two questions: What are the emerging trends in relation to gender, education and training? What are the implications for policy and programming especially in light of the global economic and financial crisis, the creation of a Caribbean Single Market and Economy and the challenges associated with a rapidly changing and competitive global trade environment? The chapter explores changes in educational performance by gender over the 10 year period and draws attention to the countries where gender differentials expanded or narrowed.

Chapter 4 examines recent demographic trends in the 2000 Round of Censuses, to answer the following questions: Have trends in gender, union status, and religion changed since the last census? 'What are the implications for policy and planning?

Chapter 5 uses the census data to explore the question: Are women more economically empowered?

Chapter 6 answers three questions: Do women have greater access to housing and has the quality of housing improved? How does limited property ownership affect women's ability to leverage financial resources, and what are the implications for household poverty? Has the number of women who were homeowners in the last census increased?

Chapter 7 explores issues related to gender and vulnerability and answers the question: What are the main vulnerabilities from a gender perspective?

Chapter 8 examines the links between gender, crime and violence, and reflects on the economic factors affecting all forms of violence, and gender based violence in particular.

Chapter 9 considers gender and governance and answers the question: Is there more gender equality in political participation at national and local government levels? What are possible factors influencing gender and public decision-making?

Chapter 10 draws conclusions from the analysis of the previous chapters, and makes recommendations to strengthen data collection and analysis for the 2010 round of censuses.

1.3 Data Sources and Limitations

Data from the 2000 Round of Population and Housing Censuses for the 18 Caribbean countries have been used to prepare most of the tables presented in this study. The census was conducted in different years among this group of countries: five countries conducted their census in 2000 (The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bermuda, and Trinidad and Tobago). In 2001 eleven countries conducted their census: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, the British Virgin Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, and St Vincent and the Grenadines. Guyana's census was done in 2002 and Suriname's in 2004.

The study also used a wide range of secondary sources of published demographic data on the various countries. These included: national census reports for Caribbean states; publications of international development agencies such as the United Nations and the Commonwealth; regional development institutions such as CARICOM and the Caribbean Development Bank; and relevant websites on the World Wide Web which included Central Statistical Offices of Caribbean countries.

Comparison with data from the 1990 Census Round posed a number of challenges as this earlier Round did not include data for some countries represented in the 2000 Census Round. Some countries also had missing data. Where this occurred a note was made in the relevant tables.

Lack of universal harmonization of concepts and definitions raised the possibility that comparisons made are not always accurate. There were also challenges in accessing data, and not all tables requested could be generated.

These limitations notwithstanding, the data presented will prove useful in preparing for the 2010 Round of censuses to ensure more accurate and complete data sets, and more timely access to the census data for analysis. It will also help to guide policy and programme interventions.

1.4 Definitions and Conceptual Framework

The concept of gender has become increasing important and its use as a tool for social analysis has become more widespread. Understanding how roles, identities and characteristics of masculinity and femininity vary across time and socio-economic status provides a context and framework for interpreting census data. These factors affect most if not all aspects of life such as life expectancy, work and occupation, education choices and outcomes, as well as political status, personal relationships and sexual behaviors of women and men.

The Monograph uses gender as a social construct that defines roles and identities associated with masculinity and femininity as well as relations between and within groups of women and men. It also examines gender analysis frameworks and gender analysis as tool to interpret census data and data from social surveys. Readers are encouraged to consult the other Regional Special Regional Topic Monographs (RSTMs) in this series such as ageing, migration, education and employment, for complementary and at times more in-depth analysis of the issues covered.

Definitions

What exactly is gender, and is it the same as sex? Despite its use as a concept by academics, policy makers and planners for several decades, there is still ambiguity, ignorance and widespread confusion about the term 'gender'. Many people incorrectly use it as being synonymous with sex, which describes biological characteristics between males and females.

Mead's definition of gender describes the social roles, attitudes, values and behaviour that societies impose on males and females that define appropriate behaviour and work for each sex. (Mead 1935). These characteristics vary across class, race, ethnicity, and nationality. Gender is therefore a social construct, which changes over time, and across cultures. Sex describes the physiological and biological differences between men and women which usually do not change. As a result of differences in gender roles, gender inequalities develop that impact on various facets of human development such as socio-economic status, and differential levels of access to power and decision-making between groups of men and women.

Barriteau (1998) defines gender as "complex systems of social and personal relations though which women and men are socially constructed and maintained and through which they gain access to, or are allocated status, power and material resources within society". (Eudine Barriteau 1998: p.188).

Reddock (2000) also notes that gender can be defined as "socially constructed identities as reflected in behaviours, attitudes and power relations between women and men and reflected in notions of femininity and masculinity. (Rhoda Reddock 2000: p.2). Kate Young's definition notes that women's and men's social identities are socially constructed rather than based on biological characteristics. (Kate Young 1988, p.88).

Gender roles, tasks and responsibilities are socially ascribed and create a *sexual or gender division of labour* which is based on social values and norms which prescribe what is and is not considered acceptable behavior for each sex. Historically this *sexual division of labour* has been inequitable as tasks ascribed to men and boys are often valued more highly than those assigned to women and girls.

The unequal sexual division of labour in the household is also evident in public life and contributes to a distinction between waged (paid) work and unwaged (unpaid/care-giving) work. Traditional gender roles ascribe the males the role of provider and protector of their family, and females the main role of caregiver for the young, sick and elderly members of the family.

These gender roles influence development experiences and outcomes for both males and females as a higher value is given to waged work, and a lower value given to unwaged work in the household. Many social, political and economic 'spaces' are defined as appropriate for either males or females and are maintained by sanctions and rewards. Invisible barriers also known as "glass ceilings" exist that prevent women or men moving across these spaces. These barriers may be structural (such as laws) or may be attitudes and values that negatively affect women and in some cases also affect men. For example, occupational stereotypes determine what jobs are considered appropriate for either women or men, and may undermine an individual's ability to find work.

Gender inequalities are part of a social and economic system in which structures and practices tend to privilege males and support male power and dominance as the 'natural' or 'normal' order of society. This form of patriarchy contributes to gender inequalities which limit the rights and abilities of some groups of women and girls to the same opportunities as some groups of men and boys, barring them from achieving their social economic and political goals. Gender inequalities also work against men and boys, denying them access to some forms of education and work considered feminine.

Gender analysis is a process used to measure the extent and impact of gender differences. It involves the collection and analysis of data (including census data) that provides visibility about the differential impact that policies, programmes and actions have on groups of women and men in any society. Gender analysis also enables policy makers and planners to understand how factors such as race/colour/ethnicity; class; geographic location (e.g. urban/rural differences); age and disability can impact on an individual's access to resources and benefits. In addition, gender analysis helps to show the differential outcomes of an intervention on groups of males and females. Carrière (1995) notes that:

"Gender analysis is focused not just on outcomes but on the concepts arguments and language used to justify policy. How needs are interpreted and discussed is intrinsic to policy development... Gender analysis should focus on whether the policy "talk" challenges or reinforces existing power structures based on gender." (Elizabeth Carrière, 1995).

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¹ Elizabeth Carrière (1995) Seeing is Believing: Educating Through a Gender Lens." In Gender –Based Analysis: A guide for policy making. Ottawa: Status of Women Canada.

According to CIDA, "Gender analysis refers to the variety of methods used to understand the relationships between men and women, their access to resources, their activities, and the constraints they face relative to each other. Gender analysis provides information that recognizes that gender, and its relationship with race, ethnicity, culture, class, age, disability, and/or other status, is important in understanding the different patterns of involvement, behaviour and activities that women and men have in economic, social and legal structures." (CIDA, 2009)

The process of gender analysis generally involves identifying an issue, defining its desired outcomes, defining the information and consultation inputs, conducting research, defining and analyzing options, making decisions, communicating policy and assessing the quality of analysis.² However it can also be used as a tool to analyse sex disaggregated data such as that collected in a census, and this analysis can guide policy development to promote gender equality.

Gender Mainstreaming, a process and strategy whose use has become increasingly widespread since the 1990/1991 Round of Censuses, integrates gender in national polices and programmes to support equitable development. Its use is evident in the vast literature on development emanating from international agencies such as the United Nations, the Commonwealth Secretariat, from regional bodies such as CARICOM and the Organisation of American States, as well as among Caribbean member states, academics and civil society organisations. Its scope of use has broadened to include social sectors (e.g. health/HIV and AIDS; education; disaster management); in economic sectors (e.g. gender budgeting, agriculture) as well as in national development policy and planning (e.g. "Vision 2020 Strategic Plan for Trinidad and Tobago and "Vision 2030 Jamaica".). National Gender Machineries across the Caribbean have been promoting gender mainstreaming as a tool of social analysis and as a 'best practice' to achieve equitable outcomes.

International, regional and national commitments to gender equality are also evident in global human rights conventions that many Caribbean countries have ratified and consensus documents. These include the 1994 Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo, and the 2000 Millennium Declaration with the adoption of eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) agreed by 189 countries to be achieved by the year 2015. MDG Goal #3 specifically promotes "gender quality and the empowerment of women". A five year review of the MDGs led to the agreement that gender was a cross-cutting issue and should be integrated to achieve all eight MDGs which include: poverty reduction, universal access to primary education, the reduction of HIV/AIDS, the reduction of maternal and child mortality, the promotion of sustainable development and commitments to strengthen global partnerships to support development.

WID and GAD are strategies used to reverse gender inequality, reflecting a progression from Women in Development (WID) to Gender and Development (GAD). While the WID approach sought to integrate women into the development process through targeted interventions, the GAD approach took account of a broad range of socio-economic and political issues, and interrogated the unequal power relationships between women and men.

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²CIDA Gender based analysis: A Guide for Policy-Making (1996)

Conceptual Frameworks

In the 1990/91 publication, "An Analysis of Census Data in CARICOM Countries From a Gender Perspective", a number of analytical frameworks were presented and used for the data analysis. Included were the Gender Roles Framework (GRF), the Development Planning Unit (DPU), the Social Relations Framework (SRF) Gender and Macroeconomics and Alternative Analytical/Training Frameworks. Since then, there has emerged a more concerted focus on thematic distinctions in gender analysis, notably in the financial, health, education and agricultural sectors, and more recently the environment. As well, efforts have been made to customize frameworks for specific geographic and cultural environments.

Equally diverse in their approach as in their focus, these frameworks vary in whether they are project-based, institution-based, or community driven; and whether they are integrative or transformative. Longwe, for example, argues that women's oppression is rooted in poverty, and that the route to escape this oppression is political empowerment through greater participation in and control over the political process (Longwe 1998). This model for the analysis, known as the Women's Empowerment Framework, was useful in Chapter 9 for analyzing the restrictions and opportunities affecting women's political participation. The Gender Analysis Matrix, developed by Rani Parker in 1993, promoted community participation, and the involvement of the people who are the focus of the analysis in shaping the process (Parker 1993). Participatory approaches are useful in gender analysis as they create openings for women and men to express their concerns and to fashion ways of addressing gender inequality issues. This applies in institutional settings as well as in projects, where participatory styles of planning and decision-making can more readily give women a voice.

Another important qualifier is the scope of the focus, whether on women as a targeted group, or on both genders. It has been noted that gender analysis frameworks have not been widely used to identify male issues (Leach 2003). This raises the question of how appropriate are the frameworks in use to the particular issues faced in the Caribbean, especially in light of perceptions of male marginalization.

1.5 Conclusion

As a data base is essential to all the frameworks to set the baseline and to measure changes over time, the census data continue to play a critical part of the assessment and critique of the movement towards gender equality. As governments in the Caribbean continue to assign more importance to monitoring and evaluating the progress towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals and other international commitments, there is increasing scope for census data to be utilized in core planning and decision-making processes.

Table 1.1: Gender Analytical Frameworks

Gender Roles Framework	 Household based analysis Emphasis on role differentiation Access to and control over resources Disaggregated of data 	IntegrationistProject level
Development Planning Unit (DPU) Framework	 Household and community-based analysis Triple roles Strategic and practical needs Access to and control over resources 	 Some critique of the market Project and sectoral level
Social Relations Framework	 Gender relations are constructed around the institutions of the household, community, state, market, development institutions Intersection of race, calls ethnicity, relation and gender Gender relations can be conflictual and cooperative Equalization of economic social, and political power between genders 	 Agenda setting Market critique
Gender and macroeconomics framework-neoclassical	 Households and markets are units of analysis Gender-differentiated roles Access to and control over resources Reproductive work hinders women's choices 	 Integrationist Macroeconomic and sectoral
Gender and macroeconomics framework-critical economics	 Households, communities markets, states, development institutions Structural adjustment policies Reproductive labour not in macroeconomic analysis 	 Agenda setting Macroeconomic and sectoral

Source: Adapted from Razavi and Miller (1997).

CHAPTER 2

GENDER AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

2.1 Introduction: Caribbean Population Structure

This chapter identifies and analyses sex differentials in some critical variables in the Population and Housing Census for the 2000 Round of Censuses, and compares the findings with data from the 1990 Round of Censuses. Non-census data from secondary sources are then used as supporting evidence to explain these differentials, which are interpreted using various explanatory frameworks and theories outlined in Chapter 1. Gender issues related to migration and ageing are only highlighted in this gender monograph as these issues are the focus of two other Regional Special Topic Monographs (RSTMs). Readers are therefore referred to these monographs for more detailed analysis of the issues.

The Population and Housing Census is an important source of sex disaggregated demographic indicators which provides valuable insights into changes in population and housing status of males and females between censuses. Gender analysis of this data provides valuable insight into gender differentials that can contribute to the development of more effective policies and programmes, and can guide decision-making for a better 'return on investment' of scarce human and resources. It also assists governments as duty bearers to create an enabling environment for individual citizens as rights holders to support their development.

This chapter examines gender differentials for the following demographic variables:

- 1. Population size and sex distribution
- 2. Distribution of the adult population (15 years and over) by sex
- 3. Household headship by sex
- 4. Dependency ratios by sex

Gender analysis of these core demographic variables provides visibility to gender differentials and offers possible explanation. This information can be used to guide social and economic policy, especially in the areas of health, education and social services. This analysis also provides insights into gender differentials related to the socio-cultural and religious diversity of the Caribbean, which have implications for family structures, reproductive health policies as well as education which are examined in later chapters. Readers are also encouraged to examine other Regional Special Topic Monographs in this series.

2.2 Gender Differentials in Population Size, Distribution and Growth

Population growth rates are influenced by changes in fertility, mortality and migration. Data from the 2000 Population Round of census shows that the total population of the 18 Caribbean countries was 6.5 million compared to 5.5 for the 1990 Round. The increase of 1 million persons for the sixteen Caribbean countries represents an average annual rate of growth of 0.9 per cent. The countries with the highest growth rates in rank order were: Turks and Caicos Islands (5.5 per cent) the British Virgin Islands (3.6 per cent) the Bahamas (2.6 per cent) and Belize (2.2 per cent). Some 10 countries had an annual average growth rate of less than one per cent. This trend may be the result of migration due to positive economic growth and job opportunities in these countries.

Marginal growth rates were recorded for St Lucia (1.62) and St Kitts/Nevis (1.31). Three countries recorded negative growth rates: Montserrat, Dominica and St Vincent and the Grenadines. The section below provides a more detailed analysis of these trends. The negative population growth for Montserrat is explained by the eruptions of the Soufriere volcano which began in 1995 that destroyed a large section of the island and contributed to a mass exodus to the United Kingdom. The negative growth rates for Dominica and St Vincent and the Grenadines may also be linked to out-migration as a result of the decimation of the male-dominated export banana industry since 1992. This resulted from challenges in the World Trade Organisation, to guaranteed quotas for banana exports to the United Kingdom from the Caribbean. As bananas were a mono-crop and were the mainstay of the Windward Island economies, the lack of economic alternatives may have contributed to males migrating to other countries.

Table 1 presents data from the 2000 Round of Censuses in 14 Caribbean Member States and 4 Associated Member countries. The population of sixteen countries represented 92 per cent of the total population with Jamaica having the largest population and Montserrat having the smallest. The data show that the total population size was 6,548,546, comprised of 3,303,678 females (50.45 per cent) and 3,244,668 males (49.45 per cent) which is a normal trend for most countries. There were more females than males in 11 countries: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Grenada, Jamaica, St Lucia, St Kitts and Nevis and the Turks and Caicos Islands.

However, seven countries had more males than females: Belize, Dominica, Guyana, Montserrat, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago. The larger number of females than males in the total population is consistent with global demographic trends and result from higher infant mortality rates for males than for females although more males are born. It also reflects higher mortality rates for males and longer life expectancy for females. Some of the differentials are explained by gender socialization which defines ideal Caribbean masculinity as hegemonic characterized by aggressive, high risk behavior, and with lower patterns of health-seeking behavior for males than for females.

Population sizes varied. Countries with the largest populations in rank order were: Jamaica with a population of 2,607,632, which accounted for 39.82 per cent of the region's population.

Trinidad and Tobago ranked second with a population of 1,262,366, (19.28 per cent); Guyana ranked third with 751,233 persons (11.47 per cent); and Suriname ranked fourth with 492,464 (7.52 per cent). The other member states accounted for 21.91 per cent of the region's population. Montserrat had the smallest population (4,303 persons) representing less than one per cent of the total population for the 18 Caribbean countries.

The sex ratio of populations also varied. Among the 11 countries with a deficit of males, nine had deficits of over three percent and of these, two countries (Grenada and Guyana) had deficits of over 10 per cent. The three countries with the largest deficit of males in the 2000 Round were: Antigua and Barbuda (-6.07), Barbados (-4.06) Bermuda (-3.91) and the Bahamas (-2.69). Explanations for this trend include migration patterns as these countries were recipients of migrant workers to fill gaps in the labour market. The booming tourism sector in Antigua and Barbuda, Bermuda and the Bahamas resulted in an increase in female migrants from other Caribbean countries working in the hospitality sector of these countries. It may also reflect a trend for professional women from poorer Caribbean countries such as Jamaica, who are recruited to work as teachers and nurses in the education and health sectors respectively, to fill staffing gaps in these sectors. The influx of these workers may be a factor contributing to the increased number of females. (ECLAC 1993).

In the 2000 Round, there were also seven countries with an excess of males and these were: Montserrat; St Vincent and the Grenadines, Guyana, Suriname, Dominica and Belize and Trinidad and Tobago. The trend, when compared with data for 1990, showed an increase in the number of countries with more males than females. In comparison, data for the 1990 Round show that only three countries had an excess of males in the population: Belize, Turks and Caicos Islands and the British Virgin Islands. Belize therefore emerged as the only country that has consistently had more males than females for the two censuses. Tables 2.1 and 2.2 present the data for 2000 and 1990.

Table 2.1 shows that in the inter-censal period, the percentage of women increased in the following countries: Antigua and Barbuda, Belize, Bermuda and the British Virgin Islands. It also shows that the percentage declined in: the Bahamas, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica St Lucia, St Kitts and Nevis, St Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago. In rank order, the three countries with the greatest decline were: Montserrat (- 5.61), Grenada (-5.19 and Guyana (-4.89). These three countries have had major natural and or economic disasters and the decline may be related to increased migration of women in search of improved economic opportunities.

Table 2:1: Changes in % of Women 1990 and 2000 for countries with available data for both periods

Countries	1990	2000	Change
Antigua & Barbuda	52.59	54.17	1.58
The Bahamas	52.20	51.99	-0.22
Barbados	52.89	52.79	-0.10
Belize	49.52	49.92	0.41
Bermuda	51.89	52.37	0.49
British Virgin Islands	48.46	50.54	2.09
Dominica	50.39	49.76	-0.63
Grenada	55.61	50.42	-5.19
Guyana	55.25	50.36	-4.89
Jamaica	51.71	51.50	-0.22
Montserrat	50.92	45.41	-5.51
Saint Lucia	52.29	50.71	-1.58
St Kitts & Nevis	51.70	51.56	-0.13
St Vincent & the Grenadines	49.83	49.62	-0.20
Trinidad & Tobago	50.31	50.00	-0.31
Total	51.93	51.02	-0.91

The data show that the sex ratio differential was 1.19 between the 1990 and 2000 Rounds of Censuses. The sex ratio was 97.07 in the 1990 Round and 98.22 in the 2000 Round. In the 1990 Round, women were 50.74 per cent of the population and declined to 50.45 per cent in the 2000 Round. The decline in the female population was evident in 10 countries: Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, St Lucia, St Kitts and Nevis, St Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago. The population of females increased in Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Belize, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands and the Turks and Caicos Islands. These trends could be attributed to changes in fertility, mortality or migration patterns.

Table 2.2: Sex Distribution of the Population: 1990

Countries	To	tal Population	Sex ratio*	% Excess/	
	Total	Males	Females	Sex ratio	Deficit males
Antigua & Barbuda	59,347	28,608	30,739	93.07	-3.59
The Bahamas	234,292	114,123	120,169	94.97	-2.58
Barbados	247,288	118,556	128,732	92.10	-4.12
Belize	185,970	93,968	92,002	102.14	1.06
Bermuda	58,460	28,345	30,115	94.12	-3.03
British Virgin Islands	16,115	8,262	7,853	105.21	2.54
Dominica	69,463	34,580	34,883	99.13	-0.44
Grenada	85,123	41,893	43,230	96.91	-1.57
Guyana	701,704	344,928	356,776	96.68	-1.69
Jamaica	2,380,666	1,167,496	1,213,170	96.24	-1.92
Montserrat	10,639	5,290	5,349	98.90	-0.55
Saint Lucia	133,308	64,645	68,663	94.15	-3.01
St Kitts & Nevis	40,618	19,933	20,685	96.36	-1.85
St Vincent & the Grenadines	106,480	53,152	53,328	99.67	-0.17
Trinidad & Tobago	1,213,733	606,388	607,345	99.84	-0.08
Turks & Caicos Islands	11,465	5,837	5,628	103.71	1.82
Total	5,554,671	2,736,004	2,818,667	97.07	-1.49

NOTE: * Males per hundred females and % females of total population The Table excludes data for Anguilla and Suriname

Table 2.3: Population Size and Sex Distribution: 2000

Countries	To	otal Populatio	Sex ratio*	% Excess/	
Countries	Total	Males	Females	Jex ratio	Deficit males
Anguilla	11,430	5,628	5,802	97.00	-1.52
Antigua & Barbuda	63,863	29,992	33,871	88.55	-6.07
The Bahamas	303,611	147,715	155,896	94.75	-2.69
Barbados	250,010	119,927	130,083	92.19	-4.06
Belize	232,111	116,706	115,405	101.13	0.56
Bermuda	62,098	29,834	32,264	92.47	-3.91
British Virgin Islands	23,161	11,436	11,725	97.54	-1.25
Dominica	68,635	34,550	34,085	101.36	0.68
Grenada	86,442	43,089	43,353	99.39	-0.31
Guyana	751,223	376,034	375,189	100.23	0.11
Jamaica	2,607,632	1,283,547	1,324,085	96.94	-1.55
Montserrat	4,303	2,329	1,974	117.98	8.25
Saint Lucia	156,733	76,683	80,050	95.79	-2.15
St Kitts & Nevis	46,325	22,973	23,352	98.38	-0.82
St Vincent & the Grenadines	106,253	53,631	52,622	101.92	0.95
Suriname ¹	492,464	247,846	244,618	101.32	0.66
Trinidad & Tobago	1,262,366	633,051	629,315	100.59	0.30
Turks & Caicos Islands	19,886	9,897	9,989	99.08	-0.46
Total	6,548,546	3,244,868	3,303,678	98.22	-0.90

NOTE: * Males per hundred females

[%] difference between % males of total population and % females of total population

2.3 Population Growth and Sex Distribution

Table 2.4 compares the size of the population for the two census periods. As population data for Anguilla and Suriname were not available for the 1990 Round, the population for the 2000 Round was corrected to exclude these two countries, representing a total population of 6,044,654. When data for the two periods were compared, they show that the population had increased from 5,554,671 in 1990 to 6,044,654. This represented an increase of 489,974 persons or 8.82 per cent. The sex ratio was 50.74 percent females to 49.26 per cent males. The data also show that the sex ratio declined from –1.49 in the 1990 Round to – 0.90 in the 2000 Round, indicating that the gap between males and of females had narrowed between the two censuses, reflecting greater balancing of the sex ratio in most Caribbean countries. This no doubt also reflects trends in mortality and migration patterns among age and sex groups as well as the sex ratio at birth. The data also show that the number of countries with an excess of females in the population and the level of such excesses have greatly decreased between the two census periods. More analysis is required to determine which sex had a higher rate of migration.

The populations of Grenada and Guyana provide clear examples of this change. Ranked 1st and 2nd respectively in 1990 for excess women, Grenada and Guyana shifted in the gender proportions as demonstrated in the 2000 census rankings: they fell to 10th and 11th respectively. In the 2000 Round, their populations assumed sex ratios of 98.32 and 98.56, indicating that the sex distributions were more equal when compared to the 1990 sex ratios of 79.81 and 81 respectively.

The uneven sex distribution of some countries indicates a need for further research. For example, Antigua and Barbuda and Barbados are two countries that have continued to have more males than females between the 1990 Round and the 2000 Round. The data also showed that the population distribution of Montserrat changed from a deficit of -1.85 of males, to an excess of 9.17 of males. This suggests that there was a significant increase in the number of males between the two periods. This is most likely to be unique to country-specific factors such as the volcanic eruption that impacted the sex ratio of the population and the possible influx of males to work in construction following the volcano.

Population Growth Rates

Table 2.4: Population Distribution and Growth between 1990 and 2000 for 16 Caribbean countries

	Population		Changes between 1990–2000			
Country	2000	1990	Number	%	Annual % Rate of Growth	
All Countries	6,044,654	5,554,680	489,974	8.82	0.85	
Antigua and Barbuda	63,863	59,355	4,508	7.59	0.73	
Bahamas	303,611	234,292	69,319	29.59	2.59	
Barbados	250,010	247,288	2,722	1.10	0.11	
Belize	232,111	185,970	46,141	24.81	2.22	
Bermuda	62,098	58,460	3,638	6.22	0.60	
British Virgin Islands	23,161	16,115	7,046	43.72	3.63	
Dominica	68,635	69,463	-828	-1.19	-0.12	
Grenada	86,442	85,123	1,319	1.55	0.15	
Guyana	751,221	701,704	49,517	7.06	0.68	
Jamaica	2,607,632	2,380,667	226,925	9.53	0.91	
Montserrat	4,303	10,639	-6,336	-59.55	-9.05	
St Kitts Nevis	46,325	40,618	5,707	14.05	1.31	
St Lucia	156,736	133,308	23,428	17.57	1.62	
St Vincent and the Grenadines	106,253	106,480	-227	-0.21	-0.02	
Trinidad and Tobago	1,262,366	1,213,733	48,633	4.01	0.39	
Turks and Caicos Islands	19,887	11,465	8,422	73.46	5.51	

NOTE:

The total population for 2000 for the 18 Caribbean states was 6,548,913, but because 1990 data for Anguilla and Suriname were not available, these two countries were excluded from this table.

The source of 1990 data for all countries (except Trinidad and Tobago) was CARICOM 1990-1991 Population and Housing Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean. Volume of Basic Tables for Sixteen CARICOM Countries.

The 1990 and 2000 figures for Trinidad and Tobago were extracted from that country's Central Statistical Office 2000 Population and Housing Census. Demographic Report.

2.4 Fertility, Mortality and Life Expectancy

Data in Table 2.5 show that fertility rates in the Caribbean have declined from 6 to 3 children per woman between 1960 and 1990, and from 4.7 for the period 1975-1980 to 2.8 for the period 1990-1995. The country with the highest fertility rate for the two periods was Belize (6.4 for the first period and 4.4 for the second period. In rank order the other countries with fertility rates of 5 and above in 1970-1975 were St Lucia (5.7) St Vincent and the Grenadines (5.5) Suriname (5.3) and Jamaica (5.5). In comparison by 1990-1995 only Belize had a fertility rate of 4.4 and the rate for Barbados fell lowest to 1.6 children per woman.

Table 2.5: Demographic Indicators for Selected Caribbean Countries: 1970-1995

			RATE	Life	
Countries	Period	Crude Birth	Total Fertility	Crude Death	Expectancy (in years)
All Countries	1970-75	32.2	4.7	8.0	66.0
All Countiles	1990-95	23.3	2.8	6.9	70.5
Bahamas	1970-75	29.3	3.4	6.1	66.5
Dallallias	1990-95	23.7	2.6	6.3	69.2
Barbados	1970-75	20.8	2.7	8.7	69.4
Daibauos	1990-95	14.9	1.6	7.7	74.9
Belize	1970-75	40.2	6.3	7.3	67.6
Belize	1990-95	34.3	4.4	4.9	72.5
Grenada	1970-75	29.1	4.6	8.7	64.6
Grenaua	1990-95	23.4	3.3	9.5	66.5
Jamaica	1970-75	32.5	5.0	8.2	69.0
Jamaica	1990-95	24.8	2.8	7.0	71.8
St Lucia	1970-75	37.9	5.7	8.0	65.3
St Lucia	1990-95	23.8	3.0	6.9	71.3
St Vincent	1970-75	38.2	5.5	10.0	61.6
St vincent	1990-95	23.6	2.8	7.0	69.8
Suriname	1970-75	34.6	5.3	7.5	64.0
	1990-95	22.9	2.6	6.4	68.6
Trinidad and Tabaga	1970-75	27.0	3.5	7.4	65.9
Trinidad and Tobago	1990-95	18.1	2.1	6.8	69.9

Source: United Nations, 2007. World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision Vol I. United Nations New York.

Table 2.5 also shows that the decline in fertility rates has been accompanied by improvements in life expectancy rates. For the Caribbean as a whole, life expectancy increased from 66 years in 1970-1975 to 71 years in 1990-1995. Though not shown in the table, census data show that consistent with global trends, life expectancy for females is higher than for males. Crude death rates also declined for all countries except Grenada for the periods 1970-1975 and 1990-1995.

Table 2.6 below presents fertility rates for 2000-2005 for selected countries. The data show a continued decline in fertility rates, which in most countries had halved between 1970-1975 and 2000-2005. Data on the decline in fertility rates for the periods 1970-1975 and 2000-2005 were as follows: Barbados from 2.7 to 1.5; Belize from 6.3 to 3.4; Grenada from 4.6 to 2.4; Jamaica from 5 to 2.6; St Lucia from 5.7 to 2.2; St Vincent and the Grenadines from 5.5 to 2.3; Suriname from 5.3 to 2.6; and Trinidad and Tobago from 3.5 to 1.6. This represents significant progress in implementing the 1994 Programme of Action of the International Conference of Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo which mandated the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) to ensure reproductive health and rights for all males and females.

Table 2.6: Total Fertility Rates for Selected Caribbean Countries: 1970-1975; 1990/95 and 2000-2005

Countries	Period				
	1970-75	1990-95	2000-05		
Bahamas	3.4	2.6	2.1		
Barbados	2.7	1.6	1.5		
Belize	6.3	4.4	3.4		
Grenada	4.6	3.3	2.4		
Jamaica	5.0	2.8	2.6		
St Lucia	5.7	3.0	2.2		
St Vincent and the Grenadines	5.5	2.8	2.3		
Suriname	5.3	2.6	2.6		
Trinidad and Tobago	3.5	2.1	1.6		

Source: United Nations, 2007. World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision Vol 1. United Nations New York.

Table 2.7 shows that in 2000, the population of persons aged 15 years and over was 4.5 million, composed of 2.2 million males (49.07 %) and 2.3 million females (50.93%). The sex ratio was 96.34 also reflecting a deficit of males (-1.86). The sex ratio in this group was therefore higher than in the wider population which had a sex ratio of -0.90. The country with the largest deficit of males in this age group was Antigua and Barbuda (-8.33) and the one with the smallest deficit was Trinidad and Tobago. (-0.01). The latter reflects almost equal numbers of males and females. Montserrat again emerged as the country with the largest number of males with a sex ratio of 9.17. These findings have implications for fertility, migration and family patterns.

Table 2.7: Population 15 years and over by Country and Sex (2000)

2	Total	Male	9	Fema	les	% excess/	Sex
Country	Population	N	%	N	%	Deficit males*	ratio**
Anguilla	8,228	4,038	49.08	4,190	50.92	-1.85	96.37
Antigua & Barbuda	45,830	21,006	45.83	24,824	54.17	-8.33	84.62
The Bahamas	214,282	102,886	48.01	111,396	51.99	-3.97	92.36
Barbados	195,409	92,260	47.21	103,149	52.79	-5.57	89.44
Belize	137,302	68,756	50.08	68,546	49.92	0.15	100.31
Bermuda	50,247	23,931	47.63	26,316	52.37	-4.75	90.94
British Virgin Islands	17,662	8,735	49.46	8,927	50.54	-1.09	97.85
Dominica	48,424	24,326	50.24	24,098	49.76	0.47	100.95
Grenada	58,330	28,918	49.58	29,412	50.42	-0.85	98.32
Guyana	481,955	239,230	49.64	242,725	50.36	-0.73	98.56
Jamaica	1,764,066	855,609	48.50	908,457	51.50	-3.00	94.18
Montserrat	3,435	1,875	54.59	1,560	45.41	9.17	120.19
Saint Lucia	32,895	16,213	49.29	16,682	50.71	-1.43	97.19
St Kitts & Nevis	110,032	53,294	48.44	56,738	51.56	-3.13	93.93
St Vincent & the Grenadines	73,730	37,144	50.38	36,586	49.62	0.76	101.53
Suriname ¹	345,026	172,820	50.09	172,206	49.91	0.18	100.36
Trinidad & Tobago	942,429	471,176	50.00	471,253	50.00	-0.01	99.98
Turks & Caicos Islands	14,193	7,160	50.45	7,033	49.55	0.89	101.81
Total	4,543,475	2,229,377	49.07	2,314,098	50.93	-1.86	96.34

Table 2.8: Population 15 years and over by Country and Sex (1990)

Country	Total	Males		Females	6	% excess/	
Country	Population	N	%	N	%	Deficit males*	
Antigua & Barbuda	41,271	19,568	47.41	21,703	52.59	-5.17	
The Bahamas	158,700	75,851	47.80	82,849	52.20	-4.41	
Barbados	187,701	88,434	47.11	99,267	52.89	-5.77	
Belize	104,326	52,667	50.48	51,659	49.52	0.97	
Bermuda	47,055	22,639	48.11	24,416	51.89	-3.78	
British Virgin Islands	11,730	6,046	51.54	5,684	48.46	3.09	
Dominica	46,325	22,980	49.61	23,345	50.39	-0.79	
Grenada	57,666	25,596	44.39	32,070	55.61	-11.23	
Guyana	499,218	223,404	44.75	275,814	55.25	-10.50	
Jamaica	1,549,351	748,117	48.29	801,234	51.71	-3.43	
Montserrat	7,849	3,852	49.08	3,997	50.92	-1.85	
Saint Lucia	84,336	40,235	47.71	44,101	52.29	-4.58	
St Kitts & Nevis	26,698	12,896	48.30	13,802	51.70	-3.39	
St Vincent & the Grenadines	65,959	33,094	50.17	32,865	49.83	0.35	
Trinidad & Tobago	807,578	401,305	49.69	406,273	50.31	-0.62	
Total	3,695,763	1,776,684	48.07	1,919,079	51.93	-3.85	

Source: as for Table 2.1

NOTE: Data excludes Anguilla, Suriname and Turks and Caicos.

Age was not stated for the following:

Grenada 693 males, 592 females; Guyana 4 males; 15 females; Montserrat 1 male; St Kitts-Nevis 3 males, 3 females; St Vincent and the Grenadines 12 males, 5 females.

When data for persons aged 15 years and over are compared with the wider population the sex ratio is higher among the group of persons 15 years and over, reflected in a difference of -3.85 compared to -0.90. This indicates significantly fewer males in the adult population than among young persons. This may reflect higher mortality rates among older males as a result of a higher mortality rate among males as a result of violence, homicides, accidents and deaths from HIV and AIDS. However, when data for this age group was compared across the two census periods, the results show that the situation had improved between 1990 and 2000.

Consistent with the general population, the sex ratio for persons 15 years and over had narrowed from -3.85 to -1.86 indicating greater balance between the sexes.

2.5 Household Headship

Table 2.9: Household heads by Country and Sex (2000)

	Male	Male		ale	%	Ranked Difference	
Countries	N	%	N	%	Difference Male/Female	Country	GD %
Anguilla (ANG)	2,405	64.5	1,322	35.5	29.06	BEL	52.25
Antigua & Barbuda (ANT)	11,524	56.5	8,859	43.5	13.07	GUY	41.71
The Bahamas (BAH)	55,792	63.6	31,988	36.4	27.12	TnT	39.80
Barbados (BAR)	46,098	55.5	36,928	44.5	11.04	TCI	38.38
Belize (BEL)	39,543	76.1	12,402	23.9	52.25	SUR	38.09
Bermuda (BER)	13,350	53.1	11,798	46.9	6.17	MON	33.62
British Virgin Islands (BVI)	5,593	66.7	2,793	33.3	33.39	BVI	33.39
Dominica (DOM)	14,088	63.2	8,208	36.8	26.37	ANG	29.06
Grenada (GRE)	15,491	59.1	10,727	40.9	18.17	ВАН	27.12
Guyana (GUY)	129,389	70.9	53,220	29.1	41.71	DOM	26.37
Jamaica (JAM)	439,005	58.7	309,320	41.3	17.33	St.V	20.29
Montserrat (MON)	1,391	66.8	691	33.2	33.62	GRE	18.17
Saint Lucia (St.L)	27,044	57.5	19,987	42.5	15.00	JAM	17.33
St Kitts & Nevis(St.K)	9,003	57.4	6,677	42.6	14.83	St.L	15.00
St Vincent & the Grenadines (St.V)	18,218	60.1	12,073	39.9	20.29	St.K	14.83
Suriname (SUR)	85,245	69.0	38,218	31.0	38.09	ANT	13.07
Trinidad & Tobago (TnT)	212,403	69.9	91,468	30.1	39.80	BAR	11.04
Turks & Caicos Islands (TCI)	5,019	69.2	2,235	30.8	38.38	BER	6.17
TOTAL	1,130,601	63.2	658,914	36.8	26.36		

Regional Special Topic Monograph, Gender and Development Issues

Data for the 2000 Round show that the majority of households (63.2 per cent) across the Caribbean reflect traditional patterns of male-headed households discussed in Chapter 1. The data however show wide disparities within some countries between the number of male-headed and female-headed households. For the region as a whole, an average of 36.8 per cent of households were female headed; and the gender differential between male-headed and female headed was 26.36 per cent. Analysis shows that these gender differentials varied widely from a high of 52.25 per cent in Belize to a low of 6.17 per cent in Bermuda reflecting disparities in gender relations at the household level. These findings can be explained by cultural, racial and economic differences in the two types of societies. The significantly higher rates of male headed households in Belize and Guyana may reflect the racial and ethnic structure of these countries that have large Amerindian and East Indian populations that tend to have more traditional family structures. Males are therefore more likely than females to be family providers and breadwinners. The counties are also economically poorer with fewer employment opportunities, especially for women. In sharp contrast, Bermuda's smaller sex ratio reflects a population with predominantly African descendants living in a society that is more affluent and modernized, with more employment opportunities resulting in a situation in which the head of household can be either male or female.

A review of data for the region shows three distinct groupings. The first group had high levels of female headed households averaging over 40 per cent and gender differentials in the types of headships ranging from 6.17 per cent to 18.17 per cent. These included: Bermuda (46.9 per cent), Barbados (44.5 per cent), Antigua and Barbuda (43.5 per cent), St Kitts/Nevis (42.6 per cent), St Lucia (42.5 per cent) and Jamaica (41.3 per cent) and Grenada (40.9 per cent). The economic conditions that influenced employment and income of males and females in the country therefore emerged as a factor in determining whether households were likely to be male or female headed.

The second group of countries had approximately 30 per cent of female-headed households and gender differentials in the type of headships ranging from 20.29 per cent to 33.62 per cent. These included: St Vincent and the Grenadines (39.4 per cent) Dominica (36.8 per cent); the Bahamas (36.4 per cent); Anguilla (35.5 per cent); British Virgin Islands (33.3 per cent); Montserrat (33.2 per cent); Suriname (31.1 per cent), Turks and Caicos Islands (30.8 per cent) and Trinidad and Tobago (30.1 per cent).

The third group included Belize (23.9 per cent) and Guyana (29.1 per cent) which as previously indicated had the smallest percentages of female-headed households in the Caribbean and the widest gender differential: 52.25 per cent for Belize and 41.71 for Guyana.

Table 2.10: Household heads by country and sex (1990)

Countries	Male	е	Female		GD %	Ranked Difference	
Countries	N	%	N	%	GD %	Country	% Difference
Antigua & Barbuda (ANT)	10,815	7,661	58.5	41.5	17.07	BEL	56.11
The Bahamas (BAH)	39,743	22,209	64.2	35.8	28.30	TnT	43.89
Barbados (BAR)	42,517	32,694	56.5	43.5	13.06	GUY	43.34
Belize (BEL)	29,617	8,327	78.1	21.9	56.11	BVI	42.57
Bermuda (BER)	10,891	6,614	62.2	37.8	24.43	BAH	28.30
British Virgin Islands (BVI)	3,801	1,531	71.3	28.7	42.57	DOM	26.26
Dominica (DOM)	12,230	7,143	63.1	36.9	26.26	BER	24.43
Grenada (GRE)	12,584	9,389	57.3	42.7	14.54	JAM	23.92
Guyana (GUY)	107,914	42,661	71.7	28.3	43.34	St.V	21.36
Jamaica (JAM)	364,309	223,658	62.0	38.0	23.92	MON	20.93
Montserrat (MON)	2,331	1,524	60.5	39.5	20.93	St.L	19.18
Saint Lucia (St.L)	19,711	13,368	59.6	40.4	19.18	ANT	17.07
St Kitts & Nevis(St.K)	6,756	5,295	56.1	43.9	12.12	GRE	14.54
St Vincent & the Grenadines (St.V)	16,384	10,617	60.7	39.3	21.36	BAR	13.06
Trinidad & Tobago (TnT)	197,731	77,097	71.9	28.1	43.89	St.K	12.12
TOTAL	877,334	469,788	65.1	34.9	30.25		

Comparative data for the 1990 Round of Censuses also show a majority of male headed households (65.1 per cent compared to 34.9 per cent female headed households). The gender differential was 30.25 per cent. In the 1990 round, countries with the highest gender differentials were: Belize, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and the Turks and Caicos Islands.

Counties with the lowest gender differentials were: St Kitts & Nevis, Barbados, Grenada, Antigua and Barbuda and St Lucia.

Conclusions from the analysis are that the gender differentials in household headship have declined between the two census periods. Further research is needed to determine the causal factors.

Table 2.11: Household Headship - Changes in difference 1990-2000 (For countries with available data for both periods)

Countries	1990	2000	Change
Antigua & Barbuda	17.07	13.07	-4.00
The Bahamas	28.30	27.12	-1.18
Barbados	13.06	11.04	-2.02
Belize	56.11	52.25	-3.86
Bermuda	24.43	6.17	-18.26
British Virgin Islands	42.57	33.39	-9.18
Dominica	26.26	26.37	0.11
Grenada	14.54	18.17	3.63
Guyana	43.34	41.71	-1.62
Jamaica	23.92	17.33	-6.59
Montserrat	20.93	33.62	12.69
Saint Lucia	19.18	15.00	-4.17
St Kitts & Nevis	12.12	14.83	2.71
St Vincent & the Grenadines	21.36	20.29	-1.07
Trinidad & Tobago	43.89	39.80	-4.10
Total	30.25	25.42	-4.83

Table 2:11 shows that for those countries that had data for the two periods, the gender differential is getting smaller: it reduced from 30.25 in 1990 to 25.42 in 2000 a change of -4.83.

Table 2.12: Changes in Sex of Household Heads 1990 and 2000

Heads of households	Male		Female		% Difference	
neads of flousefloids	N	%	N	%	Male/Female	
TOTAL 2000 Census	1,130,601	63.2	658,914	36.8	26.36	
TOTAL 1990 Census	877,334	65.1	469,788	34.9	30.25	

The data show that the trend across the two periods was for **the majority of households to be male-headed**, however, the percentage of these households decreased from 65.1 percent to 63.2 per cent and the percentage of female headed households increased from 34.9 per cent to 36.8 per cent. The difference was 1.9 percentage points.

The percentage difference between male and female headed households had declined by 3.89 per cent from 30.25 per cent in the 1990 Round to 26.36 percent in the 2000 round. This indicates a shift towards an increasing number of female-headed households. This has implications for family structure and size as well as fertility patterns, poverty trends and the economic status of women and their families. The trend towards a higher percentage of female- headed households may also reflect several changes in the population across the region. As more women enter the labour force, pursue higher education and become professionals, they tend to delay child bearing and are more likely to have children later rather than earlier in life. They may also decide to have a child on their own because they can afford it and may be unable to find a male partner considered suitable. Research by St Bernard (xxx) for example, shows that more professional women are opting to become single parents and that more middle and upper class females are becoming single parents. The trend is toward middle and working class women, becoming single parents, to fulfill their reproductive role which is an important part of female gender identity. More women will therefore have primary responsibility for raising children without the presence and/or support of males. A larger number of women will therefore have to combine productive, reproductive and community management roles in most countries except in Belize and Guyana. It might be useful to compare the trend indicated for middle class educated women to the experiences of poor, uneducated women. For poor women, child bearing could be the result of forced or unprotected sex. It was also reported in the Grenada Country Poverty Assessment some years ago that child bearing was a survival strategy for poor women, who would choose to have more than one child, sometimes by multiple partners, in the hope that one of the fathers would provide child support.

