STATUS INEQUALITY: WOMEN IN CARIBBEAN SOCIETIES

Prepared for
Caribbean Studies Association Conference
Section on Social Factors
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands
May 27-31, 1981

Monica H. Gordon
Department of Sociology
and Black Studies
Mount Holyoke College

Draft
Not to be Quoted.
ABSTRACT

Status Inequality: Women in Caribbean Societies

Studies of social stratifications in Caribbean societies have focused on race, class, and color as the major definers of social status and the determinants of access to social and economic opportunities and power. These studies ignored gender as a factor in social stratification although it is one of the most pervasive criteria of social differentiation.

Discrimination against women is widespread and assumes many forms. Institutionalized processes affect the legal, economic and social roles of women and are reinforced by customs, ideas, beliefs, and attitudes of both men and women. Since women generally share the advantages and disadvantages of their social class or group situation, their unequal status is not as readily discerned as is social inequality based on race. In the United States, for instance, none of the social movements of the 1960's addressed the problem of gender inequality. It was left to the women to define and identify the source of their inequality. The same is true of Caribbean women. Focus on class/race continues to preclude specific attention to structural constraints on women.

This paper will examine the structural and cultural patterns of gender inequality with a view to developing a theoretical reference that reflects the social situation of Caribbean women within the framework of developing societies.
Social stratification studies, until recently, have largely ignored women as a dimension of stratification. This omission is not necessarily deliberate or conscious but the consequence of institutionalized system of male dominance which assumed a quality of naturalness. It had been suggested that:

The substantive issues which becloud the topic of sexual stratification have to do with the mode of recruitment, the socialization, membership and structural arrangements of sexually ranked categories. First, there is the fact that sex is determined at birth - it is not contingent upon ancestry, endogamy, or any other arrangement of marriage or family and it is not predictable.... Second, as a concomitant to the mode of recruitment, males and females have no distinct ethnic or regional histories. Third, the universal co-residence of males and females within the household precludes the existence of lifelong separate male and female societies. (Berreman: 1972:403).

Berreman continued: Yet, the differences between the sexes are more significant than differences between race, ethnicity, class or any other stratification category and sufficient to have warranted or justify differential opportunities, privileges and rewards but not considered eligible for as a stratification category.

This is the view espoused (Parkin 1971: 14-15) in his argument that women cannot be regarded in modern society as an important dimension of stratification in the same way as subordinate class or minority group. There is agreement that female status carries many disadvantages compared with that of males in various areas of social life including employment opportunities,

The Caribbean in the context of this paper refers to the English-Speaking Caribbean only.
property ownership, income but denied that such inequalities are useful components of social stratification because, for the great majority of women, the allocation of social and economic rewards is determined principally by the family. To be eligible for consideration as an important dimension of stratification, the disabilities attached to female status difference must be so great as to override differences of class kind (Parkin, 1971: 15).

Parkin registered disagreement with Lenski (1966: 402) who criticized the tendency of sociologists to treat families as the unit of stratification rather than individuals and of Myrdal (1944, Appendix 5) and Hacker (1951) who compared the status of women to that of minority groups.

This tendency to treat women as family members and not as individuals with their own social status is deeply embedded in religious ideology, family law and, more recently, social scientists have provided the rationale for women's subordination. Parkin followed along the lines of thought developed by earlier social theorists, such as Emile Durkheim and later elaborated by Talcott Parsons and others of the structural-functionalist school. Durkheim (1964: 50-63) attributed the sexual division of labor to the historical evolutionary process of male-female differentiation which, he claimed, endowed women with the characteristics of physical weakness, emotionalism and dependence. These "feminine characteristics," he claimed, are complementary to the male's physical strength and protectiveness and the sexual division of labor which is the natural result of these characteristics is the source of conjugal solidarity.
The modern formulation of the male-female complementarity of the sexual division of labor has been elaborated in the Parsonian paradigm of instrumental/expressive functions in the conjugal relationship. The instrumental role assigned to males provides access to the public sphere of government and industry and obligates them to the economic support of females and children. Conversely, women, by virtue of their nutrient and emotional nature, are assigned the expressive or affective role which ensconced them in the home and away from the arena where important economic, political, and social decisions are made. This structural-functional perspective, ever concerned with social balance, supports the sexual division of labor and arbitrarily endorses the economic subordination of women, in the wider interest of averting the conflicts which would inevitably result if women compete with men for individual achievement and social mobility (Parsons and Bales 1955). This view of women is further reinforced by stereotypes of females in everyday life which are legitimized by an ideology of genetic determinism and through the socialization process (Epstein 1971: 121-122).

While men's roles are primarily associated with their economic and public activities, women's activities are associated with their family roles. Only when women are not attached to men can they develop a separate identity and their own social status. Such status, however, is limited by the status and roles already defined for women as family members; so that, in fact, women merely assume their own economic support, they do not create their own status (Acker 1973: 937).
It is assumed that the social status of women in all societies is defined by their family connections and their social status derived from the men to whom they are attached. While they do not necessarily suffer loss of social status as a result of the arrangement, their dependence on men represents a loss of economic status and the ability to make independent decisions. This has negative consequences for working women, whether or not they are attached to men. Their value in the labor force is depressed because employers exploit the gender stereotypes which plague occupational roles by defining occupational areas and the rewards suitable for women.

