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ABSTRACT

A study considered the global problem of employment discrimination as it is reenacted in the Caribbean. It takes Dominica as a micro-example of how factors of differential education and cultural expectation interact within the influences of changing global economic policies to disadvantage men and women across the spectrum of employment opportunities. What is important about the study is that it brings together the varied influences that construct the specific context to offer a wider perspective on how gender discrimination in employment can emerge in such a context. Using evidence from reports and statistical data, the study explored gender discrimination in employment in Dominica such as why males overwhelmingly fill the lowest status jobs, and the anomaly that Dominican females outperform males in Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) passes; yet, 4 years later, mainly males occupy the few highest status jobs. Sociocultural, legal, financial, educational, and biological evidence is considered. In particular, differential gender influences in the Dominican educational system are reported that may influence the continued underachievement of males at CXC. Government funded and nongovernmental organizations "school-to-work" initiatives are noted that could help to move successful females into high status occupations. The relevance of recent government policy statements, legal amendments, and financial measures are also considered and statistical findings on Dominican gender disparities in achievement and occupational standings are compared with similar findings for African-Americans. Evidence is also presented pointing to biases in previous reporting and evaluation of these regional and international gender issues. (Contains 5 figures, 14 tables, and 35 references.) (Author/BT)

Influences on Employment Discrimination in the Caribbean: The Case of the Marginalized Men and Wasted Women of Dominica

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INFLUENCES ON EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION IN THE CARIBBEAN: THE CASE OF THE MARGINALIZED MEN AND WASTED WOMEN OF DOMINICA.

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ABSTRACT

This study considers the global problem of employment discrimination as it is re-enacted in the Caribbean. It takes the case of Dominica as a micro-example of how factors of differential education and cultural expectation interact within the influences of changing global economic policies to disadvantage men and women across the spectrum of employment opportunities. What is important about this study is that it brings together the varied influences that construct the specific context. It offers a wider perspective on how gender discrimination in employment can emerge in such a context.

Using evidence from reports and statistical data this paper explores gender discriminations in employment in Dominica – such as the why males overwhelmingly fill the lowest status jobs and the anomaly that Dominican females outperform males in CXC passes and yet four years later it is mainly males who occupy the few highest status jobs.

Sociocultural, legal, financial, educational and biological evidence is considered. In particular, differential gender influences in the Dominican educational system are reported that maybe influence the continued underachievement of males at CXC. Socio-biological influences are considered that are based on interactions between occupational self-selection of high achievers and biologically based gender differences in achievement. Government funded and NGO 'school-to-work' initiatives are noted that could help to move successful females into high status occupations. The relevance of recent governmental policy statements, legal amendments and financial measures are also considered and statistical findings on Dominican gender disparities in achievement and occupational standing are compared with similar findings for African-Americans. Evidence is also presented pointing to biases in previous reporting and evaluation of these regional and international gender issues.

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INTRODUCTION

Throughout the developing world women do not enjoy the same opportunities as men. Joseph Stiglitz, Senior Vice President and Chief Economist for the World Bank talking at the Gender and Development Workshop, April 2, 1998 on Gender and Development: The Role of the State, explained how generally women have remained at an economic disadvantage: "women are still employed in lower-paying jobs; female wages in developing countries are typically only 60 to 70 percent of male wages; and women work longer hours and have poorer access to a range of productive resources, such as credit, labor, and extension services."

This worldwide pattern has repeated itself in Dominica. At the June 8th 2000 Meeting of Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-first Century, Matthew Walter, Minister for Community Development and Gender Affairs of Dominica stated "In the Commonwealth of Dominica, as elsewhere, past practices did raise barriers to women's equal participation in the country's economic benefits. The net result has been to relegate women to the lowest rung of the economic ladder." (Walter, 2000a). In reply to an article on this issue by the Minister (Walter, 2000b) in Dominica's Sun newspaper, 'Gender Issues in Dominica; Are Men Losing Face' a recent article in the Dominica Chronicle noted "However, the problem that feminists have exposed is that nearly always, what is women's work is given less value, is less recognized and is generally less well paid through nearly all modern-day societies." (Pascal, 2000).

The Dominica government has placed some of the economic responsibility for these woes on international trade treaties and has recognised that measures must be put in place to redress some of the major disparities that now exist between the contributions and opportunities for male and female citizens of Dominica. Two such measures are (i) the amendment to the Title by Registration Act and (ii) the Dominica Rural Enterprise Project which enables women to get loans. Previously, on a man's death his estate passed to his children. The amendment to the Title by Registration Act now offers some protection by allowing wives to inherit. Similarly, the Dominica Rural Enterprise Project directs loan funds to women farmers and poor households headed by women in rural areas. As Minister Walter has pointed out, this addresses a substantial percentage of the banana production base because "Women-owned and operated farms constitute 21 per cent of the banana production base." (Walter, 2000c). Now small female-run businesses can avail themselves of bank loans that were previously mainly open to males. This project may have been implemented because, according to the Labor Department, many women in rural areas found it difficult to meet basic needs, at least in part owing to the decline in the banana export industry (U.S. Department of State 1997). WTO rules were resoundingly blamed for contributing to these economic woes in a statement by Honourable Roosevelt Douglas Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Commonwealth of Dominica at the 55th Session of the United Nations General Assembly on September 19, 2000.

This study focuses, not only on the total employment of males and females (M/F) but on the employment of academically successful M/F in Dominica. It considers gender employment discrimination to be indicated when the numbers of males or females employed in an occupation of a given status are unbalanced. It does not argue for the under-representation of males or females in employment per se. Rather, it more discerningly considers under-representation of males or females within employment groups of differing status. For example, gender employment discrimination would

be indicated if lowly occupations were taken mainly by males or if the highest status occupations were filled mainly by females. By integrating information from different sources, including information on education, employment and socio-cultural values in Dominica, this study shows how gender discrimination in employment can emerge in a specific socio-cultural context.

WASTED WOMEN

One of the continuing anomalies in Dominica's social system is the disparity between the academic success of females and their low representation in professional categories of employment. Table 1 gives examples of comparative academic standards of males and females as indicated by the results of their Common Entrance examinations.