Table 2:13: Ranked Sex Distribution and Ratio of Males and Females

Ranked Excess Men	Sex Ratio
Montserrat	120.19
Turks & Caicos Islands	101.81
St Vincent & the Grenadines	101.53
Dominica	100.95
Suriname 1	100.36
Belize	100.31

Ranked Excess Women	Sex Ratio
Antigua & Barbuda	84.62
Barbados	89.44
Bermuda	90.94
The Bahamas	92.36
St Kitts & Nevis	93.93
Jamaica	94.18
Anguilla	96.37
Saint Lucia	97.19
British Virgin Islands	97.85
Grenada	98.32
Guyana	98.56
Trinidad & Tobago	99.98

Twelve countries had an excess of women while 6 had an excess of men. Montserrat and the largest excess of males while Trinidad and Tobago had the largest excess of females.

2.6 Gender Differentials in Dependency Ratios

Table 2.14: Dependency Ratios of Population 15-64 years (2000)

Countries	Male Ratio	Female Ratio	GD %
Anguilla	27.13	28.21	1.09
Antigua & Barbuda	26.31	27.81	1.50
The Bahamas	25.90	27.11	1.21
Barbados	23.88	26.73	2.86
Belize	41.48	40.70	-0.78
Bermuda	19.87	22.80	2.93
British Virgin Islands	20.24	21.10	0.85
Dominica	32.08	33.60	1.51
Grenada	34.73	36.43	1.70
Guyana	33.60	33.25	-0.35
Jamaica	33.17	33.50	0.33
Montserrat	26.19	23.48	-2.71
Saint Lucia	29.88	31.10	1.22
St Kitts & Nevis	28.52	30.03	1.52
St Vincent & the Grenadines	30.15	30.90	0.75
Suriname ¹	28.09	27.84	-0.24
Trinidad & Tobago	22.83	23.14	0.31
Turks & Caicos Islands	22.87	25.15	2.29
Total	29.71	30.14	0.43

Note: Male dependency ratio = male population 0-14 plus population 65+ divided by total population 15-64 times 100 Female dependency ratio = male population 0-14 plus population 65+ divided by total population 15-64 years times 100. A positive difference indicates higher female dependency ratios; negative difference indicates lower female dependency

The dependency ratio is an age population ratio of persons who are *dependent* (not in the labour force) on persons who are in the labour force (*workers/producers*). The traditional gender division of labour discussed in Chapter 1 is based on the concept of a male-breadwinner.

It is therefore not surprising that the 2000 Round of Censuses showed that the majority of Caribbean countries (14) representing 78 per cent of the total, had a higher female than male dependency ratio. Four countries (22 per cent) had a smaller differential in dependency ratio. In rank order, these were: Montserrat (-2.71), Belize, (-0.78), Guyana (-0.35) and Suriname (-0.24).

This means that there was little difference between the number of males and females who were economically dependent on persons in the labour force. This no doubt reflects the limited number of job opportunities for both sexes; and it has implications for future pensions and social security for the economically dependent. These countries are therefore particularly vulnerable to poverty.

Table 2.16: Dependency Ratios of total population 15-64 years (1990)

Countries	Male Ratio	Female Ratio	GD %
Antigua & Barbuda	28.98	30.64	1.66
The Bahamas	28.11	28.75	0.64
Barbados	24.67	27.49	2.81
Belize	43.95	40.89	-3.06
Bermuda	18.02	20.28	2.26
British Virgin Islands	23.85	22.83	-1.03
Dominica	33.15	35.04	1.89
Grenada	35.72	30.22	-5.51
Guyana	29.48	27.05	-2.42
Jamaica	36.28	37.05	0.77
Montserrat	29.13	31.18	2.05
Saint Lucia	35.47	37.15	1.68
St Kitts & Nevis	35.89	37.33	1.44
St Vincent & the Grenadines	37.05	39.55	2.50
Trinidad & Tobago	30.29	30.14	-0.16
Total	32.85	32.96	0.11

Consistent with traditional gender relations, data for the 1990 Round of Censuses showed that the majority of Caribbean countries (10) had a higher female than male dependency ratio. In rank order the countries with a lower female dependency ratio were: Grenada (-5.51); Belize (-3.06); Guyana (-2.42); British Virgin Islands (-1.03) and St Vincent and the Grenadines (-0.16). Belize and Guyana were the two countries with lower female dependency ratios for the two periods. This means that the differences between male and female dependency ratios were smaller.

When data for the two periods are compared the difference in the female to male dependency ratio had increased from 0.11 in 1990 to 0.43 in 2000. A comparison of the total dependency ratios for the two periods showed that for males it reduced from 32.85 in 1990 to 29.71 in 2000 (-3.14). For females it reduced from 32.96 in 1990 to 30.14 in 2000. (-2.82).

This indicates that dependency ratios are declining for the region as a whole, to a slightly greater degree for males than for females. Since the difference is small it may be concluded that both male and female household heads are bearing less responsibility for dependents in the household. Research would be needed to better understand the causal factors.

The number of countries with a higher female to male dependency ratio increased from 10 to 14. This may imply for the region as a whole, the gender gap is widening between the two sexes except in a few countries. Belize and Guyana had lower female to male dependency ratios for both census periods demonstrating that there were fewer differences between the level of dependency of males and females. Comparative analysis of data for the 1990 and 2000 Rounds of Censuses was limited by the non-availability of data for Anguilla, Suriname and the Turks and Caicos Islands.

2.7 Conclusions and Policy Implications

This analysis of demographic data in the 2000 Round of Censuses showed that the gender implications of ageing, migration and reproductive health must be considered by policy makers.

Trends show that population size has increased, but growth and fertility rates have slowed. The distribution shows a larger number of persons over 60 years as Caribbean countries move through their demographic transition from having a predominantly young population to having a larger number of older persons. Data show that the sex ratio in the 18 Caribbean countries examined demonstrates that in the total population as well as in the population aged 15 years and older, women outnumber men in most countries. There are however some counties with more males which may be linked to out-migration of females. Trends in the dependency ratios show a widening of the gender differentials between males and females. The trends also imply increased responsibilities for the working age population aged 15 – 64 years over a longer period.

Life expectancy rates have increased, requiring a review of policies and programmes to support the elderly for longer periods. There is a five year gap in life expectancy between males and females with females living for longer periods. This has implications for the population of older persons, and readers are referred to the Special Topic Monograph on Ageing for a more in-depth analysis of the issues related to gender and ageing. (Research done by Help Age International (2007) and Eldermire –Shearer (2007) ³ show differentials in the vulnerability of both sexes as they age.)

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³ Tyrone Reid (2007). More Seniors off to Retirement Homes (quoting Professor Eldermire-Shearer) http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/html/20070428T200000-0500 122348 OBS MORE SENIORS OFF TO RETIREMENT HOMES .asp

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Older women as a group are likely to be vulnerable to poverty resulting from their employment in jobs that paid low wages, provide limited pensions and social security benefits. Choudhury, and Leonesio (1997) note that "Three of every four older poor individuals are women, with women being twice as likely to be living in poverty as men. ⁴

Older women are more likely to be widowed, to live alone and in poverty. (Gist and Velkoff 1997). Women are also more vulnerable because of their higher rate of participation in unwaged work (care workers in the family); and are also likely to be the main caregivers for HIV positive family members and children orphaned by HIV and AIDS. Older women are however more likely than men to have the support of their family in old age because of their role as family caregivers in their younger years. At the same time because women live longer than men, their need for care is greater and required for more extended periods than it is for men. Older women also need more security as they are more vulnerable to incidents of violence, and this may be a factor in the protection they receive from family members. Older men as a group are vulnerable to poverty and homelessness and at higher risk of living in institutions as a result of their weaker linkages with their immediate family. Both males and females who receive local pensions are vulnerable as inflation has significantly reduced the value of their income at a time when they are likely to be faced with high health costs from chronic diseases and may need specialized care which is expensive. Tabor (2002) notes that "Social pensions help to reduce gender inequalities in income and quality of life between older women and men."

In conclusion, government policy makers should increase efforts and research to guide policy interventions related to the various demographic issues that have emerged. Declining fertility rates also mean careful monitoring to ensure they do not fall below the rate of natural increase, a concern in several industrialized countries. Trends in gender differentials related to the sex of the head of household also need careful research and action to ensure that adequate provisions are made for child care, education, health and social security. Policy interventions will also be needed to improve the situation of older persons and other demographic groups including migrants. In general, gender frameworks must be used to analyse census data and research generally, to better target interventions to achieve agreed goals of gender equality and the empowerment of women. Policy research on demographic issues must be expanded to protect the rights of various groups in the population.

⁴Choudhury, S and M V. Leonesio. (1997) *Life-Cycle Aspects of Poverty among Older Women, Social Security Bulletin, 60(2): 17-36*

⁵ Gist Y.J and V. A.Velkoff 'Gender and Aging: Demographic Dimensions' International Programmes Centre, U.S Department of Commerce, 1997

⁶ See the Impact of HIV and AIDS on Older People. Help age International. Retrieved July 15 2009 from http://helpage.org/Researchandpolicy/HIVAIDS/Background

⁷ Tabor, SR (2002). Assisting the Poor with Cash: Design and Implementation of Social Transfer Programs. Social Protection Discussion Paper Series #223, Social Protection Unit, Human Development Network, The World Bank.

CHAPTER 3

GENDER, EDUCATION AND TRAINING

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a gender analysis of education issues in the Caribbean, using the primary data supplied by national census reports of 2000-2001. The Population and Housing Census is one of several surveys conducted for the collection of education statistics in the Caribbean. Census data offer potential for comparing education trends with other indicators of social and economic progress, such as employment and health. Race, gender, marital status, household headship, professional and occupational status, when correlated with education, express trends that are important for understanding the potential of a given household and country. Education can therefore also be a lens through which to examine situations of poverty, as several studies have established the correlation between the two.⁸ Education could also be a useful means of forecasting the economic potential of societies, as higher education levels could imply more prosperous living conditions.

For the presentation of the analysis, the chapter examines four major issues that affect access to education, from the standpoints of enrolment and completion. Education levels reported on are primary, secondary and tertiary, with the latter categorized by diploma and certificate, bachelor's degree and graduate degree. The sections follow the sequence of:

- 1. Gross enrolment at primary and secondary levels;
- 2. Educational attainment at the primary level for the population 14 years and over;
- 3. Educational attainment at the secondary level for the population 14 years and over;
- 4. Educational attainment at the tertiary level for the population 14 years and over; and
- 5. Educational attainment of household heads at primary, secondary and tertiary levels.

For each of the major issues, the chapter provides detailed tabulations at the regional and country levels. Counts and percentages were tabulated, and gender differentials were derived from the percentages which then formed the basis of inter-country comparisons. For some indicators, data from the 1990-1991 census analysis were a point of reference to compare changes that had occurred over the 10-year period. Secondary sources were utilized to support observations and to explain the trends observed.

⁸ For example, in its analysis of the relationship between poverty and income, the World Bank reported that access to secondary education in St Lucia was skewed in favor of the upper quintile, where 79 percent were enrolled, compared to the 45 percent enrolled in the first quintile (see rest of analysis on line at: World Bank. http://www-

 $wds. worldbank. org/external/default/WDSC ontent Server/WDSP/IB/2009/06/30/000356161_20090630001532/Rendered/PDF/ICR10700P077711\\ C0D is closed 061261091. pdf$

The approach to the chapter is to present the regional overview for each major indicator, followed by country tabulations. By examining both regional trends and country-specific trends, the chapter offers insights into how countries and the region as a whole, can address critical gender gaps, with a view to correcting endemic gender inequalities.

In the conclusion, the implications of the analysis for policy and programme interventions are suggested, and emerging issues requiring further research are highlighted. Readers are referred to the Monograph on Education, which is part of this series, for further information and more detailed analysis on trends in this important sector.

The analytical approach offered by the Social Relations Framework (SRF) is useful for examining the gender experience in education in the larger context of the social and economic conditions in which males and females interact. Performance in the school system ranks as an important predictor of the social and economic health of countries. There are however influencing factors which contribute to the understanding of performance in education. The discussion would be incomplete in the absence of a full exploration of the emerging trends in which gender roles are associated with socially destabilizing forces, including the drug trade, the rising violence in schools in some countries, and human trafficking. How the school system is implicated in these phenomena is an ongoing concern, requiring careful and constant analysis.

Education monitoring is practised at the national, sub-regional, regional and international levels. The monitoring requirements that have been instituted with international targets under the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have called for the collection of data on a regular basis. As a result, governments of the region have taken steps to ensure the timely gathering and release of data for the purposes of reporting on the achievement of the MDGs.

3.2 Limitations of Census Data

Occurring at 10-year intervals, the census is limited in the degree to which it can offer a timely supply of data for monitoring on the critical issue of education. Nevertheless, there are important trends that can be discerned through the census data for monitoring selected education indicators. Indicators captured by the 2000-2001 Census Round focused on the standard indicators on which data are supplied are:

- 1. Enrolment at primary, secondary and tertiary level
- 2. Highest educational level attained in the population 14 years and over
- 3. Highest educational level attained by household heads. 9

Other surveys that collect education data include:

- 1. Living Standards Measurement Surveys (LSMS)
- 2. Labour Force Surveys (LFS)
- 3. Multi Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS, UNICEF)

⁹ ibid. *Educational attainment* is used as an indicator of human capital and is measured by the percentage distribution of the adult population (generally those age 15 and older) by the number of years or highest level of schooling attended, or completed (highest educational level attained).

Whereas the census can furnish data on household characteristics such as school enrolment expressed in the highest educational level attained, it lacks the statistical scope for investigating the causal relationships that can lead to these phenomena. An important indicator is the drop out rates in the formal school system, that can describe which and how many students are advancing to completion. This is an important aspect of gender analysis, which is supplied by school attendance records, but is not captured by the census. What the census is able to provide are the percentages of males and females that progress from primary to secondary level. From these percentages, inferences can be made about the survival rates in the system of males and females. It is, however, cautioned that:

The transition ratio from primary to secondary school is the proportion of students attending the final grade of primary school in a given year, who attend the first grade of secondary school in the following school year. This indicator does not project the proportion of students from a particular cohort that eventually may make the transition to the first grade of secondary school, but rather those who made the transition in a given school year. ¹⁰

For the data that the census is unable to provide, planners rely on administrative systems and records maintained by the schools and by the ministries of education. Additionally, institutions such as the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) compile periodic reports on performance in the CXC and Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate (CSEC), which are disaggregated by sex. UNESCO, UNICEF, CARICOM, and the OECS also store and manage education data, which are used for analysis and forecasting trends.

In the 1990-1991 Census Round, the data excluded a number of countries that were covered in the 2000-2001 Round. Barbados, the Bahamas, Jamaica and Suriname are omitted from several tables, on account of lack of reported data. In the data supplied, there are possible ambiguities in the lack of specificity of some indicators. One observation is that the gross and net enrolment are not specified. Another is that the census data reflect only public school enrolment, with no reference to private schooling.

3.3 The Education Commitment

Governments of the region are committed to two major international protocols on Education. The first, the Justine Agreement¹¹, was signed in 1990 by all governments, establishing targets of "Education for All" (EFA) with prominence given to access to universal primary and secondary education of a high quality. The second, the Millennium Development Goals (Mugs), project gender equality in access of girl children to full primary and secondary education by the year 2015. Various assessments have shown that the region is either on target to fulfill these commitments, or has surpassed the target (Miller 2003, others), although issues persist about the quality of education accessed.

¹¹ In 1990, delegates from 155 countries, as well as representatives from some 150 organizations agreed at the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand (5-9 March 1990) to universalize primary education and massively reduce illiteracy before the end of the decade.

 $^{^{10}\,}http://www.uis.unesco.org/template/pdf/educgeneral/HHSGuideEN.pdf$

Other international conventions are the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and global conventions on the Rights of Teachers. At the sub-regional level, the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) has in place an Education Reform Strategy, which, according to Jules, "...represents the most comprehensive education strategy currently subscribed to in the region. This strategy has recorded successes in the harmonization of education law, curriculum convergence, and harmonization of primary education and reconfiguration of secondary education" (Jules 2009).

Jules cautions, however, that the international commitments require resources that may not always be at the disposal of governments in the region. In his view:

Attempting to address the multiple obligations of these international obligations as individual requirements can strain the limited technical resources of many ministries of education and divert attention away from national priorities. Incorporating these obligations in a seamless manner in the national Education Sector Development Plans is the most cost effective, least demanding modality of compliance (ibid).

A number of indicators are utilized to measure progress to these education goals and targets. An important one is government expenditure on education as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). According to reported data (cited by Jules, 2009 from UNESCO 2005), there are in place serious commitments of government to education, as reflected in five national budgets reviewed:

"...Public expenditure per pupil as a percentage of GDP per capita ranged from 11.37% in the British Virgin Islands to 25.97% in St Vincent and the Grenadines. Public expenditure as a percentage of GDP ranged from 2.79% in the Cayman Islands to 9.67% in St Kitts and Nevis...

Educational expenditure as a percentage of total government expenditure ranges from 8.76% in Jamaica to 16.91% in St Lucia. In terms of public expenditure on education across the region, an average of 3.49% of total public educational expenditure is spent on pre-primary education, 32.94% on primary education and 31.91% on Secondary education" (Jules, 2009).

Another important and widely used indicator is access to education measured by enrolment and completion rates. The census and other surveys routinely record these statistics, as do school administrators. While there is a consistent and regular reporting of these basic indicators, it has also been observed that schools may be reluctant to disclose the extent of absenteeism, and the data on declining enrolment (Brown, 2004).

On balance, there are enough data in national and regional institutions to adequately assess and predict education performance outcomes. The importance of education and training is tied to the region's ability to advance and compete in the global economy, as the World Bank has noted:

The economic transformation of the Eastern Caribbean increases the demand for skills, which creates both great opportunities and risks. Since 1980, services have been the most important source of growth in the OECS countries. Private and public services now account for almost four-fifths of the economy.

The service sector relies extensively on skilled labour to prosper, pay good salaries and create jobs. Even niche manufacturing and agriculture are changing and now require more skills because of changes in crops, demands for quality improvements, and increased need for management. Already, shortage of skilled workers appears to be severely hindering firm competitiveness in the OECS. Therefore, education and training are essential for job creation, competitiveness, and economic growth. The demand for skills opens doors to qualified workers, but it carries downside risks. Fewer low skilled and manual workers will be sought or needed, and those school leavers with unneeded competencies are more likely to remain unemployed (World Bank 2007).

Concerns about the adequacy of existing training institutions to meet market challenges are considered to be a potential hindrance to the region's ability to keep up with global trends. The gender aspect of these concerns should be the concern of governments and private sector organizations. Critical to these discussions is the ability of both genders to use education to access employment, and for countries to benefit from the combined human capital that men and women bring to development. That the superior education levels of women has not led to their economic empowerment remains a point of concern (Bailey 2006, others). Bailey laments that while education was at the forefront of several global conventions and conferences, the higher performance of women has left them wanting for jobs, and for equal pay for the jobs they do manage to secure. The World Bank in its Gender Action Plan for 2008 was more optimistic, predicting that the superior education status of women would lead to their dominance in employment at higher levels in years to come (World Bank 2008).

While the consensus is that the region has met its target in the achievement of universal primary education, gender continues to delineate the achievements in education at all levels, and poses critical considerations for education planners and policymakers. An issue that has received prominence in recent times is the situation faced by young males in the system, and their vulnerabilities to higher drop out rates at the secondary level; as well as the inclination of females to sizably outnumber males in tertiary level training.

3.4 Access to Education

Access to education at the primary and secondary levels was measured by gross enrolment numbers. The numbers not attending school¹² were recorded for all countries supplying data, and indicate the extent to which schooling was accessed by children of school age.

3.4.1 Gross Enrolment at Primary and Secondary Levels

For the countries supplying data, which exclude Jamaica, Suriname and Guyana, the regional gross enrolment showed fewer females than males attending primary school, 51.1 percent of males compared to 49.9 percent of females (Table 3.1). At the secondary level, the trend was reversed, with 46.9 percent of males and 53.1 percent of females attending.

¹² The figures supplied for "none" appear to be unreasonably high, and will need to be verified.

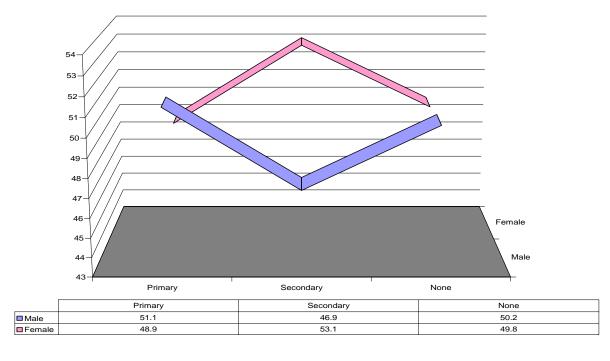
Table 3.1 Regional Enrolment by Sex, 2000-2001 Census Round

Level of education	Male	Female	Total	% Male	% Female	GD%
Primary	160,833	154,168	315,001	51.1	48.9	2.2
Secondary	91,506	103,593	195,099	46.9	53.1	-6.2
None	643,777	637,395	1,281,172	50.2	49.8	1.2

Note: Figures for Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Lucia & Suriname are not included.

At the country level, the gender differentials in primary enrolment conformed to the regional trend, with most countries posting a slightly higher percentage of males enrolled at the primary level than females. The exceptions were in Bermuda and the BVI, where the male enrolment was below the female enrolment at the primary level. Grenada and Montserrat posted the highest gender differentials in favour of males at the primary level, at 54 percent and 57 percent respectively. The situation in the BVI was a reversal of the 1990-1991 Census, where male enrolment at primary level was higher than female. The result in Grenada was similar to that of 1990-1991, when the male enrolment ranked in the upper tier among countries reporting (Table 3.2).

Figure 3.1: Enrolment by Sex, Regional Average, 2000-2001 Census Round



In Antigua and Barbuda, the BVI and Dominica, the gender differentials decreased from 1990-1991 to 2000-2001. In Grenada, they increased slightly, and remained high. Other countries where the gender differentials increased were in Montserrat, St Kitts and Nevis, and St Vincent and the Grenadines.

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Table 3.2 Primary Enrolment by Country and Sex, 2000-2001 Census Round

Country	% Male	% Female	GI)%
	% Male	% Female	1991	2001
Anguilla	50.6	49.4		1.2
Antigua & Barbuda	50.6	49.4	2.0	1.2
The Bahamas	50.9	49.1		1.8
Belize	51.2	48.8		2.4
Bermuda	49.4	50.6		-1.2
British Virgin Islands	49.6	50.4	5.7	-0.8
Dominica	52.0	48.0	7.7	4.0
Grenada	53.6	46.4	6.6	7.2
Montserrat	57.0	43.0	1.6	14
St Kitts & Nevis	51.0	49.0	-0.1	2.0
St Vincent & the Grenadines	51.8	48.2	-0.5	3.6
Trinidad & Tobago	50.7	49.3		1.4
Turks & Caicos Islands	51.0	49.0		2.0

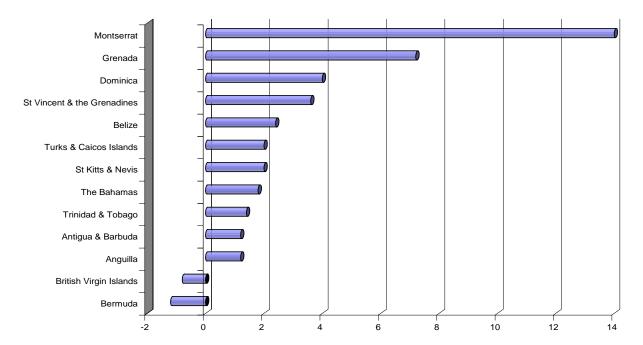


Figure 3.2: Gender Differentials in Primary Enrolment by Country, 2000-2001 Census Round

For the region as a whole, the pattern of secondary enrolment was a reversal of the primary trend. The regional average for male enrolment in secondary school was 46.9, while for females it was 53.1 (Table 3.1). The difference between male and female enrolment was 6.2 percentage points, whereas for primary enrolment it was 2.2.

The progression of more females to secondary school reflects their superior performance in the Common Entrance Examinations and the Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate (CSEC). Other factors are the higher drop out rates of boys, many of whom count on avenues other than formal education to meet their financial needs. It is also found that girl students are more dedicated to the rigours of school work (Drayton 1995), which may reflect the higher hurdles they need to overcome to secure employment.

Research by Brown (2004) found the tendency of girls to drop out in Jamaican high schools was greater than for boys. Her research suggested that class could be a consideration in the drop out of girls from the system, although the findings were not conclusive. Pregnancy while at school was one of the more common reasons for girls dropping out, while financial issues were less often a consideration (Brown, citing Bailey and Brown 1999). Other reasons stated were "migration overseas", and "disinterested in school work" (Brown 2004). It is to be noted that in countries where full tuition is covered by government, financial reasons would feature less prominently among the causes for drop out.

In Barbados, the study found a lesser tendency to drop out by both males and females at the tertiary level, compared to Jamaica.

Citing anecdotal evidence and her own experience, Brown contended that "dropping-out was not normally expected or easily achieved in a social context where the value of education was recognised and sought after, and where government policy supported that social ethos through a number of positive measures, including:

- a. free access to education at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels;
- b. compulsory education up to the age of sixteen;
- c. a school attendance service aimed at discouraging truancy;
- d. a consistently large share of the country's budget devoted to Education (for example, in the financial year 2001-2002 the Ministry of Education, Youth Affairs and Culture received 17.1% of the country's Budget);
- e. social welfare assistance to needy cases.

At the country level, gender differentials favoured females in all countries except Monsterrat. The magnitude of the differential was resolved into three groupings: the highest, with GDs of 17.6, 16.2 and 12.4 was found in Grenada, St Vincent and the Grenadines and Antigua respectively. The smallest, at 0.4 and 2.4, was found in Bermuda and the Bahamas respectively. The middle band with GDs of 4 to 8 consisted of St Kitts and Nevis, BVI, Trinidad and Tobago, Belize, Anguilla, TCI and Dominica. Comparing the gender differentials over the 10-year period, for countries supplying data, the GDs increased in St Kitts and Nevis, Grenada, BVI, and Antigua and Barbuda. They decreased in Dominica and Montserrat.

Table 3.3 Secondary Enrolment by Country and Sex, 2000-2001 Census Round

Country	Male	Female	GE		
Country	Iviale	remale	1991	2001	
Anguilla	46.4	53.4		-7.0	
Antigua & Barbuda	43.8	56.2	4.4	-12.4	
The Bahamas	48.8	51.2		-2.4	
Belize	47.2	52.8		-5.6	
Bermuda	49.8	50.2		-0.4	
British Virgin Islands	47.3	52.7	-4.4	-5.4	
Dominica	46.0	54.0	-13.2	-8.0	
Grenada	41.2	58.8	-10.3	-17.6	
Montserrat	52.0	48.0	-12.3	4.0	
St Kitts & Nevis	47.9	52.1	-2.9	-4.2	
St Vincent & the Grenadines	41.9	58.1	-13.0	-16.2	
Trinidad & Tobago	47.2	52.8		-5.6	
Turks & Caicos Islands	46.3	53.7		-7.4	

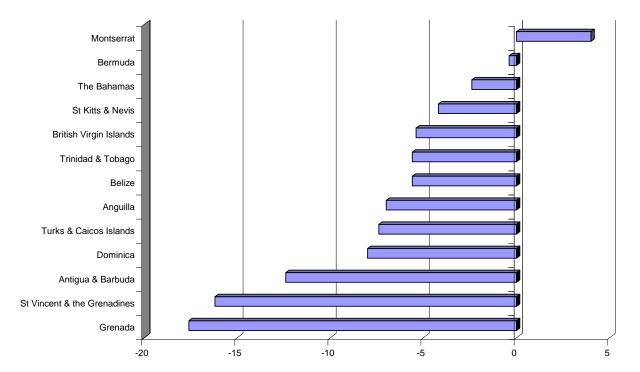


Figure 3.3: Gender Differentials in Secondary Enrolment by, 2000-2001 Census Round

3.4.2 Highest educational level attained of population 14 years and over

Table 3.2 shows the performance of the region as a whole at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education attained. A clear and troubling trend was revealed, in which the gender differential increased from primary to tertiary level, showing males less likely than females to attain higher education levels. These data apply to the population 14 years and over. The trend indicated of females achieving tertiary qualifications to a greater degree than males was predicted in the 1990-1991 gender analysis, and has been confirmed by other research (Bailey 2003 and others).

Table 3.4: Highest Education Level Attained by Population 14 and Over by Sex, Regional Average 2000-2001 Census Round

Level of education	Male	Female	Total	% Male	% Female	G.E.
Primary	295,927	287,217	583,144	50.7	49.3	1.4
Secondary	533,052	629,971	1,163,023	45.8	54.2	-8.4
Tertiary	68,374	83,949	152,323	44.9	55.1	-10.2

Note: Figures for Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Lucia & Suriname are not included.

Figure 3.4: Highest Education Level Attained by Population 14 and Over by Sex, Regional Average 2000-2001 Census Round

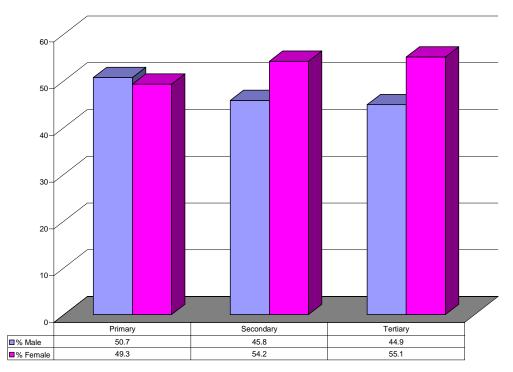


Table 3.5: Highest Educational Level Attained at Primary Level by population 14 years + by Country and Sex, Census Round 2000- 2001

Country	%Male	%Female	GE			
Country	/olvidie /oi citiale		1991	2001		
Anguilla	54.2	45.8		8.4		
Antigua & Barbuda	48.5	51.5	3.1	-3.0		
Barbados	43.4	56.6		-13.2		
Belize	50.6	49.4	0.3	1.2		
Bermuda	50.0	50.0		0		
British Virgin Islands	55.1	44.9	6.7	10.2		
Dominica	54.0	46.0	5.4	8.0		
Grenada	53.1	46.9	3.4	6.2		
Jamaica	52.7	47.3		5.4		
Montserrat	56.1	43.9	0.6	12.2		
Saint Lucia	51.6	48.4	4.2	3.2		
St Kitts & Nevis	49.8	50.2		-0.4		
St Vincent & the Grenadines	54.8	45.2		9.6		
Suriname	52.6	47.4		5.2		
Trinidad & Tobago	48.7	51.3	2.0	-2.6		
Turks & Caicos Islands	49.6	50.4		-0.8		

Figure 3.5: Highest Educational Level Attained at Primary Level by population 14 years + by Country and Sex, Census Round 2000- 2001

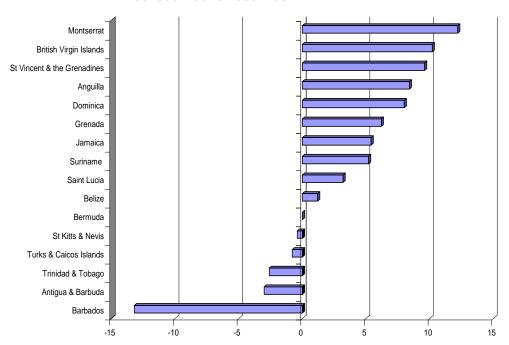


Table 3.6: Highest educational level attained at secondary level by population 14 years + by country and sex, Census Round 2000- 2001

Country	% Male	% Female	GE		
Country	/0 Iviale /0 Female		1991	2001	
Anguilla	46.7	53.3		-6.6	
Antigua & Barbuda	43.7	56.3	-4.3	-12.6	
Barbados	48.9	51.0		-2.1	
Belize	47.1	52.9	-1.4	-5.8	
Bermuda	47.6	52.4		-4.8	
British Virgin Islands	47.4	52.6	-5.2	-5.2	
Dominica	43.2	56.8	-6.2	-13.6	
Grenada	43.0	57.0	-5.2	-14.0	
Jamaica	49.0	51.0		-2.0	
Montserrat	50.6	49.4	-1.4	1.2	
Saint Lucia	43.3	56.7	-4.9	-13.4	
St Kitts & Nevis	48.9	51.1	-0.3	-2.2	
St Vincent & the Grenadines	42.7	57.3	-6.8	-14.6	
Suriname	52.0	48.0		4.0	
Trinidad & Tobago	45.0	55.0	-1.5	-10	
Turks & Caicos Islands	50.2	49.8		0.4	

Figure 3.6: Highest educational level attained at secondary level by population 14 years + by country and sex, Census Round 2000- 2001

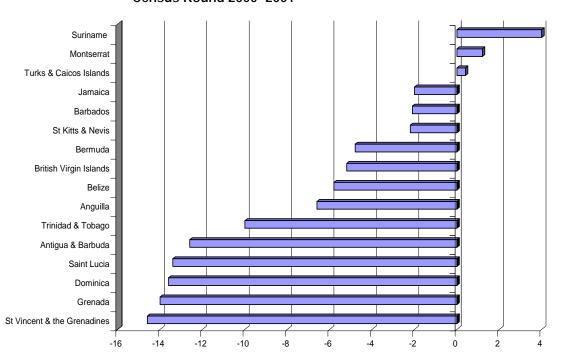
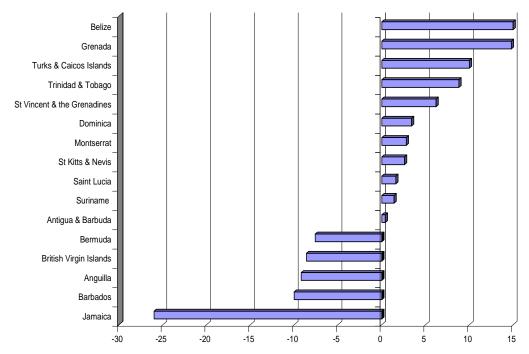


Table 3.7: Highest Educational Level Attained at Tertiary Level by Population 14 years + by Country and Sex, Census Round 2000 - 2001

Country	0/ Mala	0/ Eomala	GE		
Country	% Male	% Female	1991	2001	
Anguilla	45.4	54.6		-9.2	
Antigua & Barbuda	50.2	49.8	0.5	0.4	
Barbados	45.0	55.0		-10.0	
Belize	57.5	42.5	0.4	15.0	
Bermuda	46.2	53.8		-7.6	
British Virgin Islands	45.7	54.3	-1.2	-8.6	
Dominica	51.7	48.3	0.7	3.4	
Grenada	57.4	42.6	0.8	14.8	
Jamaica	37.0	63.0		-26.0	
Montserrat	51.4	48.6	0	2.8	
Saint Lucia	50.8	49.2	0.4	1.6	
St Kitts & Nevis	51.3	48.7	1.4	2.6	
St Vincent & the Grenadines	53.1	46.9	0.1	6.2	
Suriname	50.7	49.3		1.4	
Trinidad & Tobago	54.4	45.6	0.6	8.8	
Turks & Caicos Islands	55.0	45.0		10.0	

Figure 3.7: Highest Educational Level Attained at Tertiary Level by Population 14 years + by Country and Sex, Census Round 2000 - 2001



Although the trend for the region as a whole is indicative of superior access of females to secondary and tertiary education, the findings on a country by country basis do not conform to this finding. Beyond the primary level where males have the slight edge, the gender distribution at the secondary is sharply in favour of females; and at the tertiary level they favour males. This is a repetition of the pattern found in the 1990-1991 Census, where females exceeded males in attaining a secondary education. Country differentials influence the regional average particularly where the magnitude of the differential is high, as shown in Tables 3.5 to 3.7 and in Figures 3.5 to 3.7. Jamaica, for example, had a gender differential of 26 percentage points at the tertiary level in favour of females, causing the overall percentage to be slanted more towards females.

In the gender analysis of the 1990-1991 Census, the gender differentials at the tertiary level were under 2 percentage points, indicating near parity in the access of males and females to tertiary institutions. Except for two countries, the Bahamas and the BVI, the differentials favoured males. What emerges from the 2000-2001 census, however, is not only the dominance of males in tertiary education in the majority of countries, but the significantly larger magnitude of the gender differentials (Table 3.7, Figure 3.7). Where the gender differential favoured males, as was found in the upper grouping of Belize, TCI, Trinidad and Tobago, and St Vincent and the Grenadines, the order of magnitude was 15.0 to 6.2. Where the gender differential favoured females, Jamaica ranked the highest with a differential of 26.0. This was followed by a middle grouping of Barbados, BVI, Anguilla and Bermuda, with differentials ranging from 10 in Barbados to 7.6 in Bermuda. The countries with the smallest differentials in favour of males were: Antigua and Barbuda, Suriname, Saint Lucia, St Kitts and Nevis, Montserrat and Dominica.

The middle grouping of countries with more females receiving a tertiary education share similarities in their economies, in which tourism is a focal sector. That more females accessed tertiary education may be associated with the skills requirements of the industry, which is explored in Chapter 2, Gender and the Economy.

The steep increase of the gender gap in so many countries is cause for concern. Further research reported by Bailey (2003) describes the widening gender gap in enrolment at the University of the West Indies, where of 14,956 students enrolled at the three campuses, one third was male and two thirds female (Bailey 2003). However the picture of highest education levels presented in the 2000-2001 census does not clearly conform to enrolment patterns at tertiary levels. Wide variations across countries make it difficult to come to general conclusions, and each country needs to be individually considered.

3.4.3 Highest level of education attained by household heads

For the region as a whole, nearly twice the percentage of male heads had received no higher education ¹³ compared to female heads. Female heads were behind male heads as recipients of higher education, with the data showing that the higher the level of tertiary education, the lower the percentage of qualified female heads. Gender differentials increased with the higher levels of education, from 25.4 for certificate/diploma, to 52.8 for graduate degree.

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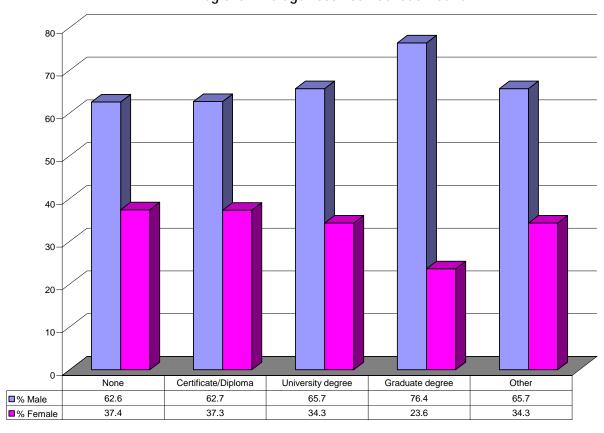
 $^{^{13}}$ Need to verify whether "none" refers to no education, or no *higher* education.

Table 3.8: Highest Education Level Attained by Household Heads by Sex, Regional Average 2000-2001 Census Round

Level of education	Male	Female	Total M/F	% Male	% Female	GE
None	197,801	118,294	316,095	62.6	37.4	25.2
Certificate/Diploma	98,800	58,850	157,650	62.7	37.3	25.4
University degree	21,534	11,238	32,772	65.7	34.3	31.4
Graduate degree	7,449	2,300	9,749	76.4	23.6	52.8
Other	4,169	2,176	6,345	65.7	34.3	31.4

Note: Figures for the Bahamas, Barbados, Guyana and Jamaica, Saint Lucia & Suriname are not included

Figure 3.8: Highest Education Level Attained by Household Heads by Sex, Regional Average 2000-2001 Census Round



The pattern at the country level followed the regional trend. In every country except for Grenada, there were more male heads of households that had received no education. In the category of certificate/diploma, all countries reporting showed more males having such qualifications than females.

As the trend indicated is not supported by other research (Bailey 2003 and others) that shows females outnumbering males in enrolment at tertiary institutions, it may be inferred that the patterns found among household heads are not reflective of the student population at tertiary level institutions from which enrolment data were obtained. A plausible explanation is that the variable of age sets the student population, which would tend to be younger and generally childless, apart from household heads. Further research would be required to understand the factors involved.

3.5 Conclusion

The analysis shows the critical importance of data on education quality, access, and outcomes for guiding policy recommendations to promote gender equality and economic viability. Although the indicators covered by the census are limited in their scope, they are adequate to demonstrate the changes that have occurred over time; and to predict trends. The reasons for the shifts would require more in-depth research and corroboration with other studies and records. Where the census falls short is in being able to respond to the trends in a timely way, to avert the pitfalls that could affect either gender.

As there are warning signs of both male and female vulnerabilities in education which vary in severity from country to country, the analysis shows the importance of disaggregating country trends from the regional overview; and the necessity of tracking the male/female distribution in critical indicators over time. School drop outs are a serious threat to the future economic security of the region, whether they affect boys or girls, and will continue to be a core indicator of educational outcomes for males and females. The census is able to quantify the male and female enrolment and the highest educational levels attained, from which dropout rates can be discerned. Mitigating measures should take into account the varied reasons leading children to removed from the system, including parental apathy, child labour associated with economic hardships of families, lack of enforcement by schools of mandatory attendance, student apathy caused by uninteresting curricula and teaching methods, lack of correspondence between school achievement and income opportunities, poor health, lack of knowledge by parents of supports available within the system for needy causes, and lack of funds to participate in school related activities.

The lack of male teachers in the system adds to the insecurity experienced by young males, faced with curricula that reinforce gender stereotypes and socialized into subject areas that are considered a male domain. A stronger male presence in the schools is important for role modelling and mentoring of male students, and for achieving a more balanced approach to understanding the experiences of male youth, both in and out of the classroom. Therefore monitoring the gender patterns in the recruitment and placement of teachers in the system should be prominent in programs promoting educational success. Implied in this measure is an active concentration on attracting male teachers to the system, by offering scholarships and other incentives that target males as a group.

The competitiveness of the region on the global stage demands a more versatile curriculum, attuned to the dynamism of emerging technologies and markets, and the identification of niches where the region might have a competitive edge. Research is needed to forecast trends in consumer patterns, and to orient the teaching content and methods used in the system.

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A greater emphasis on informal education programs focused on life skills development is warranted, in light of glaring deficiencies in attitudes and behaviours necessary to raise service standards and productivity. This is especially significant for the countries that depend on tourism as a core industry, that are challenged to attract visitors during the global economic downturn.

A number of issues that put education at risk emerged in the literature reviewed for the chapter and in news reports. They include: deteriorating infrastructure in some schools, conflict and violence between teachers and between and among students, irrelevance of education curricula, and drop out rates particularly at secondary and tertiary levels. The needs of special education for children who may face developmental challenges have been identified as a critical issue, requiring proper assessment and remedial programmes. Policy regulations on HIV in schools are generally not gender sensitive and may be a barrier to the completion of schooling of infected and affected children because of stigma and discrimination.

What these observations highlight is that education on its own cannot achieve change, in the absence of a complex fusion of interventions involving changing cultural assumptions and behaviours, diversifying away from stereotypes associated with female and male related roles and choices, and keeping young people enthused about the value of education and the necessity of this investment in their future. Gender dynamics and gender equality is part of this new paradigm, as it challenges the *status quo*, and positions a more critical inquiry into how gender insensitivity could be a hindrance to the region's development. The appropriate framework for gender analysis in education is the Social Relations Framework, which could be applied to consider influencing factors such as race and class on education outcomes.

CHAPTER 4:

MARITAL STATUS, RELIGION AND RACE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses how gender differentials in household headship are influenced by marital status, religion and race/ethnicity in the Caribbean. It provides insight into the complex gender roles and relationships at the household and family level; and the challenges, opportunities and outcomes for both sexes that are reflected in national development indicators. The analysis is also relevant to achieving the principles of human rights and gender equality enshrined in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) to which all Caribbean countries are signatories. It is also relevant to two international consensus documents that also promote gender equality. The first is the 2000 Millennium Declaration and the eight (8) Millennium Development Goals, including MDG #3 aimed at promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women discussed in Chapter 1. The second is the 1994 Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), which establishes the principle of reproductive rights and comprehensive reproductive health services to enable both women and men to control their fertility and hence their development.

The analysis in this chapter also provides a framework for interpreting issues discussed in other chapters in this Monograph such as gender in relation to education, economic empowerment, and vulnerabilities in particular that influence development outcomes. Gender analysis of marital status, religion and race/ethnicity contribute to our understanding of emerging trends in Caribbean families which can help to predict and plan for the future.

Patricia Mohammed (1988) in her article on 'the Caribbean Family Revisited' examines 'Labels, Stereotypes and Categories' and provides a comprehensive analysis of issues and debates in the voluminous literature on the Caribbean family. These include popular notions that the majority of Caribbean families are female cantered and female headed; that if these families are female centered, males are marginal to the family; that these characteristics are related to the low economic position of males and that Caribbean family forms are a carryover of practices in slavery. In revisiting various debates on the Caribbean family, Mohammed underscores the importance of broadening the analysis beyond the stereotype of the Black authoritarian matriarchal family to reflect the broad range of family types consistent with the region's racial and cultural diversity. She also underscores the need to take note of women's roles in relation to their conjugal (marital/union status), their reproductive and parental roles as well as their participation in the labour market. Contradictions between the social definition of women's biological gender role in reproduction and their actual participation in the family as well as the workplace are also examined. The chapter therefore examines trends in male and female household headship.

Wiltshire-Brodber's (1988) discussion of 'Gender, Race and Class in the Caribbean' contributes to our understanding of the complex dynamics of power in changing gender relations and achieving gender equality. She cautioned against using a Western feminist standard of 'universal' male domination, and instead highlights the importance of linking the issue of Caribbean women's subordination and exploitation to an analysis of inequalities in the world system.

The decision to examine Religion as a factor is a recognition of the important role it plays in gender socialization, the maintenance of a patriarchal gender system in the Caribbean, as well as the impact of religious beliefs on attitudes, behaviour and values. Castrelli (2001) also notes that religion plays an important role in identity formation, social relations and power structures. Caribbean feminist scholars such as James Sebro (2005) in her book 'Genderstanding Jesus: Women in His View,' provides a feminist reading of the Bible which contradicts traditional patriarchal viewpoints arguing for a reinterpretation of the Bible. Soares (2009) also argues for a more critical analysis and interpretation of Christianity which she notes has been used as a basis for women's exclusion from the public sphere, for laws governing matters of sexuality and reproductive rights (including contraception) marriage, family life, divorce and inheritance. Christian laws, rules, attitudes and practices are seen to be based on Scriptural references that restrict the advancement of women. It also denies women their rights as human beings and as women, and holds them inferior and in subjection to men in both Church and society which she further notes are governed, *inter alia* by the ideology of the religious patriarch. (Soares 2009).