The economic and social participation of women varies from society to society, but one fact remains: women, by virtue of their economic subordination, remain subordinate in all other areas of social life, even in the home which is, supposedly, their sphere of activity. In the developed countries women have been entering the labor force in increasing numbers; however, it has been noted that the increased participation does not represent a shift from traditional female employment but rather an expansion of such occupational areas which also require higher levels of education (Oppenheimer 1973: 948). Oppenheimer observed that the major characteristics of occupations open to females are that they are transferable, do not require long-term commitment, and can be easily resumed if and when they are interrupted. Women's economic activity, then, is seen as supportive of a more permanent economic source, the male, usually to be undertaken when the income from the primary source is inadequate for the family needs or for special purchase.
Studies of social stratification in the Caribbean have focused on race, class and color as the major dimensions of social stratification which determine access to social and economic opportunities and power. Like studies done elsewhere, they have ignored gender as a factor in social stratification although gender is a more definitive category than family for Caribbean Women. There is no denying the saliance of race and class in Caribbean societies and their historic roles. But, as Berreman (1972: 404) observed, sex has no distinct ethnic or regional history, neither is it confined by class. Women, therefore, share the advantages and disadvantages of the social class or race with which they are identified. Sex inequality is not as readily discernible as other forms of social differentiation. Furthermore, social stratification studies are usually done by males who continue to see women in the stereotypic context defined by earlier studies.

Caribbean women, on the other hand, are influenced by the Western concept of women's place in society but are constrained by the realism of their own social and economic circumstances. Their peculiar situation presents a paradox for the structural-functionalists which define women's roles as expressive and affective. While they function in such capacities, it is an error to perceive them only in these roles as they are often the instrumental providers also. In addition to this theoretical paradox, the historical complexities of male/female relations embodied in race, class and color demand that women in these societies be examined within their own contextual frame of reference.
The nuclear family which is the unit considered in social stratification studies would exclude a significant part of the population since family structure or even the concept of family, does not conform to the western ideal. The division of labor may work in developed countries, albeit unequally, with men assuming the provider role because economic practices and social norms support this. Women may not be materially deprived even though they have unequal status and are dependent on men. For many Caribbean women, there is little expectation that men will assume the provider role, not because these women value independence more than their counterpart elsewhere or that they have rejected male support as contributory to this subordination. Their low expectation stems from knowledge and real experience that some men cannot assume the support of women and children. It is an economic burden they either cannot or are unwilling to assume, at least not in the Western sense.

Furthermore, the system through which men assume the provider role, marriage and the establishment of a nuclear family, has never been institutionalized among a large sector of the population: The norms and values associated with this arrangement are not significant parts of their internalized behavior patterns. Yet, in the absence of economic means and institutional support, men still have authority over females. Men's authority transcends class, race and color because authority is a man's role. How, then, can women achieve status equality? Like other oppressed people, women will have to assume the major responsibility for their own liberation. If women are serious, it could mean the
dismantling of the colonial system which left behind the legacy of ambiguities and complexities in structural and personal relations.

The Caribbean: Some Background Factors

In the almost two decades since political independence gave promise of new social order, we are sharply reminded of Fanon's (1961: 81) statement that:

Independence has brought moral compensation to colonized people and established their dignity. But they have not yet had time to elaborate a society, or to build up and affirm values.

He further commented on the decolonizing process "...the proof of success lies in a whole social structure being changed from the bottom up.... The need for this change exists in its crude state, impetuous and compelling in the consciousness and in the lives of men and women who are colonized (35-36). He also recognized the counter forces that identify with the interest of the colonizers which seek to maintain the status quo. The process of institutional change has been slow and arduous as one observer noted:

Political systems which have experienced long periods of colonial rule, as is the case of the English-speaking Caribbean, tend inevitably to carry forward certain colonial legacies into the independence era. The most common of the legacies are the institutional arrangements (Jones and Mills, 1976: 328).

The changes Fanon mentioned as necessary for successful development demand the disruption of the old economic, social and political relations and human relationships; the reorganization of social structure, social relations and attitudes. These
imply new status positions for women within the framework of development as a whole (Schmidt-Kolmer, 1975: 3).

Movement toward decolonization began in the late 1960's with the cry of the "Black Power" which was an attack upon a stratification system which issues rewards on the basis of race and color. Because race and color are corollaries of the class system, this was also an attack on the class system wherein economic and social privileges coalesce in the small white minority. The interest of this elite group is served by a neo-colonial political system (Lowenthal, 1972: 280-292; McEleney, 1969; Nettleford, 1972 and Thomas and Riddle, 1970).

This attack on class/race/color privileges was the first postindependence assault on the neo-colonial structure. Consciousness of social inequality in this arrangement did not extend to a consciousness of gender inequality. One observer of a similar phenomenon in the social movements in the United States during the 1960's commented that "none of the radical movements purposed new roles for women" (Howard, 1974: 145). It was left to women to articulate the nature of their oppression. Caribbean women, like women elsewhere, will have to assume the major responsibility for this articulation and suggestions for change.

One threatening problem is the same problem the movement encountered in the United States, the dominance of the movement by White middle class women which alienated lower class white women and Black and other minority women (Deckard 1975). Class is the
operative category\(^1\) in the Caribbean situation. It is a question of whether middle class women can overcome the class and color prejudices, endemic in the societies to reach out and incorporate women from the lower socioeconomic stratum into a movement to eradicate gender inequality. Middle class women have information, organizational skills and greater access to media and other sources need the support of women generally to make their effort successful. Concerns have been expressed that developing countries may follow the pattern in Western developed Industrial States where:

The demand for equality has often been coupled with a "me too" philosophy in which women strive to enter higher posts in the hierarchy of occupational positions accepting the structure as given.... Such token entry of women in high level posts only serves to stabilize a structure of inequality. (June Nash, 1975: 36)

Caribbean countries are highly implicated in this statement where the status attainment is dependent on placement in occupational hierarchy which still reserves the highest levels for men. Like other societies, discrimination against women is the result of historical process embedded in the legal, political, economic and social systems which define the roles of women and reinforced by the ideas, attitudes and customs of both men and women. Social change that would eliminate gender discrimination requires more than affirmative action in the hiring of women or self-help economic projects designed to improve the economic situation of

\(^1\)Race and color prejudice will continue to exist for a long time in societies where they have been significant both instrumentally and affectively for centuries. However, they no longer automatically provide access to privilege even though the historical process influences the present situation.
women. It means development and incorporation of women as equal to males into the productive process and equal access to and participation in social and political affairs and the elimination of negative class attitudes and behavior patterns toward women that have been characteristic of social relationships.