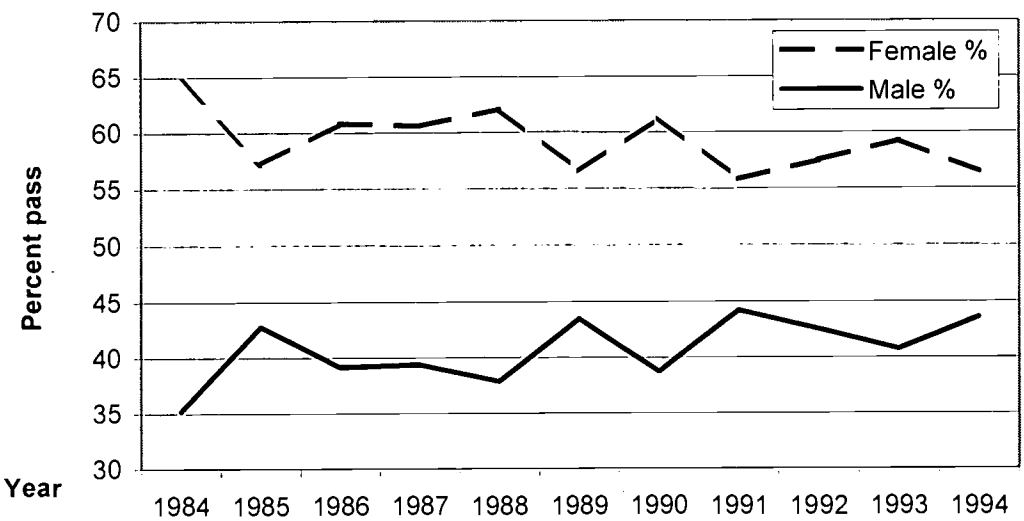
Table 1. Common Entrance Examination Results: 1984-1994 for Dominica

Year	Number sat			Number passed			Percent
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	passed
1984	1,056	1,460	2,516	180	331	511	20.3
1985	958	1,324	2,282	235	314	549	24.1
1986	873	1,198	2,071	206	320	526	25.4
1987	889	1,173	2,062	210	323	533	25.8
1988	843	1,132	1,975	200	328	528	26.7
1989	762	960	1,722	244	317	561	32.6
1990	862	950	1,812	217	343	560	30.9
1991	858	949	1,807	329	415	744	41.2
1992	987	1,024	2,011	316	427	743	36.9
1993	978	1,030	2,008	289	420	709	35.3
1994	975	1,105	2,080	310	401	711	34.2

Source: Records of the Ministry of Education

The continued higher percentage of female passes are shown for clear comparison in Figure 1

Figure 1: Butterfly graph of the number of males and females passing Common Entrance in Dominica as a percentage of the total passes



The trend is similar for CXC results. Table 2 shows the overall CXC success rate in English and Mathematics for the years 1995-99. These two subjects may be considered as good predictors of career success and both favour girls.

Table 2: Overall CXC success rate by gender in English A and Mathematics for 1995-99

Subject	No. of Boys entered	No. of Girls entered	Total entered	No. of awards to Boys	No. of awards to Girls	Total awards	% of awards to Boys	% of awards to Girls
English A	1245	1888	3133	584	1272	1856	31.5	68.5
Mathematics	1005	1186	2191	390	448	838	46.5	53.5

Adaptation of source from Office of the Local Registrar

Because Dominica does not have a national curriculum at secondary level, what is actually taught in Dominica secondary schools is greatly influenced by CXC requirements and gender participation matches the usual subject gender preferences. This is illustrated by the 1999 subject entries shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Overall CXC General Proficiency subject entries in Dominica by gender for 1995-99

	Subject	No. of Boys	No. of Girls	Total entered	% of Boys	% of Girls
FEMALE DOMINATED SUBJECTS	Home Economics	0	20	20	0.0	100.0
	English B	1	58	59	1.7	98.3
	Typing	2	66	68	2.9	97.1
	Food & Nutrition	23	117	140	16.4	83.6
	History	9	32	41	22.0	78.0
	French	37	128	165	22.4	77.6
	Office Procedures	25	78	103	24.3	75.7
	Principles of Business	118	260	378	31.2	68.8
	Accounts	92	176	268	34.3	65.7
	Biology	65	113	178	36.5	63.5
	English A	263	402	665	39.5	60.5
GENDER NEUTRAL SUBJECTS	Social Studies	162	238	400	40.5	59.5
	Mathematics	210	245	455	46.2	53.8
	Geography	80	83	163	49.1	50.9
	Chemistry	67	69	136	49.3	50.7
	Physics	65	44	109	59.6	40.4
MALE DOMINATED SUBJECTS	Agriculture	88	42	130	67.7	32.3
	Technical Drawing	43	2	45	95.6	4.4
	Electricity	38	1	39	97.4	2.6
	Woodwork	43	1	44	97.7	2.3
TOTALS		1431	2175	3606	39.7	60.3

Adaptation of source from Office of the Local Registrar

It is interesting to note that by sorting subjects by percent of female entrants and splitting the list symmetrically closest to 60%:40% it is seen that there are 11 female dominated subjects, that is having more than 60% female entry, and only 4 subjects dominated by males to the same extent. The career advantage given by these groups of subjects is important and it is noticeable that 'English A' is a female dominated by 60.5% to 39.5% predicting better career opportunities for females in Dominica. Although the Dominica curriculum is considerably influenced by the CXC requirements, Form One curriculum guides have been developed and were made available to schools in September 1999. (International Bureau of Education, 1999)

The numbers taking CXC in Dominica are small reflecting its relatively small population compared to the whole Caribbean. For comparison, in 1999 the total CXC subject entry was 392,848 of which 244,182 were girls and 148,666 were boys. Girls received 227,431 passes compared to 136,714 passes for boys. Girls received more passes than boys in every grade. For example, at the top Grade, girls received 18,732 Grade I passes compared to boys who received 8,849 passes, which is less than half those awarded to girls (CXC Statistical Bulletin, 1999). In 2000 there were 117,331 candidates with

445,872 subject entries. They received 404,170 awards (90.6%) of which 58.3% were at Grades 1 to 3 at the general and technical proficiencies and 33.4% were at Grades 1 to 3 at the basic proficiency. Caribbean Examinations Council (2001).

The gender pattern in Dominica is common throughout the wider Caribbean. This is shown in Table 4

Table 4: May-June 1999 Candidate Entries by Gender and by Territory.