Stewart, (2004) is also critical of patriarchy and sexism in Christian institutions. She therefore argues for greater analysis from a womanist/feminist theological perspective and encourages more African Caribbean feminist scholars to explore the avenues of women's empowerment within African-derived Caribbean religions such as Kumina. In her article "Womanist theology in the Caribbean context: critiquing culture, rethinking doctrine, and expanding boundaries" Stewart argues that a womanist theology would inter alia: institutionalize the nurturing of black female agency; empower black women as official leaders and teachers in their religious traditions; support female personifications of the Divine; and divine revelation via incarnation in female bodies as a recurring event. Stewart's article is based on the life of female Kumina priest in Jamaica, the late Queen Imogene Kennedy. (Stewart 2004).

Census data captures some but not all of the Caribbean region's rich religious diversity. The range of Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) did not appear to capture some of the traditional African religions such as Revivialism and Kumina in which women play leadership roles as priests and healers. Analysing the data on FBOs was also quite challenging as noted in the section on 'limitations' discussed later in this chapter. To make this more manageable, some religious categories were combined as a group and compared with some of the more dominant Christian denominations that reflect unequal gender roles and are characterized by a female-dominated membership and male-dominated leadership. Comparisons were also made with a sample of non-Christian religions that are associated with various racial groups. Religious data is an area that needs considerably more research and analysis to support development.

Both the Gender Roles Framework and the Social Relations Framework can be used to analyse census data on marital status, religion, race and ethnicity.

Sex-disaggregated data from the census presented in this chapter, provides a foundation for further analysis using data from social surveys. Analysing census data on marital status of household heads can provide policy makers with valuable insight into factors that can influence economic and development opportunities and others which pose constraints for males and females who have the responsibility of caring for their families. Marital or Union status can also be influenced by religious and racial differences in the social relations of gender. These factors can also impact the income earning potential of an individual, as well as development strategies to promote gender equality.

The chapter underscores the role of socialisation which influences individual behavior, by enabling individuals to learn what society expects of them as members of their society (Parsons (1951). The family, as the primary agent of socialization, teaches gender roles and expectations on a wide range of expected behaviours including on martial status and religious beliefs. These are reinforced by secondary agents of socialization such as the school and church. Linked to Role theories, socialization therefore facilitates our understanding of how social behaviour in the family impacts on and is impacted by the wider society.

Brown and Chevannes (1998) note the influence of gender socialization on gender roles and relations at the household level in the Caribbean. Gender socialization of girls from a very early age includes giving them dolls as gifts to encourage them to learn their expected gender role as a mother. Later in life, strong social sanctions are applied to encourage women to fulfill their gender roles as mothers and caregivers. For some women, this represents what Betty Friedan (1963) in *Feminist Mystique* refers to as 'role captivity' which is described as unwanted participation in a particular role. However, strong gender socialization of Caribbean women (and men) across national, racial, and religious grouping, has resulted in mothering and child bearing being seen as the 'norm' for all women. The expectation is that Caribbean females should fulfill these roles by their late teens and early 20s or face social sanctions in the form of teasing and ridicule.

Gender socialization of boys also from an early age, teaches them to be tough, assertive risk takers in preparation for fulfilling their gender roles as family protectors and breadwinners. Miller's (1984) study on Male Marginalization was partly rooted in a concern that males were no longer able to fulfill their traditional roles because women had displaced them in the teaching profession as a deliberate strategy of colonial rulers. This thesis has been challenged by Barriteau (2003) and Figueroa (2004) and has been revisited by (Miller 2004).

The experience of over 30 decades of advocacy to promote women's rights and fulfill commitments to gender equality and the empowerment of women has resulted in many gains in the Caribbean as well as remaining barriers perpetuated by traditional values, roles and expectations. Among the achievements is universal access to primary education, increased participation of women in secondary, vocational and tertiary education and training which has increased their scope and level of participation in the labour market. This has also enabled more women to become economically independent and to head families on their own. Concerns about the under participation of males in secondary and tertiary education in some counties, as well as males' disproportionate involvement as perpetrators and victims of crime and violence are development issues of concern to both sexes and societies as a whole. A growing trend is for women to pursue tertiary education and delay childbearing until their early 30s. The choice made is to complete their education, establish their careers and gain financial independence.

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This trend challenges the traditional gender role of the male breadwinner which Safa (1995) has argued is a myth, resulting from economic crisis especially for males in lower socioeconomic groups who are unable to provide economic support for their families. Women's increased participation in the labour force she argues has enable women to redefine their role and the concept of the male breadwinner has become a myth.

Reproductive health and rights is central to the debate on gender roles and marital status and has a direct impact on population policies, trends and development. Advocacy by early feminists, for women's reproductive rights has resulted in increased access to products and services which enable women to manage their fertility and control the number and spacing of their children. DAWN and other 'pro choice' groups have been advocating for legislative reform, expanded services, including access to medical specialists especially trained to ensure safe termination of pregnancy and reduce the risks of septic abortions especially among the poorest women who are most at risk from complications because of high costs of private services. These demands are consistent with global commitments made as part of the Cairo Agenda of the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development.

'Pro life' advocates strongly oppose the termination of a pregnancy based on strong religious, ethical, moral and legal grounds and have been equally vociferous in lobbying to maintain the sanctity of life. Among the core issues is a woman's right to have autonomy over her body, to choose whether or not to have children, and resistance to changing what is seen as the 'natural' reproductive role of women.

Two opposing viewpoints dominate debates about gender roles: social constructivism and biological determinism. Goffman (1959) notes that roles result from social interaction and individuals take on and perform roles through interaction with others. This would explain the role of the male head of household, the male breadwinner and female caregiver as expected social roles of males and females. Race, class and ethnicity influence expectations of these roles as well as the region's history of African enslavement which some argue has influenced family structures, forms of marital union and has contributed to the large number of single female headed households especially among persons of African descent.

Ann Oakley (1974) argues that gender roles are socially constructed, culturally determined and that biological factors can be overtaken by cultural factors. Gender roles learnt through social interaction can therefore change. Social Construction theory helps to explain gender roles and how social and cultural experiences influence individual reality. (see Bilton et al 1996). Agents of socialization such as the family church, school system, peers, media and the legal system play a strong role in acceptance of heterosexual relations as the norm in Caribbean societies. There is emphasis on the need for individuals to establish stable male female relationships and to have children though not necessarily in that order. Haralambos and Holborn (2000) explain the process by which individuals internalize cultural norms of their society so that social expectations become learned behaviour.

Both the Gender Roles Framework (GRF) and the Social Relations Framework (SRF) described in Chapter 1 can provide a framework for analyzing census data. Differences in how gender roles are constructed influence women and men's access to and control over resources that can influence their development outcomes.

Again there is evidence that policy makers can gain valuable insights from the analysis of sex disaggregated census data and data from social surveys. The Social Relations Framework supports the interpretation of data on how gender intersects with marital status, race, religion and class and identifies opportunities and constraints for both sexes. Social relations in the family influence how men and women participate in the labour market, as well as well as political and public leadership to meet their strategic goals.

Caribbean society is patriarchal and there is scope for biases in collecting census data on household headship as there is the common assumption that the head of household is male. At the household level, the social relations of gender present a different picture: one in which many Caribbean women in both male and female headed households have major responsibility for managing the financial resources of their household. Though there are changes, the gender division of labour shows females having a disproportionate level of responsibility for in the private and domestic sphere such as purchasing and cooking food, cleaning, and caring for the family. Women's power as consumers is however not used effectively to push for their strategic interests to influence policy and decision-making at the national level. Men dominate the public sphere through higher levels of participation in the labour market as well as public and political leadership.

The focus of this chapter on Marital and union status as well as religion is important, given the diverse family patterns, the large number of children born out of wedlock, high levels of crime and violence attributed in part to the breakdown of the family structure, and various crises facing young males as well as females. For boys it may be their lower participation in secondary and tertiary education while for girls it is unequal participation in and benefits in the labour market despite higher educational achievements, and high adolescent fertility contributing to the feminization of poverty. These factors have a direct impact on a country's ability to achieve targets of the Millennium Development Goals.

It is in this context that gender, household headship, marital status, religion and ethnicity are examined as family patterns change. While it was not possible to analyse gender, marital status, religion and race with employment status of household headship, the preliminary analysis in this chapter nevertheless points to the importance of using this type of census data to guide policy development and analysis.

4.2 Structure of the Chapter

This chapter presents and analyzes data from the 2000 round of censuses on two main areas: Union Status by Country and Sex as well as Religion & Race. Analysis of the latter includes: Religion of Household Head by Country by Sex 2001, Religion of Household Head by Union Status and by Sex 2001 and Race of Household Head by Country and by Sex, 2001

4.3 Limitations

The main limitations related to the absence of data for some countries which limited the scope of analysis. The .lack of harmonization of definitions, data and categories used for marital status, union status, religion and ethnicity also placed constraints for analysis. The religious diversity of the Caribbean posed a major challenge to analyse data for the region as a whole. The approach adopted was to use categories of the traditional faith based organizations of Christian and non-Christian groups that are dominant, more recent religious groups such as Rastafarian and create a category of 'Other', which was not ideal as it included a wide range of religious groups. To The census report on the Bahamas demonstrated that country's religious diversity with almost 20 categories of Christian and non-Christian groups.

Another major challenge was analyzing sex disaggregated data on heads of households in relation to marital status, ethnicity and religion which was complex and time-consuming. The solution adopted was to analyse data for one country to determine the type of insight which this type of analysis could provide. The hope is that other researchers will conduct more in-depth analysis from this data. The chapter concludes with a summary of issues identified on how gender differences in household headship and influenced by marital status, race and religion, with recommendations for further research and action.

4.4 Household Composition

4.4.1 Union Status by Country and Sex 2001

Table 4.1 Union Status by Country and Sex (2001)

Countries	Never	married	Comm	on law	Mar	ried	Divo	rced	Wid	dowed	Sepa	rated
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Anguilla	320	322	339	344	1,637	1,607	111	145	87	246	46	62
Antigua & Barbuda	6,249	7,564	2,724	2,809	6,603	6,557	336	550	327	1,268	1139	2469
The Bahamas	47,009	48,002	7,977	7,981	39,120	37,840	2,696	4,630	1,803	7,701	3,407	4,881
Barbados	55,140	59,150	n.a	9,496	28,647	28,799	3,280	4,522	2,297	8,017	1,390	1,738
Belize	23,151	17,563	13,624	14,188	26,010	26,381	277	500	863	2,870	185	400
Bermuda	8,599	8,488	n.a	n.a	12,550	12,244	2,112	3,198	460	2,195	148	171
British Virgin Islands	3,439	3,522	1,029	1,102	4,111	3,880	180	265	109	344	60	79
Dominica	9,121	7,359	3,060	3,086	6,863	6,833	250	286	542	1,631	82	116
Grenada	11,959	10,273	3,792	3,971	8,144	8,085	278	396	509	1,863	927	2,442
Jamaica	180,515	231,963	-	-	62,803	68,337	1,413	1,775	2,492	9,435	760	1,439
Montserrat*	357	239	125	131	437	377	31	32	52	94	118	159
St Kitts & Nevis	7,064	6,857	1,591	1,518	4,090	4,029	224	313	302	956	969	1686
Saint Lucia	16,789	15,230	10,615	11,550	13,361	14,121	377	633	895	2,782	178	239
St Vincent & the Grenadines	18,190	17,688	2,958	3,594	6,206	6,301	352	288	688	1,097	124	96
Trinidad & Tobago	213,111	192,067	n.a	n.a	160,934	164,412	9,467	12,014	10,199	34,229	4,708	5,890
Turks & Caicos Islands	2,416	2,483	n.a-	n.a-	4,403	3,963	156	187	97	305	88	94
TOTALS	117	7059	990	627	711	918	36	146	70	6937	248	374

NOTE: Data for Guyana, and Suriname not included. Montserrat also had 116 males and 62 females in visiting relationships

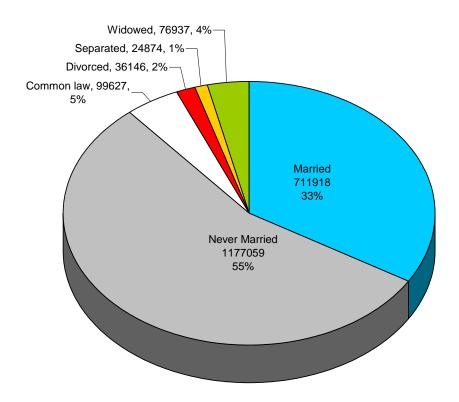


Figure 4.1: Union Status for Selected Caribbean countries

Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 show that the majority of persons for the countries for which data were available were 'Never Married'. This group, comprised of 1,177,059 persons, represented **55.35 per** cent of the total of all types of union statuses (2,126,561). The sex distribution was 628,770 females (53.41 per cent) and 548,289 males (46.59 per cent). There were more males Never Married in Belize, Bermuda, Dominica, Montserrat, St Lucia, St Kitts and Nevis, St Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago. Countries with more females who were Never Married included: Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, the British Virgin Islands, Grenada, Jamaica and the Turks and Caicos Islands.

The second most common form of union was 'Legal Marriages' with a total of 711,918 persons (33.47 per cent). The sex distribution was 393,766 females (55.31 per cent) and 318152 males (44.69 per cent). There were gaps but for the countries with data for both sexes, those that had more females in legal marriages were: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Belize, Jamaica, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago. Countries with the largest number of married males in rank order were: Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Bahamas, Barbados and Belize. This was consistent with the largest number of male heads of household. Further research is required to explain these differences.

4.68 per cent of all union types. Some countries did not have data on Common law unions but for those countries for which data were available the sex distribution was 59,770 females (60.0 per cent) and 39,857 males (40.00 per cent). The population of **'Widowed'** persons was 76,937 (**3.61 per cent**), the majority of whom were females as expected given the higher life expectancy of women. The population of **Divorced** persons among countries for which data were available was 36,146 persons. This group represented **1.69 per cent** of all union types and included 29,444 females (81.45 per cent) and 6,702 males (18.55 per cent).

Gender analysis of census data on union status was limited by several factors. Suriname's 2001 census report does not include data on union status. This may have been challenging given the ethnic and regional diversity of the country and the loss of earlier census data collected. No data were available for Guyana. The main challenge for the other countries was the nonharmonisation of the data collected on marital and union status. This is no doubt one of the areas being addressed by CARICOM's data harmonization programme being undertaken by the Statistics Unit. There were also gaps in the range on union status collected. For example, it is known that Common Law unions and Visiting relationships are common across the region, but only two countries attempted to capture this data (Montserrat and the Bahamas). In the case of the latter, only data on females was reflected in the census report which was surprising as both males and females are involved. Bermuda, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and the TCI had no data on Common Law Unions. This was particularly surprising as Common law unions have legal status in some countries which protects the rights of women and men in such relationships for more than five years Legislation on the Status of Children also protects the rights of children born in legal and common law unions. The seeming policy incoherence should therefore be addressed in future censuses to promote gender equality Data on marriage was fairly standard for most counties but a variation was noted in data for Bermuda, which had two categories of marriage (married and remarried). These were however combined for the purpose of analysing data for this report. Further research is needed to fill data gaps for some countries. Countries also made distinctions between legally separated and separated. While most countries had tables for marital status and union status, the Turks and Caicos Islands census report only included marital Despite these limitations the data on union status provides valuable insight for policy status. makers.

4.4.2 Religion of Household Head by Country and by Sex 2001

Table 4.2: Religion of Household Head by Country and Sex, 2001

Occupation	Ang	lican	Roman	Catholic	Meth	nodist	Hir	ndu	Rasta	farian	Isl	am	Oth	ner*	No	one
Countries	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Anguilla	1,692	414	150	100	566	322	15	2	52	4	8	2	749	437	158	38
Antigua & Barbuda	3,113	2,485	1,302	949	934	817	40	7	348	37	47	12	4,805	4,211	705	237
The Bahamas	9,539	5,503	8,969	4,567	2,762	1,585	116	7	351	20	98	7	31,551	19,632	2,070	526
Barbados	14,466	12,645	184	1,713	2,400	2,379	206	43	899	132	341	49	14,424	15,702	9,763	3,338
Belize	2,050	1,348	19,129	6,318	1,351	786	100	43	-	-	85	6	11,505	3,120	4,999	754
Bermuda	3,155	3,117	2,291	1,384	543	543	-	-	73	26	177	63	4,792	5,247	2,158	1,331
Dominica	116	65	8,295	5,652	598	352	13	7	450	32	54	16	2969	1,695	1399	303
Grenada	2,086	1,468	6,612	5,202	314	188	34	7	455	42	63	12	4,980	3,206	1,134	239
Montserrat	307	168	147	76	229	154	9	-	34	2	4		585	276	56	9
Saint Lucia	690	484	16,715	14,505	193	130	84	11	1,473	95	74	22	5,069	3,762	2,176	668
St Kitts & Nevis	1,944	1,563	678	480	1,587	1,492	104	18	464	20	45	8	3,274	2,458	467	226
St Vincent	3,833	2,492	1,558	972	2,334	1,551	24	4	741	40	32	7	8,505	6,144	313	93
Trinidad & Tobago	18,660	10,073	52,526	26,709	2,189	1,315	52,594	13,658	6,517	1,285	14,274	3,332	62,968	34,144	-	-
Turks & Caicos Islands	547	231	756	290	411	213	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,305	1,501	-	-
Sub-Totals (By Sex)	62,198	42,056	119,312	68,917	16,411	11,827	53,339	13,807	11,857	1,735	15,302	3,536	159,481	101,535	25,398	7,762
TOTALS	104	,254	188,	229	28	,238	67,	146	13,	592	18,	838	261	,016	33,	,160
TOTAL %	14.	59%	26.3	35%	3.9	95%	9.4	.0%	1.9	0%	2.6	4%	36.	53%	4.6	64%

Note: Data for Guyana, Jamaica and Suriname not available

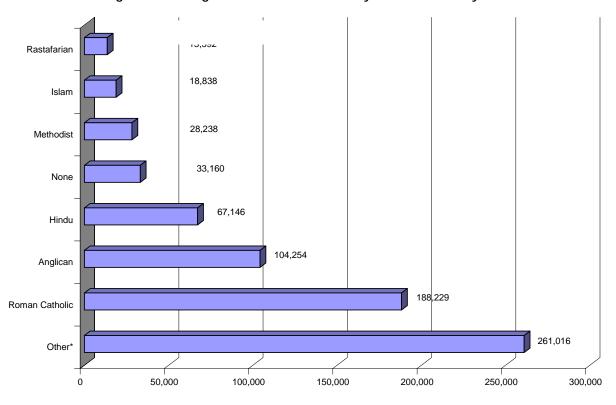


Figure 4.2: Religion of Household Head by Sex and Country 2001

Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2 show that in rank order, the most popular religion among heads of households for the countries for which data were available were as follows: The 'Other' category were 264,585 (36.59 per cent) which included a wide range of religious groups such as Born Again, Apostolic, Evangelical churches, Seventh Day Adventists and others. The second most popular group was Roman Catholicism which accounted for 189,129 persons (26.16 per cent). The third most popular group was Anglicans (105,366 persons or 14.57 per cent. The fourth most popular group was Hindus (67,310 persons or 9.31 per cent. The fifth group was 'None' (33,844 persons or 4.68 per cent). The sixth most popular were Methodists (30,186 persons or 4.17 per cent). Islamists ranked seventh (18,904 persons or 2.61 per cent. Rastafari accounted for 13,636 persons or 1.88 per cent.

Analysis of the gender distribution of household heads within each of these groups was interesting. Among Anglicans 59.77 per cent were males and 40.23 per cent were females. Among Roman Catholics, 63.43 per cent (119,981) were males and 36.56 per cent (69,148) were females. The countries with the largest groups of Anglican household heads were Trinidad and Barbados; and with Roman Catholic heads were Trinidad, St Lucia and Belize. Trinidad and Tobago has the largest number of heads who were members of the Islamic and Hindu religions. Trinidad, Barbados and Belize has the largest grouping of heads in the 'Other' category. The countries with the most Muslims were Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados and Bermuda. Belize and Turks and Caicos Islands did not record Rastafari as a religious group.

Table 4.3: Religion of Household Head by Sex

Religion of Head	TOTALS	Male He Housel		Female I House		GD %
itteligion of fload	1017120	N	%	N	%	05 70
Anglican	105,366	62,972	59.76	42,394	40.23	148.53
Roman Catholics	189,129	119981	63.43	69,148	36.56	173.51
Methodists	30,186	17,673	58.54	12,513	41.45	141.23
Hindu	67,310	53,484	79.45	13,826	20.54	386.83
Rastafarian	13636	11,897	87.25	1739	12.75	684.12
Islam	18,904	15,365	81.27	3,539	18.72	434.16
Other	264,585	163,164	66.67	101,421	38.33	160.87
None	33,844	25,938	76.63	7,906	23.36	328.07
TOTAL	722,960	470,474	65.07	252,486	34.92	186.33

Table 4.3 shows that for the counties for which census data were available, the GD was 186.33 per cent in favour of males. This shows that the system of patriarchy also includes religious domination by males. However, there were wide variations across the religious groups including among persons who indicated that they had no religious affiliation. In rank order, the gender differential was highest among heads of household who were Rastafarian (684.12 per cent), Islam (434.16 per cent), Hindu (386.83 per cent) and None (328.07 per cent). The differential was smallest among Methodists (141.23 per cent), Anglicans (148.53 per cent), Other (160, 87 per cent) and Roman Catholics (173.51 per cent).

The findings have implications for gender equality and the empowerment of women as the religious groups with the highest differentials tend to have very strong views on gender roles and tend to place more restrictions on forms of attire appropriate for women, their roles in the household, their forms and levels of participation in the labour market and in groups with both sexes. Some of the beliefs and practices of these religious groups could limit women's access to certain types of employment. For example, the requirement for women to cover their heads may limit their ability to work in some occupations. Religious beliefs relating to women's reproductive role and unrestricted childbearing, may also conflict with reproductive rights embodied in the ICPD Programme of Action which gives women the right to manage their reproductive health. Contraception and counselling enables women to choose how they manage their fertility, which would enable them to reduce their risk of poverty as they can decide if and when they want to have children and choosing the number of children they can afford.

These findings also have implications for women's equal access to political and public leadership positions as most, if not all of these religious groups are based on the principle that man's role as head of the household is based on strong evidence in the Bible and other religious writings. Policy makers therefore need to take note of the importance of the religious affiliation of households' heads in influencing the success of development policies and programmes. The Church and religion are also important agents of socialization and influence the development of gender roles and gender identity. The census data confirmed the strong role of the male heads of household—both those who define themselves as part of a body of believers as well as those who have no religious affiliation. This has implications for the Social Relations Framework demonstrating the importance of religion in constructing gender relations.

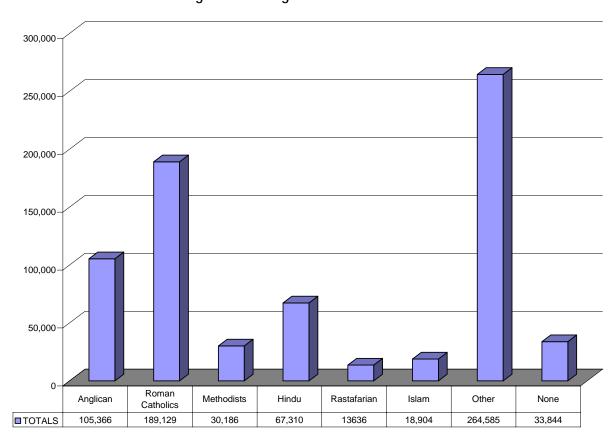


Figure 4.3: Religion of Household Head

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4.4.3 Religion and Union Status of Household Head by Sex 2001

Table 4.4: Religion and Union Status of Household Head by Country and Sex (2001)

Country	Status	Angl	lican	Roman	Catholic	Metho	odist	Hind	du	Rasta	farian	Isla	am	Oth	ner	No	ne
Country	Status	M	F	M	F	М	F	M	F	М	F	М	F	М	F	M	F
	Never married	171	192	39	45	91	117	15	1	21	1	1	1	111	148	40	17
	Common law	72	30	19	6	53	21			6	1	1		58	27	22	1
Anguilla	Married	368	51	81	21	343	71			15	1	4	1	519	111	82	13
	Divorced	31	34	6	9	20	30		1	1		1		23	47	5	1
	Separated	10	17	1	3	11	12			2		1		11	23	3	1
	Never married	564	1,046	217	335	149	335	3	4	143	15	9	5	189	101	189	101
	Common law	479	234	245	109	152	53	6	1	90	7	6	1	155	29	155	29
Antigua & Barbuda	Married	1,564	297	663	142	482	115	29		39	3	25	3	260	31	254	31
Darbada	Divorced	83	112	37	56	35	52		1	3	2	1	1	15	12	15	12
	Separated	22	26	14	13	6	10			3		1	1	7	6	7	6
	Never married		2,136		1,893		562		6		9		2		8,038		227
	Common law		251		413		66				4				1,010		50
The Bahamas	Married		722		597		251		1		4		2		2,724		75
	Divorced																
	Separated																
	Never married		2,872		412		559		7		55		7		4,084		1,364
	Common law		903		178		157		2		27		4		1,146		467
Barbados	Married		526		104		87		6		4		8		867		96
	Divorced																
	Separated																

Country	Ctatus	Angl	lican	Roman	Catholic	Metho	odist	Hine	du	Rasta	farian	Isla	am	Oth	ner	No	ne
Country	Status	М	F	М	F	M	F	М	F	M	F	M	F	М	F	М	F
	Never married	281	489	1,714	1,848	212	287	7				20	3	842	882	805	255
	Common law	724	28	5,497	1,112	399	127	3				20		1,818	359	1,732	147
Belize	Married	886	205	11,201	1,477	629	147	87	1			34	2	8,556	997	2,280	181
	Divorced	20	37	75	169	20	32					1	1	46	112	37	30
	Separated	9	26	63	157	8	17					1		27	86	17	32
	Never married	550	741	507	327	82	103			39	8	47	15	893	1,372	753	616
	Common law																
Bermuda	Married	2,092	1,038	1,584	641	351	181			21	12	99	26	3,131	1,734	1,063	352
	Divorced	359	667	139	211	71	135			12	6	25	19	598	1,310	294	285
	Separated	21	33	21	16	5	7					2	1	27	60	18	13
	Never married	127	137	128	157	173	276	16	5	9		6		406	555	28	31
5	Common law	96	23	76	33	150	35	16	1	5	2	1		246	76	16	6
British Virgin Islands	Married	466	75	317	61	775	127	110	6	16		49	2	1,493	243	87	16
iolarido	Divorced	27	20	16	17	40	52		5	3		3		49	105	6	8
	Separated	10	6	5	11	18	11			1		1		20	42		
	Never married	17	32	2,067	2,345	135	151	7	5	234	14	20	9	521	690	619	
	Common law	13	3	1,418	605	71	33	1	1	99	7	4		198	101	289	53
Dominica	Married	64	5	3,689	661	316	40	5	1	34	1	25	4	1,902	343	310	32
	Divorced	4	2	125	153	10	12			3	2	3		45	65	16	4
	Separated	1	2	49	56	4	10				1		2	10	27	6	3
	Never married	544	584	1,875	2,145	72	65	5	1	240	13	15	4	1,244	1,291	9	6
	Common law	308	183	1,234	693	46	12	2		86	15	11		635	320	97	25
Grenada	Married	926	212	2,596	674	151	29	25	3	55	1	30	5	2,607	673	118	28
	Divorced	53	55	81	129	9	5	1	1	3	1	2	2	67	129	9	6
	Separated	17	11	47	62	3	7	1		1		1		39	63	3	3

Country	Status	Angl	lican	Roman	Catholic	Metho	odist	Hine	du	Rasta	farian	Isla	am	Oth	ner	No	ne
Country	Status	М	F	М	F	M	F	М	F	М	F	М	F	М	F	M	F
	Never married	82	78	35	30	67	62	1		12	1			91	68	19	2
	Common law	38	13	16	9	24	6	1		10		1		40	11	10	2
Montserrat	Married	105	20	68	15	87	21	5		4		2		186	39	18	1
	Divorced	10	12	1	3	8	10	1						8	6	1	2
	Separated	4	1	2	1	2	1							3	7	2	
	Never married	117	165	3,186	5,085	22	44	15	3	765	25	14	7	635	1,265	709	245
	Common law	132	70	4,730	2,860	27	14	3	2	386	38	19	1	647	407	591	151
Saint Lucia	Married	336	96	6,603	2,120	119	19	64	1	81	7	32	9	3,369	1,060	562	82
	Divorced	22	21	172	336	5	12	1	1	2	1	4	1	58	144	35	26
	Separated	9	10	89	125	2	2		1	4	1	2		30	53	11	9
	Never married	590	709	197	210	528	682	21	2	263	9	13	4	910	1,059	99	54
	Common law	246	127	95	41	183	121	7	1	57	2	6	2	305	179	51	14
St Kitts & Nevis	Married	701	179	299	338	602	179	70	10	29	2	25	2	1,556	467	87	14
INEVIS	Divorced	46	57	16	20	38	61	1	3	3				79	103	2	2
	Separated	16	16	5	4	11	9							19	35	1	
	Never married	858	417	330	161	498	289	5	1	309	6	8	1	1,850	880	62	11
	Common law	251	87	94	28	142	37			49	3	3		386	136	23	2
St Vincent	Married	698	121	283	51	507	85	5		23		5	1	1,332	437	40	7
	Divorced	78	41	35	19	35	28			5				86	79	2	
	Separated	17	12	7	8	10	6			3		1		29	21	2	1
	Never married	6,321	4,823	17,045	11,657	585	582	7,622	2,138	3,196	687	2,189	589	15,228	13,612		
Table 10	Common law																
Trinidad & Tobago	Married	9,710	1,612	29,208	4,670	1,298	217	40,140	2,704	2,538	204	10,748	679	41,893	9,643		
Tobago	Divorced	848	847	2,130	2,572	104	113	1,137	749	302	156	411	283	1,867	2,898		
	Separated	405	355	983	1,007	42	40	626	526	145	55	172	132	963	1,531		

Country	Ctatus	Ang	lican	Roman	Catholic	Metho	odist	Hine	du	Rasta	farian	Isla	am	Oth	ner	No	ne
Country	Status	М	F	М	F	М	F	М	F	М	F	М	F	М	F	M	F
	Never married	78	107	185	141	69	90							585	713		
Tunka 0	Common law																
Turks & Caicos	Married	414	68	536	106	295	65							2,576	469		
Calcos	Divorced	27	19	25	26	20	22							64	93		
	Separated	13	8	9	4	9	9							39	59		
TOTALS		33,151	24,154	102,230	49,743	10,431	7,225	50,064	6,202	9,370	1,413	14,125	1,842	101,602	65,513	11,711	5,381

The data in this table are more easily analysed on a country by country basis than for the region as a whole. As an example of the type of the type of analysis that can be conducted using census data, the case of Anguilla was examined. The analysis provides gender differences across among household heads in various types of union status for selected religious groups.

Data for Anguilla show that the majority of household heads was either 'Other', Anglican or Methodist. Among Household heads who were 'Never Married', were more likely to be female than male if they were Anglican, Roman Catholic, Methodist or Other. Among Household Heads in Common Law Unions, the major for all religious groups was male. Among Household Heads that were married, the majority was also male for all religious groups. Among Household Heads that were Divorced, there were more females than male heads who were Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Methodists, and Other.

Similarly, among household heads who were separated, there were more females among Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Methodists, and Other. This data can be used by faith based organizations in the respective countries to plan intervention programmes for the well being and development of their membership. More research is clearly needed on the links between household headship, union status and religion. The data for Anguilla also suggest that females will leave a relationship and head their own household; this may be more likely to occur among traditional 'main line' churches. Given trends across the region for females to have a higher level of education than males in some countries, and for increased female participation in the labour force, it is not surprising that more females who are members of 'main line' churches will become heads of households.

4.4.4 Race of Household Head by Country and by Sex, 2001

Table 4.5 Race of household head by country and by sex, 2001

Country	Afri	can	Indige	nous	East I	ndian	Chi	nese	Portu	iguese		ian/ nese		nite/ asian	Mi	xed	Ot	her
	M	F	М	F	M	F	М	F	М	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Anguilla	2,118	1,172	5	2	24	6	6	1					150	70	88	69	14	2
Antigua & Barbuda	10,264	8,208	41	24	106	35	26	12	37	17	114	14	394	117	439	350	75	61
Barbados	41,830	34,917			580	133	37	5			24	6	2,405	931	1,169	923	53	13
Belize	208	64	19,683	4,835	1,355	454	399	63					642	158			17,088	6,769
Bermuda	6,293	6,925					356	132					5,570	3,794	650	667	408	225
British Virgin Islands	4,361	2,352	19	4	218	40	4	2	7	6	18		598	200	275	154	36	10
Dominica	12,336	7,251	391	197	35	19	15	2		1	16	7	191	85	1,008	586	49	25
Jamaica	95,127	84,139			1,111	685	116	43					56	11	4,445	4,460	75	26
Montserrat	1,153	616	2		10		1				1		48	22	29	9	3	3
Saint Lucia	22,408	10,709	162	147	944	476	16	7	9	2	39	3	340	163	2,543	2,035	52	37
St Kitts & Nevis	8,094	6,153	5	1	201	38	12	3	16	2	9	1	197	258	228	234	38	11
St Vincent	13,837	8,923	611	419	354	201	8	1	190	102	21	2	150		2,854	2,222	38	12
Suriname																		
Trinidad & Tobago	81,299	45,245			92,682	26,746	1,242	328			250	67	2,122	679	33,059	17,610	552	209
Turks & Caicos	4,139	1,995			89	21							638	156	108	45	45	18
Sub-Totals by Sex	303,467	218,669	20,919	5,629	97,709	28,854	2,238	599	259	130	492	100	13,501	6,644	46,895	29,364	18,526	7,421
TOTALS	522	,136	26,5	548	126	563	2,	837	3	89	59	92	20,	145	76,	259	25,	947

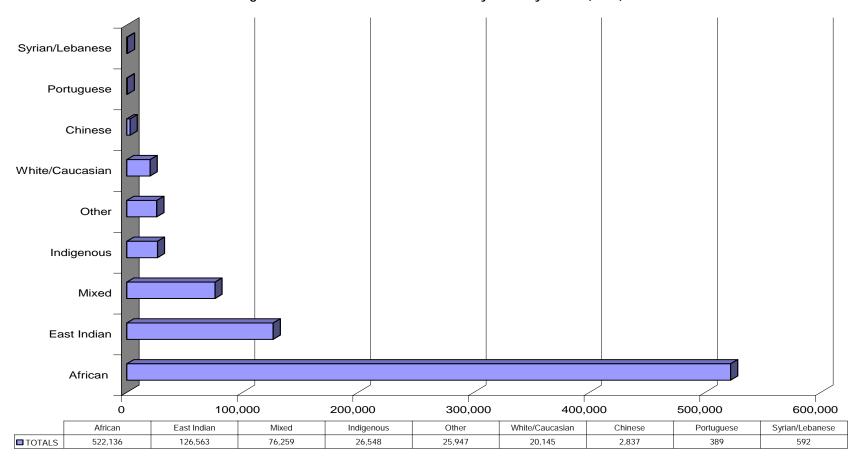


Figure 4.4: Race of Household Head by Country & Sex (2001)

Table 4.6 Distribution of Race of Household Heads

Race	N	%
African	548,354	66.26%
East Indian	126,563	15.29%
Mixed	76,259	9.21%
Indigenous	26,548	3.21%
Other	25,947	3.14%
White/Caucasian	20,145	2.43%
Chinese	2,837	0.34%
Portuguese	389	0.05%
Syrian/Lebanese	592	0.07%

The data show that the majority of household heads were of African descent (66.25 per cent) followed by East Indians (15.29 per cent), Mixed race (9.21 per cent), Other (3.13 per cent) and White Caucasian (2.43 per cent). This is consistent with the region's violent history of decimation of most Indigenous populations and annihilation of others; the Transatlantic Trade in Enslaved Africans whose labour was exploited on sugar plantations across the region, contributed to the enrichment of European countries and provided resources for the Industrial Revolution.

The region's history of plantation societies also included the planned emigration of East Indians and Chinese and Indentured workers in the post emancipation period, and the later migration of Europeans to the region to escape religious persecution and wars. This history has resulted in racial mixtures from the sexual exploitation of enslaved women, and gender imbalances in migration from Europe, India and China to the Caribbean . Most migrants were males who cohabited and had children with black women of African descent.

The findings also reflect the racial and ethnic pyramid that is the Caribbean society which has been the focus of extensive research by many social and cultural historians including Orlando Patternson, Rex Nettleford, Lucille Mathurin Mair, Verene Shepherd, Hilary Beckles among others. Most Caribbean countries still reflect the pyramid of plantation societies with the majority of blacks at the base and smaller groups of lighter skinned 'brown' persons of diverse racial and ethnic groups including East Indians, (especially in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago), mixed race and a small white group of persons at the apex. While there have been variations the structure has not changed radically.

Table 4.7: Gender Differentials for Household Heads of African Descent for Selected Countries (2001 Census)

Country	Males	Females	GD %
Anguilla	2,118	1,172	180.72
A & B	10,264	8,208	125.04
Barbados	41,830	34,917	119.79
Belize	208	64	325
Bermuda	6,293	6,925	90.87
BVI	4,361	2,352	185.41
Dominica	12,336	7,251	170.12
Grenada	15,491	10,727	144.41
Jamaica	95,127	84,139	113.05
Montserrat	1,153	616	187.17
St Lucia	22,408	10,709	209.24
St Kitts & Nevis	8,094	6,153	131.54
SVG	13,837	8,923	155.07
Trinidad & Tobago	81,299	45,245	179.68
TCI	4,139	1,995	207.46
TOTALS	318,958	229,396	138.04

Table 4.8: Ranking of Gender Differentials among Household Heads of African Descent (2001 Census)

Countries	Males	Females	GD% Rank
Bermuda	6,293	6,925	90.87
Jamaica	95,127	84,139	113.05
Barbados	41,830	34,917	119.79
A & B	10,264	8,208	125.04
St Kitts & Nevis	8,094	6,153	131.54
Grenada	15,491	10,727	144.41
SVG	13,837	8,923	155.07
Dominica	12,336	7,251	170.12
Trinidad & Tobago	81,299	45,245	179.68
Anguilla	2,118	1,172	180.72
BVI	4,361	2,352	185.41
Montserrat	1,153	616	187.17
TCI	4,139	1,995	207.46
St Lucia	22,408	10,709	209.24
Belize	208	64	325

The tables show gender differentials among African descendants who were heads of households who were the majority for the region as a whole. Bermuda (90.87) had the lowest gender differential and was the only country with a majority of female heads of household of African descent. This could be related to factors such as education and employment opportunities associated with the country's level of economic development.

Countries with the largest gender differential were: Belize (325), St Lucia (209.24) and the Turks and Caicos Islands (207.46). Countries with the second largest differentials included: Montserrat (187.17), British Virgin Islands (185.41), Anguilla (180.72); Trinidad and Tobago (179.68); Dominica (170.12); SVG (155.07), Grenada (144.41); St. Kitts and Nevis (131.54), Antigua and Barbuda (125.04); Barbados (119.79), and Jamaica (113.05).

The explanations are likely to be related to levels of economic development which influence labour force participation rates especially of women, who may be dependent on males for support. It may also reflect traditional family and social values perpetuated by religious groups and reinforced by peer influence, the education system, the media as well as the legal system.

Table 4.9: Ranking of Gender Differentials among Household Heads of East Indian Descent for selected countries (2001 Census)

Countries	Males	Females	GD%
Montserrat	10	-	100
Jamaica	1,111	685	162.18
St Vincent & the Grenadines	354	201	176.11
Dominica	35	19	184.21
Saint Lucia	944	476	198.31
Belize	1,355	454	298.45
Antigua & Barbuda	106	35	302.85
Trinidad & Tobago	92,682	26,746	346.52
Anguilla	24	6	400
Turks & Caicos Islands	89	21	423.8
Barbados	580	133	436.09
St Kitts & Nevis	201	38	528.94
British Virgin Islands	218	40	545
Sub Total (By Sex)	97709	28854	338.63
TOTAL	126,	563	

The table shows that for countries for which data were available, Trinidad and Tobago had the largest population of male and female Heads of Household who identified themselves as East Indians. Within this group the gender differentials were largest in the BVI (545.0) and St. Kitts and Nevis (528.94). Gender differentials in descending rank were: The Turks and Caicos Islands (423.8), Anguilla (400); Trinidad and Tobago (346.52), Antigua and Barbuda (302.85); St Lucia (198.31); Dominica (184.21); St. Vincent and the Grenadines (176.11); Jamaica (162.18); Montserrat (100.0); and smallest in Belize 29.73). Further research is needed to explain these findings.

Table 4.10: Ranking of Gender Differentials among Heads of Household of Indigenous Descent for selected countries 2001 census

Countries	Males	Females	GD% Ranking
St Vincent & the Grenadines	611	419	14.55
Montserrat	2	0	100
Saint Lucia	162	147	110.2
Antigua & Barbuda	41	24	170.83
Dominica	391	197	198.47
Anguilla	5	2	250
Belize	19,683	4,835	407.09
BV Islands	19	4	475
St Kitts & Nevis	5	1	500

The data in Table 4.10 did not include Guyana which has a large population of Indigenous persons. The table shows that for countries for which data were available, Belize had the largest group of male and female heads of household who identified themselves as Indigenous Persons; Montserrat, St Kitts and Nevis, Anguilla and Antigua and Barbuda had the smallest groups. In rank order the gender differentials reported as percentages for countries with Indigenous Heads of Household were clustered in three broad groups: the first with the largest differentials included St Kitts and Nevis (500), British Virgin Islands (475) and Belize (407.09). The second group was comprised of Anguilla (250), Dominica (198.47), Antigua and Barbuda (170.83) and St Lucia 110.20) and Montserrat (100). It was smallest in St Vincent and the Grenadines (14.55). The large differentials among male and female heads of household in all the above-mentioned countries (except St Vincent and the Grenadines), reflect patriarchal family structures that are dominated by males but this is not unique to Indigenous ethnic groups. St. Vincent and the Grenadines' data reflect the greatest gender parity in household headship and this may be linked to a combination of factors: high levels of education for both sexes, relatively high level of development of the county which together increase employment opportunities for both sexes. Further research is however needed to explain these findings.

4.5 Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions from the analysis of data on Union Status by Country and Sex are that the largest union status category (55.35 per cent) was 'Never Married', 33.47 per cent were married, and 4.68 per cent were in Common law unions. 3.61 per cent were Widowed and 1.69 per cent were Divorced. More males than females were never married in 10 countries while more females were never married in seven counties. More males than females were married. An interesting finding was that the majority of Widows were females. Similarly, the majority of Divorced persons were females (81.45 per cent). The large number of unmarried heads of household has implications for family units, gender roles and relations as well as the upbringing of children. As the majority is males it means that many boys and girls are being raised without a father present. This implies particular risks for the boys who need strong father figures to teach them positive male roles. The finding that the majority of Divorced heads of household are female requires further research. This too has implications for the socio-economic status of families and there is an increased risk of poverty for those divorced women with children, who may or may not receive child support from their ex-husbands.

Countries with large gender differentials imply a dominance of males and this was overwhelming. Women's economic status regardless of their marital status of the household head will be determined by factors such as level of economic development and opportunities for employment.

The findings confirmed that the influence of religion on households as the majority of heads identified themselves with a specific religious group. Only five (5) per cent of heads indicated that they had no religious affiliation. The second conclusion is that there has been a move from traditional Christian religions to a broader range of other faith based organizations which includes smaller Christian groups. This 'Other' group accounted for 37 per cent of the total. The largest traditional Christian groups identified by household heads were Roman Catholics (26 per cent) and Anglicans (15 per cent). Hindu's and Rastafarian heads accounted for 2 per cent each. Another interesting finding was that gender differentials were highest among Rastafarians Islam and Hindu heads, which has implications for gender inequality as these religious groups tend to require females to adhere to strict dress and behaviour codes.

The major findings on Race of Household Head were that Bermuda was the only country with more females as heads of household among African descendants. Another finding was that St Vincent and the Grenadines was the only country which had near parity among male and female heads of household among Indigenous persons.

The analysis has demonstrated that census data can provide valuable insight into gender differences among household heads related to union status, race, and religion. The major recommendations relate to harmonization of categories used for union status religion and race. It is also important to use the Gender Roles Framework or the Social Relations Framework to analyse the data which can help to guide policy makers in making choices that promote gender equality. The results also underscore the need for census data to be analysed with other social survey data.

Chapter 5

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND POVERTY

5.1 Introduction

Census data on economic activity of Caribbean countries and population groups, provide valuable insights into the region's economic status. Gender analysis of census data gives policy planners, researchers and other stakeholders valuable insight into the differential status of women and men to guide policy and planning. Resources can therefore be used more effectively where the needs for each group are greatest and in so doing scare resources can be used more effectively and efficiently to reduce gender inequalities, empower and enable both sexes to maximize their full potential. The results of development interventions can therefore benefit the region and individual countries.

The census data provides information at the macro (national) level and provides insight into activity at the micro (personal) level for some indicators including employment. Gender analysis, gives visibility to challenges experienced by both sexes. Census data on economic activity combined with the more detailed information on income levels and poverty provided in Living Conditions Surveys as well as Labour Force Surveys, can provide powerful insights into differences in life as experienced by each sex. In this way it enhances the possibilities for achieving the global human goals of gender equality outlined in the CEDAW Convention as well as MDGs goals and targets, especially poverty reduction, (MDG#1), and gender equality (MDG#3). The census data on economic activity examined in this chapter, also support the monitoring of indicators to determine the level of human development and poverty of males and females across the region.