Commitment to these changes at least idealistically, has taken international form with the United Nations and other international organizations, national governments and organizations and individuals in varying degrees initiating programs to the effect. However, when we compare similar commitment to the elimination of racism, poverty and other disabling situations which retard the human development potential, we ought to be skeptical. The elimination of racism means the surrender of power of Whites over Black and other people of color. The elimination of poverty means an end to the dominance and privileges of the rich nations or individuals. The elimination of gender differences means the surrender of the dominance of men over women. The question of the 1980's is how people in dominant power positions can be persuaded or forced to make the changes necessary to eliminate social inequality.

Problems and Efforts in the Caribbean:

A combination of factors make the Caribbean more flexible to changes of the kind mentioned above. Their histories and political arrangements are dissonant rather than continuous which provide a receptive attitude toward change for improvement. Norms and values are not buried in long tradition of the past
and therefore are not sacrosant. Negative associations with colonialism and imperialism foster the ideology of change. High literacy levels and a mobile population (orientation to upward mobility often involves emigration to achieve it) create a kind of restless expectancy which contributes to, at least, a rhetoric of change. These factors prompted one woman's comment that "...when you ask about the status of women, I'm not sure the Caribbean is one of the territories that women, if they knew what they wanted, couldn't get it." (Nita Barrow, 1973: 20)

Some argued that this potential is thwarted by manipulative actions on the part of elite groups to maintain their hegemony (Jones and Mills, 1976). Nevertheless, it must be conceded that some changes have occurred and the level of consciousness raised regarding class/race/color inequalities and more recently, gender inequality. The problem seems to be more than lingering commitment to the belief that equality can be realized within the existing institutional framework. Women have been examining some of the institutions which legitimized their secondary status. The status of women will be briefly analyzed in institutional and attitudinal contexts.

The class which is the dominant material power in society is at the same time its dominant intellectual force (Marx Engles, 1944: 39). The ideas of the ruling class are embodied in the institutional structures; therefore, law, politics, religion, family, etc. will reflect the interest of the dominant class.
Occupations in law, politics and religion have been, until recently, exclusively male. Furthermore, the ideologies which permeated these institutional arrangements have their origins in the metropolitan societies. Consequently, these institutions, dominated by males representing foreign interests, represented women only if such interests coincided with those of women. The institutions of law, politics and religion together, legitimized, enforced and sanctioned gender inequality. This is demonstrated most clearly in family relationships where women's roles have been entrenched. Women have accepted the role assignment, especially those associated with mothering.

The "plantation system" as a conceptual model representing societies with the characteristics of external control of political and economic institutions and foreign influence governing the socio-cultural internal institutions has been used as the classificatory model for the Commonwealth Caribbean (Beckford, 1972; Best 1968; Mintz 1971: 26; Wolf 1971: 163-164). Gordon K. Lewis (1968: 55) summarized the "plantation concept" when he stated that:

...not only the dominant institutions but also the controlling attitudes of the society have been shaped, to a great extent, by the white European influence. Its ethnic composition has been basically Negro but its social and political directions have been European. And, moreover, selectively European.

The selectivity of the European influence, he explained, deprived the Caribbean peoples of benefits from the great achievements in Europe but exposed them to its racism and exploitation.
The contemporary plantation-like system of the Caribbean, Matthews (1973: 300) argued, is the repository of a vast New World tradition of customs and attitudes, established and developed within the institutions of slavery. This is not to suggest historical determinism or slavery as the definer of social life in the present-day Caribbean. Rather, it suggests that the hierarchical social system which developed during that period continues to find expression under different economic and political arrangements. Consequently, there have been no incentives for those who benefit from those arrangements to effect changes in their social behavior and attitudes. White male dominance was established from the very beginning and was not limited to the exercise of power in economic, political and social spheres but also included sexual dominance. White males had access to all women regardless of race, color or status.

Women's status was further diminished by the men's reluctance to contract legal marriages even with white women. On the one hand, while a stratification system based on race and color existed among women, with white women ranking at the top and black women at the bottom, as women they shared the common caste in which they were all victims of white males who could select sexual partners from any category, often simultaneously. Women competed for white males who had power. The institution of marriage and family developed in Europe was not practiced by white males in authority positions in the West Indies and was legally forbidden to slaves so that, from the beginning, the kind of family relationship
which flourished was consensual and/or exploitative rather than legal (Hall 1973: 122). Thus, marriage, the social arrangement which regulated sexual behavior, reproduction and assigned sexual role responsibility in the metropolitan countries was never institutionalized on the Caribbean plantation. Family life, as a sector of the society so that stable, predictable roles could develop.

Interestingly, it was the Black female slaves who were blamed for the sexual decadence of the White males who were the masters. The Black woman was characterized as having mastery in trickery, conjolements and deceit and able to convince the White man she hated, that she was in love with him. These characteristics continue to be imputed to women. One important point was made (Long 1973:83-4) that the Black women used sex not merely for their own advancement but for their kin and men. There is certainly a contrast between White men having sex indiscriminately for personal gratification because they have the power to make the demand on their victims, and women using sex for survival. If Long and others were less racist they would easily have identified the source of the decadence -- the White male instead of blaming the Black female, the greatest victim of them all (Mathurin 1974: 3).