May-June 1999 Candidate Entries for Territories	MALE No.	%	FEMALE No.	%	TOTAL	F - M % DIFF	RANK DIFF
Anguilla	96	34.53	182	65.47	278	30.94	4
Antigua & Barbuda	407	37.65	674	62.35	1081	24.7	7
Barbados	2789	37.97	4556	62.03	7345	24.06	8
Belize	820	41.29	1166	58.71	1986	17.42	12
British Virgin Islands	110	43.48	143	56.52	253	13.04	15
Cayman	152	41.42	215	58.58	367	17.16	14
Dominica	428	34.97	796	65.03	1224	30.06	5
Grenada	909	35.77	1632	64.23	2541	28.46	6
Guyana	3524	38.61	5604	61.39	9128	22.78	9
Jamaica	16638	34.37	31771	65.63	48409	31.26	3
Montserrat	19	59.38	13	40.63	32	-18.75	16
St Kitts-Nevis	332	33.1	671	66.9	1003	33.8	2
St Lucia	1199	39.94	1803	60.06	3002	20.12	10
St Vincent & the Grenadines	679	32.07	1438	67.93	2117	35.86	1
Trinidad & Tobago	14179	40.15	21136	59.85	35315	19.7	11
Turks & Caicos	135	41.41	191	58.59	326	17.18	13
External Entries							
Netherland Antilles	42	31.58	91	68.42	133	36.84	
TOTAL	42456	37.07	72082	62.93	114538	25.86	

Source: Amended from Table 9, CXC Statistical Bulletin 1999, p. 24

In Table 4, the difference is shown in the numbers and percentages of female and male entrants are shown. It is noticed that the Dominica pattern of higher female entries repeats itself over all Caribbean territories except in Montserrat. When the territories are ranked on this difference it is seen that Dominica stand in 5th place in favouring the entrance of females to the CXC examination.

Detailed demographic data on Dominica confirm the sources of these trends. Girls' schools perform very well in CXC. For example, Convent High School (CHS) had a 97 per cent pass rate in their 1999 CXC entries. Three Roseau secondary schools (CHS, SMA, DGS) seem to consistently achieve the highest school leaving examination results. A study recently conducted by Nicholas Goldberg and Rock Bruno of Dominica's Measurement and Education Unit, reported in the Chronicle (Lancelot, 1999), that "girls outperformed boys at the CXC examinations in most traditional subject areas except Mathematics. Opportunities for boys in tertiary education were therefore severely limited".

Tracking academically successful students to their starting careers

The higher numbers of passes for females year by year both at common entrance and at CXC would indicate their greater academic ability and the career importance of female dominated subjects would indicate that they would attain higher career status than males. We now track students who were academically successful at secondary level by gender to see if their academic success resulted in the higher career status expected by their academic success. We examine the 20-24 year cohort whose starting careers are noted in the 1991 Dominica census.

The academic successes of this cohort are shown in Table 5. These successes by gender with then be compared with their starting career status given in Table 6

Table 5 Secondary school academic successes by gender of 20-24 year old Dominicans

GCE 'O'/CXC PASSES						
Males	Females	Total Awards	% to Males	% to Females	% Difference	% Increase
439	843	1282	34.24	65.76	31.51	92.03

Source: Adapted from 1991 Population and Housing Census of Dominica Tables 41A & 41B

We would expect the higher academic success of these females to be rewarded by higher career status when these same females choose employment between 4 to 8 years after passing their secondary school examinations.

However, Table 6 shows the occupations that these women and men take up between four and eight years later. At this time in their career development, occupation is likely to indicate a career choice that has been largely determined by education. The statistics available did not include institutional workers or the unemployed. The occupations in Table 6 have been sorted by social status groups for the Caribbean (Figueroa, & Persaud, 1976). We notice that more men are employed than women, 2528 males vs 1429 females. However, whereas the higher CXC results for females indicates a higher academic attainment for females, the comparatively higher percentage of males in the professional occupations compared to females (66.7% vs. 33.3%), just four-to-eight years later, would, in contradiction, indicate the higher academic attainment of men.

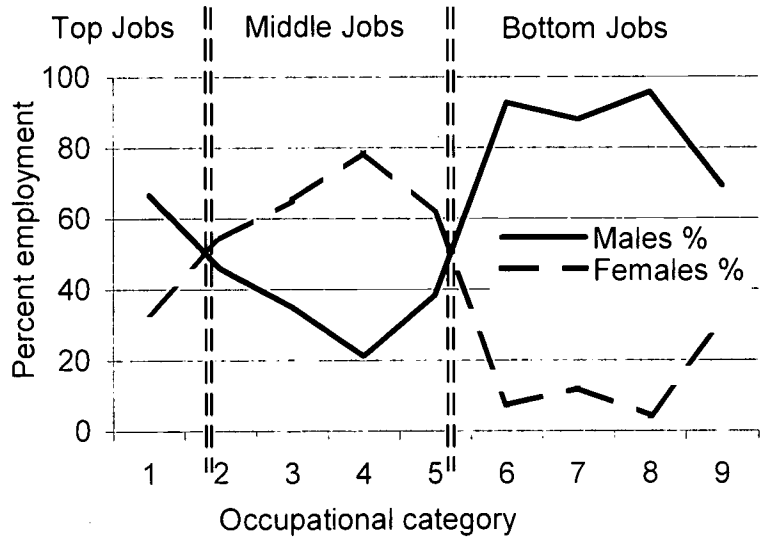
Table 6: Employment categories of 20-24 year age group by gender and occupational status.

	Professionals	Tech. & Assoc. Prof	Senior Offic & Mgrs	Clerks	Serv. & Shop Sales Wrk's	Plant mach. Opers & Assm	Craft & Related Wrk's	Agri/ Fores & Fish Wrk's	Elementary Occup.	Total working pop
Male	20	201	22	120	174	166	751	537	490	2528
Female	10	238	41	447	278	13	102	24	217	1429
Total	30	439	63	567	452	179	853	561	707	3957
Males %	66.7	45.8	34.9	21.2	38.5	92.7	88.0	95.7	69.3	63.9
Females %	33.3	54.2	65.1	78.8	61.5	7.3	12.0	4.3	30.7	36.1
difference %	33.3	-8.4	-30.2	-57.7	-23.0	85.5	76.1	91.4	38.6	27.8
Occup Status	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

Source: Adapted from multiple tables in the 1991 census of employed persons in Statistical Digest No. 8, Commonwealth of Dominica, 1995

The gender differences in occupational status are more clearly shown by the butterfly graph in Figure 2. The concept of the butterfly graph, for illustrating zero-sum data such as this, was created to report this study.