This chapter therefore presents an analysis of census data on gender differentials in economic activity. In so doing it provides important indicators of poverty, economic status and the role of social factors such as: sex of the head of household, education level, occupational status, industry and employment status. The analysis facilitates a discussion on the feminization of poverty which is a growing concern by government policy makers, women's activists and scholars. The availability of sex disaggregated census data on economic activity also facilitates the gender analysis discussed in Chapter 2, which makes the situation of both men and women more visible. Understanding differences in the socio -economic status of women and men can help to resolve the many facets of gender inequality. Regrettably, the census does not capture data on economic activity in the informal sector, part-time work and underemployment which affect mainly women. This would be a significant contribution to resolving the problems of gender inequality.

While there has been progress in recognizing the need for a Gender Monograph of Census data for the 1990 and 2000 round of censuses, it is regrettable that the capture of census data is not guided by a conceptual framework of gender analysis. The benefit as indicated would be that countries could collect, analyse and interpret data in a manner that would better guide the development and targeting of economic policies and poverty reduction programmes to benefit both sexes.

As previously noted, this type of data is vital to assess and meet targets and indicators for the Millennium Development Goals and other targets. The omission of a more gender sensitive approach to the collection and analysis of census data is particularly unfortunate as many countries lack the resources to conduct regular surveys on economic activity and other aspects of human development. One of the results is that countries are unable to analyse what happens in the informal sector, which is a major and growing part of the economic activity of Caribbean countries.

Sex disaggregated data on Labour Force Participation rates that are captured in the census, support the Gender Roles Framework (GRF). However, this is insufficient to interpret gender disparities required for the Social Relations Framework (SRF). This acknowledges the complementary role of census and other social survey data. The census captures sex disaggregated data on household heads in the labour force which is very useful but requires data from complementary surveys such as the Survey of Living Conditions which provides more detailed sex-disaggregated data on income distribution, poverty, income, and consumption among other factors.

Sex disaggregated census data on economic activity provides information on the economic status of the head of household, which is an important indicator for determining a country's economic status, as well as gender differentials as roles are gendered. While the census provides some information, data collection on household headship in the Caribbean is complex and is affected by high levels of migration, diverse family forms and increasingly diverse forms of union status. As noted in Chapter 2, the majority of Caribbean households are headed by males, but many female headed households and women play a dominant role in managing household budgets even in households classified as male-headed. As also indicated in Chapter 2, the social relations of gender at household and community levels in most Caribbean countries are dominated by females, while males dominate the market and state or public sphere. These relations result in differential levels of power, influence and economic development among groups of women and men in the society and in the economy.

5.2 Organisation of the Chapter

This chapter provides a gender analysis of economic data from the 2000/2001 round of censuses for the countries for which data were available for some indicators, and comparisons are made with census data from the 1990/1991 round of censuses. It first examines gender differentials of the *economically active population* for each country for which census data were available (Table 5.1) as well as for the *economically inactive population* 14 years and over by country, sex and activity status (Table 5.2).

It examines six major issues affecting employment and poverty:

- 1. Employment status of household head by status and sex
- 2. Economically active population by country, sex, highest educational attainment.
- 3. Employed population by country sex and occupational group
- 4. Employed population by country, sex and industry

- 5. Household heads as recipients of social welfare benefits by occupation and sex (Gender and Poverty)
- 6. Self- employed household heads by country sex, and number of workers employed.

The chapter provides detailed tabulations at the regional and country levels for each of the above-mentioned issues. Frequency counts and percentages were tabulated, and gender differentials are derived from the percentages which were used for inter-country comparisons. Analysis of the data is informed by findings from other research studies that provide insight into possible explanations for the differentials.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of the findings in relation to theoretical issues discussed in Chapter 2. It also examines the policy implications for national development and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, especially poverty reduction, gender equality and the economic empowerment of women. In addition, areas for further research are highlighted. Readers are strongly encouraged to review the Regional Special Topic Monograph on *Economic Activity*, *Education and Training* which provides more detailed analysis of these factors in relation to occupation and employment.

5.3 The Economically Active Population

Table 5.1: Gender Differentials of Economically Active Population 14 years and over by Country, Sex and Activity Status, 2000 Round *

Countries	Males	Females	GD %*
Anguilla	3,097	2,650	116.87
Antigua & Barbuda	20,776	24,451	84.97
The Bahamas	7,808	7,866	99.26
Barbados	68,487	62,047	110.38
Belize	580	306	189.54
Bermuda	19,707	18,380	107.22
British Virgin Islands	7,136	6,610	107.96
Dominica	17,033	10,832	157.25
Grenada	19,748	13,305	148.43
Montserrat	1,146	861	133.10
Saint Lucia	39,589	29,742	133.11
St Kitts & Nevis	12,303	10,349	118.88
St Vincent & the Grenadines	27,747	1,657	167.45
Trinidad & Tobago	288,189	170,210	169.31
Turks & Caicos Islands	6,329	4,947	127.94
TOTALS	539,675	364,213	148.18
Males/100 Females	59.71 %	40.29%	
TOTAL	903,		

Note: Data for Guyana, Jamaica and Suriname not available

Table 5.1 presents data for the countries available and shows that 539,675 (59.71 per cent) of the Economically Active Population 14 years and over were males and 364,213 (40.29 per cent) were females. The gender differential (GD) was 148.18 male heads to 100 female heads. This trend is consistent with global and regional patterns that reflect the traditional role of the male as breadwinner, provider and protector of the family. It is therefore not surprising that in most countries, there are more male heads than female heads of household participating in the labour force. Only two countries had higher rates of female heads participating in the labour force: the Bahamas which had a sex ratio of 99.26 per cent and Antigua and Barbuda with a GD of 84.97 per cent. The results may be related to in-migration of females to work in the hospitality industry which is female-dominated at the lower ranks.

5.4 Economically Inactive Population

Table 5.2: Gender Differentials of Economically Inactive Population 14 years and over by Country, Sex and Activity Status 2000

Countries	Ret	tirees	Home	Home Duties		
Countries	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Anguilla	253	277	109	655		
Antigua & Barbuda	50	42	48	215		
The Bahamas	5,896	9,186	1,410	14,524		
Barbados	11,805	17,306	419	11,124		
Belize	2,434	2,365	368	23,371		
Bermuda	2,095	3,383	172	2,213		
British Virgin Islands	397	379	120	809		
Dominica	2,151	2,651	1,383	6,851		
Grenada	2,640	2,909	1,808	8,262		
Montserrat	218	186	54	215		
Saint Lucia	2,987	3,008	3,311	15,847		
St Kitts & Nevis	1,057	1,430	361	2,244		
St Vincent & the Grenadines	2,598	2,860	2,805	12,638		
Trinidad & Tobago	24,539	13,668	5,285	132,901		
Turks & Caicos Islands	254	403	26	1,063		
TOTAL by Sex / Occupation	59,374	60,053	17,679	232,932		
TOTAL by Occupation	119,427		250,611			
Males/100 Females	(3	2.27%)	(46.73%)			

Note: Data for Guyana, Jamaica and Suriname not available

Table 5.2 presents data for countries available and shows that there were 370,038 economically inactive persons and this group comprised of Retirees and persons involved in Home Duties. The majority of the economically inactive (67.7 per cent or 250,611 persons) were involved in home duties. The minority, (32.27 per cent or 119,427 persons) were Retirees. The population of retirees included 59,374 males (49.72 per cent) and 60,053 females (50.28 per cent) reflecting the average sex distribution of the population in most countries. The data however show that while there were more females, the number of male and female retirees was almost equal. Countries with a higher number of female retirees in rank order were Trinidad and Tobago which had a GDI of 179.54, Antigua and Barbuda (119.05), Montserrat (117.20), Bermuda (104.75) Belize (102.92). Bermuda had the lowest GD (61.93).

5.4.1 Retirees

Table 5.3: Gender Differential of Economically Inactive Population 14 years and over by Country, Sex and Activity Status 2000: Retirees

Countries	Males	Females	GD%
Anguilla	253	277	91.34
Antigua & Barbuda	50	42	119.05
The Bahamas	5,896	9,186	64.18
Barbados	11,805	17,306	68.21
Belize	2,434	2,365	102.92
Bermuda	2,095	3,383	61.93
British Virgin Islands	397	379	104.75
Dominica	2,151	2,651	81.14
Grenada	2,640	2,909	90.75
Montserrat	218	186	117.2
Saint Lucia	2.987	3,008	99.3
St Kitts & Nevis	1,057	1,430	73.92
St Vincent & the Grenadines	2,598	2,860	90.84
Trinidad & Tobago	24,539	13,668	179.54
Turks & Caicos Islands	254	403	63.03
TOTAL	59,374	60,053	98.87

Table 5.3 presents data on retirees for the counties for which data were available. It shows that there were more females than males who had retired. This is not surprising as females have a higher life expectancy than males. The table also shows that in rank order, the four countries with the highest GDs were Trinidad and Tobago (179.54), Antigua and Barbuda (119.05) Montserrat (117.20), and the British Virgin Islands (104.75). Countries with the lowest GDs were Bermuda (61.93), and the Turks and Caicos Islands (63.03). Further research would be needed to explain these trends.

5.4.2 Home Duties

Table 5.4: Gender Differentials of Economically Inactive Population 14 years and over by Country, Sex and Activity Status 2000: Home Duties

Countries	Males	Females	GD %
Anguilla	109	655	16.64
Antigua & Barbuda	48	215	22.33
The Bahamas	1,410	14,524	9.71
Barbados	419	11,124	3.77
Belize	368	23,371	1.57
Bermuda	172	2,213	7.77
British Virgin Islands	120	809	14.83
Dominica	1,383	6,851	20.19
Grenada	1,808	8,262	21.88
Montserrat	54	215	25.12
Saint Lucia	3,311	15,847	20.89
St Kitts & Nevis	361	2,244	16.09
St Vincent & the Grenadines	2,805	12,638	22.19
Trinidad & Tobago	5,285	13,2901	3.98
Turks & Caicos Islands	26	1,063	2.45
TOTAL	17,679	232,932	0.76
Males/100 Females	7.1%	92.9%	

Table 5.4 presents sex disaggregated data for persons involved in home duties and the analysis shows that the majority of persons involved in home duties (92.9 per cent) were females. This was consistent with explanations provided in Chapter 2 which indicated a clear sexual division of labour in the family which results in females having major responsibilities for work in the domestic (family) sphere and males dominating work in the public sphere. The largest groups of unwaged economically inactive female workers were in: Belize, St Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago and St Vincent and the Grenadines.

This could be explained by the influence of class, race and ethnicity on family patterns: Belize, Trinidad and Tobago and St Vincent and the Grenadines have populations of either Amerindian or East Indian families that tend to have a more traditional sexual division of labour in the household with women staying home to look after their families. (see Mohammed, 1998). Given the small size of the Amerindian community in SVG however, the results may be linked to larger numbers of women in the informal sector, as vendors and small service operators. Countries with the lowest differentials were: Belize, Turks and Caicos Islands, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, Bermuda and the Bahamas indicating that very few males in those countries are likely to be involved in home duties. Countries with the highest gender differentials in rank order were: Montserrat, Antigua and Barbuda, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Grenada and Anguilla. This indicates that more males in these countries were likely to be involved in home duties. It is likely that the state of the economy provides opportunities for paid employment for males outside the home. The rebuilding of Montserrat after the volcano has required the use of construction workers, the majority of whom are males hence the low level of males in home duties. The other countries depend on the tourism industry which is a sector that provides employment for both males and females hence fewer males would be in home duties.

The data also highlight the increased risk of poverty being feminized as persons involved in home duties are considered economically inactive and the majority of these are females. It points to the increased risk of females, as a group, being poorer, as they are not working outside the home in paid employment.

5.5 Employment Status of Household Heads

Table 5.5: Employment Status of Household Head by Country and Sex, 2000*

		Emplo	oyed		Unemployed			
Country	N		%		N		%	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Anguilla	1,874	868	32.6	15.1	59	18	1.03	0.31
Antigua & Barbuda	11,329	8,706	25	19.2	89	34	0.2	0.08
The Bahamas	2,853	1,593	18.2	10.2	1,325	840	8.45	5.36
Barbados	33,081	20,061	25.3	15.4	639	945	0.49	0.72
Belize	339	94	38.3	10.6	94	159	10.61	17.95
Bermuda	11,277	8,773	29.6	23	111	53	0.29	0.14
British Virgin Islands	4,983	2,319	36.3	16.9	21	817	0.15	5.94
Dominica	9,781	3,611	35.1	13	253	681	0.91	2.44
Grenada	10,592	4,603	32	13.9	387		1.17	0
Montserrat	749	386	37.3	19.2	117	18	5.83	0.9
Saint Lucia	18,889	9,660	27.2	13.9	2,189	1,080	3.16	1.56
St Kitts & Nevis	6,874	4,318	30.3	19.1	317	145	1.4	0.64
St Vincent & the Grenadines	12,124	4,841	41.2	16.5	2,007	728	6.83	2.48
Trinidad & Tobago	157,275	38,378	34.3	8.4	4,954	2,873	1.08	0.63
Turks & Caicos Islands	4,376	1,680	38.8	14.9	294	160	2.61	1.42
TOTALS (By Sex)	286,396	109,891			12,856	8,551		
TOTALS	396,	287			21,	407		

Note: Data for Guyana, Jamaica and Suriname not available

The employment status of the head of household is an important indicator of the economic status of the family and country. The most common measure used for more detailed information is the Survey of Living Conditions, which collects data on poverty and consumption at the household level.

Table 5.5 shows that in the countries for which data were available, the majority of the heads of household (94.87 or 396,287) were employed and 21,407 (5.13 per cent) were unemployed. The latter result indicates that an estimated 5 per cent of the population of these countries may be at risk of poverty. The data also confirmed the trend discussed in Chapter 2 that the majority of heads of household are males. The highest percentage of employed male heads of households was in St Vincent and the Grenadines (42.1 per cent), but only 16.5 per cent of female heads of household were employed. The resulting gender differential was 255.15 indicates a wide disparity in the employment opportunities for males and females in that country. The Population and Housing Census Report for St Vincent and the Grenadines showed higher levels of employment for males (62.08 per cent). The main sectors of employment were: agriculture, wholesale and retail, hotels and restaurants, the financial sector and the education sector. Female employment was 37.91 per cent and the sectors in which they were most active were: hotels and restaurants, transportation health and health and social work. This result is interesting, as females in SVG outrank males in achieving education at secondary level. The country has one of the highest gender differentials in the region at that level. Males dominate at the tertiary level, and so are more likely to be in formal employment.

In contrast, unemployment among heads of household was highest in Belize for both sexes but the rate was higher for females. This could be explained by ethnicity as Belize has some 16 ethnic groups recorded in the Census, many of which are traditional Amerindians or have Mestizo origins, which have more traditional family structures resulting in more women in home duties. The table below examines sex ratios for employed heads of household.

Table 5.6: Gender Differential of Employed Heads of Households for Selected Countries (2000)

Country	Males	Females	GD %*
Anguilla	1874	868	215.90
Antigua & Barbuda	11,329	8,706	130.13
The Bahamas	2,853	1,593	179.10
Barbados	33,081	20,061	164.90
Belize	339	94	360.64
Bermuda	11,277	8,773	128.54
British Virgin Islands	4,983	2,319	214.88
Dominica	9,781	3,611	270.87
Grenada	10,592	4,603	230.11
Montserrat	749	386	194.04
Saint Lucia	18,889	9,660	195.53
St Kitts & Nevis	6,874	4,318	159.19
St Vincent & the Grenadines	12,124	4,841	250.44
Trinidad & Tobago	157,275	38,378	409.80
Turks & Caicos Islands	4,376	1,680	260.48
TOTALS (By Sex)	286,396	109,891	260.62
TOTAL	3	96,287	
Males/100 Females	72.27%	27.73%	

The data in Table 5.6 show that the majority of employed household heads (72.27 per cent) were males and 27.73 per cent were females. The GD for employed heads of household was highest in Trinidad and Tobago (409.80), followed by Belize (360.64), Dominica (270.87) Turks and Caicos Islands (260.48), St Vincent and the Grenadines (250.44) and Anguilla (215.90). Countries with high differentials had significantly more male heads of household employed than female heads of household. Countries with the smaller GDs indicate closer parity between employed male and female heads of households. These were: Bermuda (12.85) Barbados (16.49) and Grenada (23.01).

This finding is consistent with data presented in Chapter 2 that showed that the head of household is more likely to be either male or female in the latter group. This is expected for Bermuda and Barbados, both of which are more economically developed countries as there are more opportunities for female employment. As a result there are understandably more female heads of household employed.

Table 5.7: Unemployed Household Head by Country and Sex (2000)

Country	Males	Females	Sex ratio
Anguilla	59	18	327.78
Antigua & Barbuda	89	34	261.76
The Bahamas	1,325	840	157.74
Barbados	639	945	67.62
Belize	94	159	59.12
Bermuda	111	53	209.43
British Virgin Islands	21	817	2.57
Dominica	253	681	37.15
Montserrat	117	18	650.00
Saint Lucia	2,189	1,080	202.69
St Kitts & Nevis	317	145	218.62
St Vincent & the Grenadines	2,007	728	275.69
Trinidad & Tobago	4954	2,873	172.43
Turks & Caicos Islands	294	160	183.75
TOTALS (By Sex)	12,469	8,551	145.82
TOTAL	21,020		
Males/100 Females	59.32%	40.68%	

An interesting finding was that more male heads than female heads of household were also unemployed: (59.32 per cent males) compared to 40.68 per cent females) a difference of 18.64 per cent. The highest GDs in rank order were in: Montserrat (650.0), Anguilla (327.78), St Vincent and the Grenadines (275.69); Antigua and Barbuda (261.76), Bermuda (209.43). The GD was smallest in BVI (2.57); Dominica (37.15), St Kitts and Nevis (43.54). The data in Table 5.7 indicate that the unemployment rate for males was higher than for female heads of household which has implications for the traditional concept and role of the male- breadwinner. The significantly higher ratio for Montserrat, no doubt reflects the reality that many male heads of households are unemployed as a result of the limited employment opportunities associated with the volcanic eruption in 1995 which destroyed most of the country.

The high rates of male unemployment in the other countries may reflect lack of employment opportunities related to job availability as well as lower secondary and tertiary education achievement of males compared to females. In St Vincent and the Grenadines, it may reflect the decline of the banana industry which was a major source of employment for males. For Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda and Bermuda, there may be changes in the off shore banking and other service sectors. These findings will be discussed in the Education chapter in this Monograph. However, the findings indicate a need for further research to explain these trends. The GD between unemployed male and female heads of household was lowest in four countries: BVI (2.57), Dominica, (37.15), Belize (59.12) and Barbados (67.62). This means that the differential between unemployed male and female heads was smaller when compared to the previous group of countries. The countries with lower GDs had more female than male heads of household unemployed. Further research is needed to explain these trends.

5.6 Differences in Labour Force Participation Rates of Household Heads

Table 5.8: Differences in Labour Force Participation Rates of Household Heads (1990/2000)

Country	1	990	20	000	% Difference		
Country	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Anguilla	N.A	N.A	33.6	15.4	N.A	N.A	
Antigua & Barbuda	N.A	N.A	25.2	19.3	N.A	N.A	
The Bahamas	68.2	31.8	26.7	15.5	-41.5	-47.3	
Barbados	64.9	35.1	25.8	16.1	-39.1	-19	
Belize	89.2	10.8	48.9	28.6	-40.3	17.9	
Bermuda	N.A	N.A	29.9	23.2	N.A	N.A	
British Virgin Islands	73.8	26.2	36.4	22.8	-37.4	-3.4	
Dominica	76.6	23.4	36	15.4	-40.6	-8	
Grenada	71.5	28.5	33.2	13.9	-38.3	-14.6	
Montserrat	68.8	31.2	43.1	20.1	-20.7	-11.1	
St Kitts & Nevis	63.8	36.2	31.7	19.7	-32.1	-16.5	
Saint Lucia	70.2	29.8	30.4	15.5	-39.8	-14.3	
St Vincent & the Grenadines	73.5	26.5	48.1	18.9	-25.4	-7.6	
Trinidad & Tobago	83.6	16.4	35.4	9	-48.2	-7.4	
Turks & Caicos	N.A	N.A	41.4	16.3	N.A	N.A	

Note: Data for Guyana, Jamaica and Suriname not available

The data in Table 5.8 show that in 2000 there were higher rates of labour force participation for male heads of household in all countries. It also showed that the rate for males was two to three times higher than for females. This trend is consistent with theories and research in the Caribbean on the sexual division of labour between men and women discussed by Rhoda Reddock (2000) and Keith Hart (1996) among others. In the household this is reflected in the concept of the male breadwinner/provider, and the male as head of household. The lower levels of employment among female heads of household have implications for poverty and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. It reflects the feminization of poverty: the dominance of single female heads of household in the poorest quintile, characterized by these households being larger in size and having a lower level of consumption than male headed households. Examples of these trends are reported in the Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions (2006). St Bernard (2001) also reports a growing trend for more educated middle class women choosing to become single mothers as they are unable to find suitable male partners with comparable levels of education. Single female headed households are larger because several generations may be living together consistent with females being the main caregivers for elderly relatives. Lower rates of labour force participation, higher rates of unemployment and the concentration of females in occupations that provide low wages, all contribute to the feminization of poverty. The larger number of unemployed females also implies dependency on a male breadwinner which leaves the female and her child or children vulnerable to economic and sexual exploitation. The table also shows that the gap between male and female heads was largest in Belize, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Montserrat and Turks and Caicos Islands. The explanation relates to patriarchal family structures and gender systems that prescribe the role of household head for males. It may also reflect the limited employment opportunities for females in these countries.

While 1990 census data were not available for all countries to compare trends for other periods, the data show that labour force participation rates declined for both male and female heads of household except in Belize where it increased for females. This means that employment opportunities improved for female heads of household over the two census periods.

Table 5.9: Gender Differentials of Labour Force Participation Rates of Household Heads (2000)

Countries	Male	Female	Sex ratio
Anguilla	33.61	15.4	218.25
Antigua & Barbuda	25.2	19.3	130.57
The Bahamas	26.7	15.5	172.23
Barbados	25.8	16.1	160.25
Belize	48.9	28.6	170.98
Bermuda	29.9	23.2	128.88
British Virgin Islands	36.4	22.8	175.44
Dominica	36	15.4	233.77
Grenada	33.2	13.9	238.85
Montserrat	43.1	20.1	214.43
St Kitts & Nevis	31.7	19.7	160.91
Saint Lucia	30.4	15.5	196.13
St Vincent & the Grenadines	48.1	18.9	254.5
Trinidad & Tobago	35.4	9	393.33
Turks & Caicos Islands	41.4	16.3	253.99

Table 5.9 shows the GD for Labour Force Participation Rates of Household Heads for the 2000 Round. Consistent with data in Table 5.6.1, data in Table 5.9 show that the labour force participation of male heads of household was higher than for female heads of household for the region as a whole. Again, this reflects the traditional role of the male breadwinner. However, sex ratios differed across the countries for which data were available. The countries in which the gender differential was highest were: Trinidad and Tobago (393.33), Turks and Caicos Islands (253.99), St Vincent and the Grenadines (245.50), Grenada (238.85), Dominica (233.77) and Anguilla (218.25). Trinidad and Tobago's results as previously indicated, are likely related to ethnicity. The other countries are societies in which traditional values of gender roles for males and females may have not changed significantly.

Gender differentials in Labour Force Participation rates for female-headed households were wide, and ranged from 9.0 to 28.6. Trinidad and Tobago had the lowest rate (9.0) and Belize had the highest (28.6). In rank order it was: Grenada (13.9); Anguilla and Dominica (15.4); Bahamas and St Lucia (15.5); Barbados (16.1), Turks and Caicos Islands (16.3); St Vincent and the Grenadines (18.9); Antigua and Barbuda (19.3); St Kitts and Nevis (19.7); Montserrat (20.1); British Virgin Islands (22.8); Bermuda (23.2); and Belize (28.6).

The large GDs in some countries may reflect several factors: the dominance of the traditional family model of a male breadwinner; the existence of gender stereotyping in occupations which restricts the types of jobs done by men and by women; the dominance of females in reproductive duties in the family which limits their participation in the paid labour force and requires them to combine productive and reproductive duties as discussed in Chapter 2. The data may also reflect more limited employment opportunities for females.

The largest differential was reflected in data for Trinidad and Tobago which also had the smallest number of female headed households participating in the labour force among countries for which data were available. The explanation is likely to be related to ethnicity, given the large East Indian population in that country which have a higher rate of male headed households and lower rates of female participation in the labour as a result of traditional gender roles for women in the family and a higher rate of marriage. (see Senior 1991 p.83).

Countries with the smallest differentials were: Bermuda (128.88), Antigua and Barbuda (130.57), St Kitts/Nevis (160.91), Belize (170.98), the Bahamas (172.23) St Lucia (196.13). The smaller differentials in the labour force participation rates of males and females heads of household may be explained by more employment opportunities for both sexes in these countries as a result of their level of economic development, hence the increased likelihood that household heads can be either male or female.

Table 5.10: Economically Active Population by Country, Sex and Highest Level of Education (2000)

Country	No	ne	Prin	nary	Secondary		Tertiary	
Country	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Anguilla	35	21	1,048	591	1,580	1,583	327	353
Antigua & Barbuda	12	9	7,143	7,556	11,543	14,828	2,055	2,030
The Bahamas	1,433	1,389	8,176	8,381	1,471	2,298	190	294
Barbados	3	2	7,546	5,556	44,743	38,678	14,524	16,554
Belize	999	474	780	554	210	161	16	16
Bermuda	42	23	1,995	1,129	12,110	11,629	5,337	5,418
British Virgin Islands	36	22	2,048	1,375	3,813	3,862	839	926
Dominica	330	91	11,536	4,962	4,274	4,975	751	682
Grenada	46	10	12,644	6,098	5,896	6,455	776	539
Montserrat	11	2	390	222	577	507	125	113
Saint Lucia	1,223	531	22,260	12,414	12,339	13,337	1,824	1,676
St Kitts & Nevis	118	66	2,253	1,316	8,348	7,665	892	728
St Vincent & the Grenadines	163	54	18,266	7,311	7,961	8,194	847	694
Trinidad & Tobago	137,780	49,904	18,114	9,558	96,061	88,764	10,650	8,386
Turks & Caicos Islands	1,831	1,868	4,458	4,420	803	658	-	-
TOTALS (By Sex)	144,062	54,466	118,657	71,443	211,729	203,594	39,153	38,409
TOTALS (By Education)	198,	528	190,	100	415	,323	77,	562

Note: Data for Guyana, Jamaica and Suriname not available

Table 5.10 presents data on the economically active members of the population and highest level of educational achievement. The data for countries available showed a total of 881,513 persons. This number included 198,528 persons with no education (22.5 per cent); 190,100 with primary education (21.57 per cent); 415,323 with secondary education (47.11 per cent) and 77,562 with tertiary education (8.80 per cent). This shows that a sizeable portion of working persons (44.07 per cent) had low levels of education (no education and primary education). Then 47 per cent had secondary education and only 9 per cent had tertiary education.

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Gender differences were then examined for each of these groups. The results showed that among workers participating in the labour force with *no education*, there were more males than females in all countries, except in the Turks and Caicos Islands. This trend is consistent with lower levels of literacy and primary education reported for males for the region as a whole (CARICOM, 2003). Among persons in the labour force with *primary education*, there **were more males than females in all except two countries**: Antigua and Barbuda and the Bahamas. This also reflects the lower levels of education of males reported in the literature. (See Evans (1998). It also indicates higher levels of education among females in the workforce in these two countries.

For persons in the labour force with *secondary education*, the patterns were more varied. Eight (8) of the 15 countries (**53.33 per cent**) had more males than females in this category. These were: Barbados, Belize, Bermuda, Grenada, Montserrat, St Kitts and Nevis, Trinidad and Tobago and the Turks and Caicos Islands. However, seven (7) countries (**46.67 per cent**) had more females than males: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, the British Virgin Islands, Dominica, St Lucia and St Vincent and the Grenadines. The results for the region show that males accounted for more than half of persons participating in the labour force with secondary education (53.33 per cent).

Data were only available for 14 countries for workers in the labour force with *tertiary education*. Among this group, it was noted that Belize had equal numbers of both sexes (7.14 per cent). However, eight (8) countries (57.14 per cent) had more males than females: Antigua and Barbuda (slightly more males), Dominica, Montserrat, Trinidad and Tobago, St Lucia, St Kitts and Nevis and St. Vincent and the Grenadines and Grenada. In addition, five (5) countries (35.71 per cent) had more females than males with tertiary education: Barbados (slightly more females), Anguilla, the Bahamas, Bermuda and the British Virgin Islands.

The emerging picture is that among persons participating in the labour force with no education or a primary education, the majority were males. Among workers in the labour force with a secondary education, more than half (53.33 per cent) were males. Among workers with tertiary education, the **majority** (57.14 per cent) were also males. The dominance of males among all groups is interesting and no doubt reflects the higher levels of male participation in the labour force in sectors requiring varying levels of education. This trend is also evident in the more detailed discussion on issues related to gender and education and employment provided in Chapter 3 in this Monograph. Readers should also examine the more detailed analysis provided in the Special Regional Topic Monograph on Employment, Education and Training.

5.7 Employed Population by Country

Table 5.11: Employed Population by Country, Sex and Occupational Group, 2000

Country	Profe	ssional	Cle	rical	Se	rvice	Sk	illed	Craft/r	elated	Plant/r	machine	Elem	entary
Country	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Anguilla	230	315	193	639	410	889	241	25	741	51	218	11	400	196
Antigua & Barbuda	791	968	811	3,433	2,200	3,894	348	86	4,165	432	1,377	91	2,226	2,841
The Bahamas	5,145	8,906	2,406	15,541	11,356	16,815	2,657	132	20,709	1,781	6,344	687	12,873	11,547
Barbados	5,442	7,839	2,860	12,250	7,198	12,524	2,809	489	15,661	2,035	6,523	1,927	11,496	11,312
Belize	12	19	13	51	57	30	41	1	126	17	65	14	173	96
Bermuda	2,388	1,667	1,138	1,803	3,018	3,575	768	43	760	224	6,567	389		
British Virgin Islands	750	933	413	1,463	600	1,346	191	25	1,930	187	532	29	840	764
Dominica	548	406	198	966	686	482	146	20	2,622	408	255	21	76	47
Grenada	432	304	176	978	989	1,201	188	19	3,090	342	210	71	492	207
Saint Lucia	1,630	2,573	989	3,669	4,063	5,929	4,678	1,146	7,095	1,054	2,394	815	3,376	3,453
St Kitts & Nevis	949	202	167	1,025	272	748	99	7	1,852	279	245	139	205	91
St Vincent & the Grenadines	1,773	1,909	207	1,095	1,342	880	72	12	4,281	653	383	31	190	102
Trinidad & Tobago	10,732	8,086	13,298	37,416	30,111	29,776	13,573	1,856	65,657	7,886	35,763	3,270	59,477	27,258
Turks & Caicos Islands	355	454	128	633	636	1,047	196	3	1,241	47	284	20	1,216	910
TOTAL (By Sex)	31,177	34,581	22,997	80,962	62,938	79,136	26,007	3,864	129,930	15,396	61,160	7,515	93,040	58,824
TOTAL (By Group)	65	,758	103	,959	14:	2,074	29	,871	145,	326	68,	,675	151	,864

Note: Data for Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat and Suriname not available

5.8 Employed Population by Occupational Group

Table 5.12: Employed Population by Sex and Occupational Group, All Countries (2000)

Catagory		N		% of	Total	GD%	
Category	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	<i>۵</i> 0%	
Professional	86,791	116,569	203,360	42.68	57.32	-14.64	
Clerical	49,200	157,978	207,178	23.75	76.25	-52.5	
Services	166,490	204,119	370,609	44.92	55.08	-10.15	
Skilled Agricultural	173,686	25,955	199,641	87	13	74	
Craft and Related Trades	332,317	41,682	373,999	88.86	11.14	77.71	
Plant Machine Operators	147,424	18,324	165,748	88.94	11.06	77.89	
Elementary	225,138	172,194	397,332	56.66	43.34	13.32	

Tables 5.11 and 5.12 provide information on the Employed Population by Country, Sex and Occupational group for 2000 for all countries except Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, Suriname and Bermuda and the GD for occupational groups. Table 5.12 shows that in countries for which data were available, the largest occupational group was comprised of workers in *Elementary* Occupations (397,332). The small gender differential (13.32 per cent) in favour of males, indicates a fair balance between the sexes (56.66 per cent males and 43.34 per cent females). The second largest group was Craft and Related Trades (373,999). The gender differential was 77.71 indicating a wide gap between males and females in this occupational group (88.86 per cent males and 11.14 per cent females). The third largest group was Services (370,609), with a gender differential of -10.15 per cent, indicating there were more females than males in this group. However the differential was small: (44.92 per cent males and 55.08 per cent females). The fourth largest group was Clerical Workers, (207,178) and was female-dominated. The differential was large -52.50 per cent in favour of females. The distribution was 23.75 males and 76.25 females. The fifth largest group was Professionals (203,360), and the differential was -14.64 per cent in favour of females. The distribution was 42.68 per cent males and 57.32 per cent females. The sixth group was comprised of Skilled Agricultural Workers (199,641) and this was male-dominated with a gender differential of 74 per cent. The seventh and final group was *Plant* Machine Operators (165,748). The gender differential was 77.89 per cent also indicating a wide gap between males and females (88.94 per cent males and 11.06 per cent females).

These gender differentials reflect occupational stereotyping with clustering of either males or females in the various occupational groups, reflecting traditional sexual division of labour in the labour market, with most occupations being either male-dominated or female-dominated.

The male-dominated categories were Plant Machine Operators, Craft and Related Trades, Skilled Agricultural Workers and Elementary Occupations. The female-dominated occupations were Clerical, Professional and Services. The largest differential in favour of females was Clerical (-52.50 per cent) and for males it was Plant and Machine Operators (77.89). The gender differentials were smallest in the Services category with more equal numbers of males and females employed in this sector. The majority of Elementary workers were male, but the differential was small (13.32 per cent) also indicating near parity between the sexes. The data also reflect the wide differentials in educational achievement between the sexes and the link between education and occupation. The categories in which *males dominate require lower levels of education* indicating they would have either no education or primary education. The categories in which *females dominated require higher levels of education at secondary and tertiary levels*.

Table 5.13: Gender Differential of Professionals by Country 2000

Countries	F	Professiona	als	% c	f Total	CD 0/
Countries	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	GD %
Anguilla	230	315	545	42.2	57.8	-15.6
Antigua & Barbuda	791	968	1,759	44.97	55.03	-10.06
The Bahamas	5,145	8,906	14,051	36.62	63.38	-26.77
Barbados	5,442	7,839	13,281	40.98	59.02	-18.05
Bermuda	2,388	1,667	4,055	58.89	41.11	17.78
British Virgin Islands	750	933	1,683	44.56	55.44	-10.87
Dominica	548	406	954	57.44	42.56	14.88
Grenada	432	304	736	58.7	41.3	17.39
Guyana	2,747	2,879	5,626	48.83	51.17	-2.35
Jamaica	49,030	70,897	119,927	40.88	59.12	-18.23
Montserrat	67	87	154	43.51	56.49	-12.99
Saint Lucia	1,630	2,573	4,203	38.78	61.22	-22.44
St Kitts & Nevis	949	202	1,151	82.45	17.55	64.9
St Vincent & the Grenadines	1,773	1,909	3,682	48.15	51.85	-3.69
Suriname	3,782	8,144	11,926	31.71	68.29	-36.58
Trinidad & Tobago	10,732	8,086	18,818	57.03	42.97	14.06
Turks & Caicos Islands	355	454	809	43.88	56.12	-12.24
TOTAL	86,791	116,569	203,360	42.68	57.32	-14.64

Table 5.13 provides details on the gender differentials among professionals in various Caribbean countries. As previously indicated, the majority of professionals for the region as a whole were females (57.32 per cent) compared to 42.68 per cent males.

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The gender differential was -14.64 per cent. Analysis of the gender differentials for the various countries however shows that there were more males than females as professionals in five countries: St Kitts and Nevis with a differential of 64.90 per cent; Bermuda, (17.78 per cent), Grenada (17.39 per cent), Dominica (14.88 per cent) and Trinidad and Tobago (14.06 per cent).

Different explanations are offered for these results. In St Kitts and Nevis, the significantly higher number of male professionals may reflect males working in the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States Central Bank, and in offshore banking and financial institutions. It also mirrors the low level of female participation at the highest level of decision-making in politics in St Kitts and Nevis. The results may also reflect the higher number of males participating in the labour force with secondary and tertiary education.

In Bermuda, the higher percentage of male professionals could be related to males' domination of management positions in the public and private sectors, as well as the hospitality, insurance or offshore banking sectors. In Grenada, the higher number of male professionals may also reflect a larger number of males in leadership and management positions in the public and private sectors, as well as the dominance of males among the categories of workers with secondary and tertiary education, discussed earlier. In Dominica it may reflect more males with secondary and tertiary education employed in supervisory or management positions.

Four countries had the largest gender differentials in favour of females: Suriname (-36.58 per cent), the Bahamas (-26.77 per cent) and St Lucia (-22.44 per cent) and Jamaica (-18.23 per cent). The explanation could be the result of females pursuing higher levels of education and therefore being academically qualified for professional jobs. Countries with the smallest differentials (near parity) were: Guyana (-2.35 per cent), St Vincent and the Grenadines (-3.69 per cent). The fairly large percentages of males and females as professionals are explained by both sexes pursuing higher education and securing employment in the public and private sectors. The results for Guyana, may also reflect the outcome of that country's "quota system" which is a deliberate policy of placing women in senior government positions to promote gender equality.

Table: 5.14: Gender Differentials of Clerical Workers by Country (2000)

Countries		Clerical		% (of Total	CD 0/
Countries	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	- GD %
Anguilla	193	639	832	23.2	76.8	-53.61
Antigua & Barbuda	811	3,433	4,244	19.11	80.89	-61.78
The Bahamas	2,406	15,541	17,947	13.41	86.59	-73.19
Barbados	2,860	12,250	15,110	18.93	81.07	-62.14
Bermuda	1,138	1,803	2,941	38.69	61.31	-22.61
British Virgin Islands	413	1,463	1,876	22.01	77.99	-55.97
Dominica	198	966	1,164	17.01	82.99	-65.98
Grenada	176	978	1,154	15.25	84.75	-69.5
Guyana	5,396	10,872	16,268	33.17	66.83	-33.66
Jamaica	14,358	56,229	70,587	20.34	79.66	-59.32
Montserrat	36	215	251	14.34	85.66	-71.31
Saint Lucia	989	3,669	4,658	21.23	78.77	-57.54
St Kitts & Nevis	167	1,025	1,192	14.01	85.99	-71.98
St Vincent & the Grenadines	207	1,095	1,302	15.9	84.1	-68.2
Suriname	6,426	9,751	16,177	39.72	60.28	-20.55
Trinidad & Tobago	13,298	37,416	50,714	26.22	73.78	-47.56
Turks & Caicos Islands	128	633	761	16.82	83.18	-66.36
TOTAL	49,200	157,978	207,178	23.75	76.25	-52.5

Table 5.14 shows that the majority of Clerical Workers were female (76.25 per cent) and that 23.75 per cent were males. The gender differential was –52.50 per cent in favour of females. The differential was largest in the Bahamas (-73.19) and St Kitts & Nevis (-71.98 per cent). This means that females were much more likely than males to be Clerical Workers indicating adherence to gender stereotyping of a female-dominated occupation. The smallest differentials were in Suriname (-20.55 per cent) and Bermuda (-22.61) indicating that these countries are more open and less rigid in relation to occupational gender stereotypes.

Table 5.15: Gender Differentials of Skilled Agricultural Workers by Country (2000)

Country	Skill	ed Agricul	tural	% of	Total	GD%
Country	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	GD%
Anguilla	241	25	266	90.6	9.4	81.2
Antigua & Barbuda	348	86	434	80.18	19.82	60.37
The Bahamas	2,657	132	2,789	95.27	4.73	90.53
Barbados	2,809	489	3,298	85.17	14.83	70.35
Bermuda	768	43	811	94.7	5.3	89.4
British Virgin Islands	191	25	216	88.43	11.57	76.85
Dominica	146	20	166	87.95	12.05	75.9
Grenada	188	19	207	90.82	9.18	81.64
Guyana	22,240	3,339	25,579	86.95	13.05	73.89
Jamaica	113,419	16,468	129,887	87.32	12.68	74.64
Montserrat	60	7	67	89.55	10.45	79.1
Saint Lucia	4,678	1,146	5,824	80.32	19.68	60.65
St Kitts & Nevis	99	7	106	93.4	6.6	86.79
St Vincent & the Grenadines	72	12	84	85.71	14.29	71.43
Suriname	12,001	2,278	14,279	84.05	15.95	68.09
Trinidad & Tobago	13,573	1,856	15,429	87.97	12.03	75.94
Turks & Caicos Islands	196	3	199	98.49	1.51	96.98
TOTAL	173,686	25,955	199,641	87	13	74

Table 5.15 data show that for the region as whole, the majority of Skilled Agricultural Workers (87 percent) were males. The wide gender differential (74 per cent) again reflects the reality of occupational stereotyping with work in the agricultural sector still being perceived as the preserve of males. The largest differentials were in Turks and Caicos Islands (96.98 per cent), the Bahamas (90.53 per cent) and Bermuda (89.40 per cent).

The results may also reflect gender biases in the collection of data on work done by women in agriculture as well as undervaluing women's role in the sector.

The results speak to the need to expand research on rural women, and policy interventions to address gender inequalities, consistent with CEDAW (Article 14) commitments to eliminate discrimination against rural women and to address their need for access to services, training and employment opportunities. The wide gender differential and women's implied unskilled status also has implications for the feminization of poverty. Rural families often experience higher levels of poverty and poorer living standards as reflected in Living Conditions Surveys.

Table: 5.16: Gender Differentials of Craft and Related Workers by Country (2000)

Country	Cra	ft and Rela	ated	% of	Total	GD %
Country	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	GD %
Anguilla	741	51	792	93.56	6.44	87.12
Antigua & Barbuda	4,165	432	4,597	90.6	9.4	81.21
The Bahamas	20,709	1,781	22,490	92.08	7.92	84.16
Barbados	15,661	2,035	17,696	88.5	11.5	77
Bermuda	760	224	984	77.24	22.76	54.47
British Virgin Islands	1,930	187	2,117	91.17	8.83	82.33
Dominica	2,622	408	3,030	86.53	13.47	73.07
Grenada	3,090	342	3,432	90.03	9.97	80.07
Guyana	33,754	3,816	37,570	89.84	10.16	79.69
Jamaica	146,698	21,228	167,926	87.36	12.64	74.72
Montserrat	237	18	255	92.94	7.06	85.88
Saint Lucia	7,095	1,054	8,149	87.07	12.93	74.13
St Kitts & Nevis	1,852	279	2,131	86.91	13.09	73.82
St Vincent & the Grenadines	4,281	653	4,934	86.77	13.23	73.53
Suriname	21,824	1,241	23,065	94.62	5.38	89.24
Trinidad & Tobago	65,657	7,886	73,543	89.28	10.72	78.55
Turks & Caicos Islands	1,241	47	1,288	96.35	3.65	92.7
TOTAL	332,317	41,682	373,999	88.86	11.14	77.71

Table 5.16 data shows that the majority of Craft and Related Workers are males (88.86 per cent). The gender differential was 77.71 per cent indicating wide gender disparities between the number of males and females in this occupational group. This group also reflects occupational stereotyping in favour of males. The highest differentials (over 80 per cent) were in: the Turks and Caicos Islands, Suriname, Montserrat, the British Virgin Islands and Grenada. The category of craft and related workers, includes trades persons (plumbers, masons, carpenters) the majority of whom are males. This group of workers tends to have relatively low levels of formal education and limited certification and those who do are likely to have basic primary, vocational or no education.

Table 5.17: Gender Differentials of Plant Machine Operators by Country (2000)

Country	Cra	ft and Rela	ited	% of	Total	CD 0/
Country	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	GD %
Anguilla	218	11	229	95.2	4.8	90.39
Antigua & Barbuda	1,377	91	1,468	93.8	6.2	87.6
The Bahamas	6,344	687	7,031	90.23	9.77	80.46
Barbados	6,523	1,927	8,450	77.2	22.8	54.39
Bermuda	6,567	389	6,956	94.41	5.59	88.82
British Virgin Islands	532	29	561	94.83	5.17	89.66
Dominica	255	21	276	92.39	7.61	84.78
Grenada	210	71	281	74.73	25.27	49.47
Guyana	19,774	940	20,714	95.46	4.54	90.92
Jamaica	54,841	9,563	64,404	85.15	14.85	70.3
Montserrat	71	3	74	95.95	4.05	91.89
Saint Lucia	2,394	815	3,209	74.6	25.4	49.21
St Kitts & Nevis	245	139	384	63.8	36.2	27.6
St Vincent & the Grenadines	383	31	414	92.51	7.49	85.02
Suriname	11,643	317	11,960	97.35	2.65	94.7
Trinidad & Tobago	35,763	3,270	39,033	91.62	8.38	83.24
Turks & Caicos Islands	284	20	304	93.42	6.58	86.84
TOTAL	147,424	18,324	165,748	88.94	11.06	77.89

Table 5.17 shows that the majority of Plant Machine Operators are males (88.94 per cent); the gender differential is large (77.89 per cent). The countries with the largest gender differentials were Suriname, Guyana, Montserrat and Anguilla indicating that over 90 per cent of Plant Machine Operators in those countries was males. Countries with more females in this category (in rank order) were: St Kitts & Nevis; St Lucia, Grenada, and Barbados. This indicates that more females in these countries have broken the occupational stereotype and have moved into an area that as been traditionally male dominated.