Colonialism and Victorian moralism converted the upper and middle classes to legal monogamous marriage in order to consolidate their class status, but the lower classes, who existed largely outside the influence of European institutions evolved family systems which reflected their own social economic realities.
These may include legal marriage sooner or later. Family structure and relationships have their antecedents in the plantation system: slavery, colonialism and the perpetual conflict of trying to reconcile real-life situations with values and norms external to their experience. It is in this complex family arrangement that the social and legal status of women are entangled.

Family law in the British West Indies is based on monogamous marriage, and property rights and inheritance are conferred accordingly. Considering that a majority of the children are born outside the context of legal marriage, family laws not only discriminate against women and their children born out of wedlock, but they deny the social reality of Caribbean societies (Cumper 1972: 10). This is not to imply that all non-marital unions are unstable or that all women in such relationships are more deprived economically. The point is that official norms relating to family are at variance with the behavioral patterns of a large sector of the society. The economic impoverishment and marginality also affected a large part of the male population, invalidating their socially assigned provider role in the family. Consequently, they are discouraged from establishing permanent ties.

---

2 Family structure of the Caribbean has generated interest and a considerable body of literature has emerged since the 1950's. For discussion on the subject see Judith Blake (1971), Family Structure in Jamaica: The Social Context of Reproduction; Edith Clark (1953), My Mother Who Fathered Me; Fernando Henriques (1953), Family and Color in Jamaica; M. G. Smith (1962), West Indian Family Structure; R. T. Smith (1956), The Negro Family in British Guiana.
They may opt for short-term liaison and when the relationships dissolves, they frequently feel no obligation to support the children that may have been born from the relationship (Stycos and Back 1964: 330). The legal system penalizes only the women in non-marital relationships by not enforcing or imposing legal responsibility for support of children on males.

Women, on the other hand, see marriage as the means of social mobility or the consolidation of a social status position. Judith Blake (1971: 123) concluded that Jamaican women are more apt to delay marriage when economic security is unfavorable. Roberts and Sinclair (1978: 63-67) found little support for non-legal unions as Blake did but the same ambivalence towards marriage. This ambivalence seems to come from the inability to reconcile expectations with reality. Marriage, which is more restrictive, in their opinion, provides no economic advantages and, therefore, no improvement of status. It has been said that women in common-law relationships are independent agents, not subservient chattels; they make the important decisions about children, jobs, and other aspects of their lives. Formal marriage may have definite drawbacks for both partners: for women, it entails loss of equality, less freedom to move about, fewer contacts, more loneliness (Lowenthal 1972: 111; Nash 1975). Lucille Mathurin countered this argument on female independence. She argued that:

Any analysis of the status of the Caribbean woman today has to take into account the occupational context in which the black majority functions, relative to the occupational positioning of the rest of the society. Her alleged position of influence and power in the family and community has to be judged against the background of the lowest status-bearing jobs which the society always allocated to her (1974: 5).
She conceded that there is some validity to the "rather tired
cliche Black Matriarch," given the number of women who head
households, that is, approximately one-third of Jamaica's
adult females. However, she denied that being head of household
provides natural access to authority. These women are more likely
to be economically depressed and thus more vulnerable to sexual
exploitation (Mathurin-Mair 1974: 5-6).

West Indian women of all classes regard children as blessings,
proud to give birth, happy to cherish babies, and ready to make
sacrifices for a child's future (Lowenthal 1972: 107). Caribbean
women accept the universal role of child-bearer regardless of their
socioeconomic and marital status. They often live in households
without males as co-residents; perform economic roles and must
depend on female relatives for support services.

A support system developed among women in the absence of the
socially mandated male support.

While cooperation is essential among lower stratum women,
it is also imperative between women of different social strata.
There is some evidence that women are recognizing their common
unequal social status regardless of class position. The law was
the first area such status inequality was demonstrated.

---

3 This presents problems for using the family as the unit of
stratification and assuming that women belong in a family or
co-reside with men. Here again such scholars have assumed that
"family" defines a unit that is standard in all societies., i.e.
the nuclear family can be located regardless of all other manifes-
tations. Berreman argued that the universal co-residence of males
and females make it difficult to detach the female as a single unit
for analysis. The Caribbean provides all the possible variants of
relationships.
Until women began to practice law in the Caribbean no concern was shown for the legal status of women or the consequences of certain legal provisions on the lives of women. Gloria Cumper's (1972) survey of social legislation in Jamaica revealed the legal inequities, especially as experienced by unmarried women and their dependent "illegitimate" children. Investigation of the legal status of women have since been done in other Caribbean countries (Daly 1975; Thompson 1945; Messiah 1978).

Middle class, professional women, since the 1960's were experiencing legal discrimination that did not affect men in comparable situations. Wives of Jamaican nationals were exempt from the need to get work permits but the husbands of Jamaican nationals were not exempt (Cumper 1972: 5). A similar provision exists for Trinidad and Tobago (Daly 1975), Bahamas and Barbados (Thompson 1975: 28-35). One researcher recently reported that Jamaican men see themselves as Jamaicans but women were just "women."

Thompson (p.28) summed up the legal situation of women. "The law has always treated women in a manner consistent with their supposed inferiority." Thus prime ministers could explain that they did not consider it in women's best interest to extend citizenship to their foreign husbands. Apparently, not even when divorce is the consequence and the women often left with economic and social responsibilities of single parenthood (Thompson:197534). One hears echoes of the plantation with the slave master claiming territoriality and ownership of all the women.
Some discriminatory laws affecting women have been rescinded but the attitudes fostered by such laws will continue indefinitely. Religion which seemed to have lagged behind political, legal and social processes, sometimes express reactionary rather than progressive ideals. A case in point was the outrage expressed by an Anglican Dean when the Barbadian government proposed to change the laws relating to inheritance from fathers of "illegitimate" children. His excuse: granting such children the same legal status as legitimate children will undermine the institution of marriage. This is the same argument which informed the law in the first place and had been no deterrent to mating and reproduction patterns (Cumper 1972: 5).