Figure 2: Butterfly graph of gender differences in the occupational status of the 20-24 age group



From Figure 2 we see that the two intersections of the gender lines partition the occupational categories into three job status classifications - Top jobs, Middle jobs and Bottom jobs. We see the expected 'Marginalised males' in the bottom status jobs. Many of the bright females with higher CXC achievements are in the Middle status jobs. However, it is men who mainly occupy the top jobs. There seems to be a 'glass ceiling' problem (Burbridge, 1994) keeping bright females from the top jobs. This glass ceiling is illustrated by the vertical division between the Top and Middle jobs defined by the intersection of the gender lines at the top of occupational category two. The question is: What has happened to these bright academic females in the four years between leaving school and taking up employment?

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN DOMINICA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM

There are various influences contributing to this problem. Compared to Dominican female students, male students have been found persistently to underachieve and there is a high repetition rate of male students at both primary and secondary levels (EFA UNESCO 2000).

Discrimination at CXC

The Education Minister, Senator Herbert Sabaroche, recently reported in the Chronicle that to answer some of these dissatisfactions with the CXC it was being considered that the CXC for Dominica should be rewritten to better suit their special context: 'The Common Entrance Examination, as an assessment and selection instrument, must be moulded – 'patuid' to use a Patois term – or pounded like 'tonton yampien' to our own image and likeness to be palatable and useful for the benefit of the students to assess their strengths and weaknesses,' (Sabaroche, 2000).

The UNESCO EFA (Education For All) 2000 Country Assessment Report for Dominica gives a more detailed analysis of the problem:

"Other weaknesses in the system relate to inequity in the distribution of school places, and signs of comparatively low performance in males from the level of CEE and above. Additionally, years of relative neglect of the indigenous Carib people who occupy the Carib Territory has led to high levels of poverty and illiteracy among that segment of the population.

"The only achievement data currently available is from the CXC examination results. For example, the achievement results show fluctuating but improving achievement levels for those taking the exams. The results for 1998 are difficult to compare because of a change in CXC policy regarding pass grades. Throughout the period from 1994 to 1998 girls have consistently and significantly outscored boys thus reflecting the position at the earlier CEE. The position regarding Maths shows a much lower pass rate, the best year being in 1996 with a pass rate of 36.9% of those entered. In this subject, the gender difference is small and fluctuates from year to year.

"Achievement levels at CXC vary from year to year and vary considerably from school to school with the Convent High, Dominica Grammar School and the St. Mary's Academy consistently achieving higher results in English and Mathematics than other schools. It should be noted, however, that these schools take almost all the pupils with scholarships and bursaries, i.e. almost 90% of the total." (p. 16-17).

Gender imbalance in teacher employment

In addition, the present gender imbalance in the allocation of teachers is not conducive to equal access to quality education. See Table 3a from the EFA 2000 Assessment Country Report for Dominica reproduced below as Table 7.

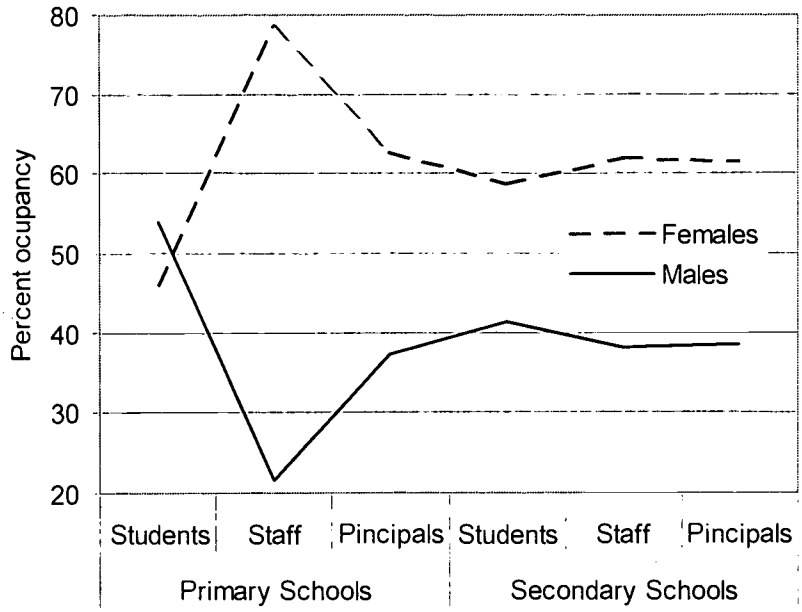
Table 7: Gender Disparity in enrolment and staffing in Primary and Secondary schools

1996/7	Primary schools		Primary Principals	Secondary schools		Secondary Principals
	Roll	Staff		Roll	Staff	
Males	5859	132	22	1961	104	5
Females	4981	478	37	2788	169	8
Total	10840	610	59	5269	273	11

Gender Disparity in Staffing (Burton-James, 1998)

The original Table 3a has been reproduced here as Table 7 with the original errors in the totals for Secondary roll and Principals. These gender disparities are more easily appreciated from the butterfly graph of percent occupancy by students, staff and principals shown in Figure 3. This butterfly graph has been generated using corrected totals from Table 7 and shows the feminisation of the Dominica schooling in terms of both students and staff.

Figure 3. Butterfly graph of the gender disparities in student, staff and principal percent occupancy in Dominica Primary and Secondary schools 1996/7



It is interesting to note that there was a marginally higher percentage of males enrolled in primary schools, 54% males to 46% females, in the year of this data. This feminisation of the Dominica school system extends into the under-representation of males at tertiary level.

Some examples of under-representation of males in Dominica's four main higher education institutes (that is at the Academic and Technical Studies Divisions at the Clifton Dupigny Community College and at the Dominica Teacher's Training College) have been noted in the EFA 2000 Assessment Country Report for Dominica as follows:

Clifton Dupigny Community College (CDCC)

Enrolment statistics at the Tertiary level show gender-preference patterns of curriculum participation. In 1997/98 the percentage of females enrolled at The Technical Division of the Clifton Dupigny Community College (CDCC) was 20%, whist the Academic Division enrolment was over 70% Enrolment at CDCC has averaged over 650 over the last three years, with 68% of students registered in the Academic Division.

Academic Division

During the 1997/8/9 period the female population of the College increased by 227.7% while that of the male increased by 69.4%.

The overall repetition rate for the Division for 1997/98 was 9% (23 students) with females at 11.3% and males at 6.7%. Drop out rates were 16% for males and 18.9% for females.