5.9 Employed Population by Country, Sex and Industry

Table 5.18: Employed Population by Country, Sex and Industry Group (2000)

Countries	Agric	ultural	Manufa	acturing	Util	ities	Const	ruction	Tran	sport	Financial	
Countries	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Anguilla	43	13	69	47	62	18	798	27	271	99	60	138
Antigua & Barbuda	410	167	782	516	352	77	2,572	99	1,516	814	266	615
The Bahamas	4,488	570	3,903	2,205	1,462	351	16,136	844	7,131	3,645	2,367	5,922
Barbados	3,184	1,277	6,778	5,534	1,040	240	12,057	725	5,643	2,099	1,658	3,323
Belize	137	29	27	26	3		-	-	14	4	181	160
Bermuda	463	44	788	395	341	84	3,626	177	1,846	999	816	1,977
British Virgin Islands	124	221	316	157	115	23	1,269	55	605	244	238	548
Dominica	4,490	1,259	246	77	2,691	124	2,432	3,060	647	1,957	572	1,153
Grenada	2,599	1,256	278	113	5,113	286	3,698	3,946	816	2,272	571	1,224
Saint Lucia	3,588	1,106	1,722	1,977	375	86	3,844	191	2,095	606	284	563
St Kitts & Nevis	1,119	556	224	959	3,087	169	1,967	2,494	593	1,891	558	773
St Vincent & the Grenadines	4,305	1,018			1,731	725	498	103	1,042	1,357	2,150	456
Trinidad & Tobago	23,845	3,079	37,883	13,738	4,642	1,039	45,868	3,446	24,934	5,712	18,132	16,482
TOTAL (By Sex)	48,795	10,595	53,016	25,744	21,014	3,222	94,765	15,167	47,153	21,699	27,853	33,334
TOTAL (By Sector)	59	,390	78	,760	24	236	109	,932	68,	852	61	,187

Note: Data for Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, Suriname and Turks and Caicos not available

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Construction was the largest source of employment and was male-dominated in all countries. This also reflects an occupational stereotype for males. Surprisingly, in three countries (Dominica, Grenada and St Kitts& Nevis) there were more females employed in this sector than males, reversing the occupational stereotype of the male construction worker. Many males were also employed as construction workers in these countries. The trend can be explained by several factors: the willingness of women to be trained in construction skills and companies to employ them; construction providing a source of employment for both males and females with low levels of education.

Similarly, the GD for employment in the transport sector reflects a change in an occupational stereotype for males. The data show that there were more females than males in the sector in St Kitts and Nevis, the Turks and Caicos Islands and St Vincent and the Grenadines. The results may reflect an increased demand for transportation in the tourism industry and willingness for females to move into a non-traditional field.

5.10 Household Heads as Recipients of Social Welfare Benefits by Country and Sex

Table 5.19 Household Heads as Recipients of Social Welfare Benefits by Country and Sex (2000)

Countries	Pen	sion	Dis	sability	Old Aç	ge Pension	Public A	Assistance	Social Security		Unemployment Benefit	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Anguilla	-	-	10	7	-	-	461	247	67	48	2	4
Antigua & Barbuda	857	608	27	19	-	-	19	30	590	535	32	32
Barbados	ı	1	221	608	-	1	550	580	ı	-	184	165
Bermuda	2,121	2,533	-	-	-	-	-	ı	-	-	-	-
British Virgin Islands	274	188	17	7	-	-	28	27	219	413	10	3
Dominica	1,309	747	49	29	-	-	192	321	662	447	53	29
Grenada	2,015	1,566	20	18	-	-	74	101	62	98	34	31
Montserrat	114	53	1	1	-	-	100	84	37	14	-	-
Saint Lucia	2,044	1,176	-	-	-	-	154	148	282	229	100	76
St Kitts & Nevis	344	185	8	4	-	ı	12	23	166	172	11	8
St Vincent & the Grenadines	1,306	819	11	8	-	ı	188	688	188	225	28	13
Turks & Caicos Islands	98	34	-	-	158	143	-	-	1	-	-	-
TOTAL (By Sex)	10,482	7,909	364	701	158	143	1,778	2,249	2,273	2,181	454	361
TOTAL (By Sector)	18,	,391		1,065		301	4	,027	4	,454		815

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Table 5.19 shows that males were the majority of persons receiving a *pension* in the above-mentioned countries except Antigua and Barbuda and Bermuda. Results for the latter two countries may be explained by high labour force participation for females, including in professional jobs. Males were also the majority of persons receiving *disability benefits*, except in Barbados. More research would be needed to explain the results for Barbados. Males were also the main beneficiaries of *public assistance* in five of the countries for which data were available: Anguilla, the BVI, Montserrat, St Lucia and the Turks and Caicos Islands. Females were the majority of beneficiaries in six countries (Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, St Kitts and Nevis, and St Vincent and the Grenadines).

For social security, males were the main beneficiaries in Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Montserrat and St Lucia. Females were the main beneficiaries in the British Virgin Islands, Grenada, St Kitts and Nevis and St Vincent and the Grenadines. For persons receiving unemployment benefits, males were the majority in all countries for which data were available except Anguilla. Antigua and Barbuda had equal numbers of male and female beneficiaries. Overall, males were the main beneficiaries of most Social Welfare Benefits. This reflects the higher rate of male participation and employment in the paid labour force which would provide access to these benefits. The results also highlight females' limited access to social protection as a result on their lower level of participation in the formal labour market. It was therefore not surprising that more women depended on public assistance in six countries compared to males in five countries. However, further research is needed to explain the trends in the two groups of countries.

5.11 Self-employed Household Heads by Country, Sex and Number of Workers Employed (2000)

Table 5.20: Self-employed Household Heads by Country, Sex and Number of Workers Employed

Countries	1 Pe	erson	2 - 4	Persons	5 - 9 [Persons	10 - 20	Persons	20+ Persons	
Countries	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Anguilla	49	12	73	15	39	6	27	2	7	-
Antigua & Barbuda	132	56	238	51	103	14	43	11	22	2
British Virgin Islands	68	18	126	23	47	8	54	6	18	3
Dominica	203	53	378	40	87	6	46	6	19	2
Grenada	296	47	287	57	118	14	57	8	27	2
Montserrat	19	7	26	4	12	-	7	1	2	-
St Kitts & Nevis	104	36	170	37	93	14	48	6	27	1
St Vincent & the Grenadines	275	52	466	97	178	24	47	14	39	6
TOTAL (By Sex)	1,146	281	1,764	324	677	86	329	54	161	16
TOTAL (By Sector)	1,	427	2	,088	-	763	3	383	•	177

Table 5.20 shows that for the countries for which data were available, the majority of self-employed heads of household were males for establishments of all sizes as indicated by the number of persons they employed. Most self-employed persons had either 2-4 workers or one worker. Overall self-employed female heads of household were more likely to employ fewer persons in their establishment. Very few females employed more than 20 persons. Of the 177 self employed heads of household who employed 20 or more persons, only 16 (9.04 per cent) were women. Of 383 who employed 10-20 persons 54 of 383 (14.01 per cent) were females. Of 763 persons 86 (11.27 per cent) were females who employed 5-9 persons. Of 2088 persons who employed 2-4 persons, 324 (15.52 per cent) were females. Finally, 281 of 1427 self employed persons who employed one person were females (19.69 per cent). The findings reflect the unequal position of women as self-employed persons and owners of establishments. There is an inverse relationship such that the larger the size of the establishment, the smaller the likelihood that it will be owned by a female head of household.

5.12 Conclusions

This gender analysis of census data on economic activity has helped to highlight persistent gender inequalities in employment, the continued discrimination against women as a group in the labour market and the limited changes that have occurred in jobs traditionally done by both women and men. Occupational stereotyping has persisted for both sexes, highlighting the need for more proactive policies and programmes to fulfill commitments to CEDAW and the MDGs to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of women by 2015.

This analysis showed the valuable of using sex disaggregated census data to give greater visibility to the employment status of both men and women, especially those who are heads of households. Census data and other social and economic policy studies have again proven effective in helping to predict groups at risk of poverty and subject to gender discrimination. The census data provides a general overview of trends which is useful for Caribbean countries that may lack the requisite technical and financial resources to undertake regular labour force, poverty and living conditions surveys to guide policy and planning interventions to address the needs of the most economically vulnerable groups in the population, which include single female headed households.

One of the limitations of this chapter was the inability to compare more data from the 1990 and 2000 round of censuses, because of the unavailability of data for some countries. However for the data which were available, the evidence suggests that there has not been any dramatic change in the sexual division of labour in the household and in the labour force, although there are some welcome 'cracks and scratches'. These are comparable to those described by Leo-Rhynie in her examination of the UWI 'glass ceiling' in the institutions 60 year history. (Leo-Rhynie, 2008). The analysis of the census data showed that among the most notable changes were an increased number of women in non-traditional occupations such as: construction, trades and Plant Machine Workers. There were also more women in Professional categories.

Another conclusion is that gender inequality in labour force participation rates have persisted, which negatively impacts female heads of household. Data on the Employment status of the household head by sex reflected the traditional sexual division of labour with the traditional role of the male breadwinner and the female family caregiver discussed in Chapter 2.

A further conclusion is that data on the "Economically active population by country, sex, and highest educational attainment', confirmed the causal link between gender roles, gender inequalities, education outcomes, employment and labour force participation rates. (see Bailey 2004 for example). Increased educational attainment of women has not resulted in gender equality in the labour market.

The data on the *Employed population by country sex and occupational group* and data on *Employed population by country, sex and industry* also highlight the continued sexual division of labour in the labour force and the household. The results also explain the data on Household heads as recipients of social welfare benefits by occupation and sex which reinforce the links between gender inequality and poverty. Women's unequal access to social protection and social welfare benefits result from their unequal participation in the paid labour force.

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Similarly the data on Self- employed household heads by country sex, and the number of workers employed, showed that women were more likely than men to have smaller businesses and to employ fewer workers.

The conclusions drawn from this chapter highlight the need for Caribbean policymakers to use gender as an analytical tool to guide interventions for national development if countries in the region are to achieve the targets of the Millennium Development Goals, especially poverty reduction, gender equality and the economic empowerment of women.

The findings also indicate several areas for further research and data collection. These include data on employment of men and women with disabilities and other marginalized groups as well as sex disaggregated data and research on the informal sector. This would help to clarify work at the micro level and the work done by both sexes in various sectors. The Social Relations Framework would support a deeper analysis of trends which could be provided by the various areas of social policy research proposed, as it helps to identify the influence of race, ethnicity and class on employment outcomes for both sexes.

CHAPTER 6

HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS AND HOUSING

6.1 Introduction

Access to adequate housing is a fundamental human right, recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights. In relation to gender equality in housing, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) stipulates that men and women should have equal rights to adequate housing, shelter and living conditions; and countries that are signatory to the Convention are required to report regularly on this provision. Target 11 of the Millennium Development Goals promotes access to land and housing with a view to reducing slum dwellings and homelessness by 2020. This target, supported by MDG Goal 3 which seeks gender equality, is another plank of the policy platform in which access to land and housing are promoted as key requirements for successful participation in economic and social opportunities.

The quality of housing accessed can be used to gauge the social and economic status of households, and is often the basis for assessing poverty based on income considerations. Conversely, the productivity and economic potential of persons in households might be affected by the quality of the housing they inhabit. In gender terms, women who perform more homebased activities than men are measurably impacted on by the quality of housing conditions, and the degree to which living conditions can enable or hinder their ability to perform multiple reproductive and productive roles in the home environment. Access to water and sanitation services, essential to healthy and safe living environment, are often accessed on terms that are gendered. Lack of running water and sewer connections can pose health and hygiene hazards, and where there is a dependency on pit latrines, security risks as well, which might affect women to a greater degree. A recent study conducted in Jamaica (Vassal, 2007) documented the challenges faced by women whose water procurement tasks required several miles of walking to a water source. The time requirements of such tasks mean that women are less able to devote attention to more productive income generating activities. Thus while access to housing can be considered a practical gender issue that is of importance to both genders, it is also a strategic issue, requiring an enabling policy environment to direct the flow of resources to the most vulnerable.

In the Caribbean and elsewhere, the recognition of gendered nature of access to land and housing has given rise to housing and shelter projects in response to the precarious situations faced by women. Examples of such projects in the Caribbean include: the Women's Construction Collective in Jamaica, established in 1983, and the St Peter Claver housing cooperative, also in Jamaica, formed in 1989. More recent examples can be found in St Lucia, where special training in construction was provided to females students at the National Skills Development Centre; as well as in Grenada, where women had opportunities in the wake of Hurricane Ivan in 2006.

In 2007 the housing revolution project in Dominica saw a number of women benefitting from low cost housing, and there have been efforts to monitor their access to housing loans.

These projects address housing needs in various ways. Some are concerned with equipping women with the technical skills in construction, and may at the same time promote opportunities for women to organize for housing improvement, and in a wider sense for social and economic change. Notable in this regard was the formation of the St Peter Claver Housing Cooperative, which emerged from the activism of a group of workers employed in the free trade zone in Jamaica. Initiatives such as these focus on women as a specific group, while in other cases gender analysis is part of the process leading to the intervention (as occurred in the housing revolution in Dominica). This latter approach is however less practised, despite the existence of national housing and shelter policies in several Caribbean countries.

Another important issue is the basis on which housing is accessed, whether owned, rented or occupied under other conditions. Home ownership affords greater flexibility in the ability to leverage financial resources through bank loans for business and personal purposes. Home owners have more control than renters in the fortification of dwellings to prepare for hurricanes and other natural disasters. Records of loans issued by banks show that loans are accessed by males to a greater degree than by females. The St Lucia Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire (CWIQ) conducted in 2005 found that female heads of households were less likely to own assets such as land, housing and vehicles, (61% compared to 65% of male-headed, 76% compared to 80% and 14% compared to 34%). Moreover, the fragility of housing accessed can put women in situations of higher vulnerability to violent attacks, particularly where they are the lone inhabitants. As noted by the UN Special Rapporteur on gender issues in housing, there is

"frequent and widespread ... violence, commonly experienced by women in situations where their right to adequate housing is also violated. Women are experiencing different forms of violence which are often a result of living in inadequate housing. Or the violation of their right to adequate housing contributes to their vulnerability to gender violence. Violence that relates to women's right to adequate housing occurs at all levels, in the family, the community, by the State and globally. ..Within the home this can take the form of domestic violence, or rape and harassment before during and after forced evictions, or in situations of armed or ethnic conflict. Domestic workers, for example, may be forced to live in closed spaces or sleep on kitchen floors, sometimes at risk of being raped by their employers. Degrading housing and living conditions such as lack of access to water, sanitation, electricity, health care and lack of space and privacy can make women more vulnerable to gender violence, abuses and related exposure to HIV/AIDS.

The observation underscores further the particular dangers faced by marginalised women who face multiple disadvantages as a consequence of being a woman who is single, a sole head of household, a widow, an indigenous person or member of minority communities, living under occupation or being forcibly evicted. Other categories of vulnerability which exposed women to violence and stress included women migrant workers, domestic workers, girl children, elderly women, women living in extreme poverty, women with disabilities and women with HIV/AIDS.

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 $^{^{\}rm 14}$ Statement by Miloon Kothari, UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing on International Women's Day, New Delhi, 2004

Poverty could be a cross-cutting factor in any of these categories, and would accentuate the difficulties women confront.

Insofar as the physical structure is a factor in the security of the dwelling, the type of construction counts in how vulnerable an occupant might be to violent intrusions and to natural disasters. The Census reports on a number of variables that are useful in this regard, conveying the nature of the housing accessed and the characteristics of households. Material of outer walls, access to public piped water supply versus stand pipes, the number of rooms in the household, installation of equipment, and the type of toilet facilities are measures of the quality of housing occupied, and by extension the economic means of the head of the household. Data captured in the household questionnaire describe the occupants of the household, furnishing details such as the age, gender education, employment which are discussed in other chapters of this monograph.

A gender analysis of housing trends can therefore enable planners and policy makers to identify gender gaps in a range of indicators, including patterns of property ownership, household size and issues of overcrowding, and the potential of household heads to achieve income security.

6.2 Patterns of House Ownership and Rental

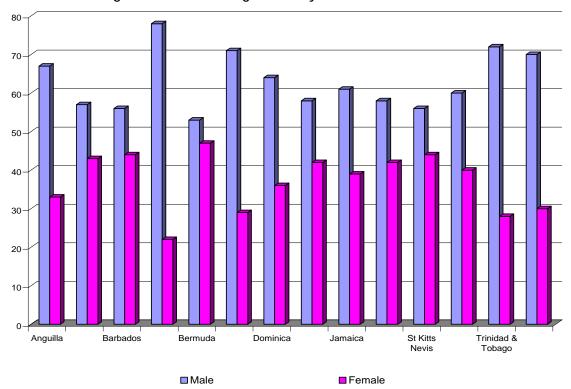
Among the 14 countries for which data were available, male heads of households were more likely to own their homes compared to female heads. Gender differentials were as low as 6 percentage points in Bermuda, and as high as 56 percentage points in Belize. In the lower band, percentages between 6 and 20 were found in Bermuda, Barbados, St Kitts Nevis, Antigua/Barbuda, Grenada, St Lucia and St Vincent/Grenadines. In the upper band were percentages between 40 and 56, in the Turks and Caicos Islands, British Virgin Islands, Trinidad and Tobago and Belize.

With the exception of Bermuda, males were more than twice as prone in most countries to live in squatting or rent-free dwellings, as shown in Table 6.1

Table 6.1: Percentage Access to Housing Owned by Sex of Household Head and Country (2001)

Country	Male	Female	GD%
Anguilla	67	33	34
Antigua & Barbuda	57	43	14
Barbados	56	44	12
Belize	78	22	56
Bermuda	53	47	6
British Virgin Islands	71	29	42
Dominica	64	36	28
Grenada	58	42	16
Jamaica	61	39	22
Saint Lucia	58	42	16
St Kitts Nevis	56	44	12
St Vincent Grenadines	60	40	20
Trinidad & Tobago	72	28	44
Turks Caicos Islands	70	30	40

Figure 6.1: Percentage Access to Housing Owned by Head of Household for Selected Countries (2001)



Gender differentials in house rentals were less pronounced than in house ownership. The average for countries supplying data was 14, compared to — for house ownership. Again the smallest differentials were in Bermuda and Barbados, suggesting that in countries where female employment was more secure, and wage levels higher, the challenges of housing were less pronounced. On the other hand, the higher differentials in BVI, Belize, Trinidad and Tobago and TCI suggest that female heads in those countries are less likely to occupy housing owned or rented; and may reflect cultural patterns in which women are more likely to be in households with male partners.

While the data indicate a greater tendency towards home ownership (a total of 778,971 owned compared to 303,999 rented), they also show that female heads of households more readily access rental than owned housing. Only in Grenada and in BVI was this trend broken, with the gender differentials in rentals surpassing those in ownership (Figure 6.3).

The trend in which rental is a more common form of occupancy than ownership for female heads implies that access to credit and capital for female household heads is compromised to a greater degree than it is for males heads, as without collateral female heads are less likely to qualify for loans. Lack of title inhibits the chances that female heads will be able to access loans and capital; and conversely, the inability to access loans restricts their chances of property ownership.

Considering that fewer female heads having access to both owned and rented housing, it may be inferred that many females are sharing households with relatives, rather than owning or renting their homes.

Table 6.2: Access to Housing Rented by Sex of Household Head and Country 2001

Country	Male		Female		Total	GD %
Country	N	%	N	%	TOLAI	GD %
Anguilla	658	59.9	441	40.1	1,099	19.8
Antigua & Barbuda	3,605	55.8	2,859	44.2	6,464	11.6
Barbados	9,669	52.9	8,617	47.1	18,286	5.8
Belize	7,623	68.3	3,538	31.7	11,161	36.6
Bermuda	6,737	52.4	6,117	47.6	12,854	4.8
British Virgin Islands	3,138	94.7	174	5.3	3,312	89.4
Dominica	2,353	56	1,848	44	4,201	12
Grenada	1,765	60.5	1,151	39.5	2,916	21
Jamaica	92,344	53.1	81,465	46.9	173,809	6.2
Saint Lucia	4,769	53.1	4,209	46.9	8,978	6.2
St Kitts & Nevis	2,327	55.2	1,888	44.8	4,215	10.4
St Vincent Grenadines	2,209	56.7	1,690	43.3	3,899	13.4
Trinidad & Tobago	33,797	69.5	14,829	30.5	48,626	39
Turks Caicos Islands	2,865	68.6	1,314	31.4	4,179	37.2
TOTAL	173,859	57.2	130,140	42.8	303,999	14.4

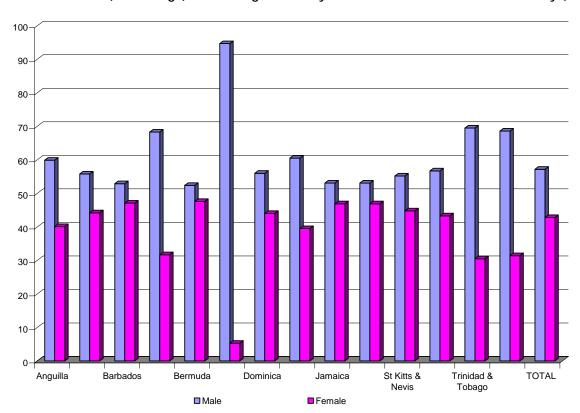
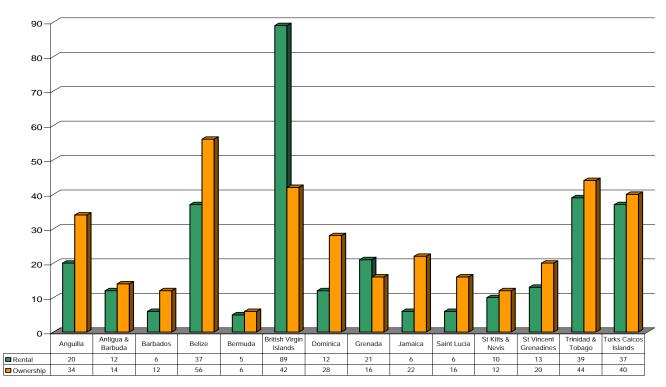


Figure 6.2: Access (Percentage) to Housing Rented by Sex of Household Head and Country (2001)





6.3 Quality of Housing Accessed

6.3.1 Plumbing

In every country, male headed households were equipped with WC/Sewer facilities to a greater degree than female headed households. As shown in Figure 6.4 and Table 6.3, gender gaps were highest in Belize, Trinidad and Tobago and the BVI; and lowest in Jamaica, St Kitts/Nevis and Barbados.

Table 6.3: Type of Toilet Facilities by Sex of Household Head and Country, 2001

Country	Ma	le	Female		Total	GD %
Country	N	%	N	%	TOTAL	GD %
Anguilla	2,165	64.1	1,214	35.9	3,379	28.2
Antigua & Barbuda	7,942	56.7	6,057	43.3	13,999	13.4
Barbados	37,669	55.8	29,842	44.2	67,511	11.6
Belize	13,205	73.2	4,844	26.8	18,049	46.4
British Virgin Islands	4,090	67.3	1,989	32.7	6,079	34.6
Dominica	5,675	63.2	3,307	36.8	8,982	26.4
Grenada	7,749	60.4	5,085	39.6	12,834	20.8
Jamaica	28,828	53.8	24,745	46.2	53,573	7.6
Saint Lucia	13,446	59.1	9,306	40.9	22,752	18.2
St Kitts & Nevis	6,739	55.1	5,500	44.9	12,239	10.2
St Vincent Grenadines	9,609	61.7	5,951	38.2	15,560	23.5
Trinidad & Tobago	109,380	71.6	43,333	28.4	152,713	43.2
TOTAL	246,497	63.6	141,173	36.4	387,670	27.2

Figure 6.4: Type of Toilet Facilities by Sex of Household Head and Country, 2001

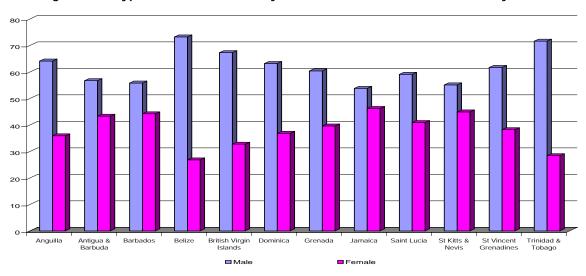


Table 6.4: Use of Pit Latrines by Sex of Household Head and Country (2001)

Country	Mal	е	Female		Total	GD %
Country	N	%	N	%	TOLAI	GD 76
Anguilla	103	71.0	42	29.0	145	42.0
Antigua & Barbuda	2,750	56.1	2,148	43.9	4,898	12.2
Barbados	7,283	53.2	6,401	46.8	13,684	6.4
Belize	19,056	83.3	3,808	16.7	22,864	66.6
British Virgin Islands	72	81.8	16	18.2	88	63.6
Dominica	4,220	66.8	2,101	33.2	6,321	33.6
Grenada	6,683	57.0	5,036	43.0	11,719	14.0
Jamaica	53,538	54.5	44,745	45.5	98,283	9.0
Saint Lucia	9,263	55.1	7,552	44.9	16,815	10.2
St Kitts & Nevis	1,752	63.2	1,022	36.8	2,774	10.2
St Vincent Grenadines	7,646	56.9	5,781	43.1	13,427	13.8
Trinidad & Tobago	58,443	71.9	22,875	28.1	81,318	43.8
TOTAL	170,809	62.7	101,527	37.3	272,336	25.4

Figure 6.5: Use of Pit Latrines by Sex of Household Head and Country (2001)

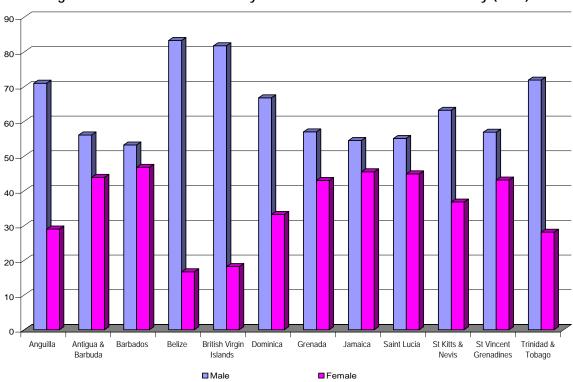
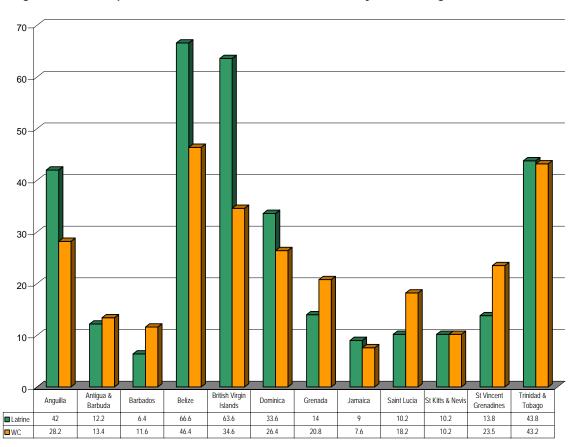


Table 6.5: Comparison of Gender Differentials in Quality of Housing WC/Latrine (2001)

Country	Latrine	WC
Anguilla	42.0	28.2
Antigua & Barbuda	12.2	13.4
Barbados	6.4	11.6
Belize	66.6	46.4
British Virgin Islands	63.6	34.6
Dominica	33.6	26.4
Grenada	14.0	20.8
Jamaica	9.0	7.6
Saint Lucia	10.2	18.2
St Kitts & Nevis	10.2	10.2
St Vincent Grenadines	13.8	23.5
Trinidad & Tobago	43.8	43.2

Figure 6.6: Comparison of Gender Differentials in Quality of Housing WC/Latrine (2001)

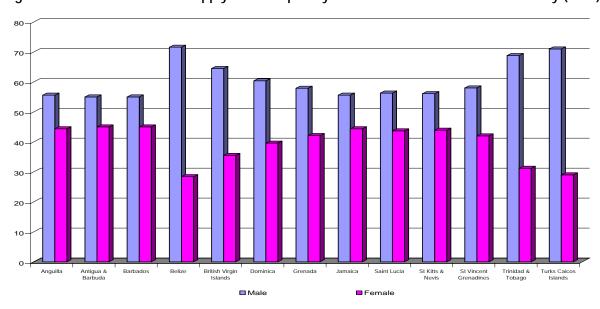


A larger gender gap between household heads using pit latrines compared to WC in Anguilla, Belize, Dominica and the BVI suggests that in those countries, the access to WC installations was more difficult for female heads. In Antigua/Barbuda, Jamaica, St Kitts/Nevis and Trinidad and Tobago, the access to WC and pit latrines was even, indicating that both male and female heads shared similar conditions in the type of toilet facilities used. The pattern varied, as in some countries a higher percentage of male heads were using pit latrines than WC (Anguilla, Belize, BVI and St Kitts/Nevis); while in Grenada, Saint Lucia and St Vincent and the Grenadines, higher percentages of female heads were using pit latrines.

Table 6.6: Source of Water Supply Public Piped by Sex of Household head and Country (2001)

Country	Male		Female		Total	GD %
Country	N	%	N	%	Total	/ UD //
Anguilla	387	55.60	309	44.40	696	11.20
Antigua & Barbuda	7,047	55.00	5,768	45.00	12,815	10.00
Barbados	44,091	55.00	36,039	45.00	80,130	10.00
Belize	15,991	71.60	6,335	28.40	22,326	43.20
British Virgin Islands	2,577	64.50	1,417	35.50	3,994	29.00
Dominica	7,830	60.40	5,127	39.60	12,957	20.80
Grenada	11,201	57.90	8,148	42.10	19,349	15.80
Jamaica	250,122	55.60	199,979	44.40	450,101	11.20
Saint Lucia	21,054	56.30	16,333	43.70	37,387	12.60
St Kitts & Nevis	7,899	56.10	6,184	43.90	14,083	12.20
St Vincent Grenadines	12,187	58.00	8,823	42.00	21,010	16.00
Trinidad & Tobago	144,968	68.80	65,775	31.20	210,743	37.60
Turks Caicos Islands	1,011	71.00	413	29.00	1,424	42.00
TOTAL	526,365	59.30	360,650	40.70	887,015	18.60

Figure 6.6: Source of Water Supply Public Piped by Sex of Household head and Country (2001)



In 2001, the average male to female gender differential was 20 percentage points: 60 percent to 40 percent of household heads having a public piped water supply. Countries closest to the average with a gap of 20 percentage points were Dominica, Grenada and St Vincent and the Grenadines. Countries where the gender gap was narrower, about 11 points, were Anguilla, Antigua Barbuda, Barbados, Jamaica, Saint Lucia and St Kitts Nevis, while Belize, BVI, Trinidad and Tobago and TCI had gender gaps ranging from 29 to 43 percentage points.

Table 6.7: Source of Water Supply – Stand Pipe by Sex of Household head and Country (2001)

Country	Ma	ale	Female		Total	CD 0/
Country	N	%	N	%	Total	GD %
Anguilla	37	62.7	22	37.3	59	25.4
Antigua & Barbuda	2,113	59.5	1,438	40.5	3,551	19.0
Barbados	433	70.5	181	29.5	614	41.0
Belize	1,917	86.9	290	13.1	2,207	73.8
British Virgin Islands	6	75.0	2	25.0	8	50.0
Dominica	4,007	66.0	2,061	34.0	6,068	32.0
Grenada	2,013	62.1	1,228	37.9	3,241	24.2
Jamaica	58,384	62.7	34,678	37.3	93,062	25.4
Saint Lucia	2,473	60.7	1,604	39.3	4,077	21.4
St Kitts & Nevis	607	72.0	236	28.0	843	44.0
St Vincent Grenadines	2,792	62.8	1,653	37.2	4,445	25.6
Trinidad & Tobago	20,028	68.9	9,029	31.1	29,057	37.8
Turks Caicos Islands	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTAL	94,810	64.4	52,422	35.6	147,232	28.8

Figure 6.8: Source of Water Supply – Stand Pipe by Sex of Household head and Country (2001)

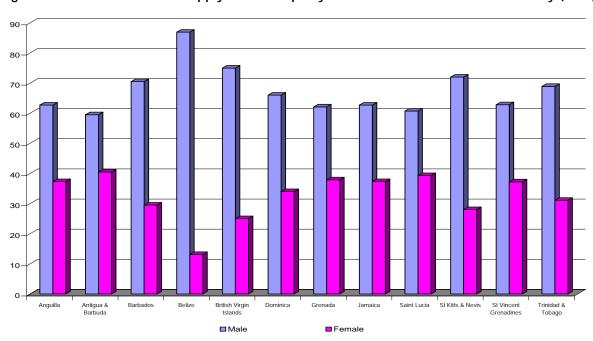


Table 6.8: Comparison of Gender Differentials between Public Piped and Stand Pipe

Country	Public Piped	Stand Pipe
Anguilla	11.2	25.4
Antigua & Barbuda	10.0	19.0
Barbados	10.0	41.0
Belize	43.2	73.8
British Virgin Islands	29.0	50.0
Dominica	20.8	32.0
Grenada	15.8	24.2
Jamaica	11.2	25.4
Saint Lucia	12.6	21.4
St Kitts & Nevis	12.2	44.0
St Vincent Grenadines	16.0	25.6
Trinidad & Tobago	37.6	37.8
Turks Caicos Islands	42.0	0.0
TOTAL	18.6	28.8

Figure 6.9: Comparison of Gender Differentials between Public Piped and Stand Pipe

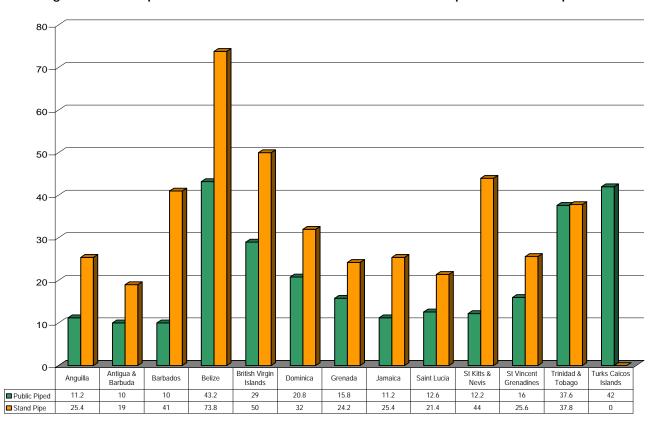


Figure 6.3 shows that the gender differentials are higher in public piped water supply compared to stand pipe use. Except for Trinidad and Tobago which had equal percentages for the sexes, there were marked differentials in countries, particularly pronounced in St Kitts Nevis and Barbados. These differentials suggest measurably inequitable access by female heads to publicly piped water facilities, whereas stand pipe use is less restricted/mediated by the sex of the household head.

6.3.2 Material of Outer Walls

Male/female distribution of owned and rented housing is extended or followed through in the remaining variables. Similar proportions of males are in concrete housing, as are in owned or rented housing. However, the gender differentials between concrete and other materials (stone and wood) show (on average) more females heads in housing types that are less costly, or secure. This has implications for their vulnerability when natural disasters strike.

Table 6.9: Material of Outer Walls by Sex of Household Head and Country (2001)

Country	Ma	le	Female		Total	GD %
Country	N	%	N	%	TOtal	GD //
Anguilla	2,235	67.1	1,246	32.9	3,481	34.2
Antigua Barbuda	3,977	62.6	2,375	37.4	6,352	25.2
Barbados	32,458	56.5	25,000	43.5	57,458	13.0
Belize	15,889	75.9	5,054	24.1	20,943	51.8
British Virgin Islands	4,597	66.2	2,350	33.8	6,947	32.4
Dominica	6,766	63.0	3,970	37.0	10,736	26.0
Grenada	6,721	62.0	4,111	38.0	10,832	24.0
Jamaica	62,624	54.7	51,852	45.3	114,476	9.4
Saint Lucia	11,684	60.1	7,771	39.9	19,455	20.2
St Kitts Nevis	5,770	55.7	4,579	44.2	10,349	11.5
St Vincent Grenadines	13,061	60.2	8,622	39.8	21,683	20.4
Trinidad Tobago	40,546	39.2	62,959	60.8	103,505	21.6
Turks Caicos Islands	2,796	70.1	1,194	29.9	3,990	40.2
TOTAL	209,124	53.6	181,083	46.4	390,207	7.2

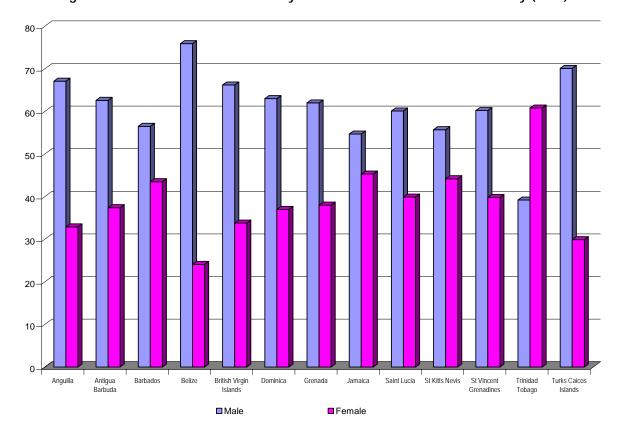


Figure 6.10: Material of Outer Walls by Sex of Household Head and Country (2001)

6.4 Conclusions

The findings reported on in this chapter confirm the enduring gender imbalances in access to housing and in the various conditions under which housing is accessed. Although some countries have progressed in formulating policies to correct such imbalances, the housing context is still characterized by unfavourable circumstances which weigh on women more than on men. These circumstances are rooted in discriminatory policies and practices that restrict women's access to loans, or afford access through male asset holders; and insecure physical dwellings, which relate to poverty and lack of ownership found in mainly female households. As a consequence of these trends, women continue to face higher risks in natural disasters, and health issues associated with inadequate access to water and sanitation facilities. The circumstance of poverty further constricts the potential of women, moreso when it is associated with single female heads of households.

Corrective measures to redress gender imbalances in access to housing require reviewing laws and policies that determine the conditions under which housing is accessed, such as security of tenure through a male partner, which applies in some countries. Housing policies should recognize the likelihood of women being more vulnerable to risk of violence and natural disasters, and should actively promote greater access to secure homes. Once formulated, such policies should be vigorously monitored for their impact on the pursuit of gender equality.

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The further they go in seeking to establish women's income security, the more likely will be the benefits to the social and economic sustainability of individual countries and the region as a whole.

Gender roles as described in the Gender Roles Framework are thus challenged in these interventions, which seek to reverse the trends that have historically favoured males as construction workers and home owners. The Social Relations Framework is relevant to understanding gender imbalances that weigh on access to housing, reflecting the inequalities in social relations experienced by the genders.

Since the gender patterns in the type of housing construction are similar to the male/female distribution of ownership and rental, this variable is not as useful for measuring gender differences. More revealing are the comparisons/distribution of access to equipment, and the number of rooms found in male and female headed households which indicate the means of the household head and the possibility of overcrowding.

CHAPTER 7

GENDER AND VULNERABILITY

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores three types of gender-related vulnerabilities currently being experienced by Caribbean people. It complements the other types of vulnerabilities discussed in Chapter 8 on Crime and Violence, and the economic vulnerabilities that were covered in Chapter 6.

7.2 Structure of the Chapter

Gender and HIV/AIDS is the first vulnerability examined in this chapter. It is prioritized as the region has the second highest HIV prevalence rate per capita after counties in Sub-Saharan Africa. The risk is increased as the region's economics are vulnerable to external economic shocks such as the oil crisis, and more recently the global economic crisis which is having a direct impact on the livelihoods of citizens. The chapter analyses data on HIV and AIDS from the 2000 round of censuses, using the Gender Roles Framework to help interpret the findings. The census data is complemented by other sources of data that explore the differential impact of HIV and AIDS on men and women which has resulted in a growing population of People Living with HIV and AIDS (PLWHA).

Gender and Disability is the second area of vulnerability examined using census data and other sources. The chapter focuses on an analysis of males and females with mental and physical disabilities who are heads of households.

Gender, Climate Change and Natural Disaster is the third area of vulnerability. This is important as the region has Small Island Developing States (SIDS) that are particularly susceptible to global warming and devastation by hurricanes, earthquakes, floods, tropical storms and other natural hazards.

The chapter concludes with a review of issues related to vulnerability, and proposes policy recommendations.

7.3 Gender, HIV and AIDS in the Caribbean

7.3.1 Background: HIV and AIDS in the Caribbean

At the time of the 2001 census, the HIV/AIDS epidemic was twenty years old in CARICOM Member Countries. Official estimates indicated that 360,000 people were living with HIV/AIDS in the region; and the cumulative percentage of infected adults aged 15-49 years was two per cent. In 2009 by comparison, an estimated 250,000 persons in the region were HIV positive. However, there is an acknowledgement of widespread under-reporting in the region; and it has been estimated that more than half a million people may be infected with HIV.

The HIV/AIDS epidemic in the CARICOM countries reflects the general heterogeneity of HIV epidemics worldwide. While it is generally concentrated among certain populations, trends show that the epidemic is increasingly affecting the general population. The first cases of AIDS in the Caribbean were reported in Haiti in 1981 and in Jamaica in 1982. By 1997 the epidemic began affecting the heterosexual population as was seen in the Haiti, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.¹⁵

By the end of 2001, the Caribbean region had the second highest rate of infection after Sub-Saharan Africa. This reflects the entire Caribbean Basin, inclusive of Cuba, Dominican Republic Belize and other territories. In 2001, the highest prevalence rates in rank order were in: Haiti, the Bahamas, Barbados, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica. For most of these countries the epidemic was concentrated among population groups who engage in high-risk sexual behaviour such as commercial sex workers and men who have sex with men.

UNAIDS notes that AIDS is the leading cause of death among 25-44 year olds, and there were 38 deaths due to AIDS-related illnesses. In 2007, the Caribbean had 20,000 new infections representing close to 1 per cent of the total new global HIV infections. The predominant mode of transmission was sexual intercourse. In 2008 HIV was gradually affecting men and women almost equally (UNAIDS 2008).

The 2008 UNAIDS Progress Report also notes that at the end of 2007, an estimated 230 000 people in the Caribbean were living with HIV, around 70 per cent of them in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. This, the report noted, was a 10 per cent increase compared to 2001 when the number of PLWHA was 210,000 (180,000- 240,000). The most vulnerable groups were female and male sex workers, crack cocaine users, prisoners, young people and men who have sex with men. Adult prevalence was 1.1 per cent making the Caribbean the second most affected region in the world.'(ibid)

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¹⁵ Monitoring the AIDS Pandemic (MAP) Network. 1998 The Status and Trends of the HIV/AIDS Epidemics in the World

By comparison, the rates were 0.6 per cent for North America and 0.5 per cent for Latin America. The report also noted that HIV prevalence rate among MSM in five Caribbean countries for the period 2005-2007 in percentages was as follows: Guyana 21 percent; Trinidad and Tobago 20 per cent; Dominican Republic 11 per cent; the Bahamas 8.18 per cent and Suriname 6.70 per cent (ibid).

The report then highlights the reality the male to female ratio in the population living with HIV has increased year on year from 65 per cent males to 35 per cent females in 1990, to 52 per cent males to 48 per cent females in 2007. The percentage of women living with HIV in the Caribbean had increased therefore by nearly 40 per cent in the past 17 years (ibid).

The UNAIDS report further notes that 'during 2007 alone, the Caribbean lost 38 of its citizens to AIDS daily'. The total deaths were 14,000 (11,000-16,000) most of them in the 25-44 age group. The UNAIDS report also noted that every day, 55 new cases of HIV infection occurred (total new infections were 20,000 (16,000-25,000); and that some 14 000 (11 000–16 000) people died of AIDS'. ¹⁶

7.3.2 Feminisation of HIV/AIDS

The epidemiological and social profile of HIV and AIDS shows that it has become feminised. The highest rate of infections is among females aged 15-24 years. The profile also shows vulnerabilities linked to gender inequalities related to gender roles and unequal power relations between males and females especially in relation to negotiating safer sex practices. The feminization of HIV and AIDS is exacerbated by the early initiation of sexual activity, cultural and religious taboos, stigmatization of people living with HIV/AIDS, and discriminatory policies. Poverty, wage gaps in the earnings of men and women, skewed income distribution, internal and external migration as well as poorly designed urban development plans, all contribute to HIV infection.¹⁷

The feminisation of HIV is also linked to the feminisation of poverty: the poorest quintile is dominated by single female headed households which are larger in size and have lower levels of consumption than male headed households. Lower female labour force participation, lower wages among females and higher levels of unemployment, also contribute to their vulnerability. Women who resort to transactional sex as a survival strategy are particularly vulnerable.

The increased rate of infection among women also shows that heterosexual transmission is more prevalent. In many countries this led to a reduction in the male-female ratio among prevalence rates. Similarly the prevalence rates increased among pregnant women attending antenatal clinics, and ranged from one to nine per cent across the region. A major concern is that there is limited and selective testing available; and most people who are HIV positive are not aware of their status. While pregnant women are tested in antenatal clinics, there are no similar programmes to systematically test men. Voluntary testing also means that the actual prevalence rate is unknown in many countries.

¹⁷ B Camara (2001). PAHO/WHO 20 Years of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the Caribbean: A Summary

¹⁶ http://www.unaids.org/en/CountryResponses/Regions/default.asp

Cultural practices and gender stereotypes related to idealised masculinities and femininities also drive the feminisation of HIV. Practices such as multiple partnering and unprotected sex contribute to HIV. Cultural practices inspiring the concept of the male breadwinner and female housewife reflect unequal power relations between groups of women and men, and increase risks for females. The economic dependency of females on males also creates vulnerability as females may stay in abusive relationships for reasons of economic survival. Myths about curing sexually transmitted infections by having sex with a female virgin also contribute to the spread of the disease among young girls. Young females in relationships with older males also increases the risk of HIV infection among youth.