Organized religion in the Caribbean is not only male dominated, it is also elitest, serving the middle and upper class while reserving only censure for the lower class. Yet, as one person pointed out, women are the major support of the churches (Nita Borrow 1973: 20). If the church women can ignore their various prejudices, including that of moral superiority, they can use the churches on behalf of women generally. There is some evidence that the church has assumed a more activist role and expressed concern over social and political issues. There is no demonstrated evidence, however, that the church has stopped discriminating against women (Caribbean Contact, 1978 and May 1980: 5).

Education, Occupation and Labor Force Participation

Studies done in the United States indicate that the processes determining the educational and occupational achievement are basically the same for males and females and differ only slightly.
by sex. (Fetherman and Hauser, 1976; Treiman and Terrell, 1975). It was also found that sexual difference in power in the workplace was an important factor in generating income inequality between men and women (Roos, 1978).

Furthermore, women were less likely than men to realize their occupational expectations and had lower returns in occupational status for educational investments (Spaeth, 1977).

The explanation for the failure of women to match education and occupation with expectations is that women did not have commitment to occupational roles and that training and career interruptions may be responsible for the failure to advance occupationally rather than discrimination. It was found that the lack of qualifications was a significant contributor to women's failure to reach positions of authority but was less significant than employers' behaviors and policies. The behavior of women themselves, more significant than their qualifications was also less significant than employers' behavior and policies (Wolf and Fligstein, 1979: 235-252).

The quality and quantity of education available to women vary from society to society but the findings for the United States can be generalized to some other countries. It seems that one major difference in these findings with what can be projected for the Caribbean is a difference in labor force participation. The higher the level of education, the more likely that women will remain in the labor force permanently. Constancy, however, will not guarantee return on investment on the same level with men since there are built-in mechanisms which restrict women's advancement.
Education is considered a primary instrument in the development process. The elimination of poverty and illiteracy are stated goals of developed as well as developing countries. This focus is necessary to correct bias against educating women or unconditionally selecting males over females when a choice had to be made, even when the females demonstrated more capability (UNESCO, United Nations G/Conf. 66/BP/13, 1975).

Resource is a crucial factor in educational development and the ideology which the function and delivery is based. The emphasis on instrumentality of education in technological society is a complete reversal of recent history when the educated person was a luxury rather than a necessity and education prepared people for dignified leisure rather than productive work (Drucker, 1961, 15-16). Furthermore, it has been projected that in industrial and democratic society in the year 2000, education will be the main instrument of upward mobility and lack of education or failure to do well in one's education the principal cause of downward mobility (Havighurst, 1961: 120). The latter might be an overstatement but few will doubt the importance of education in contemporary society.

In developing countries, acknowledging the importance of education is a first step, planning and organizing the type of educational service that will best satisfy the needs of a particular society are the critical issues, especially when an educational system already exists. The Caribbean has faced such a dilemma. The colonial regime established an educational system that was not only irrelevant to the needs of the area,
it was also elitist and sexist in its ideology and practice and functioned to maintain class barriers (Lowenthal, 1972: 118-123).

Educational reforms starting in the 1950's focused primarily on the higher levels -- secondary and university. The period since then, has witnessed an unprecedented expansion of educational facilities and a reorganization of the delivery of educational services. The reorganization of secondary schools in Jamaica ended the total monopoly on education by the upper classes. This resulted in the expansion of the middle classes and also changed the color composition of that class. The establishment of a university system also gave access to education at that level to people who could not afford training abroad.

The reorganization and expansion of educational system, however, did not eradicate the sex biases incorporated into it during the colonial period as it had some success in dealing with race, color and to a lesser extent, class. Sex differentiation, as elsewhere, was reinforced by education. Segregated facilities emphasized sex differences at the secondary level although a basic academic curriculum served all secondary schools. Men and women up to the secondary level had the same academic training. Economic factors rather than overt discrimination on the basis of sex influenced the selection of women. Women sometimes had preference over men, but usually, women got trained as nurses, secretaries, or primary school teachers (teaching is not sex-typed but is overwhelmingly female). Men had been largely selected for university and vocational/technical training.

A pictorial report illustrating occupational roles in Trinidad
and Tobago in 1960, showed sixteen different occupations, only four displayed pictures of female occupations, and these were: nurse, air hostess, typist and seamstress -- all traditional sex-typed female occupations. Fifteen years later, the registration in technical/vocational schools shows similar patterns. Of the over fifty courses of study offered, women were still the overwhelming majority only in those areas of studies which represented the traditional sex-typed roles for women.

There is evidence of movement toward greater equity at the university level. Between 1964-66, women were equally represented in the Arts and Humanities but under-represented in the sciences and technology. Since 1973 women have entered the natural sciences and agriculture and have gained ascendency in the arts and social sciences but they are hardly represented in technology (Trinidad and Tobago, Annual Statistical Digest, 1976/77).

In Jamaica in 1970's the male/female registration in the university was 2:1 in favor of males despite the fact that more females were graduating from high schools. The projections were, then, that females would be on par or in the majority by the late 70's (Gordon, 1974: 27). A recent report (verbal) revealed that women are in the majority in the arts, social and natural sciences and on par with men in the professions -- law and medicine. This is significant increase, since in 1960 women represented only 18 per cent of the licensed physicians and about 8 per cent of the lawyers (Handbook of Jamaica, 1972: 279-281).