The division operates as a sixth form college, but the appropriateness of some of the courses - so far as the job market was concerned - needed to be considered.

Technical Studies Division:

The 1999 gender ratio was 4:1 in favour of males, but the director's target was to maintain a minimum of 20% females in all full time programmes.

The Dominica Teacher's Training College (DTTC)

DTTC averaged about 30 students/yr for last 25 yrs. Out of the 28 students enrolled in the teacher training program at the DTTC in 1999, only four were males.

SOCIOCULTURAL DISCRIMINATIONS

Concepts based on sociocultural values that discriminate between the sexes have been used to try and explain the generality of these differential gender attainments. Dembo, (1991, p.132) notes this common conclusion that "societal expectations can impose limits on achievement and vocational success". Two such concepts Stereotype threat and Social exclusion which is now considered.

Social Exclusion Theory and Social Economic Status

The concept of 'social exclusion' (DeHahn, & Maxwell, 1998; DeHahn, 1998), which has been traditionally used to explain the exclusion of women from the labour force, is not appropriate in this situation. Although the concept of social exclusion has been used to refer to denying the poorest sections of society equitable participation in labor markets (Beall, 1998), high academic attainments are traditionally correlated with high Socioeconomic Status (SES). The woman successful in the CXC, yet excluded from the same level of occupational participation as men in Dominica, are not therefore necessary the poorest. Similarly, emigration to metropolitan countries and other Caribbean countries does not account for these missing women (Serow & Cowart, 1998).

Comparative academic success of men and women of African decent

The comparative academic success of women of African decent, relative to men of African decent is a pattern common to other countries of the Caribbean and in the United States of America. Table 7 shows that African-American females out perform males in college enrolments, college degrees and doctorates awarded.

Table 7: Comparative academic performance of African-American males and females

Academic performance African-Americans females v Males				
	1976	1990	1995	
1. College Enrolments	55%	61%	62%	
	1977	1985	1990	1994
2. College degrees	31%	46%	51%	57%
	1994-5	Male	Female	
		44%	56%	
3. Doctorates awarded		(n=731)	(n=936)	

Compiled from sources:

1. *Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac Issue,* (p. 18), 1997.
2. *Digest of Education Statistics 1996* (Table 268), National Center for Education Statistics, 1996, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.
3. Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac Issue (p. 23), 1997.

Gender comparisons by subject

Gender comparisons in both US subject graduation (Table 8), standardised test scores (Cole, 1997) and CXC subject passes show that females are closing the gap, and even surpassing males in the number of passes in traditionally male science subjects, while males are falling further behind in the important skills of reading and writing.

Table 8: US High School Graduates, 1994

High School Courses	Males	Females
Algebra I	65%	68%
Geometry	68%	72%
Algebra II	55%	62%
Trigonometry	17%	17%
Analysis/pre-calculus	16%	18%
Calculus	9%	9%
Biology	92%	95%
Chemistry	53%	59%
Physics	27%	22%

Sources for Table 8: Adapted from Gender Equity Right From the Start (p. 12), by J. Sanders, J. Koch, and J. Urso, 1997, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum; and based on The Condition of Education 1996 (p. 100), by National Center for Education Statistics, 1996, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Political biases in reporting gender differences in attainment

There are a few subskill areas where males remain at an advantage. By grade 12 males have a clear advantage over females in the spacial and cognitive subskills of mathematics. Where male advantages have been found, women's movements have been successful in portraying these as affects of female sociocultural 'victimisation'. The 'female as victim' has been a successful lobbying image for discriminative measures to improve female attainment. However, some male advantages, such as those above are biological and not cultural. Halpern (1997), for example, reports that spacial ability increases and writing ability decreases with infusions of the male hormone testosterone. These performance variations have been measured during women's natural menstrual cycles and during clinical hormone treatment given to transsexuals and to balding males.

Unfortunately, the media and gender literature is rife with contradictory 'findings' on comparative abilities and information has been selected and presented to meet political and strongly felt emotional agenda. Keisha Lindsy, for example uses T&Ts vocational programme to illustrate subject sex role stereotyping "In Trinidad and Tobago's vocational programme, for instance, sex-role stereotyping by subject is prevalent. In the 'Business Education and Management' stream for instance, females outnumber males 337 to 242 respectively." (p.6). Yet, referring to the Jamaica context Leo-Rhynie (1987) reports the contrary, that " boys concentrate on industrial offerings along with principles of business administration" (p.9). Other examples of bias due to the review of selective findings are reported by Judith Kleinfeld, Professor of Psychology at the University of Alaska, in a paper widely reported in the US by The News and World Report, The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, and on MacLaughlin One-On-One. Her paper begins:

"In this paper, I examine the charges made in a highly publicized report, How Schools Short-change Girls, published by the American Association of University Women (1992). I show how the findings in this report are based on a selective review of the research and how findings contrary to the

report's message were suppressed. These contrary findings indeed appear in studies the AAUW itself commissioned, but the AAUW not only did not include these findings in their media kits but made the data difficult to obtain." (Kleinfeld, 1998).

Mark Figueroa (1996) uses the loaded notion of 'male privilege' to explain previous male advantages in Jamaica .. "A closer look at the data reveals the stamp of historical male privileging" (p.4). No evidence is considered necessary to support this notion as he states "I take it as given that historically the male gender has been privileged in Jamaican society" (p, 1). This is 'defined' by the following vague indicators "That is the male gender has controlled a broader and more powerful social space in practice .." (p.1). Although almost blasphemous to contemplate in the current climate of political correctness, it might be reasonable to assume that the evolution of gender roles in a stable culture would be no more unbalanced within the whole cultural ecology than the evolution of any other aspect of any other stable system. Value selected compartmentalised perspectives that ignore the wider checks and balances can always be pitted against one another. Female financial freedom was bought at the cost of their cheap labour and added responsibility. Nondiscriminating gender roles impact on personal identity and sociocultural distinctiveness. Prohibiting the disruptive coping behaviour of male students denies them that extra teacher-attention they need to compensate for their slower cognitive development. In the end women outlive men. One moral of that children's tale 'The Pied Piper of Hamlin' was that when we naively change aspects of an ecology to fit our personal values the repercussions are likely to lower the total value of the system. The warning is to see beyond our impassioned righting of wrongs to the wider repercussions of our well intentioned interventions.