The sex tourism industry increases vulnerability to HIV infection, although tourism is important for employment and foreign exchange earnings. These factors increase vulnerability to HIV and AIDS. The feminisation of HIV is a major cause for concern, given the central role of women in the family, and in the social service sectors such as education and health.

Table 7.1: Major Trends in the Caribbean HIV/AIDS Epidemic (2001 & 2007)

Indicator -		Year		
		2007		
Number of People Living with HIV and AIDS	210,000	230,000		
Percent Adults Living with HIV and AIDS (Prevalence Rate)		1.1%		
Number of Deaths	15,000	14,000		
Women as a Percent of Adults (15+) Living with HIV and AIDS	46%	50%		

Source: Kaiser Family Foundation HIV/AIDS Policy Fact Sheet

Data from the Kaiser Family Foundation in Table 7.1 shows that the number of persons living with HIV and AIDS increased from 210,000 in 2001 to 230,000 in 2007; that the adult prevalence rate had remained the same; that the number of related deaths had declined by 1,000; and the percentage of adult women over 15 years, increased from 46 per cent to 50 percent.

Table 7.2 shows that the highest estimates of adult and children living with HIV in rank order for selected countries were: Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Suriname, the Bahamas, Belize and Barbados. The table also shows national estimates of low and high infection.

Research for this chapter showed that many countries do not have prevalence data for 2008; and that there is still an absence of sex disaggregated data on prevalence rates for some countries. As a result Table 7.3 presents prevalence rates for Caribbean countries with the most recent year available.

Table 7.2: UNAIDS HIV Estimates for Selected Caribbean Countries, 2008

Country	Estimates of Adults and Children Living with HIV	Low Estimate	High Estimate
Bahamas	6,200	4,000	8,700
Barbados	2,200	1,500	3,200
Belize	3,600	2,200	5,300
Guyana	13,000	7,600	18,000
Jamaica	27,000	19,000	36,000
Suriname	6,800	4,200	12,000
Trinidad and Tobago	14,000	9,500	19,000

Source: UNAIDS 2008 Global Report:

http://www.unaids.org/en/KnowledgeCentre/HIVData/GlobalReport/2008/2008_Global_report.asp

Table 7.3: HIV Prevalence Rates and Gender Ratios: Caribbean Countries

Countries	Prevalence Rates	Year	Gender Ratio (M:F)
Antigua and Barbuda	0.9%	1997	2.5:1
Bahamas	3.0%	2005	1.6:1
Barbados	1.5%	2005	2:1
Belize	0.92%	2003	1.16:1
Cuba	0.1%	2007	NA
Dominica	NA **		2:1 to 3:1 ***
Dominican Republic	1.1% *	2007	NA
Grenada	NA		1.6:1
Guyana	1.8%	2007	1.7 :1
Haiti	3.7%	2003	NA
Jamaica	1.5%	2007	1.6:1
St. Kitts and Nevis	NA **		NA **
St. Lucia	0.12%	2006	1.4:1
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	NA **		1.8:1

Source: http://www.who.int/countries/atg/en/ and http://data.unaids.org/pub/GlobalReport/2006/200605-FS_Caribbean_en.pdf Report to the Inter-American Commission of Women (CIM): Gender Aspects of HIV/AIDS: Best practices in Saint Lucia

Note: '

- * High under reporting is assumed.
- ** Surveillance data was limited only to mortality rates where the cause of death is reported.
- *** Estimated Range

Data from the UNAIDS Global Report for 2006 provides comparative data for pre-2008. The data showed that prevalence was consistently higher among males. The highest prevalence ratios in rank order were: Haiti, (3.7 per cent); the Bahamas (3.0 per cent); Guyana (1.8 per cent); Jamaica and Barbados (1.5 per cent). Countries with the lowest prevalence rates in the region were: Cuba (0.1 per cent) and the Dominican Republic (1.1 percent). Other countries with low prevalence rates were: St Lucia, (0.12 percent); Antigua and Barbuda (0.9 per cent); and Belize (0.92 per cent).

The sex ratio (females to males) was highest in Dominica (3.1:2.1) followed by Antigua and Barbuda (2.5:1) and Barbados (2:1).

Overall estimated prevalence rates for adults living with HIV in 1990 were as follows: 35.4 per cent males and 65.6 percent females. Prevalence rates in 2000 were 45.5 per cent males to 54.5 per cent females. *This showed consistently higher rates of HIV infection among women.*

7.3.3 Challenges in collecting data disaggregated by sex and age

Greater efforts are needed to collect and analyse data disaggregated by sex, age, class, ethnicity, location (rural and urban), and education. Data collection is hampered by stigma and discrimination. As a result there is limited data on the effects of the epidemic in some key population groups, including young people, particularly those aged 15-24 years and 25-34 years for whom the rates of infection are high. This has serious implications for population-specific HIV and AIDS programming as there is a lack of empirical data to inform the basis of these interventions. This is a particular concern given the complexities of HIV and AIDS programming particularly for prevention and treatment.

7.3.4 Vulnerable groups

Analysis of census data on HIV and AIDS can be enhanced by other research. For example, a report on the Epidemiology of Tuberculosis (TB) and HIV/AIDS in the Caribbean highlights several HIV-vulnerable population groups: *youth* forced into early sexual activity, estimated to affect 20 per cent of the youth population; and *women* who face gender-based violence and coercion.

Young males are also vulnerable. The UNAIDS 2007 report noted that HIV prevalence in the Bahamas, Barbados and Jamaica among youth aged 15-24 years was twice as high as for females. The reverse was observed in Trinidad and Tobago and the Dominican Republic where the rate among young females aged 15-24 years was twice as high as among their male cohort.

Migrant workers the report noted were also vulnerable. As these workers may be illegal, they may not be eligible to access health services, leaving them isolated and excluded. *Men who have sex with men* were also identified as a vulnerable group. Because of stigma, discrimination and homophobia, they may be denied easy access to health treatment and services as well as education.

Commercial sex workers were also vulnerable.

The report makes reference to study on the Epidemiology of Tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS in the Caribbean, and notes that the prevalence rate among Commercial Sex Workers (CSW) was: 11 per cent (Guyana); and 24.1 percent (Suriname).

Table 7.4: Country Data Disaggregated by Sex and Age 1991 and 2001

Country	1991				2001	PLHIV		
Country	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	1991	2001
Anguilla	0	1	Female	0	2	Female	3	23
Antigua & Barbuda	10	6	1	24	12	2	34	371
The Bahamas	306	253	1.18	233	225	1.04	2,408	7,716
Barbados	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Belize	NA	NA	NA	123	138	1.39	44	1,593
Bermuda	27	7	3.9	13	2	6.5	273	514
British Virgin Islands	3	1	3	2	0	Males	10	31
Cayman Islands	3	1	3	3	4	0.75	21	61
Dominica	7	3	2.3	17	6	2.3	49	244
Grenada	7	4	1.7	10	5	2	50	212
Guyana	32	30	1.1	234	182	1.3	206	2,555
Jamaica	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Montserrat	0	0	0	0	1	Female	1	5
Saint Lucia	10	5	2	15	23	0.65	73	322
St Kitts & Nevis*	1	1	1	4	5	9	9	9
St Vincent & the Grenadines	19	9	2.1	41	28	1.4	37	302
Suriname	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	1,921
Trinidad & Tobago**	269	146	2	543	435	1.6	1,639	10,110
Turks & Caicos Islands***				9	36	17	111	436

Source: CARICOM 2001 Census data

Note: * For the reporting period of 1991 there were 7cases of unknown origin

^{**} For the reporting period of 1991 there were 7 cases of unknown origin. There were also 82 cases of unknown origin in 2001

^{***} For the reporting period of 1991 there was no disaggregation of cases by gender, however 31 cases were reported

7.3.5 Rates of Prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the Caribbean

Table 7.5: Prevalence rates for AIDS in Caribbean countries 1991 and 2001 round

Country	1991	2001	Cumulative Total
Anguilla	0	0	0
Antigua & Barbuda	6	14	20
The Bahamas	220	288	508
Barbados	76	117	193
Belize	18	72	90
Bermuda	25	12	37
British Virgin Islands	4	2	6
Dominica	9	5	14
Grenada	11	5	16
Guyana	76	435	511
Jamaica	133	939	1072
Montserrat	0	1	1
Saint Lucia	9	13	22
St Kitts & Nevis	1	2	3
St Vincent & the Grenadines	13	33	46
Suriname	16	125	141
Trinidad & Tobago	238	467	705
Turks & Caicos Islands	10	No Report	10
TOTAL	865	2530	3395

Source: CARICOM 2001

The data show that Jamaica, the Bahamas and Trinidad and Tobago had the highest incidence of AIDS for 2001, while Anguilla, Montserrat, St Kitts/Nevis and the British Virgin Islands had the lowest incidence.

Table 7.6: People Living with HIV (1991. 2001. 2007/2008)

Countries	Persons	Living with I	HIV/AIDS
Countries	1991	2001	2007 / 2008
Anguilla	3	23	-
Antigua & Barbuda	34	371	-
The Bahamas	2408	7716	6,200
Barbados	NA	4,000*	2 200
Belize	44	1593	-
Bermuda	273	514	
British Virgin Islands	10	31	
Dominica	21	61	
Grenada	49	244	348**
Guyana	50	212	
Jamaica	206	2555	27 000
Montserrat	NA	NA	
Saint Lucia	1	5	NA
St Kitts & Nevis	73	347	NA
St Vincent & the Grenadines	9	9	472
Suriname	37	302	
Trinidad & Tobago		1921	14,000
Turks & Caicos Islands	1639	10110	
Total	4857	26014	

Source: http://data.unaids.org/pub/Report/2008/grenada_2008_country_progress_report_en.pdf http://data.unaids.org/pub/Report/2008/st_vincent_and_the_grenadines_2008_country_progress_repor_en.pdf

Table 7.6 shows that in 2007, the number of PLWHA was 28,000 in Jamaica, 14,000 in Trinidad and Tobago, 6,200 in the Bahamas, 2,200 in Barbados, 472 in SVG and 348 in Grenada. In comparison, at the end of 2001, it was estimated that there were 420,000 persons living with HIV in the Caribbean, of which that 190,000 had been infected that year. This compares to 48,000 in 1991. Of the 420,000 CAREC reported that there were only 91,284 known cases in December of 2001. Data from UNAIDS for 2007 show an estimated 240,000 PLWHA for the Caribbean region as a whole. Unfortunately these data were not sex disaggregated.

Table 7.7: HIV Prevalence Rates for selected periods for Caribbean countries

Countries		Prevalence Rate by	Year	
Countries	1990/91	2000/01/02	Late	est Year
Anguilla				
Antigua & Barbuda		89.09	0.02	2008
The Bahamas				
Barbados	unknown		1.5	
Belize	unknown		2.5	
Bermuda	unknown			
British Virgin Islands	unknown			
Cayman Islands	unknown			
Dominica	unknown			
Grenada	unknown			
Guyana	21	292	611	
Jamaica				
Montserrat	unknown			
Saint Kitts and Nevis	unknown			
St Lucia	0.03	0.17	0.28	2007
St Vincent & the Grenadines*	unknown	0.001	0.2	2007
Suriname	unknown	1.3	1.9 *	2004
Trinidad & Tobago			2.6	_
Turks & Caicos Islands			0.1	2005

Source: ECLAC ICPD+15 Background Report (2009) Ministry of Health, Suriname

Note: * St. Vincent and the Grenadines data expressed as per cent

The most recent data on the HIV prevalence rate for persons 15-49 years were generally limited and data were not sex disaggregated. It was lowest in the Turks and Caicos Islands (0.1) (2005), Antigua and Barbuda (0.2 (2008); 0.28 St Lucia; 0.2% for St. Vincent and the Grenadines (2007) and 2.6 for Trinidad & Tobago.

The most recent data on HIV/AIDS rates of infection are from CAREC/PAHO/WHO country reports. Unfortunately not all the data are sex disaggregated, limiting the level of analysis that would be useful for understanding differential vulnerabilities.

Male: Female Sex Ratio = 2:1

Female 33%

Males 67%

Figure 7.1: Gender Distribution of Reported Adult AIDS Cases in CMCs (1991 – 2001)

Source: PAHO Country Profiles

7.3.6 Country-Specific Issues

Antigua and Barbuda

The cumulative total of HIV infections reported from 1995 to the end of 1999 was 271 and 85 AIDS-related deaths were reported. Most cases of HIV infected reported were distributed among persons aged 25 - 29 years. In 1998, there were 5 new AIDS cases reported, and 3 deaths. In 1999-2001, there were 32 reported new cases of AIDS and 10 deaths were attributed to HIV related illnesses. The male to female ratio of AIDS cases was 2.5:1. A study conducted in 1997 among pregnant women revealed an HIV prevalence rate of 0.9 per cent. By 1999, AIDS began to rank as one of the top 10 causes of death. Data for 2007 show 24 cases of HIV and no information for AIDS or deaths from AIDS. Data for 2006 showed 7 cases of HIV (all males). The emerging trend is greater vulnerability for males. ¹⁸

Bahamas

Between 1996 and 2000, HIV/AIDS mortality rates decreased from 97 to 80 per 100,000 population. HIV/AIDS was the leading cause of death for 3,810 persons. While cases of HIV infection declined from 719 to 347 between 1994 and 1999, deaths increased with increasing prevalence. Earlier, in the 1991-2001 period, the male to female ratio showed HIV risk for males as 1.6 times greater than for females. Preventive interventions to reduce mother-to-child transmission of HIV in 1996, contributed to reductions in infection. In contrast, the increased death rate from AIDS was due to a cumulative effect from 1989. The most recent data show that in 2007/2008 the number of PLWHA was 6,200; the number of women aged 15 years and over with HIV was 1,600; the adult prevalence rate was 30 per cent Deaths from AIDS was <200. ¹⁹ This shows higher vulnerability of males among PLWHA.

¹⁸ http://www.carec.org/pdf/hiv-aids-data-tables/Antigua%20HIV_%20AIDS.pdf

¹⁹ http://hivinsite.ucsf.edu/global?page=cr02-00-00

Barbados

In 2000 a cumulative total of 2,525 persons had tested positive for HIV and this number included 1,242 cases of AIDS. The adult prevalence rate was 2 per cent, and persons aged 15-49 years accounted for 89 per cent of reported cases. For the period 1997-2000, there were 590 new cases of HIV/AIDS with 388 deaths. The major mode of transmission was heterosexual contact and the male to female ratio was 2:1. There were no pediatric deaths from HIV/AIDS in 1997 and 1998. Data sourced from CAREC/PAHO and UNAIDS shows that in 2008 the number of PLWHA was 2,200; the adult prevalence rate in 2007 was ½ per cent and deaths from AIDS was <100. ²⁰ The Barbados Surveillance Report on HIV and AIDS shows that in 2007 there were 163 cases of HIV; 53 cases of AIDS (32 male sand 21 females) and 50 Deaths from AIDS. ²¹ The trend indicates higher vulnerability of males.

Bermuda

HIV/AIDS was first reported in 1982, and by the end of 2001, there were 463 cases reported (24 per cent females) and the mortality rate was high (79 per cent). The highest proportion of the HIV cases (46 per cent) was in the age group 30-39 years. The next highest rate (30 per cent) was among persons aged 40-49 years and only 10 per cent were in the age group 20-29 years. Among vulnerable groups, the rate of infection among intravenous drug users has gradually declined. Infection has however increased among men who have sex with men and among heterosexuals whose partners are HIV+. Data for 2007 from CAREC/PAHO/WHO show that there were 15 HIV new cases; 9 AIDS cases (6 males and 3 females) and 6 AIDS deaths. (CAREC/PAHO/WHO). November 2008. ²² The trend is towards greater vulnerability of men who have sex with men, then infect their female partners.

Cayman Islands

Data for 2007 from CAREC/PAHO/WHO show that there were two new cases of HIV; two cases of AIDS (1 male and one female) and one death from AIDS. ²³ The trend suggests equal levels of vulnerability but more research is required.

Dominica

Data for 2006 show 14 new HIV + persons: 8 males and 6 females. Data for 2007 show 14 new + persons: 12 new males and 2 females. In 2006 1 pregnant woman was HIV positive (0.8 per cent). 24 (UNGASS Country programme Report for the Commonwealth of Dominica). ²⁵ CAREC Surveillance reports for 2006 show 16 PLWHA and four cases of AIDS (all males). Though the data for 2006 vary slightly from the two sources, they reflect more males being infected.

Grenada

Data for 2007 show 34 new HIV+ persons; 21 cases of AIDS (14 male, 6 females and one unknown); and four deaths from AIDS. ²⁶ In 2000, 18 new HIV cases were reported and 5 children were born with HIV. In 1997, the ratio of males to females was 1.6:1.

²⁰ http://hivinsite.ucsf.edu/global?page=cr02-bb-00

²¹ http://www.carec.org/pdf/hiv-aids-data-tables/Barbados%20HIV_%20AIDS.pdf

²² http://www.carec.org/pdf/hiv-aids-data-tables/Bermuda%20HIV_%20AIDS.pdf

http://www.carec.org/pdf/hiv-aids-data-tables/Cayman%20Islands%20HIV %20AIDS.pdf

²⁴ http://data.unaids.org/pub/Report/2008/dominica_2008_country_progress_report_en.pdf

²⁵ http://www.carec.org/pdf/hiv-aids-data-tables/Dominica%20HIV_%20AIDS.pdf

Guyana

Data for 2007 show 439 new HIV infections, and 65 cases of AIDS (36 males and 28 females). Deaths from AIDS were not available. ²⁷ The trend is towards higher rates of infection for both males and females. The implications are that both sexes are vulnerable.

Haiti

Data show HIV infection concentrated in the adult population. Each year an estimated 13,000 pregnant women test positive for HIV and 30 per cent of their children are born with HIV. In 2001 there were an estimated 250,000 PLWHA. Data from UNICEF notes that in 2007 the estimated adult prevalence rate (aged 15-49 years) was 2.2; the estimated number of PLWHA was 120,000; (low estimate 100,000 and high estimate 140,000). Mother to child transmission for HIV positive women aged 15 + was 58,000. Pediatric infection and the estimated number of children living with HIV were 6,800. Pediatric infection and the estimated number of

Jamaica

The Ministry of Health National HIV/AIDS Epidemic Update for January to June 2008 indicates that the total number of AIDS cases reported in Jamaica between January 1982 and June 2008 was 12,893. The total number of reported AIDS deaths for the same period was 7,165. Between January and June 2008 there were 373 cases of AIDS reported. These included: 200 males (53.6) and 173 females (46.4). The main mode of transmission has been heterosexual relations accounting for 61 per cent of cases. The cumulative number of persons with AIDS from 1982-2000 was 5,099 and the male to female ratio was 1.6:1. The adult fatality rate for that period was high (61 per cent) and for children it was 54 per cent (of a total of 414 pediatric cases). Data for 2007 show that there were 27,000 PLWHA; including 7,600 women who were HIV+; adult prevalence was 1.6 per cent AIDS deaths were 1,500. The trend is towards parity in the number of males and females infected. The implications are both sexes are vulnerable.

Montserrat

The limited data available showed a cumulative total of 7 HIV + persons in Montserrat and two persons with AIDS. No routine testing of pregnant women for HIV reportedly is done. In 2007 there were 3 new HIV+ persons; no AIDS and no AIDS deaths were reported. 31

Saint Kitts and Nevis

Data for 2006 show that there were nine new HIV+ cases. There was no data on the number of cases of AIDS or deaths from AIDS.³² In the absence of current sex disaggregated data and the main methods of transmission, it was not possible to assess which sex was more vulnerable.

²⁶ http://www.carec.org/pdf/hiv-aids-data-tables/Grenada%20HIV %20AIDS.pdf

²⁷ http://www.carec.org/pdf/hiv-aids-data-tables/Guyana%20HIV %20AIDS.pdf

²⁸ http://hivinsite.ucsf.edu/global?page=cr02-ha-00

²⁹ http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/haiti_statistics.html

³⁰ http://hivinsite.ucsf.edu/global?page=cr02-jm-00

³¹ http://www.carec.org/pdf/hiv-aids-data-tables/Montserrat%20HIV_%20AIDS.pdf

³² http://www.carec.org/pdf/hiv-aids-data-tables/St.%20Kitts%20&%20Nevis%20HIV_%20AIDS.pdf

Saint Lucia

Over the period -1991-2001, the number of reported cases of AIDS increased steadily for all ages. The number of cases doubled for males and tripled for females, reducing the male-female ratio from 2.2:1 in 1985-1989 to 1.4:1 in 1997-2001. The latest available data was for 2005 which indicated that there were 26 persons diagnosed with AIDS (15 males 10 females and one unknown) and there were 17 deaths from AIDS.³³ The trends suggest near parity in infection among males and females, which also means that both sexes are vulnerable.

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

Since the start of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in 1984 by the end of 1999, a total of 408 HIV infected cases were identified. Of these, 229 or 56 % developed AIDS and 223 died. Eighty-four percent of those infected fell into the 15-49 age groups, with the male to female ratio being 1.8:1. In 1998 the prevalence of HIV in pregnant women was 0.2%. The number of cases of mother-to-child transmission has increased. Data for 2007 were not available.

Suriname

Data for 2007 in the Epidemiological Fact Sheet on HIV and AIDS: Suriname 2008 Update ³⁴ indicates that the number of HIV + adults 15+ years and children was between 4,200 and 12,000; the adult prevalence rate was 6,700 (low 4200 and high 12,000). Children were <200. The rate of infection among adults aged 15-40 years was 2.4 (low was 1.5 and high was 4.3). Prevalence rate among women aged 15 + years, was 1,900 (low of <1200 and a high of 3500). Youth prevalence for persons aged 15-24 years was 2.7 (male) and 1.4 (female). Deaths from AIDS cases were < 500. Overall, there were more males infected which means that both sexes are vulnerable.

Trinidad and Tobago

Between 1983 when the first case was reported and 2000, there were 9,070 cumulative cases of HIV/AIDS diagnosed. In 2001 the prevalence rate was estimated at 1.2 per cent and the number of PLWHA was 16,217. In 2007 there were 1348 HIV cases; 104 AIDS cases (71 males and 33 females). ³⁵ Overall, there were more males infected which means that both sexes are vulnerable.

Turks and Caicos Islands

Data for 2007 show there were 58 HIV+ cases; 19 AIDS cases (7 males and 12 females) and 2 deaths from AIDS. The higher rate of infection among females is noted. This has major implications for the care of families and social services over the next few years and the need to strengthen mother to child prevention programmes to reduce the number of pediatric HIV cases.

³³ http://www.carec.org/pdf/hiv-aids-data-tables/St.%20Lucia%20HIV_%20AIDS.pdf

³⁴ http://apps.who.int/globalatlas/predefinedReports/EFS2008/full/EFS2008_SR.pdf

³⁵ http://www.carec.org/pdf/hiv-aids-data-tables/Trinidad%20and%20Tobago%20HIV_%20AIDS.pdf

7.3.7 Regional Overview of HIV and AIDS in the Caribbean Region

The UNAIDS Report for 2008 for the Caribbean has several implications for this analysis of vulnerability related to HIV and AIDS. It shows that the national adult HIV prevalence has stabilized in several Caribbean countries, including in the Dominican Republic and Haiti, where declines have been observed in some urban areas. The report however shows that within countries, there may be differential risks associated with rural and semi-urban residence.

The Report also indicates that 'AIDS remains one of the leading causes of death among people aged 25 to 44 years in the Caribbean'. This implies that young men and women as a demographic group are particularly vulnerable. The report however indicates that "the scaling up of antiretroviral treatment could be reducing the numbers of HIV-positive people progressing to AIDS and eventually dying of AIDS-related illnesses.' (UNAIDS 2008:). The UNAIDS report then states that, 'an estimated 28 000 people living with HIV started antiretroviral treatment in the region by end-2006, and that this was almost a fivefold increase in under three years. More people are being tested and found to be HIV positive hence the need increased numbers taking antiretroviral. The report again underscored that "Sexual intercourse is the primary mode of HIV transmission in this region, with unprotected sex between sex workers and clients as a key factor in the spread of HIV. The majority of sex workers are female.

Other gender-related vulnerabilities highlighted in the UNAIDS 2008 report were:

- 1. "Caribbean epidemics occur in the context of high levels of poverty and unemployment, gender and other inequalities, and considerable stigma—all of which can fuel the spread of HIV, as well as hinder efforts to control the epidemics.
- 2. "Young girls in the region are at high risk of HIV infection. An important contributing factor to their susceptibility is the common practice of young girls having relationships with older men, who, by virtue of their age, are more likely to have acquired HIV."
- 3. Decisive steps have been taken to reduce the risks for specific groups of women are working: these included the 'scaling up of prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV programmes in several countries, including Barbados, Guyana and Jamaica, has significantly reduced the rate of transmission to infants."

7.3.8 Reducing Vulnerability

The vulnerability of men who have sex with men is also noted: "Sex between men is a significant but largely hidden aspect of the epidemics in the Caribbean. Although little research for this group exists, available data indicate unsafe sex between men is believed to account for about one tenth of reported HIV cases. Men who have sex with men are highly stigmatized and are subjected to social and institutional harassment. Few HIV-related programmes reach them, compounding their exposure to the epidemic even further.

The report also indicated that a recent study in Trinidad and Tobago found HIV prevalence of 20 percent among men who have sex with men, 25 percent of whom said they regularly also had sex with women.

The stark reality of the UNAIDS report highlights the need for an urgent change in attitudes to facilitate the kind of research that is required among social groups affected by stigma and discrimination such as female sex workers and men who have sex with men, to access treatment.

There is an inherent vulnerability from inadequate surveillance and monitoring systems in many countries, which reduces national capacity, to identify and treat groups most at-risk. The implications are that an accurate number of persons infected with HIV or living with AIDS is not known. Some countries have made significant progress in screening pregnant females attending antenatal clinics and the results indicate lower prevalence rates among those tested. Vulnerability of males persists because among these are men who have sex with men (a high risk group) and there is considerable stigma, which limits research, intervention and access to services. Idealized masculinities associated with high risk sexual behavior and multiple partnering increases vulnerability. The absence of an equivalent forum to consistently test males and ascertain their HIV status also leaves males vulnerable. The rates among those tested are higher for males in most countries. The rate of infection among females is growing across the region.

Vulnerability is reduced by national and regional commitments to the 'Three Ones' (One agreed Action Framework; one National HIV/AIDS Coordinating Agency and One country level monitoring and evaluation system). Another notable achievement since the 1990s has been the development of National Strategic Policies and Plans for HIV/AIDS, signifying a political commitment to fight the disease in the Caribbean. While many of these policies lacked specifics on the gendered aspects of the disease, countries such as Jamaica, Barbados, Guyana and the Bahamas had programs that identified key communities, including women and men who have sex with men, as priority target groups. Most Caribbean countries also have a legal framework related to HIV and AIDS, as the UNGASS Global progress report on HIV for 2008 notes.

7.3.9 Key Milestones in Mainstreaming Gender in HIV and AIDS

Countries of the region have become more aware and proactive on HIV as many have attended United Nations General Assemblies (UNGASS). Those meetings were held in 2001, 2003, 2006, and 2008 to review progress on agreed goals and targets. A reporting system has been strengthened, and is coordinated by the Caribbean Epidemiological Centre (CAREC); the Pan American Organisation (PAHO), the World Health Organization (WHO) and UNAIDS.

7.3.9.1 Gender Mainstreaming in the Pan Caribbean Partnership Against HIV/AIDS (PANCAP)

Efforts to reduce vulnerability include the process of mainstreaming gender in the Strategic Plan of the Pan Caribbean Partnership Against HIV/AIDS (PANCAP) – a collection of over 70 partner agencies who collaborate on a regional response to HIV and AIDS. PANCAP's multisectoral, multilevel partnership includes the governments of all countries and territories of the Caribbean, regional as well as international organizations from the health, social development, education, economic, culture, tourism, and other sectors. Also included are: organizations of people living with and affected by HIV (Caribbean Regional Network of People Living with HIV/AIDS) (CRN+); multilateral and bilateral donors; the UN system, government and nongovernmental organizations; business organizations; faith based communities and many other types of organizations. A regional programme to promote gender mainstreaming in HIV and AIDS was spearheaded by UNIFEM, and its partners include CARICOM and the Commonwealth Secretariat. This has resulted in sensitization of national AIDS Committees, the mainstreaming of gender in the PANCAP Strategic Plan, technical assistance to selected countries to mainstream gender in national AIDS Strategic Plans and a Checklist to mainstream Gender in HIV/AIDS programmes.

7.3.9.2 Other Inter-Agency Collaboration

Between late 2000 and 2004, the UNIFEM Caribbean Office, in partnership with the ECLAC sub-regional headquarters for the Caribbean, conducted a gender assessment of HIV/AIDS programs that had been formulated and undertaken by the UN System and the regional institutions. It included an assessment of HIV/AIDS programming in three CARICOM countries: the Bahamas, Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago. This revealed that there was a continuum of gender integration into the HIV/AIDS programs which ranged from countries with no integration of gender to those with gender mainstreaming and/or a gender focal point. The research findings pointed to considerable misunderstanding of the meaning and relevance of gender analysis. They showed that gender deficits in policy and programming were the result of the lack of a Caribbean specific tool; and that there was lack of capacity linked to inadequate training and buy-in to gender at all levels of organizations.

An Ad Hoc Working Committee on Gender & HIV/AIDS was coordinated by UNIFEM, which resulted in the development and implementation of a strategy for gender training at several levels involving the UWI Centre for Gender and Development Studies (CGDS) St. Augustine Campus. The approach was to strengthen understanding of the gendered causes and consequences of HIV/AIDS on the part of policy makers, women's organizations and organizations engaged in HIV/AIDS work. Outputs included: a) development of a training manual and workshop programme; b) the publication of an Annotated Bibliography on Gender Sexuality and the implications for HIV/AIDS in the Caribbean by the CGDS, St Augustine and the Untied Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) in 2005; and c) the provision of technical assistance to mainstream gender in HIV/AIDS policies and programmes and plans. Since then support ahs been provided to mainstream gender in the national Strategic Plans for HIV/AIDS of some countries.

7.3.10 Understanding the Gender Dimensions of HIV and AIDS

The Gender Roles Framework facilitates an understanding of the gendered vulnerabilities of HIV and AIDS. There is vulnerability related to dominant ideologies about the construction of masculinity and femininity, that influence roles which in turn vary according to social class, ethnicity, sexuality and age. Violence (including gender based violence) and the fear of violence are significant barriers to women negotiating condom use or fidelity with their partners. The threat of violence constrains women's ability to leave abusive relationships. This fear also limits women's use of HIV/AIDS counselling and testing services.

Vulnerability linked to gender inequality in personal relations, power influence how men and women experience sexuality has also been identified.³⁶ Power is fundamental to both sexuality and gender. These gendered constructions become more insidious in understanding the full range of masculinity and femininity in HIV prevention. In the Caribbean there are competing and varied gendered constructions of masculinities and femininities. Although there are multiple masculinities and femininities in the region, the ideals of hyper masculine construction and the lesser but appropriately corresponding dominant female gendered construction images dominate. These ideals make men (both heterosexual and homosexual) and women more vulnerable in the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Some of the different ways in which these ideologies manifest and influence women's and men's vulnerabilities are described below. These gender roles foster higher vulnerability to HIV/AIDS and other STDs. They also perpetuate ignorance towards sex, sexuality and reproductive anatomy. HIV prevention increases women's vulnerability to HIV infection which is a double burden for particularly young women, to be informed about risk reduction (sentence needs to be reformulated). These gender-based expectations then increase the vulnerability of men, particularly young men, who are at risk of infection, as it prevents them from seeking information or admitting their lack of knowledge about sexual matters, including condom use.

³⁶ B Camara, PAHO/WHO 20 Years of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the Caribbean: A Summary, 2001

7.4 Gender and Vulnerabilities: Persons with Disabilities (PWD)

The focus on vulnerabilities related to men and women with disabilities has been included in this Monograph to highlight the gaps between global commitments to protect the human rights of persons with disabilities and the situations they confront in their daily lives. It is also intended to provide insight into the increased vulnerability of women to some types of disability and men to others. It shares information from a 2008 ECLAC study on persons with disabilities in the Caribbean using 2001 census data, and identifies areas for further research to fill information gaps on the gender dimensions of disabilities. Information in this chapter can also be used to strengthen the legal frameworks to better protect human rights, improve policies and programmes to ensure that disabled right holders can access their rights and live productive independent lives.

The Gender Roles Framework discussed in Chapter 1 is a useful guide to analyse and interpret findings on the differential risks and vulnerabilities faced by each sex, linked to gendered realities and expectations. The findings discussed in this chapter identify the vulnerabilities of females related to how they experience discrimination and inequality because of their gender as well as their disability. The studies show the vulnerabilities associated with the socially ascribed gender role of the female as caregiver for the family, the sick and family members with a disability. They also highlight the vulnerability of males to disabilities related to high risk behaviour linked to notions of masculinity, and in some cases linked to occupational circumstances.

The human rights framework for analyzing the situation of persons with disabilities is the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2007). The guiding principles are:

- 1. Respect for inherent dignity, individual autonomy including the freedom to make one's own choices, and independence of persons
- 2. Non-discrimination
- 3. Full and effective participation and inclusion in society
- 4. Respect for difference and acceptance of persons with disabilities as part of human diversity and humanity
- 5. Equality of opportunity
- 6. Accessibility
- 7. Equality between men and women
- 8. Respect for the evolving capacities of children with disabilities and respect for the right of children with disabilities to preserve their identities

This analysis of gender, disability and vulnerability is supported especially by Article 6 of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities entitled Women with disabilities which states that:

- 1. States Parties recognize that women and girls with disabilities are subject to multiple forms of discrimination, and in this regard shall take measures to ensure the full and equal enjoyment by them of all human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- 2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the full development, advancement and empowerment of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of the human rights and fundamental freedoms set out in the present Convention.

In September 2009, a review of ratification data for this Convention, showed that 10 Caribbean countries had so far signed: Antigua and Barbuda (30/03/2007); Barbados (14/7/2007); Cuba (6/9/ 2009); Dominica (30/03/2007); the Dominican Republic (18/8/2009); Guyana 11/4/2007); Haiti (23 July 2009); Jamaica (30/3/2007), Suriname (30/3/2007); Trinidad and Tobago (2/4/2008).

Women with disabilities are particularly vulnerable as they are oppressed by stigma and discrimination because of their disability as well as their position as women. Men with disabilities face more challenges than their non-disabled counterparts in meeting their ascribed gender role as family provider and breadwinner, especially those who are heads of household.

7.4.1 Literature review

While there is now an established global body of research and literature on the gender dimensions of disabilities, few studies have been done in the Caribbean region. An important contribution to filling this gap is a study by UNECLAC entitled "Disability in the Caribbean-A Study of Four Countries: A Socio-demographic analysis of the Disabled". This analysis of 2001 census data highlighted the situation of persons with disabilities in four Caribbean countries: Antigua and Barbuda, St Lucia, St Kitts and Nevis and Trinidad and Tobago. (See Schmid, Vezina and Ebbeson, 2008).

Among the main findings was that: statistics are limited for the Caribbean, but for counties for which data were available, disabled persons in the population ranged from 2.2 to 8.4 per cent, with an average of 4.0-5.3 per cent which is consistent with global trends. Laws to protect the rights of PWDs had been passed in five of 13 Caribbean countries. Age and gender differences were also noted. Disabilities were higher among persons over 60 years and elderly women in particular were more vulnerable and are more disadvantaged than men because they experience the dual disadvantages of discrimination because of their gender as well as their disability. Areas of vulnerability identified for this group of women included higher female unemployment because of their disability; and the tendency for girls with disabilities to be less likely than boys to go to school. Those who did go to school were less likely to be employed earned low wages

and had fewer chances of participating in post secondary education and training. (Schmid et al 2008).

The ECLAC study also reported findings from other studies in Asia where it was found that girls with disabilities were discriminated against from birth, were given less food and care and were subjected to mental physical and sexual abuse. Other evidence cited was that women with disabled family members were also more likely to be the primary care givers. Another study cited from the United States of America noted that 'women shoulder a disproportionate share of unpaid care work for children with disabilities.' Their involvement in this care giving work contributed to already existing gender inequalities. It also added to the general challenges that women face in the labour force. (Sans and Stoddart, 1999 cited in Smidt et al 2008). The same US study also noted that mothers of children with disabilities were more likely to divorce, were less likely to marry or remarry; and that disabled children with unmarried parents were five times more likely to be living with their mothers than with their fathers. (Sans and Stoddart, 1999).

The literature reviewed in the ECLAC study also provided insight into gender differences in relation to prevalence of disabilities which have implications for gender-related vulnerabilities. Disability rates tend to be higher for women than for men; and women and men are exposed to different risks with varying frequencies. In contrast, the causes of disability vary for each sex: men are more likely to be disabled as a result of injury while women are more at risk as a result of chronic illnesses often related to unhealthy lifestyle choices. The link between age, sex and disability were also noted. Elderly women, the report noted, live longer than elderly men by an average of five years; and suffer dishabilles from arthritis, hypertension and diabetes which impact their sight and lower extremities (Smidt et al 2008). The research also noted that women were more affected by mental conditions such as uni-polar depressive disorder, anxiety and somatic complaints (Smidt et al 2008). Other gender-related risk factors for women cited were: common mental disorders associated with gender-based violence; socio-economic disadvantages such as income inequality and low income; inferior socio-economic status and continuous responsibility for the well being of others. Sexual violence against women and girls also made them most vulnerable to Post Traumatic Stress Disorders associated with this type of condition.

The ECLAC study also provided information on children with disabilities. It cited a UNICEF study (Survey of Children and Adolescents in the Caribbean) which noted that significantly more boys than girls suffer from disabilities related to learning, hearing and speech impediments. Also reported was that a higher proportion of males suffered from work-related injuries related to their risk taking behaviour such as aggressive driving, substance abuse and unprotected sex. Gender disparities were also possibly linked to differences in parental perception of disabilities, family size and poverty levels.

A World Bank study on disabilities in Latin America and the Caribbean by Ann Elwan (1999) notes the inextricable links between poverty and disability: poverty causes disability through malnutrition poor health care and living conditions. Disability on the other hand causes poverty as it prevents full participation of disabled persons in economic and social life. That study also reported that 15-20 per cent of the poor in developing countries were persons with disabilities. (Elwan 1999).

This chapter therefore presents data from the 2000 round of censuses and focuses on the gender distribution of persons with disabilities as well as among heads of household with a physical disability. The findings will hopefully encourage further research to explore gender differences for various forms of disability, support commitments to the MDGs and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with disabilities, encourage increased ratification of this convention, and guide policy and programme interventions to promote the rights of persons with disabilities.

Table 7.8: Persons with Disabilities by Sex 2000 Round of Censuses

Country	Male	Female	Male %	Female %	GD %
Anguilla	2,405	1,322	64.53	35.47	29.06
Antigua & Barbuda	11,524	8,859	56.54	43.46	13.07
The Bahamas	55,792	31,988	63.56	36.44	27.12
Barbados	46,098	36,928	55.52	44.48	11.04
Belize	39,543	12,402	76.12	23.88	52.25
Bermuda	13,350	11,798	53.09	46.91	6.17
British Virgin Islands	5,593	2,793	66.69	33.31	33.39
Dominica	14,088	8,208	63.19	36.81	26.37
Grenada	15,491	10,727	59.09	40.91	18.17
Guyana	129,389	53,220	70.86	29.14	41.71
Jamaica	439,009	309,317	58.67	41.33	17.33
Montserrat	1,391	691	66.81	33.19	33.62
Saint Lucia	27,044	19,987	57.50	42.50	15.00
St Kitts & Nevis	9,003	6,677	57.42	42.58	14.83
St Vincent & the Grenadines	18,218	12,073	60.14	39.86	20.29
Suriname	85,245	38,218	69.04	30.96	38.09
Trinidad & Tobago	212,403	91,468	69.90	30.10	39.80
Turks & Caicos Islands	5,019	2,235	69.19	30.81	38.38
TOTAL	1,130,605	658,911	63.18	36.82	26.36

Source: CARICOM census data 2000 round

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The data show that the population of persons with disabilities across the region totalled 1,789,516.00. Of these, 1,130,605 (63.18 per cent) were males and 658,911 (36.82 per cent) were females. The overall differential was 26.36 per cent in favour of males, and males were therefore twice as likely as females to have a disability. These contrasts with the data from the OECD countries which showed the reverse trend with more females having disabilities (see Fact Sheet on Persons with Disabilities on UN website on the Convention on Persons with Disabilities). This higher rate of disabilities among males could reflect higher rates of injuries from road accidents and trauma from violence experienced by males which are gender related. The findings indicate a link between gender and age, as research also shows a higher rate of disability for females over 60 years resulting from sedentary lifestyles. More detailed analysis is required to examine the vulnerabilities of both sexes in the Caribbean, based on a combination of socioeconomic factors.

Table 7.1 shows that the gender differentials were very wide ranging from a high of 52.25 per cent in Belize and low of 6.17 per cent in Bermuda. The analysis of the gender differentials show three distinct groupings. Countries with high gender differentials of 40-50 per cent were Belize (52.52 per cent) and Guyana (41.71 per cent). This could be related to a number of social and economic factors reported in the literature and may be related to a possible correlation between gender, race, socio-economic status and disability. These two countries share the similarities of high rates of poverty, high rates of male headed households, and large indigenous populations.

Countries with gender differentials between 20-30 per cent were: Trinidad and Tobago (39.80); TCI (38.38); Suriname (38.09); Montserrat (33.39) and the Bahamas (27.12) Dominica (26.37); and St Vincent and the Grenadines (20.29).

Countries with gender differentials of less than 20 per cent were: Grenada (18.17); Jamaica (17.33); St Lucia (15.0); St Kitts and Nevis (14.83); Antigua and Barbuda (13.07); Barbados (11.04) and Bermuda (6.7). The smaller gender differentials may in part be linked to the state of the economy of these countries which allows employment opportunities for persons with and without disabilities. Further research is however needed to determine factors influencing these findings.

7.4.2 Gender Differentials among Household Heads with a Physical Disability

Table 7.9: Physical Disability by Household Head, Country and Sex, 2000 round

Country	Male	Female	%Male	%Female	Difference %
Anguilla	117	71	62.23	37.77	24.47
Antigua & Barbuda	715	766	48.28	51.72	-3.44
Barbados	1,816	2,020	47.34	52.66	-5.32
Belize	3,965	1,803	68.74	31.26	37.48
Bermuda	473	499	48.66	51.34	-2.67
British Virgin Islands	254	146	63.50	36.50	27.00
Dominica	253	194	56.60	43.40	13.20
Grenada	756	827	47.76	52.24	-4.49
Guyana			No Data		
Jamaica	4,348	2,932	59.73	40.27	19.45
Montserrat	60	24	71.43	28.57	42.86
Saint Lucia	1,382	1,311	51.32	48.68	2.64
St Kitts & Nevis	475	499	48.77	51.23	-2.46
St Vincent & the Grenadines	894	878	50.45	49.55	0.90
Suriname		•	No Data		
The Bahamas	528	530	49.91	50.09	-0.19
Trinidad & Tobago	5,839	4,805	54.86	45.14	9.71
Turks & Caicos Islands	61	47	56.48	43.52	12.96
TOTAL	21,936	17,352	55.83	44.17	11.67

Source: compiled from national census reports for 2001.

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Table 7.9 presents data from the 2000 round of censuses for the countries for which data were available on household heads with a physical disability. It shows that the total number of household heads with physical disabilities was 32,008. Of these 21,936 (55.83 per cent) were males and 17,352 (44.17 per cent) were females. The higher percentage of male households would be explained by the Gender Roles Framework. It also indicates that the traditional role of the male as head of household exists in both groups (with and without a physical disability).

Countries with more female household heads with physical disabilities were: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Bermuda, Grenada, St Kitts and Nevis, and the Bahamas. The gender differentials for these countries were small, and ranged from -5.32 per cent in Barbados to -0.19 per cent in the Bahamas. These results indicate that there was near parity between the sexes in terms of the numbers of males and females heads of household with physical disabilities. The results could be explained by the higher economic status of these countries which provides opportunities for both males and females (with and without a physical disability). It is also consistent with the gender differences in household headship discussed in Chapter 2, where it was shown that Bermuda, Barbados, Antigua and Barbuda, St Kitts and Nevis in rank order had the smallest differentials followed by Jamaica and Grenada. The Bahamas ranked 10th Based on the findings of the ECLAC studies and other UN and World Bank findings on the links between gender, disabilities and vulnerabilities, further research is recommended, to determine whether female-headed households in which the woman has a physical disability are more vulnerable to poverty and higher unemployment.

Table 7.2 also shows that in rank order, the countries with the largest gender differentials were: Montserrat (42.86); Belize (37.48); British Virgin Islands (27.0), Anguilla (24.47); Jamaica (19.45); Dominica (13.20); and the Turks and Caicos Islands (12.96). When these results are compared with the sex distribution of household headship in the wider population of each country there were some interesting findings.

In Montserrat the gender differentials among household heads with a physical disability were greater than in the general population (42.86 per cent) compared to 20.93 per cent. This indicates females with a physical disability were much les likely to be heads of household than females in the general population.

The pattern was different in Belize: gender differentials were 37.48 per cent (heads with physical disability) compared to 56.11 percent in the general population. This indicates that the gender differentials were smaller among heads with a physical disability. A similar pattern emerges when data for the BVI was compared. It showed that 27 per cent for heads with a disability compared to 42.57 per cent. There was no comparative data for Anguilla. For Jamaica the patterns were similar: 18.45 per cent (heads with physical disability) compared to 23.94 per cent. The disparity was less when compared to the results of the other countries. For Dominica it was 13.20 per cent compared to 26.26 per cent. There was no comparative data for the Turks and Caicos Islands.