---

4 This verbal information was given by Maureen Warner-Lewis, Senior Lecturer, UWI, Mona, Jamaica, in a panel discussion, "Caribbean Currents: Changes in Culture and Politics" at Hampshire College, Amherst, Massachusetts, April 24, 1981.
Sexist training and ideology created some exclusive occupational areas for men and for women, but men get the elite roles. An example of sex hierarchy is the Ministry of Agriculture in Jamaica in 1962: Of the one hundred and seventy-two positions listed in the administrative/executive and technical categories, women occupied only four of those positions and at the lowest level of the hierarchy (Handbook of Jamaica, 1972). Similarly, in the Ministry of Education males dominated the occupational hierarchy in an occupational area that is predominantly female. In 1974, the sex composition of these higher level positions were:

- Chief and Principal Education Officers 9 all males
- Senior Education Officer 13 10 males 3 females
- Education Officer 34 25 males 9 females

Of the senior education officers, two out of the three women had university degrees compared with two out of the ten men and three out of nine women (Education Officers) compared with four out of twenty-five men. Education officers are usually drawn from elementary school principals. That ratio is 7:4 male to female principals. This may continue indefinitely unless women demand that their seniority and education be taken into account and not their sex. They must prove that they can dominate an occupational area administratively as well as numerically.

If the educational trends noted at the university level crystallize, women will soon achieve educational parity with men. But, will that parity be transformed into occupation and decision-making positions? There is no evidence anywhere to indicate that this will occur.
The discussion, so far, has concentrated on that small sector of the population represented by post-primary education. A large part of the population of women have not even completed the stipulated number of years of elementary education that had been available to them. They are likely to be semi-skilled or unskilled and unrepresented by unions. Some are self-employed in marginal economic activities although they provide vital services in some areas. Industrialization, in so far that it has occurred in the Caribbean, has failed to incorporate a large number of women, and men, into the economic mainstream. It is now the societies' avowed task to incorporate women, especially, into the development process. Literacy programs (Jamaica) self-help projects, counseling and other forms of assistance are directed at such people. Do these efforts satisfy the criteria of development? They are steps in the right direction. Development is a process and for countries with dependent economies, the progress is slow.

Labor Force

The participation of women in the labor force is usually high but variable. Their representation rate is lower than males, they have higher rates of unemployment, and lower median income. Official statistics do not always represent the totality of women's economic activities; employment outside the home is often considered the only form of employment when, in fact, some women supplement family income through a variety of economic activities (Josephs, 1980: 144). The greater absence of women from the labor force should not be interpreted as complementary
division of labor between the sexes but viewed as the limitation
in the capacity of the labor force to absorb the available
labor pool.

Unemployment has increased among females in Jamaica to
37.7 per cent (October) 1978 an increase from 34.8 per cent (April)
1977 and from 30.9 per cent (April) 1976. Unemployment increased
among men also but at a much slower rate and it still stands
at less than half of the women's rate. The overall employment
rate for women is 41.3 percent (males 48.1 percent), 1978.
(Labor Force, Jamaica, Department of Statistics, 1978). In
Trinidad and Tobago the unemployment rate has been declining
variably since 1973. The 1977 (December) rate is 17 per cent,
the lowest since 1973. The comparable rate for males is 11 per
cent during the same period, a decline of 3 per cent since 1973
(Annual Statistical Digest, 1976/77, Trinidad and Tobago, p. 85).

Women may voluntarily leave the labor force: this is usually
done for family reasons and the reason frequently cited for
women's failure to advance occupationally. A study of female
labor force participation and fertility in Jamica (Powell, 1976:
235-258) indicated that women in stable unions (31.6 percent
married or 41.9 per cent common-law) had lower levels of labor
force participation than women not living with partners (70.2
per cent) followed by women separated from husbands(66.6 per cent)
single women (64.8 percent). The likely conclusion is that stable
unions depress women's economic activities. Since there is no
other data available to clarify other characteristics, it is
difficult to project about the women leaving the labor force.
Powell's clue that young women leave before they have children suggests that, for Jamaicans, non-participation is related to job category, the lower the job status, the less attractive the labor force except for those who depend on their own income. Unlike North American women who usually interrupt careers during the child-bearing/rearing years, Jamaican women may enter the labor force permanently. Their occupational advancement should not be impaired by career interruptions.

Structured inequality is emphasized most strongly by income disparities. Such disparities are not always the consequence of different levels of training, ability or experience. Income differentials are either masked by job categories or blatantly discriminatory. For example, lower status hospital workers in Jamaica, "maids" and "porters," have different salary scales with porters (males) having the higher scale. Yet, in terms of actual hours worked, the maids put in longer periods of consistent work similar to the pattern of their upper status workers, nurses. Porter work tends to follow the pattern of doctors in the hospital, they work when they are called for specific tasks. Historically, salary differentials have been sanctioned and specific hours of work and rate of pay stipulated for males and females (Colonial Report, 1956: sec. 464). Women were excluded from some work categories, usually the more lucrative, and there seemed no reasonable explanation for the differences in hours worked or why women in communications received higher incomes than males. There is a kind of arbitrariness in the income differences but the devaluation and inferiorization of
women's work has long reinforced stereotyped images of women as less capable than men. It was found that low status male employees in Barbados do not feel threatened by their women who have industrial white collar jobs because "...almost any job occupied by a male in Barbados will pay him more than an equally skilled job in industry will pay his spouse" (Stoffle, 1977: 276).