Seemingly in support of the 'female victim' concept Barbara Bailey (1997) used misleading comparisons of percentage pass rates of boys v. girls sitting the CXC, rather than comparing the actual numbers of boys v girls passing, to misleadingly show that "boys outperformed girls ... Boys as a group are outstripping girls" in the CXC examinations for all Caribbean territories. This is particularly highlighted on page 28 of her paper when the analysis appears to go against her value position. In using the 1996 CXC data she reports that 43 girls sat CXC Building Technology with a pass rate of 87.41%. This resulted in 38 girls passing. She compares this pass rate to that of 83.7% for the 460 boys sitting the exam allowing 402 to pass. Ignoring the number of passes, 460 boys to only 38 girls, Bailey continues comparing pass rates of 87.41% for girls with 83.7% for boys and comes up with 87.41%-83.7%=3.71% "in favour of girls" which contradicts her thesis of "boys outperforming girls". She tries to recover her thesis by stating "This difference is, however, almost insignificant given that only 43 girls as against 460 boys sat the examination" (p.28). In addition, these figures are not passes at all grades where girls have the advantage but selected passes at Grades 1 and 2 where boys usually have the advantage over girls.

This faulty 'reasoning' is used to falsely present a numerical advantage for girls as though it was really an advantage for boys. To simply illustrate the fault in this 'reasoning' I will use an artificial example in which 1000 girls sit an exam and 500 pass compared to 2 boys who sits the exam and both pass. Clearly the girls are advantaged in the number who pass (500 girls compared with 2 boys). The faulty 'reasoning' compares the 50% pass rate for girls (500/1000 x 100%=50%) with the 100% pass rate for boys (2/2 x 100% = 100%) to claim that boys obtained a larger share of the passes.

I think very highly of the work of this author and am most appreciative of the contributions she has made to gender research. She is a respected, conscientious researcher who has published widely on gender issues in the Caribbean. Hence, to confirm that this is a systematic bias and to show that it is

unlikely to be miss-representing the work of this respected author, two further examples are given from the author's later work. The following Table 9 is reconstructed from CXC data in Table 7 on page 16, Unit 2 of Gender Issues in Caribbean Education: A module for teacher education (Bailey, 2000).

Table 9: Reconstruction of CXC data used for gender studies

1997 CXC results for Jamaica

GENDER	TECH-VOC. SUBJECTS		ACADEMIC SUBJECTS		TECH-VOC. & ACADEMIC	
ENTRIES:	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Boys	10,022	34.2	19,694	37.2	27,616	36.1
Girls	19,242	65.8	33,360	62.8	52,602	63.9
TOTALS:	**29,264**	**35.5**	**53,054**	**64.5**	**80,218**	**100.0**

1 & 2 AWARDS:	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Boys	5,121	34.6	7,180	32.3	12,301	33.3
Girls	9,660	65.3	15,022	67.7	24,682	66.7
TOTALS:	**14,781**	**40.0**	**22,202**	**60.0**	**36,983**	**100.0**

This table is described as follows:

"The pass rate for males in academic and technical-vocational subjects are 36.4% and 51.1% respectively, while for girls they are 45.0% and 50.2%.

"When girls are compared with boys using absolute numbers in each group, the figures ***suggest*** (italics added) that girls are way ahead of boys in every instance. However, when rate of passes is used as the bases of the comparison, it shows that the girls are performing better in the academic subjects but that boys have, ***in fact*** (italics added), a higher pass rate in technical-vocational subjects" (Bailey, 2000, Unit 2, p. 16-17).

Table 10 is an extension of Table 9 and includes the advantage to girls calculated on the numbers given. It is seen that girls have considerably more passes than boys in every category ranging from a minimum of 69.4% more than boys to a maximum of 109.2% more than the boys.

Table 10: Extension of reconstructed CXC data showing advantages to girls

1997 CXC results for Jamaica

GENDER	TECH-VOC. SUBJECTS		ACADEMIC SUBJECTS		TECH-VOC. & ACADEMIC	
ENTRIES:	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Boys	10,022	34.2	19,694	37.2	27,616	36.1
Girls	19,242	65.8	33,360	62.8	52,602	63.9
TOTALS:	**29,264**	**35.5**	**53,054**	**64.5**	**80,218**	**100.0**
Advantage to girls	***9,220***	***92.0***	***13,666***	***69.4***	***24,986***	***90.5***

1 & 2 AWARDS:	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Boys	5,121	34.6	7,180	32.3	12,301	33.3
Girls	9,660	65.3	15,022	67.7	24,682	66.7
TOTALS:	**14,781**	**40.0**	**22,202**	**60.0**	**36,983**	**100.0**
Advantage to girls	***4,539***	***88.6***	***7,842***	***109.2***	***12,381***	***100.7***

The description uses the faulty 'reasoning' to present these considerable advantages to girls as an advantage to boys by comparing the percentage of girls who passed with the percentage of boys who passed. For Academic subjects this difference is 45.0%-36.4%= 8.6% in favour of girls and 51.1%-

50.2%=0.9% in favour of boys. Only the smaller of the faulty results supports the required description and it reported as '***fact***' without mentioning how small it is compared to all other advantages, which are in favour of girls and reported as ***'suggested'***.

The next example is Table 11, which is a reconstruction of CEE data presented in Table 1 on page 16, Unit 2, also from Gender Issues in Caribbean Education: A module for teacher education (Bailey, 2000).

Table 11: Reconstruction of a CEE data used for gender studies

COMMON ENTRANCE RESULTS FOR 1996/1997

SELECTED TERRITORIES	AWARDS BY GENDER			ENTRIES BY GENDER		
	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL
DOMINICA	389	658	1047	na	na	na
	37.2%	62.8%				
JAMAICA	7253	8921	16174	20889	31450	52339
	44.8%	55.2%		39.9%	60.1%	
TRINIDAD &	3556	3715	7271	13336	14177	27513
TOBAGO	48.9%	51.1%		48.5%	51.5%	

It can be clearly seen from Table 11 that, in Jamaica, girls obtained a larger share of the awards (55.2% for girls and 44.8% for boys). However, the faulty 'reasoning' is used to present the opposite by describing Table 11 as follows:

> "When entries and awards for males and females are presented in this way, the situation ***appears*** (italics added) to favour girls in Jamaica and Dominica in relation to awards and is more or less equal in Trinidad and Tobago. In the case of Jamaica, however, if number of awards is compared with number of entries for each sex, a different picture emerges. When the number of awards for girls and boys is compared with the respective number of entries, we can see that although there were more girls entered for the examination than boys, only 28.4% of those girls received awards while 34.7% of the boys did. In other words, boys obtained a larger share of awards made" (Bailey, 2000, Unit 2, p.7).