In summary the results show that males were twice as likely as females in the Caribbean to have a disability and the overall differential was 26.36 per cent. Gender differences in the wider population are also reflected among heads of household with physical disabilities. There were more male heads of household with a physical disability in seven countries and more female heads in six countries, which has implications for vulnerability to poverty etc. Most Caribbean countries have ratified the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) and all have ratified CEDAW and the CRC. Efforts therefore have to be strengthened to create a more enabling environment to protect the rights of persons with disabilities of different ages by adopting responsive policies and programmes, guided by research. This includes research on women with disabilities or who care for family members with a disability to support Article 1 of the CRPD. The gender inequalities impacting both sexes in employment and education in particular are increased for persons with disabilities, hence the need for special measures to address their needs. Caribbean countries are therefore encouraged to increase research, strengthen policies and expand programmes to better protect the rights of persons with disabilities who are among the most vulnerable in any population.

7.5 Gender and Vulnerabilities: Climate Change And Natural Hazards

This section of the chapter highlights how data from the population and housing census can help countries reduce the risks and vulnerabilities associated with climate change and natural hazards. It outlines the region's vulnerability linked to its Small Island Developing States (SIDS) status. It then highlights the global human rights framework which justifies the importance of mainstreaming gender in related policies and programmes. It provides evidence from research and disasters in the last decade to support the need for increased focus on gender-related vulnerabilities, and concludes with recommendations to reduce these vulnerabilities. Theoretically, it signifies the integration of gender and the environment into the concept and practice of sustainable development. Literature and activism on eco-feminism has also expanded to reflect the relationship between women and nature as they share a common oppression by a patriarchal society. (see for example Mies and Shiva (1993). In the Caribbean, the Centre for Gender and Development Studies at the University of the West Indies St Augustine campus, has researched and published studies on the Nariva Swamp in Trinidad and Tobago and has produced documentary videos entitled: The Nariva Swamp: A Contested Wetland - Issues of Gender and Sustainability (Bruce Paddington 2005); and Living With the Nariva Swamp: Participatory Research with Kernahan and Cascadoux. (Bruce Paddington 2002).

Readers are asked to link the environmental vulnerabilities discussed in this section with vulnerabilities discussed in other chapters of this Gender Monograph, as well as in the other Regional Special Topic Monographs. Among these are vulnerabilities related to HIV and AIDS, crime and violence, poverty and economic status, the Elderly, as well as migrants and refugees. These and other vulnerabilities are highlighted in the World Disaster Report 2008 of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 2008.

7.5.1 Information from the Census

The Population and housing census provides valuable data to guide polices and programmes that can reduce the vulnerability and risks associated with climate change and disasters. Demographic and socio-economic data analysed in earlier chapters can be used to identify the most vulnerable and at-risk groups in each country. The chapter on Gender and Housing provides a detailed analysis of gender differentials in access to and quality of housing for male and female headed households. The quality of housing is an important predictor of the capacity of buildings to withstand the ravages of hurricanes, floods, volcanic eruptions and other natural hazards that sometimes become disasters.

Understanding the gender dimensions of climate change and natural hazards, are important to reduce the vulnerability of both female and males in the Caribbean, which is part of the SIDS. The region's geographic position makes it prone to natural hazards such as hurricanes, floods, droughts, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions which impact on development. SIDS countries are at greater risk from rising sea levels, higher temperatures, weather extremes, cycles of droughts and floods, and other factors associated with climate change. The evidence is clear, especially during the period since the 2000 census: the Caribbean region has experienced extremes of weather associated with climate change linked to these SIDS-related vulnerabilities.

The economic cost of damage from hurricanes, floods, droughts and volcanic eruptions has negatively impacted the economic development of several Caribbean countries. Disasters have also impacted the lives of Caribbean men and women, especially those who are poor, who live in areas most affected by disasters or have a disability. Women are particularly impacted negatively because of their gender roles which the Gender Roles Framework in Chapter 1 discussed.

The Caribbean also has a fragile eco-system on which many countries depend for the lucrative tourism industry. The physical environment affects the social and economic status of countries and their citizens.

7.5.2 The Global Human Rights Framework

The global framework to mainstream gender in climate change and disaster risk management is based on the principles of several international conventions and consensus agreements that Caribbean countries have ratified. Among these are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). These are also supported by consensus agreements such as the Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); the Programme of Action of the International Conference of Population and Development (ICPD); the Madrid Declaration on Ageing; and the Kingston Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons. Other relevant frameworks are the Belem to Para Convention to prevent and punish violence against women, commitments to eliminate HIV and AIDS, as well as others to prevent trafficking of persons.

The majority of persons trafficked are women and children whose vulnerability increases when there is a disaster as the experience of the Asian tsunami showed. Together, these frameworks imply that the rights of all vulnerable groups must be protected before, during and after a disaster and that the differential needs of males and females must always be considered to achieve sustainable development.

7.5.3 International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (ISDR) and the Hyogo Framework of Action

The United Nations (UN) body established to sustain the efforts of the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction (<u>UN/ISDR 2004</u>) is the Secretariat of the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (ISDR). In 2005 United Nations held the World Conference on Disaster Reduction. An outcome of this conference is the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (ISDR)" and the Hyogo Framework for Action.

The International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (ISDR) and the Hyogo Framework of Action require governments and other stakeholders to mainstream gender in disaster risk management. The Hyogo Framework outlines priorities aimed at ensuring a substantial reduction of disaster related losses in terms of human lives, and in the social, economic and environmental assets of communities and whole countries.

The strategic goals of this agreement are to:

- a. Integrate disaster risk reduction into sustainable development policies and planning
- b. Develop and strengthen institutions, mechanisms, and capacities to build resilience to hazards

The systematic incorporation of risk reduction approaches into the implementation of emergency preparedness response and recovery programmes Outcome 4 of the revised Comprehensive Disaster Management (CDM) Strategy of the Hyogo Framework states that "a gender perspective should be integrated into all disaster risk management policies, plans and decision-making processes, including those related to risk assessment, early warning, information management, and education and training". The following statement by the UN Secretary General highlights the commitment of UN agencies to mainstream gender in climate change and disaster risk management:

Box 7.1: 2008 Climate and Gender Update A Report for U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon¹

The United Nations is formally committed to gender mainstreaming within all policies and programs. However, gender equality is not yet realized in any society or part of the world. Gender differences are observed in every stratum of social institutions ranging from the family to religious groups or caste systems; political and legal structures; economic and educational institutions; and the mass media. All are permeated with norms and values which inform the economic, social, institutional, and legal constraints which affect women and men's rights to own land, control resources, access technology and education; and thereby also influence the attitudes, contributions, impacts, and individual potential to adapt to climate change.

A number of issues signal the crucial role of gender in understanding the causes of climate change, efforts to mitigate it, and working towards successful adaptation to inevitable climate variability and change:

- 1. Women and men– in their respective social roles are differently affected by the *effects of climate change and variability*;
- 2. Similarly, women and men in their respective social roles are differently affected by *climate protection instruments and measures*;
- 3. Women and men differ with regard to their respective *perceptions of and reactions to climate change and variability;*
- 4. Women's and men's contributions to climate change and variability differ, especially in their respective *CO2 emissions*;
- 5. Climate protection measures often fail to take into account the *needs* of large numbers of poor, women, children and elderly members of society, in terms of infrastructure, energy supply, etc;
- 6. The *participation of women in decision-making* is very low in climate policy and its implementation in instruments and measures

Source: http://www.climatecaucus.net/chapterongendertext2.htm

7.5.4 Caribbean Commitments to Gender Mainstreaming in Climate Change and Disaster Risk Management

In the last decade the region has not only strengthened policies and programmes to reduce vulnerabilities related to climate change and disasters, but also specifically addressed the issue of gender mainstreaming, with varying levels of success.

The Caribbean Disaster Emergency Response Agency (CDERA) has developed an Action Plan for Gender Mainstreaming in Risk Reduction, in which several policy and programmatic initiatives were developed to mainstream gender. Among them was a workshop held in 2005 entitled "Gender Mainstreaming in Natural Hazard Risk Reduction". This milestone event was the first of its kind in the English-Speaking Caribbean and addressed four main areas: Capacity Building in Gender Planning; Preparing a Socio-Economic Assessment (SEA) from a Gender Perspective' Understanding the implications of gender in community disaster planning and Gender mainstreaming in National Planning.

The Caribbean's region commitment to Outcome 4 of the Hyogo Framework is the Action Plan for Gender Mainstreaming developed by the Caribbean Disaster Emergency Relief Agency (CDERA).

7.5.4.1 Definitions

Environmental vulnerabilities are linked to hazards and risks in relation to natural hazards. The definitions of each of these provided by the UN/IDSR is as follows:

Hazards are defined as "potentially damaging physical events, which may cause loss of life, injury, or property damage. Each hazard is characterized by its location, intensity, frequency, and probability. Vulnerability is defined as "a set of conditions resulting from physical, social, economic, and environmental factors that increase the susceptibility of a community to the effects of hazards. A strong coping capacity—that is, the combination of all the strengths and resources available within a community—will reduce its vulnerability." Risks are "the probability of harmful consequences (health burden) or economic losses resulting from the interactions between natural or human-induced hazards and vulnerable or capable conditions".

7.5.4.2 Understanding the Linkages

The UN/ISDR notes that countries are vulnerable to various types of disasters and to poverty, demographic growth, rapid urbanization, settlement in unsafe areas, environmental degradation, climate change, and unplanned development. ¹ Both women and men are vulnerable in disasters. Reports on the impact of Hurricane Mitch in Nicaragua showed that 54% of those who died were males.

DeVille et al (2006) note that:

"Stereotypes of gender vulnerability at the time of impact often do not apply. Depending on the type of disaster, far more significant vulnerability factors than gender or age are the time of day of the impact (and, therefore, the occupational activity of each group) and the structural vulnerability of housing, factories, and public buildings, including the location of the victims within the buildings" (de Ville et al 2006). These writers do however acknowledge that women in temporary shelters after a disaster are more vulnerable to sexual violence.

There is a substantial body of literature which focuses on women's increased vulnerabilities prior to, during and after a disaster, related to their socially ascribed gender roles and their unequal position in the labour market. Among these is "Disaster mitigation: the concept of vulnerability revisited" by Juergen Weichselgartner, where it is argued that natural disasters are socially constructed.

Enarson and Meyreles (2004) also provide an excellent overview of academic gender and disaster literature produced during the period covering the last two censuses (1990-2003). Their article, published in the International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, ¹ provides a critical and comprehensive analysis of regional patterns in English language based publications that were based on empirical data that were published between 1990 and 2003. The results showed that most articles were from developed regions and only 10 per cent covered Latin America and the Caribbean. Regional themes in international gender and disaster analysis were examined and of the research questions guiding the research, most focused on women and one on gender in men's lives in disaster contexts. (Enarson and Meyreles, 2004:26)

Caribbean literature on gender, climate change and disaster risk management has also expanded since the 2000 round of censuses. Institutional mechanisms have been strengthened at regional and national levels, and there been increased awareness of the related vulnerabilities. Disaster Managers have also been trained to use gender-sensitive strategies in programmes aimed at prevention, management and rehabilitation in post-disaster events. Partnerships between international development agencies governments and civil society have also resulted in research to assess the level of commitment to gender mainstreaming in national disaster agencies and case studies of gender in climate change adaptation. These and other initiatives have sought to promote a more coherent approach to reducing risks, loss of life and property by building awareness of the links between gender, climate change, and disaster risk management.

A significant contribution to the literature that has highlighted these linkages is the publication entitled: 'Grenada: A Gender Impact Assessment of Hurricane Ivan: Making the Invisible Visible' published by UNECLAC, UNIFEM and UNDP (2005). It focuses on the vulnerabilities of women based on the experience of Hurricane Ivan in Grenada. Among the findings were that women in Grenada who had previously been independent, had become dependent on males because they had lost their source of livelihood, shelter and dependence. For some women, these relationships increased risks to themselves as well as their children.

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³⁷ See UNDP Caribbean Risk Management Initiative study by the UWI Centre for Gender and Development Studies Mona 2009

The assessment also highlighted vulnerabilities associated with women's socio-economic profile: 48 per cent female headed households; 52 per cent of the poor were in female headed households which had large families; and young women were particularly vulnerable.

The impact of Ivan on women in agriculture and tourism were also highlighted: the nutmeg and tourism industry which employed a significant number of women were both devastated. (ECLAC, UNIFEM, UNDP 2005).

7.5.5 The High Cost of Disasters

The main cost of disasters is loss of life. Hundreds of lives have been lost across the region in the last decade.

There are also economic and financial costs which have been quite high and unaffordable for the economies of some Caribbean countries. ECLAC (2005) noted the cost of damage from 2004 Hurricane Ivan in the Caribbean in US Dollars as a percentage of GDP. The results showed that damage in the Bahamas was US\$381.54M representing 7.3 per cent of GDP; in the Cayman Islands, the figure was US\$3.5B representing 183 per cent of GDP; in Grenada it was US\$815M representing 200 per cent of GDP, and in Jamaica it was US\$595M representing 8 per cent of GDP.

Albala-Betrand (2000) in Disasters in Latin America and the Caribbean: An overview of risks (IDB Working Paper 434) notes that disasters have a negative impact on the macro-economy of a country. Inflation is increases from the disruption in production; there is a deficit in public finance from a fall off in tax revenue and increased public expenditure; there is also a deficit in trade balances as exports decrease and imports increase because of a decline in productive capacity. There is also an increased deficit in the current account because of trade imbalances. (Albala-Betrand 2000). Against this background, women's already weak position in the economy and labour market are worsened by pre-existing gender inequalities. The global economic crisis further increases the vulnerability of SIDS countries and exacerbates vulnerabilities.

In recent years, the impact of climate change has been evident in the frequency and intensity of natural hazards which are costly not only in the loss of human life but also the destruction of property, economies and livelihoods. Supported by a growing and now substantial volume of literature, there is now increased awareness of the importance of mainstreaming gender in disaster risk management, based on the analysis of the differential risks that these hazards pose to sustainable development goals such as the MDGs and national plans. There is also significant evidence that poverty, low socio-economic status and gender inequalities increase vulnerability to natural hazards. Especially since 2004, risk assessments and disaster assessments conducted in various countries in the region, have resulted in an established body of research and analysis on gender, climate change and disaster risk management. This literature underscores the vulnerability of specific population groups who are vulnerable to the impact of climate change and natural hazards.

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Factors emerging from the research that affect Gender Vulnerability to Climate Change and Disasters in the Caribbean point to lack of awareness of gender as a concept and tool for analysis, the importance of gender differences, and limited capacity to use gender analysis as a planning tool. Together, these factors increase the vulnerability of Caribbean countries to the risks associated with natural hazards. Lack of Gender Mainstreaming increases vulnerability and robs countries of the ability to maximize scarce financial resources when there is a disaster.

The emerging literature also shows that the impact of gender is mediated by class, race, ethnicity and nationality which influence the varied levels of risks experienced by Caribbean people. Cross-disciplinary interventions can further reduce vulnerability to risks posed by natural hazards (see Rafi Ahmad (2007). Potential areas to mainstream gender in national disaster management policies and programmes include in: risk identification and mapping; early warning systems; disaster communications; evacuation procedures; shelters and interim housing as well as in recovery and reconstruction.

7.6 Conclusions and Recommendations

It is hoped that readers have better understood the differential vulnerabilities for women and men posed by climate change and natural disasters. The issues addressed in this section underscore the importance of using census data as well as other studies from a wide range of disciplines, to reduce vulnerabilities. It also points to the need to a) improve the *collection of sex disaggregated data* on deaths, damages and losses related to disaster management; and, b) use *gender analysis* of the data to strengthen policy and programme interventions.

Recommendations therefore are to: expand training in gender mainstreaming; increase public awareness of gender-related human rights; and strengthen partnerships between regional, national and community based stakeholders such as Disaster Management agencies, National Gender Machineries, academic institutions private sector and of civil society groups (e.g. churches, women's groups, community associations).

CHAPTER 8

Gender, Crime and Violence

8.1 Introduction

This Chapter on Gender, Crime and Violence examines the characteristics of crime and violence in the CARICOM region, and the way in which Gender Based Violence is experienced and addressed. The census collects crime data in the categories of murder, shooting, rape/abuse, robbery and praedial larceny. The data are not differentiated by sex, and therefore alternative sources such as prison and court records must be relied upon to discern gender-differentiated trends. Additionally, some poverty assessments, and MDG reports, can be useful sources of crime related data.

This chapter therefore provides an overview of trends as were indicated in the data the census collected, and has utilized institutional sources of data for countries where they were available. As data were available for seven of the 18 countries covered in this report, the basis for comparability is limited.

Caribbean countries rank among the highest in the world in the record of violent crime, much of which is tied to the trafficking of narcotics (World Bank, 2007). In the report, Crime, Violence and Development: Trends, Costs and Policy Options in the Caribbean, the murder rates reported for the Caribbean surpass those of other regions of the world; and assault rates exceed the global average (ibid). With an annual murder rate of 30 per 100,000 population, the region stands out for homicidal excesses that are unparalleled. The same report has found that women in the Caribbean experience some of the highest levels of gender-based violence (ibid).

8.2 Characteristics of crime and violence

Definitions of Gender Based Violence underscore the multi-faceted nature of its occurrence, reflecting the causes and consequences of an act that is decidedly directed at females. A combination of social, economic, physical, psychological and emotional factors come into play, necessitating policy responses and programs that are equally multi dimensional.

Violence against women has been recognized as a global concern in the United Nations system since 1975, when the first declaration dedicated to its eradication was issued. In that year, the first World Conference on Women in Mexico adopted the World Plan of Action, which referred to the need for the family to ensure dignity, equality and security of each of its members, although the term violence was not used. It was not until the 1980 Conference in Copenhagen that a resolution was formulated on "battered women and violence in the family" and violence in the home was explicitly mentioned (DAW). Subsequently at the 1985 Nairobi World Conference, NGOs pushed for the issue to be addressed.

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In the Forward-looking Strategies adopted by the Conference, the eradication of violence against women was tied to peace in both the public and private spheres. The Conference included violence as a major obstacle to the achievement of development, equality and peace, the three objectives of the Decade.

Another critical instrument has been the 1979 Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Although the CEDAW itself does not speak to VAW, it refers to trafficking in women, the exploitation of prostitution and sexual harassment in the workplace (DAW). The CEDAW monitoring committee in 1989 adopted general recommendation 12 on violence against women, calling on countries to report on the incidence of VAW. In 1990, female circumcision and other traditional practices harmful to the health of women were added to the list of offences (General recommendation 14); and in 1992, gender-based violence was defined (General recommendation 19) as "violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately and declares it to be "a form of discrimination against women that seriously inhibits women's ability to enjoy rights and freedoms on a basis of equality with men" (ibid).

The Economic and Social Council resolution 1990/15 of 24 May 1990 asserted that "violence against women in the family and society was pervasive and cut across lines of income; class and culture had to be matched by urgent and effective steps to eliminate its incidence" (ECOSOC, 1990). In the following year, the Council re-affirmed the urgency to act, and Resolution1991/18 of 30 May 1991 called for the development of an international instrument that would directly address the issue of violence against women. Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women

These resolutions laid the foundation for the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, adopted by the General Assembly in December 1993. Linking VAW to human rights and fundamental freedoms, the Declaration defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life It encompasses, but is not limited to, physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family". (UN GA, 2003).

In December 2008, the General Assembly adopted two new resolutions related to violence against women by consensus: Resolution 63/155 on the intensification of efforts to eliminate all forms of violence against women; and Resolution 63/156 on trafficking in women and girls (DAW, 2009).

In June 1994, the General Assembly of the Organization of American States adopted the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women, now known as the Convention of Belem do Para. The Convention created a hemispheric platform on which governments could mount their anti-violence initiatives.

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The Convention defines violence against women as any act or conduct, based on gender, which causes death or physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, whether in the public or the private sphere...including physical, sexual and psychological violence:

- a. that occurs within the family or domestic unit or within any other interpersonal relationship, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the woman, including, among others, rape, battery and sexual abuse;
- b. that occurs in the community and is perpetrated by any person, including, among others, rape, sexual abuse, torture, trafficking in persons forced prostitution, kidnapping and sexual harassment in the workplace, as well as in educational institutions, health facilities or any other place; and
- c. that is perpetrated or condoned by the state or its agents regardless of where it occurs" (CIM, 2004).

Unlike the UN Declaration, the issue of sexual harassment in the work place is explicitly addressed in the Convention.

With all international agreements and conventions, there is a process of alignment with national legislation that can be lengthy and complex, as governments may lack the necessary capacities, and sometimes the political enthusiasm, to introduce and enforce new legislation. There could be specific instances in which national legislation contradicts international treaty provisions. In the case of VAW, there are definitional and compliance issues, as noted by PAHO: "... a violent act may or may not contravene existing legislation and consequently may or may not be labelled as 'criminal' by the criminal justice system. A case in point is domestic violence, some types of which even today are not considered criminal behaviour in some countries of the region. Nor need all criminal acts be violent; such "victimless" crimes as prostitution and bribery usually do not involve violence" (1999: 6).

Buvinic *et al* distinguished two broad categories of violence as "violence that takes place between people related to each other by blood, marriage or common law--referred to as *domestic violence*, and violence that occurs between individuals not so related--referred to as *social violence*. The former usually takes place within the confines of the household, while the latter usually takes place in the street or public places--and is consequently more visible" (Buvinic *et al* 2007).

Another term found in the literature is "interpersonal violence," used by Le Franc *et al* to describe "violence between family members and intimate partners as well as violence between acquaintances and strangers" (Le Franc *et al*, 2008). The IPV category as applied by the researchers "differentiates violence between partners (i.e., within intimate relationships) from violence between persons known to each other (including relatives—some of whom could be members of the domestic household) and violence between strangers" (ibid). They point out that this is a departure from the more widely practiced use of the terms "domestic violence" and "partner violence", by contextualizing the personal or relationship aspects of violence perpetrated or experienced, rather than where it occurs, as implied by the use of the term "domestic" (Le Franc *et al*, 2008: 412).

Heise *et al* (1994) explored violence as a socio cultural issue, related to gender roles, male dominance and power relations. These themes are echoed in the UN declarations and in most of the contemporary analysis of gender based violence. The increasing recognition of GBV as a public health issue and a human rights issue sets out a complementary platform for analyzing and addressing GBV.

8.3 Occurrences of violent crime

According to the census data, acts of violent crime were experienced by 49,000 persons, the majority of whom were male. On a per capita basis, the highest rates were found in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, and the lowest were found in (Table 8.2). Except for Jamaica and the British Virgin Islands, the percentages of females as victims of crime exceed those of males, with the highest percentage of males found in the Turks and Caicos Islands. When expressed as a gender gap ratio, the data for the region as a whole show a gap of .76, indicating the ratio of female to male victims who were covered by reported incidents of violence. In the two countries where the gender gap favoured females, the suggestion is that more women experienced acts of violence that could be associated with gender-based violence.

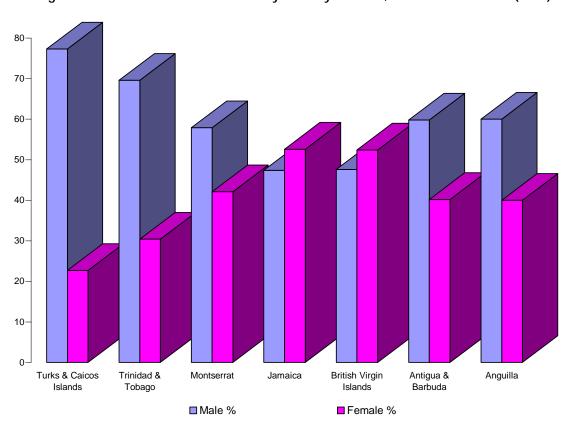
Table 8.1: Victims of violent crime by country and sex, 2001

Country	Ma	Male		male	Total	Gender Gap	
Country	N	%	N	%	lotai	Gender Gap	
Anguilla	129	60	86	40	215	0.67	
Antigua & Barbuda	526	59.8	354	40.2	880	0.67	
The Bahamas							
Barbados							
Belize							
Bermuda							
British Virgin Islands	117	47.6	129	52.4	246	1.1	
Dominica							
Grenada							
Guyana							
Jamaica	11,931	47.4	13,239	52.6	25,170	1.11	
Montserrat	2,425	57.9	1,764	42.1	4,189	0.72	
Saint Lucia							
St Kitts & Nevis							
St Vincent & the Grenadines							
Suriname							
Trinidad & Tobago	12,249	69.6	5,345	30.4	17,594	0.43	
Turks & Caicos Islands	218	77.3	64	22.7	282	0.29	
TOTAL	27,595	56.8	20,981	43.2	48,576	0.76	

Table 8.2: Victims of violent crime by country, type of crime and sex, 2001

Country	Murder		Shooting		Rape/Abuse		Robbery		P Larceny	
Country	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Jamaica	1,738	1,950	1,918	2,021	1,176	1,555	7,407	8,281	6,095	6,700

Figure 8.1: Victims of violent crime by country and sex, Selected Countries (2001)



Source: 2000 Census

Reported data indicate that one out of every three adult women have been subjected to domestic violence.³⁸ Levels of sexual violence are also alarmingly high, with reports of nearly half of all adolescent girls having been in situations of forced intercourse.³⁹

Le Franc *et al* have studied the effect of age, country and gender on the type of violence experienced and perpetrated. The research confirmed a trend in which physical violence affects youth disproportionately, and physically inflicted injuries account for the majority of hospital admissions (Le Franc *et al* 2008). Among the countries studies—Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, the percentage of hospital admissions attributed to violence and injury was highest in Jamaica, where they accounted for 50 percent of all admissions (*ibid*). The research showed that most deaths among male youth aged 5-14 are the result of injury; while among those aged 5-24, homicide and suicide are the leading cause of death (*ibid*).

In the categories of violence studied in the three countries, there were gender differences found in all forms of violence both as victim and as perpetrator (Table 8.3). Women were more prone to any form of violence, and they were four times more likely than men to be victims of sexual coercion. Since the data demonstrate unusual configurations that dispute established gender trends, further inquiry would be necessary to account for the effects of age and patterns of violence in same sex relationships.

Table 8.3: Proportion of survey respondents reporting physical violence, sexual coercion, and psychological aggression within intimate relationships, in Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, 2003–2004

	Barbados Women Men		Jam	aica	Trinidad and Tobago				
			Women	Men	Women	Men			
Survey respondent as victim									
Psychological aggression	70.7	76.1	69.4	66.5	69.3	66.6			
Physical violence	50.0	44.7	45.3	40.4	45.2	47.7			
Sexual coercion	52.8	39.6	72.6	57.2	51.6	52.5			
	Survey res	spondent as	perpetrator						
Psychological aggression	74.6	76.5	76.6	69.8	77.4	70.5			
Physical violence	53.9	48.8	52.4	39.9	48.2	45.0			
Sexual coercion	47.4	42.1	67.9	60.0	49.9	52.9			

Source: Le Franc et al, 2008

39 Ibid

³⁸ Commonwealth Secretariat, 2003. Integrated Approaches to Eliminating Gender Based Violence.http://www.thecommonwealth.org/shared_asp_files/uploadedfiles/7BBC734E4C-36AC-482D-984A-593228DB5F8D7D_gender20violence.pdf

8.4 Relationship between violent crime and Gender Based Violence

In Article 1 of the United Nations Declaration on Violence against Women, violence against women is considered as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life."40 Article 2 of the Declaration recognizes "generic forms of violence against women that may be physical, sexual and psychological, occurring in the family and in the community. These forms of violence include battery, sexual abuse of female children, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation (FGM), non-spousal violence, violence related to exploitation, sexual harassment, and intimidation at work and in educational institutions, trafficking in women, forced prostitution and violence perpetrated or condoned by the State."⁴¹

The definition of gender-based violence is taken beyond women by the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), which alludes to both genders: "Gender-based violence is violence involving men and women, in which the female is usually the victim and which is derived from unequal power relationships between men and women. Violence is directed specifically against a woman because she is a woman, or affects women disproportionately. It includes, but is not limited to, physical, sexual and psychological harm (including intimidation, suffering, coercion, and/or deprivation of liberty within the family or within the general community). It includes that violence which is perpetrated or condoned by the State." 42

"Gender based violence encompasses a wide range of human rights violations, including sexual abuse, rape, domestic violence, sexual assault and harassment, the trafficking and prostitution of women and children as well as several harmful traditional practices."

Reported data indicate that one out of every three adult women have been subjected to domestic violence. 43 Domestic violence is considered to be one of the most common forms of Gender Based Violence, cutting across age, race, class and ethnicity. Levels of sexual violence are alarmingly high, with reports of nearly half of all adolescent girls having been in situations of forced intercourse. 44 Gender-based violence exacts a physical, psychological and emotional toll; and diminishes health, legal and economic resources.

In some Caribbean countries, sexual activity is initiated at an early age often through forced encounters (Clarke and Sealey, 2005). It is reported that one in six women between ages 15 and 24 experienced sexual intercourse before they turned 15 in Antigua/Barbuda, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago (ibid). For 50 percent of young women, this experience was in circumstances of sexual coercion (ibid).

⁴⁰ Economic and Social Council, "Report of the Working Group on Violence against Women," E/CN.6WG.2/1992/11.3 Vienna: United Nations, 1992. Page 4

⁴¹ Ibid: 5

⁴² UNFPA Gender Theme Group, 1998 page 5

⁴³ Commonwealth Secretariat, 2003. Integrated Approaches to Eliminating Gender Based Violence. http://www.thecommonwealth.org/shared_asp_files/uploadedfiles/7BBC734E4C-36AC-482D-984A-593228DB5F8D7D gender20violence.pdf
44 Ibid

Socio economic dependency has been associated with female sexual subordination and unsafe sexual encounters (Andaiye, 2003; Clarke and Sealey, 2005). Conversely, the economic vulnerability of males is a contributing factor to violence against females (Clarke and Sealey, 2005), as well as against other males. It is evident therefore that the experience of economic vulnerability is a critical predictor of violent behaviour for both males and females. For females, however, there are additional risk factors, including the ever present threat of physical, psychological and emotional violence, which constrain their ability to negotiate safe sex.

The Caribbean Task Force on HIV/AIDS has warned that "Women are at greater risk of contracting HIV in both biological and social terms, as they are both physically more vulnerable and often have little or no power to negotiate safer sex practices with their male partners." With the increasing evidence that forced sexual intercourse contributes to HIV/AIDS, there are justifiable reasons to focus on the issues of male aggression, and the role it plays in exercising physical and psychological power over women.

A recent report on GBV by UNIFEM and ECLAC drew attention to several constraints in the reporting of domestic violence, including variations in the procedures, and the possibility of duplication where women may report both to the police and to a crisis centre (UNIFEM/ECLAC, 2005). The reports of incidence of violence were as high as one in four women in Guyana. Economic dependency, poverty in the household and lower education levels were factors contributing to higher levels of abuse (ibid). Violence was also linked to the low status of males who were challenged with poverty in inner city neighbourhoods in Jamaica; and to male insecurity in Dominica (ibid).

Table 8.4: Reports of sexual offences in Jamaica 1993-2002

	1993		19	995	20	001	2002	
Crime	Reported	Cleared- Up	Reported	Cleared- Up	Reported	Cleared- Up	Reported	Cleared- Up
Rape	773	332	843	268	776	239	767	226
Carnal abuse	583	255	761	281	451	199	424	203
Incest	0	0	40		40	21	62	32
Indecent assault	131	45	174	54	276	128	243	118
Buggery					39	17	45	17
Attempted rape					14	3	14	6
Assault with intent to rape					49	27	57	33

Source: Extracted from UNIFEM/ECLAC, 2003 (Police Records)

Table 8.5: Reports made to DNCW March 2000-August 2002

Type of violence	Female	Male	Youth	Total
Physical	24			24
Emotional/psychological	40	12	3	55
Sexual	9		2	11
Other	12		1	13
Total	85	12	6	103

Source: Extracted from UNIFEM/ECLAC, 2003

Table 8.6: Number of applications for protection orders

Year	Jamaica	St Lucia	St Vincent and the Grenadines
1996			134
1997		106	204
1998		310	182
1999		447	225
2000	275	472	152
2001	370		42
2002	335		

Source: Extracted from UNIFEM/ECLAC, 2003

Because of the possible inconsistencies in the standards and criteria of the data reported, the data should be analyzed with caution. In Guyana, the increase in cases of domestic violence and gender-based violence reported to the police was significant, from 1,295 in 2003 to 2,395 cases in 2004 (CIDA, 2006).

The number of applications for protection orders suggests a more definitive trend, showing marked increases in Jamaica and St Lucia (Table 8.4); and a decrease in St Vincent and the Grenadines. Studies from the mid-1990s showed similarly high levels of gender based violence in Antigua/Barbuda and Barbados, both of which reported 30 percent of women aged 20 to 45 having been subjected to violence (beating) as adults, and 50 percent reporting that their mothers had beaten (Heise *et al.*, 1997).

Prison statistics indicate that there are far fewer females incarcerated than males (see Table 8.5), and that the numbers of those imprisoned have either decreased or remained constant from 1998 to 2003. For both males and females, the greatest number is in the age group 20 to 39; and with increasing age, the tendency is for the numbers to decrease.

Data for Dominica show that the number of male and females committed to prison increased between 1998 and 2003: for females the increase was 14 to 18, and for males from 714 to 824. The percentage increase was greater for males than it was for females.

An emerging trend is drug-linked infractions, in which women are increasingly implicated. Another concern is trafficking in persons. At particular risk are women and girls who are transported across borders illegally, and used for sex work and domestic work.

Number Of Prisoners No. of **Daily Average Prisoners** No. of Prison Committed Released In Prison at Admitted to Year **Prisoners** Capacity **During Year During Year** end of Year Hospital M F F M F F M F M M

Table 8.7 Prison Population, Dominica

Source: Dominica State Prisons

8.5 Consequences of Gender Based Violence

In the private sphere, gender-based violence exacts a physical, psychological and emotional toll on survivors. In the public sphere, it diminishes health, legal and economic resources and the potential for social and economic development. As noted by Buvinic *et al* (1999), the morbidity and mortality resulting from social and domestic violence constitute public health risks.

Other research (Francis *et al* 2003) on the monetary costs of crime shows the demands it places on the public health system, private citizens, lost production, injury and public expenditure on safety (Francis et al, 2003). Calculating these costs for Jamaica, it was found that the total costs of crime in 2001 came to J\$12.4 billion, which was 3.7 percent of GDP (World Bank, 2007). While these costs are in the public domain, there are additional costs in private security estimated to be 2.0 percent of revenue that firms expend (ibid). Additional costs for physical, psychological and emotional pain are also to be taken into account.

As Buvinic et al have observed, "women who suffer from domestic violence are less productive in the workplace, and this lower productivity is a direct loss to national production. There are also important multiplier effects: women who are less productive tend to earn lower incomes, and these lower incomes in turn imply less consumption spending and a consequent lower level of aggregate demand (citing Morrison and Orlando, 1997). In addition, both domestic and social violence make claims on scarce resources—including expenditures on police, judicial systems and the provision of social services—that otherwise could be used for other purposes." (ibid)

In their analysis of social and domestic violence, Buvinic *et al* identified the most critical issues as: household size and density, family violence history, household dynamics and norms and household per capita income (ibid).

Another study of domestic violence against women in Peru reported on a causal link between household poverty and levels of psychological violence against women (Gonzales and Gavilano (2007). The research points to a troubling possibility that the poorer the household, the more vulnerable is the woman to acts of domestic violence. That poverty and household density would create stressful conditions that could then lead to violence is plausible, especially where there is already a tendency towards aggressive or violent behaviour (Buvinic *et al*, 2007).

8.6 Policy implications

A recent report on GBV by UNIFEM and ECLAC drew attention to several constraints in the reporting of domestic violence, including variations in the procedures, and the possibility of duplication where women may report both to the police and to a crisis centre (UNIFEM/ECLAC, 2003). Economic dependency, poverty in the household and lower education levels were factors contributing to higher levels of abuse (ibid). Violence was also linked to the low status of males who were challenged with poverty in inner city neighbourhoods in Jamaica; and to male insecurity in Dominica (ibid).

In the Caribbean, measures to counter act GBV have included advocacy, counselling, crisis centres and shelters, workshops to sensitize police and law enforcement personnel. The CARICOM Secretariat has been developing a mechanism for strengthening the institutional capacity to address GBV, and has completed a feasibility study on the issues.

Noted in its 2006 Review of the Gender and Development Programme was the need to strengthen data collection mechanisms on violence, and to develop integrated plans of action including advocacy (CARICOM, 2006).

The Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action is currently conducting Training targeted at all members of the Barbados Police Force. This training was developed with the purpose of increasing the capacity of the members of the force to respond positively to calls of domestic violence, to understand the cycle of violence and abuse and to develop an appropriate protocol for front line officers who must answer calls.

All countries covered in this report have a Domestic Violence Act, most having been introduced in the mid-1990s. As it is not always considered to be a criminal offence, and because of underreporting due to the stigma attached, its severity can be under-stated.

Among the concerns is the lack of clarity in the law concerning the procedures that police should follow, the failure of the police to act, and the practice of cases being settled out of court. In the case of St Vincent and the Grenadines, the issue is that although victims are given protection under the law, domestic violence cases are not necessarily punished (USSD, 2007).

Perceptions of male vulnerabilities in the region have generated considerable interest in the construction of masculinity and the socialization of males. Male perpetration of violent crime has been associated with poverty and insecurity that have often resulted in abusive relationships with women. To the extent that male aggression against women is linked to economic deprivation and low self-esteem, the circumstances of GBV require a careful gender analysis to explain the impact of poverty and employment on the self-esteem of males, and to formulate strategies to diffuse the insecurities experienced by males facing lay offs and income shocks. However researchers have pointed to "an increasing recognition of the reality of *male* victimization and the fact that the "gender gap" (a disproportionate number of female victims versus male victims) may not exist or is narrowing ...it is therefore important that analyses of IPV and aggression be gender-differentiated to determine possible differences in incidence rates" (Le Franc *et al*, 2008: 415).

In the Caribbean, measures to counter act GBV have included advocacy, counselling, crisis centres and shelters, workshops to sensitize police and law enforcement personnel. The CARICOM Secretariat has been developing a mechanism for strengthening the institutional capacity to address GBV, and has completed a feasibility study on the issues. Noted in its 2006 Review of the Gender and Development Programme was the need to strengthen data collection mechanisms on violence, and to develop integrated plans of action including advocacy (CARICOM, 2006).

8.7 Conclusions

The literature reviewed for the preparation of this chapter offers insights into the reasons for an endemic culture of violence, in which women face the greatest threats. It suggests that poverty can bring about conditions that lead to domestic violence, and that domestic violence can in turn lead to poverty. As there is compelling evidence that there are causal links between income deprivation and various forms of violence, measures that are directed at poverty reduction would also help remove the scourge of gender based violence.

As economic shocks continue to be felt around the world, there is no doubt that the economies of the region will continue to be threatened by uncertainty and income challenges. In such circumstances, it is reasonable to expect that higher levels of desperation by men and women could create conditions that could lead to higher levels of crime in general and gender-based violence in particular. Such a context inspires even more convincing reasons to understand and arrest the onslaught of violence. While the reasons can be debated, the consequences of crime and violence are far reaching enough to require action on a more dramatic scale than has hitherto been demonstrated.

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The mobilization effort should focus on economic security, and equally on public education to de-bunk the notions that equate male achievement with physical criteria that inevitably degenerate into attacking those who are most vulnerable. Alternative role models should uplift males and suggest new criteria for their contribution to society.

Census data in future rounds should be concerned with more sensitive definitions of the types of crime, and sex disaggregation of the occurrences so that policy and program responses would be more accurately targeted.

CHAPTER 9

GENDER AND GOVERNANCE

9.1 Introduction

There is a considerable amount of evidence that ties gender equality to good governance and social and economic progress (OECD/DAC, 2006; UNIFEM, 2006, World Bank 2007). Studies on the themes of gender, governance and poverty have identified governing practices and public policies as essential to human security and to economic and social stability (Brodie, 2004).

This chapter reflects on issues and trends in governance, with reference to data from the census, national labour force surveys, and data collected by international agencies such as the Genevabased Inter Parliamentary Union. Research by Caribbean scholars on this issue has added new dimensions to the understanding of historical and contemporary trends affecting gender and governance, and has been utilized in several parts of the chapter.

A number of sub-themes explored in the chapter relate to: public governance including participation in politics at national and local levels; economic governance including the use of gender budgets; corporate governance referring to gender roles in corporations and participation in the corporate hierarchy; national mechanisms that promote gender equality; and the role of civil society organizations in promoting good governance.

While the census does not collect data on participation in parliament, it does provide statistics on persons employed by occupation group and selected categories of status in employment. Complementary studies such as Labour Force Surveys collect data on participation in senior level positions in government, including legislators, senior officials and managers.

9.2 Concepts and Definitions

The use of the term governance is now widespread in official policy and planning settings, and is a core plank of the development mandate of major international development and donor organizations. Rights, regulation, authority, decision, and accountability are all implied when the term is used in its broadest sense. Incorporating gender alters the texture of the term, elevating the aspiration of good governance to a practice that recognizes the fundamental rights and entitlements of all citizens as equal participants and contributors to society. UNIFEM considers definitions of governance as spanning "a restricted view focusing on sound management of the economy, to a more expansive view that embraces political liberalization and problems of social inequality. According to the expansive definition, good governance implies *democratic* governance, meaning an agenda for participation, human rights, and social justice (UNIFEM, 2006: 9).

In UNIFEM's definition, "...Good governance is recognized as essential to poverty reduction efforts and respect for human rights, as well as conflict prevention, growth, and environmental protection... and "women ought to benefit as much as men from governance reforms that focus on reducing corruption and increasing opportunities to participate in public decision-making. But there is no such thing as gender-neutral governance reform. If governance reforms do not address the social relations that undermine women's capacity to participate in public decisions, they run the risk of reproducing gender biases and patterns of exclusion in the management of public affairs" (UNIFEM, 2009: 6).

From the perspective of the OECD/DAC, good governance is "the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs, and the complex mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens' groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences. Accountability, transparency, participation and legitimacy are core elements. Gender responsiveness is essential to all of these, and is a measure of good governance. Analysis and action on gender issues, the participation of women as well as men in governance processes at all levels, and the recognition by institutions of women's rights and needs, are as central to good governance as to poverty reduction" (OECD/DAC, 2006).

The OECD/DAC definition considers that "good governance, gender equality and women's empowerment are necessary conditions for the reduction of poverty. The importance of these factors is affirmed by numerous international instruments on human rights and social justice. There is also a large body of evidence showing that gender equality enhances good government and poverty reduction. Sustainable poverty reduction requires the full involvement of women as central actors in the processes of governance" (ibid).

9.3 Gender and Political Participation

In her seminal work, Women, Labour and Politics in Trinidad and Tobago, Reddock has documented the rise of women to political office in the Caribbean, and the differences in the local and national participation of women in politics. She notes women's participation at the local government level, which took root in the mid-1930s in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, predated that at the national level (Reddock, 2004).

Gender differences in political participation have historically characterized access to government office at both the local or national level. As has been documented by Reddcok and others, the emergence of the trade union movement in the Caribbean became a critical base for the subsequent rise of political parties and political leaders (ibid). While this process was the main route of access for male political activists, the route for female political activity during this period was through the charitable organizations and philanthropic activities (Reddock, 1994; Peake, 2000).

The report of the International Parliamentary Union reported in 2008 that globally, an average of 18.3 percent of all parliamentary positions are now held by women (IPU, 2008). The regional average for Caribbean countries is on par with the global average, at 18 percent (CARICOM, 2004).

Over the years, there has been a gradual increase in the numbers participating in parliament and government, as Table 9.1 shows. However, participation should be nuanced by both quantitative and qualitative analysis, as the sensitivity and commitment of political candidates to gender justice is as critical as the numerical parity in representation (Clarke, 2005).

Available evidence indicates that during the 2000-2002 period, an average of 18 percent of women in the Anglophone Caribbean held parliamentary positions in an upper house. As Table 9.1 shows, the gender gap was greatest in St Vincent and the Grenadines, followed by Jamaica, St Kitts/Nevis, Antigua/Barbuda and Belize. Countries where the gender gap was narrower were Montserrat, which led with 33 percent, followed by Trinidad and Tobago and the Bahamas, at 26.9 and 26.8 percent respectively. Grenada, Guyana and Suriname were in the middle band, with percentages of 19.2, 18.5 and 17.6 respectively.

Table 9.1: Participation in Parliamentary Assemblies (2000-2002)

Country	M	ale	Female		Total
Country	N	%	N	%	
Antigua/Barbuda	31	86.1	5	13.9	36
Bahamas	41	73.2	15	26.8	56
Barbados	41	83.7	8	16.3	49
Belize	35	85.4	6	14.6	41
Dominica	28	84.8	5	15.2	33
Grenada	21	80.8	5	19.2	26
Guyana	53	81.5	12	18.5	65
Jamaica	61	89.7	7	10.3	68
Montserrat	8	66.7	4	33.3	12
St Kitts & Nevis	13	86.7	2	13.3	15
Saint Lucia	22	78.6	6	21.4	28
St Vincent & Grenadines	14	93.3	1	6.67	15
Suriname	42	82.3	9	17.6	51
Trinidad & Tobago	49	73.1	18	26.9	67
Total	459	1145.9	103	253.97	562
Average	33	81.9	8	18.14	40

Source: CARICOM 2004

Several countries of the region have stood out in more recent times for their efforts to achieve a higher representation of women in parliament. Following the 2007 election, Trinidad and Tobago narrowed the gender gap in ministerial appointments and became the only country in Latin America and the Caribbean to be ranked among the top 20 in the world (Global Gender Gap Report, 2008).

As reported by the IPU in 2008:

"Women's access to parliaments in the Caribbean states is erratic, as highlighted in Belize and Grenada. While women were appointed to nearly 40 percent of seats in the upper house in Belize, no women won election to the lower house. Just three women contested the lower house elections (compared with 90 men), none of whom was successful. In Grenada, the biggest percentage point drop—13.3—was registered after the number of women members halved from four to two in the lower house. Yet at the same time, women were appointed to 30 percent of seats in the upper house. With small chamber sizes and the majority systems used to elect lower houses, women's chances of success are limited. However, appointing women to upper houses has proved an important counterbalance to poor electoral results in lower chambers" (IPU, 2008).