"Protective legislation for women aggravates the discrimination practiced against them in market economies. The laws phrased in terms of protecting the 'weak and defenseless' crystallize a sense of inferiority" (ILO Studies, Report, 1921). The law regulating the employment of women in Jamaica, 1942, reserved to the Minister of Labor, the right to restrict the employment of women in any industry or activity; prohibit or regulate employment after or before childbirth and the general conditions under which they may work. Night work was prohibited except for women in health care service, entertainment industry, managerial position or in industries which handle produce subjected to rapid deterioration (Cumper, 1972: 96-97). The personal circumstances or preferences of the women were not considered. Transportation, a crucial problem in many areas of Jamaica, may be more convenient for night work than those hours considered suitable for women.

Similarly in 1974 when the government established a minimum wage law aimed at the most exploited group in the society, the household domestic worker, the twenty-dollar minimum per week was greeted with outrage by employers. This law may have had two opposite effects: it may have contributed to the
increased unemployment among women while it improved the economic status of those who retained their jobs. An additional increase of four dollars to the minimum wage may also have contributed to the slightly higher income for females over males between 1976-77 (Labor Force, Jamaica, 1978).

Attitudes and assumptions about women's roles create further restrictions, even when the woman is trained for the job. The problem of women who enter occupational areas traditionally reserved for males and their ability to function in such roles professionally is illustrated in the following excerpt from an interview in 1974 in Jamaica with a secretary in a para-governmental agency.

Expressing skepticism about the new occupational roles for women, she commented:

I wonder about job opportunities, for although a woman does something like mechanical engineering, will she be able to find employment in the field? Will employers be willing to disregard sex as a basis for hiring, because, I know where I work, this isn't done. There are certain jobs they will not offer women (Gordon 1974: 27-28).

She explained that they would not employ women for field work because it involved experimentation at nights and spending days in the field under less than ideal conditions. One would assume that a course of training in agriculture would acquaint the woman with the requirements of the job but she was not asked whether she is prepared for such conditions "there is the general feeling that such conditions are not suited to woman, plus the fact that they assume she will get married and her husband will object to the job demands." According to this report,
the women were never asked to choose. True, the one woman who attempted the job did not stay long because she found the job too solitary (Gordon, 1974: 27-28). Still, women's enrollment in agricultural science has increased significantly, and it seems that they will have to find the means to overcome the negative aspects of the job instead of emphasizing them to deter women. Physical unpleasant work is not the only type men feel that women are not suited for. A male reporting on the performance of recent university graduates in a job situation which, formally, recruited male civil servants from the ranks into those positions claimed:

"They allow their emotions to get in the way." He denied that they were incompetent, they were just too emotional to develop the detachment necessary to probe people's tax status. It must not be overlooked that in both these situations men are dealing with women as equals in a way they have never been accustomed to -- as equals. Women have intruded into men's world. Even if it is not nice for women to carry a spray can on her back and she is likely to be attacked if she is on her own, the challenge they present is possibly greater than any other consideration. Women as well as men expressed reluctance to have female supervisors; they do not want to deal with women's emotionalism (Gordon, 1974: 32).

Women receive the same basic education as men but some differentiation begins at the middle level which reinforces different career lines for men and women. There is evidence of movement toward equalization at the university level both in numbers and in the course of studies pursued. Educationally
the Caribbean is moving in the direction of parity. Occupationally, there is resistance to women's entry in traditional male jobs, especially when they enter the occupations on the basis of educational qualifications instead of promotion through the ranks. The concentration of males in technical/vocational schools and the marginal representation of females indicate that men will continue to have the advantage in the skilled trades which are the lucrative areas of employment.

Women are advancing occupationally, if not at the same rate with men. In Jamaica, females are the principal employees in government. The Civil Service, once a high status employment area, has lost status as the private sector expanded and men could find more lucrative jobs in the private sector. The pattern has been "female succession" where males have abdicated, not as a conscious appointment of women on the basis of qualification (Gordon, 1974: 27). The Civil Service has been sexist, not allowing married women to work, or only if it did not interfere with their performance. Ironically, a female employee would not be dismissed if she had an "illegitimate" child.

While women are an integral part of the labor force, the indications are that they do not yet receive the same returns on education or time investments as men. Discriminatory hiring and promotion are indicated rather than qualification, especially at the upper levels.
Women and Development of Equal Status

The Caribbean countries have adopted some of the United Nations recommendations and established mechanisms to improve the status of women. Those recommendations include both public and private efforts and some organizational base for the elimination of structured inequality is in evidence. Barbados (1974) had a National Organization of Women oriented toward the broad spectrum of activities and regulations affecting women's lives. Jamaica had an Ad Hoc Advisory Committee on Women in the Ministry of Youth and Community Development focusing on general development and planning. This committee was replaced by the Women's Bureau which assumed a much wider range of functions.

Trinidad and Tobago originally focused on employment and the Women's Bureau is located in the Ministry of Labor and Social Security (United Nations ST/EAS/SER/.B/7, 1975).

In addition to the Women's Bureaus, both Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago have done studies on the status of women through national commissions established to investigate women's status in vital areas -- economics, law, education, etc. Women have initiated some of these studies through social organizations or professional interests. They have assumed activists roles on behalf of women. These activities support the statement made by the coordinator of The Women and Development Unit that: the Caribben has shifted from women's programs primarily concerned with women in their time-honoured and traditional role as mother and homemaker to their role in
the development process at the national and regional levels (Peggy Antrobus, Sunday Chronicle, January 20, 1980).

Yet, the problems facing women in the 1980's are not unrelated to the traditional roles, attitudes, ambiguities, and paradoxes that have represented the totality of their histories. Women themselves, have contributed to gender role reinforcement through their strong identification with the mother roles and de-emphasis on all other social roles. Biological differences continue to inferiorize women's position in the Caribbean and, it seems, that as long as women continue to give second place to all other social roles, they will never achieve social equality. The statement of the director of the Jamaica Library Service is an example:

If there has to be a choice between family and profession, it would be for the family .... I know I can run a library service; I've done it for 17 years. But my family is my greatest challenge. I must give my children a sense of values and maintain a sense of value for myself. A part of my career is seeing my children grow to become good citizens (Quoted in Tuesday Magazine, August 1973: 7).