The cause of this false bias is then given as ***the policy*** in Jamaica governing selection, thus using false evidence to imply that there is institutional bias against the selection of girls for secondary schools i.e. that "This is a result of the policy in Jamaica governing selection to ensure that an almost equal number of boys and girls enter secondary high schools to maintain a 1:1 ratio in these schools" (Bailey, 2000, Unit 2, p. 7). Although this might happen independently in some schools, it is obviously not ***the policy*** in Jamaica that boys obtain a larger share of awards made for this purpose. If it were so, then it is likely that the ratio of boys to girls in secondary schools would be greater than the 'required' 1:1. In fact, the reverse is the case. Four pages later in the same book a table 4 is given on page 11 of Unit 2 showing that the ratio of boys to girls selected for secondary schools in Jamaica in 1997/98 (form 4/ Grade 10) is 54.6% girls and 45.4% boys, which is almost the same as the ratio passes shown in Table 11 favouring girls in 1996/97.

Well intentioned bias is not unusual in emancitatory studies and gender publications. As Kleinfeld (1998) said of the 1992 report published by the American Association of University Women "instances have been distorted to make a political point."

Training programmes that address gender disparities

Governments and NGOs have put in place continued training programmes to address gender disparities and help school leavers become better qualified for work. Aid donors, such as the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) have organised workshops aimed at including more women in their project activities (Release No. IFAD/ 98/49). The Dominica National Council of Women, a non-governmental organization (NGO), has developed local adult education and small business training programs for women. According to the Labor Department, many women in rural areas find it difficult to meet basic needs, which is at least in part said to be due to the decline in the banana export industry (U.S. Department of State, 1997). The Dominica government also last year (1999) spent $330,000 in support of The Youth Skills Training Programme (Smith, 2000). This programme, was originally funded by the Organisation of American States (OAS) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). It was instigated in 1982 to train young unemployed Dominicans for the job market. It offered courses such as auto mechanics, beekeeping, care of the elderly, child care, fishing, livestock production, plumbing, small engine repair and steel bending. It is similar to the approximately 1000 Small Business Development Program Centers in the US mainland and other US Caribbean 'colonies' (Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands). More than one million women have been counselled and trained at these centers since 1995 (Secretary of State, 2000). However, analyses of youth unemployment in the UK has linked unemployment to the labour market rather to lack of preparedness. Thus government supported education and training centres, extending the school-to-work transition, do not seem to be the solution (Lindley, 1996).

There have been other such policy initiatives to aid youth employment in Dominica (Commonwealth Youth Programme: Caribbean Centre, 1981) and to meet adolescents' aspirations of employment (Justus, 1971).

In addition there are gender differences in how soon highly qualified first job applicants take to find a secure job. Jacob Klerman and Lynn Karoly, for example, researching in the US found that women high school graduates took longer than their male counterparts to find a steady job i.e. that lasts 1-3 years (Klerman & Karoly, 1995). Further research could find similar gender differences in Dominica.

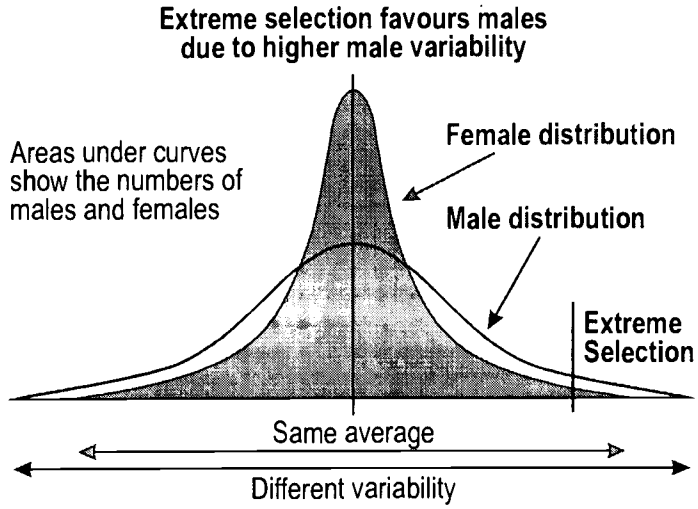
The call for a pervasive 'social contract'

Rather than such simple training 'fixes', what is called for in order to address sociocultural influences on employment discrimination is a pervasive 'social contract'. As Jytte Andersen, the Minister for Gender Equality of Denmark, has recently remarked (Anderson, 2000), "it is necessary to change social structures, for both women and men to participate on an equal footing in the development of society. Partnership, or a new 'social contract' between women and men, should clarify women's contribution to the economy, as well as the contribution of men to family life. Professional and family responsibilities must go hand in hand." Also addressing the role of men in efforts towards achieving gender equality, the Minister for Community Development and Gender Affairs of Dominica, Matthew Walter, has concurred that "men must become more engaged in the formulation of policy and implementation of programmes geared towards that end. Such involvement would help men to acquire a more profound sense of the disadvantages encountered by women." (Walter, 2000c). Let us hope that these policy intentions to reduce employment discrimination against women in Dominica will soon become a social reality.

DIFFERENTIAL VARIABILITY IN GENDER ATTAINMENTS

This study now considers another 'biological' factor that might partially explain why the CXC passes in favour of girls are not reflected in the proportion of professional occupations filled by them only four years later. A continued and pervasive finding in the literature on assessment is that, on nearly every measurable attribute, even when males and females score on average the same, the scores of males are more varied than those of females. This is illustrated by the larger range of the male scores in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Greater variability in males which increases their selection at high (or low) ability



In the mid-population ranges this is of little consequence. However, in the top and bottom 10% of the population males will naturally outperform females by 5 to 4. The effect increases dramatically as selections are made at the ends of the distributions. For example, in national 12th-grade US samples, males outnumber females in the top 10 percent on mathematics tests by 1.5 to 1 and in science by 2 to 1. Similarly, as one moves from national samples to self-selected samples, the difference tends to favour males by about 5 to 1 in both mathematics and science. If the original gender difference favours females, the spread effect may greatly mute the higher female performance and may even show male performance advantages for sufficiently extreme groups (Lewis & Willingham 1995).