The report further states that:

Some impressive gains were registered in the Americas in 2008. Women took 26.5 percent of the seats, on average, for the 12 chambers renewed. Overall, women hold 21.5 percent of all seats in the region, second only to the Nordic countries. The high annual gains are attributable to the success women registered in Cuba (43.2%) and the upper houses in Belize (38.5%) and Grenada (30.8%) (IPU, 2008).

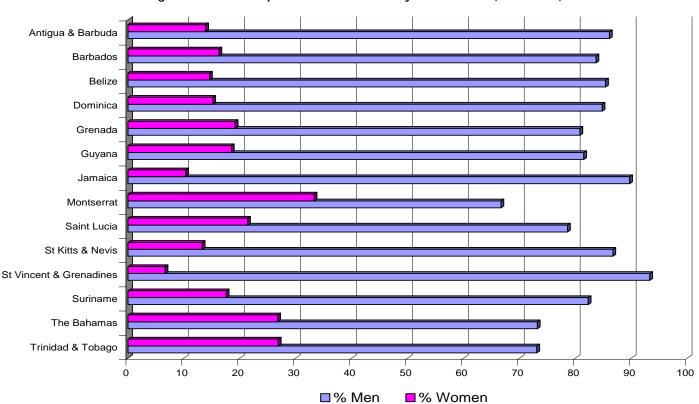


Figure 9.1: Participation in Parliamentary Assemblies (2000-2002)

Source: CARICOM 2004

Table 9.2: Women in Upper Houses of Parliament in 2008

Country	Total seats	Seats occupied by Women	% of Seats occupied by Women
Barbados	21	4	19.0%
Belize	13	5	38.5%
Grenada	13	4	30.8%

Source: International Parliamentary Union 2008

Table 9.3: Gender and Political Participation, Selected Caribbean Countries

Country	Lower	Lower or Single House			
Country	Elections	Seats	Women	% of Women	
Dominica	2000	32	6	18.8	
Grenada	1999	15	4	26.7	
Guyana	2001	65	20	31	
Jamaica	1997	60	8	13.3	
St Lucia	1997	18	2	11.1	
St Vincent & the Grenadines			23 45		

Combined Source: UNICEF 2008; Jamaica BWA; USAID; http://www.worldvaluessurvey.com/Upload/2_jnlofdem.doc

Table 9.4: Jamaica Representation in National Government, 2005

Categories	Total	Male		Female	
Categories	TOtal	N	%	N	%
Members of Parliament	60	53	88.0	7	11.7
Members of Cabinet	17	14	82.4	3	17.6
Senators	21	16	76.2	5	23.8

Source: Jamaica BWA 2005

⁴⁵ To be verified

9.3.1 Factors Affecting Political Participation

The trend of women's participation in politics is typical of global patterns in which women may shun political life for a variety of reasons. The fear of disrespect from male political opponents; verbal abuse and derision from male and female observers and/or participants in the political process; time challenges resulting from reproductive responsibilities; and a weak capital base with which to launch campaigns can deter women from entering the political arena. Cultural factors also prevent women's participation, as in some cases it is not expected that women should assume leadership positions. Other factors include lack of support of political parties and bias among the electorate (IPU, 2008). Nevertheless, there have been exemplary instances of women heading governments, in Dominica (Eugenia Charles) and more recently in Jamaica; and women as head of states (Dame Nita Barrow in Barbados, and Dame Hilda Bynoe in Grenada).

In Jamaica, the Jamaica Women's Political Caucus, formed in 1992, was set up to support and encourage women's political participation and leadership. During the term of the Honourable Portia Simpson (2005-2007), the portfolios of Speaker of the House and President of the Senate were held by women. In a departure from the norm, a woman was appointed as Chief Justice of Jamaica in 2006.

9.3.2 Gender and Participation in Public Sector Senior Positions

An overwhelming majority of the positions held at senior level were occupied by males. CARICOM data for 2000 showed that over 80 percent of such positions were held by males, up to 92 percent in Dominica (CARICOM 2003). Census data for the 2000 Round shows the pattern of male dominance of positions as senior officials, although the trend showed a shift with the number of females increasing in some countries from 1980 to 2000 (CARICOM, 2004). According to CARICOM, in 2000 women were a minority in all positions, with the most positive showing as permanent secretaries, where they formed 45 percent of the positions in five Member States in the 2000 period (ibid). Antigua/Barbuda, which for 2001 recorded one of the lowest levels of female participation as parliamentarians, had a higher proportion of women as permanent secretaries (56 percent) than men; and equal numbers of men and women as directors of departments (ibid).

9.3.3 National Mechanisms for Promoting Gender Equality

In all CARICOM countries, gender equality goals are part of the framework of change to which all governments aspire. Following the first World Conference on Women held in Mexico in 1975, gender equality emerged as a universal goal to which countries aspired. By 2007, almost all countries had developed national policy statements on women, and ratified key international conventions.

The main instruments which guide regional governments in this respect are the:

- Millennium Development Goals (MDGs);
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW);
- CARICOM Plan of Action;
- Beijing Plan of Action;
- Commonwealth Plan of Action; and
- Belem do Para Inter American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women.

The Mexico conference and subsequent global conferences affirmed that the policy environment for gender inclusion would depend on institutional mechanisms, located within government, responsible for overseeing the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes to promote women's empowerment. Currently in the CARICOM region, there exists such a mechanism in every country, with varying levels of resources.

In studies of the operations and impact of the mechanisms, several issues have come to light. It has been found, for example, that the operations of the machineries have been hindered by under-resourcing, diffuse mandates, and limited leverage to influence the policy dialogue at national and regional levels. A recent report observed that:

"At best, the bodies in charge of this issue within the executive have succeeded in sponsoring the creation of a variety of sectoral and territorial mechanisms which are coalescing into a network that integrates programmes and policies for women into the different levels of decision-making, but this does not mean that the State structure as a whole has genuinely accepted the objective of ensuring that women and men have equal opportunities in terms of their participation in the life of society and the scope for using their capabilities" (ECLAC 1998).

It is notable that in several regional organizations, a gender focal point is appointed, either as an exclusive responsibility as is the case in the Caribbean Development Bank, or as part of wider functions, as exists in most ministries. In Jamaica, the Planning Institute of Jamaica has two gender focal points assigned to economic and social sectors. In CDERA (Caribbean Disaster and Emergency Response Agency) for example, there are clear gender inclusions in its analysis and plans (Dunn, 2008). For several countries, sex-disaggregated data are routinely collected to support reporting on key documents, including the CEDAW reports and the MDG reports. While these efforts to achieve institutional are notable, a wider consideration of the structural impediments faced by these machineries in the wider context of the functioning of the State is warranted.

As the same report noted:

"... the vast majority of government Women's Offices in the region are situated at intermediate and low levels of the State hierarchy and have severely limited executive capabilities, if any. Furthermore, the crisis of legitimacy currently being experienced by the State as an agent of modernization processes raises questions about what functions should be given priority in order to enable the substantive objectives of these bodies to be implemented within the framework of a new instrumental rationality that seeks innovative ways of managing the public interest, with the support of a lighter and more efficient State apparatus (Touraine, 1994 cited in ECLAC, 2008). Under these circumstances, the need to strengthen national mechanisms for the advancement of women cannot be dissociated from theoretical considerations about reform of the State, particularly in the present Latin American context where in most countries the relationship between the State structure, civil society and the market is being drastically redefined." (ibid).

In that sense, the obstacles faced by Bureaus cannot be separated from the bureaucratic strictures that define state institutions. There is a continuing need for investments in systems, including Gender Focal Points who could be a source of information and technical support for carrying forward the mandate to which governments have dedicated themselves.

9.3.4 Gender and Corporate Governance

A study of women's or female representation on boards and commissions undertaken for Jamaica in 2008 showed a slight shift upwards in female who were appointed to boards and commissions over the 10 year period, 1998 to 2008. Whereas in 1998 males accounted for 86 percent of the positions on boards, in 2008 the figure was lower, at (percentage to be supplied). The report observed:

"The results show the continued domination of men at senior levels of governance and leadership. In the public sector, men made up 76 per cent of all appointments with this number increasing to 84 per cent on private sector boards. Only 16 per cent of places on Corporate Boards of Publicly listed companies in the sample being occupied by women."

9.3.5 Gender and Economic Governance

In the 1990s, several countries in the Commonwealth launched Gender Budgeting initiatives in an effort to quantify and monitor government expenditures in support of gender equality goals. In the CARICOM region, there were training activities and several pilot exercises. The degree to

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which these initiatives have taken root may warrant further investigation, as with the possible exception of Jamaica, they appear to have had a limited impact.

Economic policies enacted by governments in compliance with fiscal and monetary regimes prescribed by international lending institutions have also influenced the actions and in some cases were contrary to the efforts of governments to promote gender equality (Mondesire, 2006).

9.4 Civil society: Women's organizations and the women's movement

Civil society organizations that promote and defend women's rights play an important role in setting the political and policy agendas. Regrettably, their vibrancy and numbers have been threatened by drastic declines in funding, as the Caribbean has received decreasing amounts of aid for such activity from the international community.

Up to the early 1920s, and as late as the 1950s in countries like St Vincent and the Grenadines, women were denied the right to participate in electoral politics. Reddock writes that,

To a greater extent than their male counterparts, women were denied the franchise through unattainable voting requirements. In some colonies, the age at which women could vote was higher than that of men and in others, women were barred from seeking elected office in the Legislative Council until as late as the 1950s (Senior, 1991: 152). The experience is varied though, for in St. Vincent, women received the same voting rights as men as late as 1951. In Trinidad, universal adult suffrage was obtained in 1946, but women could not be candidates until 1951" (Reddock 2004).

Reddock and others suggest that the struggle for political rights and participation in governance was a major impetus for the mobilization that led to the early women's movement, with self help organizations established by the upper and privileged classes of women (Reddock, 2004). In the environment of the regional integration initiated by the British in 1956, Caribbean women came together to form a Caribbean Women's Association (CWA), under the leadership of community activist Audrey Jeffers. This association would exist in relation to the short-lived West Indian Federation, heralding a trend of women's organizations deriving their legitimacy as "arms" of established political structures. Thus by the 1960s, women were organizing as part of national political parties, with women's arms established in the wings of these parties where their political roles were subordinate to males. However as their political activity increased, women were more and more involved in nationalist and labour organizations (Reddock 2004), thereby extending their reach as legitimate actors in the movement for change.

9.5 Conclusions

The research and census data show a slow movement towards improvement in the pursuit of gender parity in systems of governance. While the participation of women in these systems has shown moderate improvement, the evidence shows a serious deficit in their roles as public managers, corporate leaders and political leaders. The movement to change this trend is driven more by official policy instruments than by popular movements, with international agencies holding perhaps the greatest stake in effecting these changes.

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As such, the need for dialogue and partnerships between and among civil society organizations, including trade unions, and corporate entities, is critical to the building of awareness and potential for reversing the trends. At the same time, the recognition of the importance of instruments such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in raising the issue of measurement and accountability cannot be overlooked. Governments can benefit from investing in data collection systems to quantify the results of their efforts in building more gender-responsive governance. Political parties stand to gain from more enlightened and respectful methods to mobilize interest and to attract more female candidates to participate in politics.

Box 9.1: Women in Political Leadership

Notes on Women in Political Leadership

- 36.8% of senior officials in the Ministries of Local Government in Guyana, Suriname, Jamaica, Belize, St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines are women with Jamaica having the highest percentage of 65 and Belize having the lowest of 0.
- 12.6% of women in **Guyana**, **Belize**, **Suriname**, **St. Lucia** and **Jamaica** are mayors. There are no female mayors in **Guyana** and **Belize** while in **St. Lucia**, 30% of the Chairpersons (equivalent of mayor) are women.
- 10.3% of deputy mayors in **Guyana**, **Jamaica** and **St. Lucia** are women, with **Jamaica** having 17% and **Guyana** 0%.
- 53.4% of CEOs/Administrators in **Dominica**, **Guyana**, **Jamaica**, **Belize** and **St. Lucia** in town councils/municipalities are women. St.**Lucia** has the highest female representation (70%), while **Guyana** has the lowest (17 %)
- 7.5% of chairs of local government bodies other than town councils/municipalities in **Dominica** and **Guyana** are women. Statistics aren't available for the other 5 countries.
- 6.5 % of deputy chairs of local government bodies other than town councils/municipalities in **Guyana** and **Dominica** are women. Statistics aren't available for the other countries.
- 72% of CEOs/Administrators of local government bodies other than councils/municipalities in **Guyana** and **Dominica** are women **Guyana** has 49% and Dominica 95%

CHAPTER 10

SUMMARY, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

10.1 Policy Implications

This chapter presents a summary of the main findings on emerging gender and development issues from the analysis of the census data and other research studies and uses the Gender Analytical Frameworks discussed in Chapter 1, to interpret the data. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the implications of the data for the development of policies, programmes and a research agenda for the region to achieve development goals that promote equity and equality between and within groups of males and females. The recommendations guide the Caribbean Gender Agenda for the 21st Century. In response to the questions that guided this Gender Monograph outlined in Chapter 1 one of the It examines findings in relation to the questions that guided the study as outlined in Chapter 1:

10.1.1 Political Commitment

The results show that Caribbean countries have in fact strengthened their political commitment to gender equality and the empowerment of women. The indicators are universal ratification of CEDAW and other relevant conventions by the 14 independent CARICOM Member states. The majority have also ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Belem do Para Convention to Eliminate Violence Against Women. Countries have also endorsed consensus agreements such as the Millennium Declaration, the Beijing Platform for Action, the MDGs and the Programme of Action of the International Conference of Population and Development. Countries have also ratified core labour conventions of the International Labour Organization (ILO), and had committed to the ILO's Decent Work Agenda. Together this reflects a strong commitment in principle to gender equality and equity (fairness), as well as support for a rights-based approach to development. Political commitment is also evident in the enactment of legislation, institutional mechanisms and programmes introduced to comply with international commitments. Analysis of the periodic national reports submitted to CEDAW and studies on MDG and other milestones lead us to conclude that while there has been progress, several challenges remain, which indicates the need for continued action among all stakeholders to close the gap between policy and practice.

10.1.2 Demographic Changes

Gender analysis of demographic data for the 1990 and 2000 round of censuses showed that while the total population had increased, migration had slowed population growth and that women faced a population decrease. Among the main changes in the composition of the population were that overall *there were* slightly more females than males (51: 49), although the sex ratio differed across countries and across age groups.

There were also slightly more boys than girls under 15 years.

In addition, the population of young males and females was stable with little variations across countries and among the older population, women continued to outnumber men. Overall there were more changes among the male population.

The number of countries with more males increased from two to seven and those with more females increased to six. In the 1990 round, only Belize, and the BVI had more males, but in the 2000 round, seven (7) countries had more males: Belize, Dominica, Guyana, Montserrat, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago.

The conclusion from this analysis is that migration has continued to be an important demographic factor and has no doubt been an important survival strategy for Caribbean people. This is not surprising as during the review period, opportunities for planned migration increased for females through special recruitment drives for nurses and teachers and seasonal agricultural work for males. Opportunities for inter-regional migration also increased with the advent of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME). Among the main groups targeted are educated professionals and university graduates. Females dominate this category of persons. Forced migration levels also increased, reflected in a higher number of 'deportees' (mainly males) and the phenomenon of human trafficking (mainly women and children) is becoming a major concern for some countries. The importance of migration was also reflected an increased focus on the value of remittances to ordinary households but as the major source of foreign exchange for some countries. There was also evidence that the Caribbean Diaspora had become more organized and involved in national development and major conferences and 'homecoming events' were held during the review period. Research and analysis on migration also increased which focused not only on the economic benefits but also the role of migration on human resources ('brain drain' and 'brain gain'), security (crime and violence), as well as survival of vulnerable groups (children and older persons). Countries will therefore need to ensure that this analysis informs the development of new policies and programmes to better manage migration for development of the region.

10.1.3 Gender and ageing

The gender analysis of demographic data also confirmed previous findings that point to the importance of the links between gender and ageing, as the Caribbean Region is at an advanced stage of the demographic transition from a youthful to an ageing population. Indications that by 2050 a quarter of the region's population will be 60 years or older and in a few countries the proportion will be a third or more of the population is a further wake-up call to strengthen policies and programmes to fulfill commitments to the Madrid Declaration and Programme of Action on Ageing. A gendered approach to policies and programmes implies making special provisions for older women, given their longer life expectancy, health risks associated with lifestyle diseases such as hypertension, diabetes and obesity and care giving roles in the family. Special provisions will also be needed for older men, especially provisions for housing and personal care, given men's weaker links with family networks.

The results also underscore the need for policy coherence to take account of migration trends which may increase the vulnerability of older persons as more of the working age and educated population migrates and that illegal migration is likely to continue despite increase vigilance and restrictions in receiving countries.

National policies on ageing will also have to take account of the reality that with longer life expectancy, the ageing population will include workers in the formal and the informal economy who will all face more years of retirement with reduced incomes, higher inflation, increased health challenges and medical costs, and possible disabilities. This implies increased provisions for older persons who will have special needs for employment and training, housing, recreation and transport, to have a good quality of life consistent with the Madrid Declaration on Ageing. Caribbean countries will also need to recognize that older persons also face an increased possibility of having to care for children orphaned by HIV and AIDS, or children whose parents have migrated. Health sectors will also have to make provisions for older men and women who face an increased risk of contracting HIV infection, resulting from advances in reproductive health technology that extend sexual activity into old age (e.g. Viagra), lifestyle patterns.

The Gender Roles Framework, the Social Relations Framework and the Gender and Macroeconomic Framework can all be used to examine gender inequality related to ageing, identifying risks and alternatives for older males and females from social as well as economic perspectives. Findings from research on ageing conducted by national, regional and international agencies as well as gerontologists, underscore the importance of strengthening partnerships to support gender-sensitive policies and programmes for older persons. The results underscore the importance of mainstreaming gender in the work of agencies such as Help Age International, national councils for older persons, civil society organizations and specialist programmes on ageing in tertiary institutions including those at the University of the West Indies.

10.1.4 Gender, Education and Training

Chapter 3 examined emerging trends in gender, education and training and assessed the implications for policy and programming especially in light of the CSME and national development plans. The conclusions pointed to the need to improve data collection on education quality, access, and outcomes to enhance gender equality and economic empowerment outcomes for both sexes. The analysis also showed the value of using census data as it can highlight shifts that have occurred over time but underscored the need for additional more in-depth research at national levels. The Social Relations Framework emerged as an appropriate framework for this analysis as it could help to analyse influencing factors, such as race and class, on education outcomes.

Education-related vulnerabilities of both males and females varied in intensity across countries. The conclusions from this analysis underscored the importance of analyzing sex disaggregated country data as well as tracking the male/female distribution in critical indicators. While the main limitation of the census is its inability to respond to trends in a timely way, and to pre-empt the pitfalls that could affect either gender, it is nevertheless an important resource that countries with limited allocations for research can use to guide policy and programme interventions.

The analysis points to the need to transform the education sector make it more responsive to a complex dynamic global and national environment, with changing cultural assumptions, behaviours and needs. There is also need to transform the curricula to enable and empower Caribbean citizens to improve governance of their own development and to be more globally competitive.

A major conclusion is the need to mainstream gender issues in education to promote more equitable outcomes for both males and females at all educational levels. Among the policy shifts needed are the diversifying the curricula that currently produces sex stereotypical roles and occupational choices, to broaden opportunities for both males and females throughout their life cycle. The education system is a major agent of socialization and sector policies and programmes will therefore need to more consistently promote life-long learning, reflect diversity in content and teaching methodologies using technologies that better address the diverse learning needs of both sexes to ensure better education and social outcomes for both males and females. Caribbean governments face the daunting challenge of financing education for both males and females, improving quality education for both sexes, achieving MDG targets in health and education amidst increased migration of professionals and improving facilities for boys and girls with special needs and those in rural areas who are currently underserved. Strategic interventions are also needed to address the growing problem of violence in schools perpetrated by boys (and increasingly girls) as well as engendering policies and programmes for HIV and AIDS in the education system.

10.1.5 Gender, Union Status, Religion and Race

Chapter 4 addressed the question of whether there have been changes among heads of household in relation to gender, union status, religion and race since the last census and explored the implications for policy and planning.

Union Status: Conclusions from analysis of the 2000 data are that fewer household heads are married; more than half of the heads of households across the region were never married and only a third were married. These findings have implications for policies related to parenting, social welfare, and poverty reduction especially. As research findings show that single females headed households are likely to be poorer and larger than male-headed households, it suggests the need for countries to mainstream gender more consistently in poverty reduction strategies. As the emerging trends from research on union status imply that more children will be brought up in households without a father present, greater efforts are needed to promote gender-sensitive reproductive health and parenting education programmes. This would be aimed at encouraging individuals to plan if and when they have children and to parent them effectively in a manner that guarantees their rights. The results also underscore the need to reinforce concepts of masculinity associated with positive parenting and the equal involvement of fathers in the parenting of and the care for their children. The results further imply the need to strength Vital Statistics infrastructure including birth registration and legal reform to ensure that the father's name is included on a child's birth certificate at birth, consistent with commitments to the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Another implication is the need to eliminate gender inequality in the labour market that results in women's subordinate position in the labour market.

Lower levels of participation in the labour force, gender wage gaps and occupational stereotyping contribute to women *as a group* being dependent on men for economic support. Changes in the traditional role of the 'male breadwinner' are also needed. Greater balance in sharing productive and reproductive gender roles should be promoted. Results on union status also imply the need for countries to enact legislation to protect the rights of both women and men in common law unions.

Religion: The Gender Roles Framework can be useful to analysis how religion can influence the behaviour of household heads. There is widespread acknowledgement of the role that religion generally and churches in particular play as agents of socialization. Religious doctrine, text and teaching have a strong influence on the development of gender roles, gender identities and behaviour of males and females including household heads. Despite evidence of changing values and attitudes, the census results show that most heads of household across the region identified themselves as belonging to a specific religion. Most heads were adherents of the Christian faith but the majority of this group now belongs to non-traditional Christian churches. This contrasts with an earlier period in which most indicated they were members of traditional Christian churches. The results point to the need for more detailed research on the religious affiliation of household heads and how this affects gender relations and development outcomes including poverty and gender equality. Findings from this type of research can help to guide policies aimed at changing traditional gender roles, attitudes and behaviours. It can also provide insight into if and how religion may impact the economic development of women, poverty, reproductive health as well as patterns of gender based violence. National development policies aimed at promoting gender equality in the labour market could gain insight from such research as well as dialogue with faith based organizations whose religious beliefs based on their interpretation of religious texts, promote traditional gender roles such as the male as head of the household and justify women in subordinate and unequal positions in the family. Analysis of the influence of race, ethnicity and nationality on the behaviour of household heads of different religious groups would also prove an interesting study.

10.1.6 Race and Ethnicity

The influence of race and ethnicity on household headship was more significant in countries with an Amerindian or East Indian populations. More research is needed to explore the influence of race and ethnicity on household headship and the impact on families. The results of this research can help to guide policies that are more targeted to meet the needs of the region's diverse population as part of the process to achieve MDGs targets and respect human rights of all citizens.

10.1.7 The Economy

The conclusions from Chapter 5 show continued inequality in labour force participation rates, limited changes in the sexual division of labour in the labour market, and the persistence of sex stereotyping in occupational groupings. There is also evidence that gender inequality persists as females still experience inequality in the labour market. There is urgent need to increase policy-

research on economic activity, collect and analyse data on men and women with disabilities and other marginalized groups as well as sex disaggregated data and research on the informal sector.

10.1.8 Housing

The conclusions from *Chapter 6* on gender differentials in housing were that this variable is not as useful for measuring gender differences as there are similar patterns in the type of housing construction as there are in the male/female distribution of ownership and rental. More revealing however, were the comparisons and distributions of access to equipment, and the number of rooms found in male and female headed households.

10.1.9 Vulnerability

Chapter 7 specifically focused on gender and vulnerability in relation to three issues: HIV and AIDS, physical disabilities and gender dimensions of climate change and disaster risk management. The Gender Roles Framework supports the interpretation of results related to these as well as other forms of vulnerability such as poverty, and crime.

The vulnerability of persons living with HIV and AIDS (PLWHA) is influenced by poverty, unemployment, gender inequality, stigma and discrimination. Policies to reduce HIV and AIDS must seek to improve surveillance mechanisms and national capacity to assess the number of men and women living with HIV and AIDS. Policies must also be gender-sensitive recognizing the vulnerability of males and females to HIV linked to gender roles and relations as well as concepts of masculinity and femininity. Economic polices must also seek to eliminate gender inequality in the labour market that increases risks for females (lower wages, higher unemployment etc.). Idealized concepts of masculinity associated with multiple partnering also need to be addressed. Policies must also seek to eliminate stigma and discrimination against sex workers and men who have sex with men who are among the most vulnerable groups, as this drives the epidemic and are barriers to effective prevention and treatment of HIV and AIDS.

The Gender Roles framework would also be useful for analyzing gender related vulnerabilities for head of household with physical disabilities. While both sexes would be affected, the impact on female heads would be greater because of challenges associated with their disability as well as with their gender roles. The analysis is preliminary however and points to the need for further policy research.

The third area of vulnerability is related to climate change and disaster risk management. These were highlighted as the region experiences the impact of climate change such as hurricanes, floods and tropical storms. These disasters have a differential impact on men and women because of their ascribed gender roles, and their social and economic status which influence their ability to cope before during and after a disaster.

10.1.10 Gender Crime and Violence

Conclusions from Chapter 8 indicate that there is a link between gender and the endemic culture of violence, and that women face the greatest direct threats from gender based violence. Males on the other hand are the main perpetrators as well as victims of most forms of violence.

The findings also confirmed the causal links between poverty, crime, and violence. The results can help to inform poverty reduction policies and strategies.

The impact of the global economic and financial crisis in 2008 and 2009 on the Caribbean is reflected in reflected in higher unemployment and poverty which contributes to higher levels of crime including gender-based violence. Greater benefits could be derived from census data if the types of crime are more clearly defined, if data collection instruments are harmonized and if sex disaggregated data are collected systematically. Both the Gender Roles Framework and the Social Relations Framework could be used to guide analysis of the data collected on crime and violence.

10.1.11 Gender and Governance

Chapter 9 responds to the question of whether there has been more gender equality in relation to women's participation at national and local government levels and in governance generally. The conclusion from the census data and other studies is that there have been modest improvements towards gender parity in systems of governance across the region. Serious deficits however persist in women's roles as public managers, corporate leaders and as political leaders. Improvements vary across countries and sectors but these are not consistent at national level.

The improvements observed have mainly been influenced by international human rights agreements rather than advocacy by political parties or civil society organizations lobbying to promote gender equality in governance. Governance therefore needs to be strengthened by mainstreaming gender in institutional frameworks. Another conclusion is that there has been greater awareness of the principles of gender equality enshrined in CEDAW and the MDGs. This has guided action to redress imbalances. Greater collaboration is therefore needed between stakeholder groups (governments, political parties, private sector bodies and civil society). Priorities include improving data collection, using gender analysis and relevant analytical frameworks. These can influence policy changes, legal reform and political action to create more gender-responsive governance. This may include the use of quotas, leadership training and strategic action to increase the number of women at the highest levels of leadership and decision making.

10.2 Use of the Gender Analytical Frameworks

A review of all the gender analytical frameworks discussed in Chapter 1 use the household as a focus for analysis. The Gender Roles Framework was the most commonly used framework and it focuses on gender roles in the household and men and women's differential access to resources. This framework proved useful to examine several issues covered in this Monograph including the demographic profile, economic activity, housing etc. It was less useful in examining gender roles linked to education status, but helped to understand how males and females use education for advancement. It was also useful in exploring gender differentials in access to and quality of housing between male and female heads of household.

Moser's Development Planning Unit Framework focuses on women's triple roles as well as women's practical and strategic interests. As such it was useful for examining demographic data and gender differences in household headship. It also proved effective for economic analysis as it helped to explain why many women have to combine their productive and reproductive roles and how these gender roles impacts on the status and position of women in the labour market.

The Social Relations Framework helps to analyse how household headship is influenced by race, ethnicity and religion. It also provides a framework to interpret trends related to union patterns, the performance of home duties as well as employment. This framework however requires additional survey data to complement data from the census.

The Gender and Macroeconomics Framework contributes to gender analysis by highlighting how macro policies create an environment in which gender inequality thrives at the micro level of the household. This results in men and women having unequal access to economic status and power. It also helps to explain how women's unpaid work in the household is related to the disproportionate time they spend in 'home duties', resulting in their higher level of participation in the informal sector and their lower participation and status (as a group) in the formal labour market.

The transition from the Gender Roles Framework to the Gender and Macroeconomics Framework represents an increasingly complex level of analysis. Census data can be used to analyse gender roles in the household, but the more complex analysis of the labour market requires data from other sources. Given the range of data that countries need for policy and planning, the ideal would be to have a bipartisan, collective research agenda which identifies and collects data from the census as well as from social and economic and other surveys.

10.3 Emerging Gender Issues for the 21st Century

Several gender issues have been identified from the analysis of the 2000 round of censuses which need to be addressed as countries of the region move to increase gender equality in the 21st century. Radical feminists in DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) argue that gender equality can only be achieved by a fundamental change in the global capitalist system, as this creates conditions of economic inequality between industrialized and

developing countries which then impact at national and household level. More liberal approaches have been offered and the section below highlights some of these alternatives.

10.3.1 Gender Equality Gap: Policy vs. Practice.

The analysis shows that there is a gap between commitments made by Caribbean governments to the principles of gender equality articulated at several human rights conferences held between the 1990 and 2000 round of censuses, policy and practice. The analysis shows various forms of discrimination against both sexes and vulnerable groups. It also points to the need to increase commitment to consistently collect and analyse sex disaggregated data, but also to use gender analytical frameworks to interpret and understand the data. Various examples have been provided in this Monograph how this analysis can better inform policies, advocacy, public awareness, and legal reform to create a more enabling environment for gender equality.

10.3.2 Gender Mainstreaming: Progress and Limitations

The analysis in this Monograph also shows that there have been efforts to mainstream gender which is defined by the Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues (OSAGI) as: "...ensuring that gender perspectives and attention to the goal of gender equality are central to all activities - policy development, research, advocacy dialogue, legislation, resource allocation, and planning, implementation and monitoring of programmes and projects." ⁴⁷ However, progress has been varied across the region during the last decade, but a range of tools and methodologies have been developed to facilitate this process. Countries of the region have access to gender indicators have been developed to monitor the implementation of gender equality commitments. Examples of these indicators are those developed by CARICOM, ECLAC and the Planning Institute of Jamaica. The main constraints to gender mainstreaming have been insufficient political will, limited training of some stakeholder groups and lack of systematic collection and analysis of sex disaggregated data.

Caribbean Statistical Offices and statisticians have made significant progress in collecting sexdisaggregated data in the census and in social surveys. However, training in gender analysis using various gender analytical frameworks to interpret sex disaggregated data needs to be expanded. This would support the principle of evidence-based policy development, and improve monitoring of national and global goals for gender equality.

10.3.3 Gender and HIV/AIDS

Gender and HIV/AIDS remains a major issue for Caribbean countries. This Monograph has attempted to show how data from the census and other sources can be used to build awareness of the gender dimensions of HIV/AIDS and the feminization of the epidemic because of the subordinate position of women as a group.

⁴⁷ http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/gendermainstreaming.htm

The Monograph has also shown that while there has been progress in mainstreaming gender in HIV and AIDS policies and programmes much more efforts are needed to reduce the rate of infection, especially among young women. Commitments to integrate gender in PANCAP's Strategic Plan on HIV/AIDS and in national HIV/AIDS programmes, as well as use of the Caribbean Gender Checklist (a gender mainstreaming and monitoring tool) must be sustained to reduce the epidemic. The strong partnerships between UNIFEM Caribbean, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Institute for Gender and Development Studies at UWI and National AIDS Committees (NACs) that have supported several gender mainstreaming initiatives must be continued. HIV workplace polices that have been developed in tourism, education, trades unions must become universal and rolled out to all sectors and institutions. Public awareness on sexuality and reproductive health and rights which has increased must be sustained and gender must be mainstreamed in these initiatives to maximize their impact.

Progress in reducing the risk of mother-to child transmission of HIV during childbirth that has been the result of routinely screening pregnant women in antenatal clinics and the provision of appropriate treatment, must be maintained as a priority to reduce maternal and child mortality. Special initiatives are needed to target women who are not pregnant and also men and especially vulnerable groups to better assess HIV prevalence rates in the general population. The data on HIV from the census and other studies highlighted the need to reduce stigma and discrimination against vulnerable groups such as female sex workers and Men who have sex with men in the fight against the epidemic.

Another important conclusion from the analysis of data on HIV and AIDS is the need to enhance the scope and quality of sex disaggregated data on prevalence rates among vulnerable groups in order to achieve national targets and indicators. Use of the gender analytical frameworks discussed in Chapter 1 can help in understanding patterns of the disease and make interventions more effective. The global economic and financial crisis has increased the risk of HIV infection and reversing the gains in controlling the disease in the last decade.

Programme funding from international agencies and available from government sources is likely to be reduced hence the need to expand the range of data collected on HIV/AIDS in the next census.

10.3.4 Gender Identities and Masculinities

The data analyzed for this monograph has contributed some insights that could be useful to the discourse on masculinities and male vulnerabilities. The growing gender gap which favours females in secondary and tertiary educational attainment has been often cited as a reason for male insecurity. Analysis of the census data also signalled current and future challenges and changes in male female roles, relationships and gender identities. Advanced education and employment among females may also explain other data which showed that women are more likely than men to pursue divorce as an option when relationships fail. This could reflect greater economic independence among women which could contribute to male insecurity as it challenges traditional gender roles. One of the most virulent expressions of male insecurity is gender based violence, perpetrated mainly by men.

The conclusion from this aspect of the analysis of census data is the need to expand research and programmes on masculinities but not at the expense of initiatives to address the various forms of gender inequality that persist which are reflected in women's continued social economic ad political subordination.

10.3.5 Gender, Violence, Security and Justice

Crime and violence have become major development challenges for countries in the region and a threat to security and justice in several countries. The analysis of related census data showed that the dominant culture of patriarchy has fuelled the epidemic of violence. Men are the major victims and perpetrators of homicides and other forms of violence and major crimes. Women, children and sexual minorities are the main targets for gender-based violence. There is also compelling evidence of causal links between income deprivation and various forms of violence. It could also be concluded that improved targeting of poverty reduction measures could reduce the risk of gender based violence (rape, incest, sexual abuse and sexual harassment). Increased evidence of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in several countries of the region exposes the effects of the economic vulnerability of females. The data also show the need to curtail violence related to homophobia and for the state to better protect the rights of men and boys. Anecdotal reports suggest that homophobic hate crimes and the rape of males are under-reported and that there are few interventions for male victims of rape because of a prevailing culture of intolerance of sexual differences.

The analysis points to the need to adopt gender-sensitive strategies to stem the increased level of violence in the Caribbean. It is evident in reports of violence in schools, mainly among boys but increasingly among girls in schools. The analysis demonstrates the need to adopt a gendered approach to violence prevention programmes, and to promote gender-sensitive conflict resolution and mediation interventions.

Data from some Caribbean countries also underscores the need to mainstream gender in police training institutions and increase awareness of human rights principles, to reduce reports of extrajudicial police killings of predominantly males from poor communities as well as growing number of the (mostly) young male police officers killed in the line of duty.

Recommendations from the analysis of data on crime and violence, are that census data in future rounds should be concerned with more sensitive definitions of the types of crime, and sex disaggregation of the occurrences so that policy and program responses would be more accurately targeted. There is also need to harmonize definitions of the types of crime to facilitate comparisons across countries.

10.3.6 Gender, Poverty and Social Protection

Conclusions from the analysis of census data supported by other studies are that poverty is gendered and is increasingly feminised. Indicators were the higher levels of poverty among single female headed households, lower rates of female participation in the labour market, higher rates of female unemployment, the gender wage gap reported in social surveys, women's disproportionate involvement in unpaid domestic work, sex stereotyping in occupations, and lower social protection for females as a group. Highlighting the gender dimensions of poverty also showed the increased vulnerability of female heads of households, especially those with a physical disability and those exposed to climate change and natural hazards.

The analysis in this Monograph demonstrated the possibility of using census data to identify gender-related housing risks for vulnerable groups including poor women. It also confirmed the need to expand research and analysis of these issues at national level. The chapter also showed the benefits derived from multi-stakeholder partnerships between the UNDP, ECLAC, the Institute (formerly Centre) for Gender and Development Studies (IGDS) a the University of the West Indies, Caribbean Disaster and Emergency Relief Agency (CDERA), Caribbean Disaster Managers, national gender machineries, communities and specialist agencies across the region.

Overall, the analysis showed the importance of analyzing census and social survey data to gain insight into the situation of vulnerable groups in the population and the importance of building capacity to mainstream gender in disaster risk management policies and programmes to reduce vulnerabilities and risks.

10.3.7 Gender Equality in Governance

While the principles of the Westminster style of political governance were maintained, the data showed disappointing progress among Caribbean countries in relation to gender equality in leadership at the highest levels of decision-making. Women's persistent under-representation in political, parliamentary and private sector leadership indicates an urgent need for a affirmative action using quotas, legislation, leadership training and awareness building to create a more enabling environment for gender equality in governance. Broadening citizens' participation in governance and decision-making at community, local government and national levels have proven effective in increasing women's participation and should therefore be strengthened.

Evidence of women's advancement in political leadership is reflected in data showing that four Caribbean countries had appointed a woman as head of state (e.g. Dominica, Guyana, Haiti and Jamaica). The region however failed to consistently improve targets for gender equality and the empowerment of women in the area of political leadership. This indicates the need to accelerate legal reform to introduce gender equality quotas for the number of women and men elected as candidates and leaders by political parties. Research on gender and governance and initiatives to train women for political leadership have been introduced during the period under review and will hopefully make an impact on changing the status quo.

The situation demonstrates the need for dialogue between persons of both sexes who accept and others who reject patriarchal leadership as the norm in the context of human rights commitments to gender equality in the CEDAW Convention and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) among other measures. Census data can also be expanded to collect more robust information on gender equality in governance of political and national institutions. This can be supplemented by national reports to CEDAW as required every four years, as part of a strategy to build more gender-responsive governance structures and mechanisms. Gender equality in governance should be seen as a development imperative, as a best practice that maximizes human resources, and a strategy that supports sustainable development. Good governance as reflected not only in equitable participation but also in increased transparency and accountability also need to be strengthened. Promoting gender equality in political, public and private sector leadership is therefore an important gender issue for the region's development agenda in the 21st Century. Global best practices in corporate governance indicates the importance of adopting skills and abilities normally associated with women to the political culture of the region as well as corporate culture in the private sector and business. Recent additions to the growing body of literature on gender and governance include a study by Leo-Rhynie entitled 'the UWI glass ceiling: splinters cracks and scratches'; another by Carol Watson Williams for the Women's Resource and Outreach Centre on 'Gender and governance in public and private sector boards and committees'. Jamaica's Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica has also adopted a Code of Corporate Governance that includes a commitment to gender equity. Overall, the global paradigm shift towards more participatory, democratic forms of governance with increased accountability and transparency, present opportunities to promote gender equality in governance.

10.3.8 Gender, Trade and Economic Development

Globalisation has resulted in the increased integration of the Caribbean in the world economy. The data analyzed on economic status highlight challenges related to the financial and economic crisis and to the rapidly changing global trade environment. The latter is characterized by a shift from protectionism to trade liberalisation, and the development of new Economic Partnerships Agreements with Europe and the rest of the world. Recent research on the likely gender impact of the EPA indicates that globalization and trade agreements will have a differential impact on women and men in various economic sectors across the region. Another conclusion of the analysis is the need to expand the collection of sex disaggregated micro-data on the informal and services sectors especially to better assess gender impact trade and economic development policies and programmes. There is also the need to deepen and expand the scope of collaboration between trade negotiators in the Caribbean Regional Negotiating Machinery, Ministries of Trade, private sector, trade unions and other civil society groups.

Data collection for the next census, social and economic surveys as well as trade negotiations should be guided by gender considerations. The differential impact of trade agreements on male and female workers in various sectors must be assessed prior to concluding trade agreements. The importance of this approach is seen in the wake of retrenchment in goods producing sectors which are male dominated such as agriculture (sugar, bananas and other agricultural exports) and bauxite and mining. Similarly, in the larger services sector the impact on females is greater, given their dominant presence in tourism, the public sector, health and education. Then there is the impact of natural hazards such as hurricanes, floods and other natural disasters on economic development. These have had a negative impact on the livelihoods of male and female farmers and their families. Finding economic alternatives for both sexes to enable them to fulfill their productive roles must also be guided by the ILO's Decent Work Agenda, CEDAW and other rights-based commitments to development.

10.3.9 Gender and Education

Insights from the analysis of gender issues linked to education indicates that there has been some progress gained in achieving basic global targets such as universal access to primary education. However the analysis leads to the conclusion that there are gaps resulting from limited mainstreaming of gender in the implementation of education policies and programmes and the need for further curriculum reform to develop the requisite human capital and skills for the region to be competitive in an increasingly globalised economy.

The analysis pointed to the limited participation of boys and young men in secondary and tertiary education, leading to widening gender differentials especially at tertiary levels. The lower motivation of males in furthering their education underscores the gender biases that enable males to derive incomes that are often more lucrative than females, even where they are less educated. This is also a function of the lower labour market value of the professions pursued by females, as Bailey (2003) and others have observed. Policy implications relate to the need to adapt the school and learning environment and to equip Caribbean school leavers and university graduates (male and female) with the requisite knowledge, attitudes and problem-solving skills to survive in a global market economy.

10.4 Concluding Remarks

The analysis in this monograph has highlighted the importance of collecting and analyzing data using gender-related frameworks to develop policies, programmes that would achieve development goals that promote equity and equality between and within groups of males and females.

Recommendations to guide the Caribbean Gender Agenda for the 21st Century include the importance of disaggregating country data and trends from the regional overview.

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While aggregate regional data are useful for analyzing broad regional trends, they could also obscure important country differences. This highlights the importance of continued collaboration among members of CARICOM's Regional Caribbean Census Coordinating Committee (RCCC), National Statistical Offices, CARICOM's Statistics Unit and other institutional stakeholders, to support the collection and gender analysis of data from the census and national studies to promote gender equality.

Among the research priorities emerging from the analysis are the need to expand studies on gender, trade and economic development as well as strategies to reshape concepts, ideologies and institutions of masculinity that perpetuate patriarchy and gender inequality. This is particularly important for reversing major development challenges such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic and poverty which have become feminized. Other research needs include studies to explore the linkages between gender, religion, and household headship. The discussion on gender-related roles and vulnerabilities highlighted the need for research on the survival and development of men and women with disabilities. Undoubtedly there are gaps in research on gender crime and violence and these can hopefully help to clarify how gender roles and expectations can impact crime and violence.

However, research is also needed to fill data gaps on economic activity; especially the informal and services sectors as these are female dominated. Such studies can better guide strategies for the economic empowerment of women and to assess the likely gender impact of trade agreements. A major gap is a series of National Time Use Surveys to identify and value the contribution of unpaid domestic work to the national economy. In addition, research is still needed on male under-participation in secondary and tertiary education, and factors that contribute to violence perpetrated by males.

To maximize the benefit of existing and new studies and programme reports, it is recommended that a centralized database be established to collect and disseminate the findings of research studies on gender-related issues. This would avoid duplication and maximize use of existing research.

The analysis of census data and other social surveys also showed the importance of research to guide policy, advocacy and collective action in support of gender equality and equity. The hope is that the findings will be used by various stakeholders to transform not only policy and programmes but also have a positive influence on gender relations.

Implementation of national gender policies, gender mainstreaming and these areas indicated for the gender and development research agenda is contingent on the availability of adequate resources. This will require continued partnerships with various local regional and international institutions that are committed to the promotion of gender equality targets in government, private sector, academia and civil society. The hope is that this monograph will contribute to promoting the changes needed in the 21st century to transform gender relations and support sustainable development in the Caribbean.

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APPENDICES

Chapter 9 Annex Tables

Table 9.1: Suriname Government Positions distributed by level and sex

Level	Se	Total	
Level	Male	Female	TOtal
Low	5,977 6,734		12,711
Medium	3,751	4,224	7,975
High	1,541	1,445	2,986
Тор	200	84	284

Table 9.2: Number of members of the Cabinet of the Republic of Suriname by sex in the election years as of 1987

Election Year	Se	X	Total	% of
Liection real	Male	Female	Total	Females
1987	16	1	17	6
1991	18	0	18	0
1996	16	2	18	11
2000	17	3	20	15
2005	17	2	19	11

Table 9.3: Number of members of the National Assembly of the Republic of Suriname by sex in the election years as of 1987

Election Year	Se	ЭX	Total	% of
Election real	Male	Female	TOtal	Females
1987	47	4	51	8
1991	48	3	51	6
1996	43	8	51	16
2000	42	9	51	18
2005	38	13	51	26

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Table 9.4: Number of persons in Diplomatic Service by Position and Sex, 2007

Function	S	ex	Total
Function	Male	Female	TOTAL
Ambassador	6	4	10
Member of the Ambassador Council	11	4	15
Senior Embassy Clerk	2	4	6
Junior Embassy Clerk	1	1	2
Attaches	1	7	8
Assistant of the Defence Attaché	1	0	1
Consul General	2	0	2
Consul	0	2	2
Deputy Vice Consul	3	1	4
Consular Agent	2	1	3

Table 9.5: Jamaica – Employed Population by Occupation Group 2000-2001 Census Round

Occupation Group	Male	Female	Total
Professionals, Senior Officials and Technicians	5,189	6,985	12,174



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Gender and Development Issues

from analysis of the 2000 Round Census Data of Eighteen Caribbean Countries

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