Table 12 shows the excessive proportions of socially evident males occupying rehabilitation centres from the lower tail of this distribution. However, given the overall similar means of the sexes and the symmetry of their distributions, we can reverse these male disadvantage labels to show, in Table 13, the male advantage labels for the socially less evident males from the top tails of the distributions.

Table 12: Male/Female disabilities ratios.

Type of Disability	1986	1988	1990	1992
Learning Disability	2:1	2:1	2:1	2:1
Mental Retardation	1:1	1:1	1:1	1:1
Emotional Disturbance	3:1	5:1	3:1	4:1
All Disabilities	2:1	2:1	2:1	2:1

Table 13: Symmetrical Male/Female advantages

Type of Advantage	1986	1988	1990	1992
Learning Advantage	2:1	2:1	2:1	2:1
Mental Advancement	1:1	1:1	1:1	1:1
Emotional Stability	3:1	5:1	3:1	4:1
All Advantages	2:1	2:1	2:1	2:1

Adapted from The Condition of Education 1997, (Table 46-2), National Center for Education Statistics, 1997, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Table 12 shows that more than twice the number of males than females are placed in Special Education Programmes in the US. From the symmetry of the distributions we can expect that twice the number of males than females will have a comparatively greater advantage in these same areas. This is shown in Table 13.

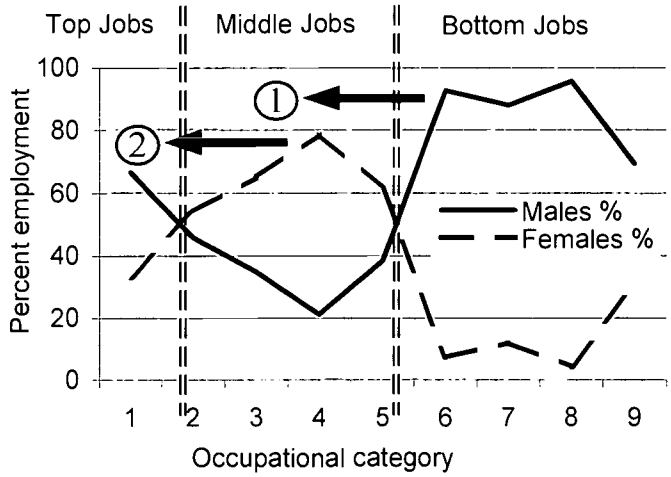
When we consider the pass grades at CXC we see this gender differentiation. In selecting for higher scores in CXC passes Morris (1989) reports "It is clear that more girls are sitting the examinations than boys. However, a higher percentage of boys gain grades 1 and 2 ... Girls obtain a larger number of grades 3, 4, and 5" (p. 3)

Hence, although more girls are passing the CXC more boys are passing at the higher level. When we select for even higher levels of attainment, the proportion of males in the selection becomes much higher. People tend to self-select their best areas for employment. In self-selected high-stakes testing the population of high achievers from whom further selection is made can be almost completely male when making unbiased selections from normal representative populations. 'Self-selected high-stakes testing' models well the selection for high-status employment in Dominica and so we can expect these professions to be male dominated. There are few high status jobs compared to the population of Dominica. Both Tables 40C and 41C from the 1991 census of employed persons in Statistical Digest No. 8, Commonwealth of Dominica, 1995 show the total population of 20-24 year age group is 6,71. When we compare this number with the mere 30 self-selected for the highest occupational category in Table 6, we note that this is an extreme selection of less than half of one percent (0.44%). Thus the high status occupational categories in Dominica represent extreme high achievement selection from the normal population. This extremely high selection would erode the mean advantages in academic attainment that females have compared to males in the rest of the population as shown by the CEE trends in Table 1 and Figure 1, in the CXC results in Tables 2, 3,4 and 5. Hence, discounting possible sociocultural biases, prejudices and discriminations against females, this biological factor of greater male variability may account, in part at least, for the apparent wasted women of Dominica.

Attainment sensitive gender education policies

Figure 2 has been reproduced below with the addition of arrows 1 and 2. This is Figure 5.

Figure 5: Attainment sensitive gender education policies



What we notice from Figure 5 is that if, in order to alleviate the problem of the marginalised males, we advocate policies that improve the status of all males (move the solid line to the left) then this will further disadvantage women at the top by effectively lowering the glass ceiling. If, on the other hand, in order to alleviate the problem of the glass ceiling, we advocate policies that improve the status of all females (move the dotted line to the left), as undifferentiated feminist policies have intended, then we further marginalise the lower status males. It seems that undifferentiated policies advantaging one sex will disadvantage the other sex. Hence, we should advocate attainment sensitive gender education policies. Arrows 1 and 2 in Figure 5 illustrate examples of such policies.

To bring males in occupational categories 6 and 7 into the Middle jobs classification (represented by arrow 1), we need educational training directed to the main differences between categories 4 and 5 where there are fewer males and categories 6 and 7 where there is a predominance of males. From Table 2 we notice that category occupations 4 and 5 are people-skilled occupations whereas categories 6 and 7 are object-skilled occupations. Hence, it would be appropriate to train category 6 and 7 males in people-skills . Further, Table 2 indicates that the numbers of males to be trained is relatively large and hence, this would be consistent with government responsibility. In contrast, to move category 2 to 4 females from the Middle jobs across the glass ceiling (represented by arrow 2), occupation specific training in higher management skills is needed. As relatively small numbers are involved in Dominica and the training areas are highly specific, it might be more appropriate for this training to be supplied, with suitable funding support, by the relevant professional organisations.

Concluding remarks

We have seen that many interrelated factors can combine to thwart our efforts towards gender equality in employment. Policy, no matter how well intentioned and highly resourced, will ultimately fail if we myopically address only some of these factors while ignoring others. Current policies promoting equal gender opportunities have fallen far short of our expectations. For example, biased gender reporting for the purpose of redressing imbalances in social advantages between males and females, no matter how well intentioned, is harmful to both groups when it results in blanket recommendations in favour of one sex or the other. For example, we have seen that attempting to solve problems of the glass ceiling by advantaging all females has the disastrous effect of further penalising our already marginalised males. On the other hand, policies that advantaged all males in order to improve the lot of marginalised males would also further advantage our top males and so lower the glass ceiling to the increased disadvantage of females. It is clear that policy must at least address the distinct ranges of the attainment continuum for both men and women if we are to attain gender equity in education and employment in the Caribbean.

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