Other women in responsible positions have expressed similar sentiments even when they confessed that they did not find the prospect of full-time home-making attractive (Gordon, 1974: 33).

This attitude, however, is not limited to middle-class women. A study of working-class women in Jamaica (Durant-Gonzales, 1976: 201) revealed strong emphasis on the mother role:

Women's economic as well as "good muma" roles are admired locally — the latter transcends locality, wealth, education, racial origin and color.

And one should not ignore class.
Gonzales concluded that the mother role is highly valued because of limited opportunities for success in other fields and that success as a mother is rewarded, it gives high status as the primary social role of women. If this is true for working-class women, the same cannot be said for middle-class women who have high status occupations but willing to emphasize mothering as their primary role.

Even women in traditional male occupations get "feminized" by other women. A reporter, a woman, profiling Jamaica's first Queen's Counsel under the subheading, "Brilliant Career," made the following comments:

... Mrs. Miller enlivened the long and frequently dull proceedings by her charm, dignity, and shafts of wit. It was obvious that the British barristers appearing opposite her in the case were intrigued and facinated by the young women Q. C., When the case was decided in favor of the Jamaica government, it almost seemed that they were happy about losing to so charming an opponent (Jamaica Weekly Gleaner, (N.A., January 27, 1976: 2).

One word, "professionalism" could have been substituted for all those "feminine" words which, in fact, suggested that charm, dignity and shafts of wit rather than systematic presentation of evidence and professional handling of the case brought victory to her client. The reporter unconsciously re-inforced sexism since there was obviously no intent to devalue this woman's achievement. She continued with the question reserved for females: "did her husband and family get in the way of her career?" Predictably, the response was "when there is conflict, I put the children first." While individuals should have the privilege to set the parameters of their professional lives, women have not yet demanded this as a right.
Child rearing is basically a female's job; disciplining the children is often the only male contribution to the socializing process of children. Change in family relations must include roles for males in domestic activities. Women have monopolized family roles, thus excluding the already reluctant males. This behavior may have its historical precedent but current patterns of male/female behavior reveal distance between the sexes which makes companionship and sharing impossible (Lowenthal, 1972: 106; Henry and Wilson, 1975: 168-169).

The development of the father role is essential to equalizing the sexes so that men, too, can develop the qualities of empathy and gentleness which are, supposedly, female characteristics and ideal for nurturant roles. Men must also develop the tolerance and determination that are needed for the tedious jobs which are necessary to society but discriminatorily delegated to women.

The unconditional acceptance of mothering and other subordinate roles have cleared the way for male dominance. Women are distrustful of each other and, not infrequently, a woman will exclaim: "I don't keep women friends." They do not keep men friends either because, traditionally, men socialize with other men while women are deprived of the friendship of both men and other women (Henry and Wilson, 1975: 168-9; Lowenthal, 1972: 106). Adult women are the most isolated people in the society and possibly, the reason why they over-emphasize the mother role. This over-emphasis on the "mother role" is a contradiction of the many necessary
social activities of women, especially economic activities. An ideology is needed to orient norms, values and beliefs to the realities and context of Caribbean women's lives. Women must create this ideology as one woman indicated:

If you say this is a male-dominated imposition in a day and age when education is fairly available to men and women throughout the Caribbean, then I question the assumption.... How does a woman see herself? It is a male dominated society because women let men rule them.... When you ask about the status of women, I'm not sure the Caribbean is one of the territories that women, if they knew what they wanted, couldn't get it. I don't know but a few places, where women as a group have sat down and studied the laws of the country as they affect women and children. (This was done in Jamaica). But they have to study the law first and have women who understand what they mean. We talk about churches in this system. You never hear of a study group in a church taking social and economic questions into consideration and then involving the community in some action program. I am not talking about some expert reading a study paper; I am talking about the kind of thing that could involve women in seeing that they know what it means when she has no father registered for her child, and what it means for the child's future. I've heard of none of these groups and it is the fault of women like me and others .... What we really need to ask is, are the things really affecting the status of women unchangeable or have they never been challenged? (Barrow, 1973)

The challenge to existing beliefs and practices must show awareness of the wider socio-political and economic context. There is the awareness of economic exploitation and external manipulation of the political process which can and have sabotaged the planning of development strategies that meet the specific needs of the society. The statement "capitalist exploit men and men exploit women" (Kathleen Drayton, 1975) suggests an awareness of a hierarchy in the oppressive structure, that men themselves are victims, who must also be liberated if women are to be liberated.
Comparing the Women's movement in the developed countries with the Caribbean experience, the following comment was made:

White women in the liberation movement come from an experience where they were pampered and still have little to do with their own houses. Their education is used to assist their husbands in climbing the social hierarchy. For most Caribbean working women who do practically everything in their homes, the only kind of liberation is from the clutches of white economic, political and cultural domination (Sis. Asha, 1975).

The dilemma expressed in the statement is comparable to the problems of Black American women in identifying with the women's movement (Deckard, 1975: 361-364). While women recognized sexual oppression, they are also aware of racial oppression in which they share with Black men. The dilemma of sex and race are double burdens Black women share regardless of where they are located in a world economic system. Caribbean countries are part of the world economic system characterized by dependency.

As predominantly Black countries the problems of racism exploitation and all the other negatives associated with economic underdevelopment are embodied in the development of women. The institutional reorganization necessary involves recommitment of resources and the establishment of new priorities. The governments have taken steps towards eradicating the structural basis of inequality and women have played important roles in initiating and implementing other actions. These, however, are mere preludes to what needs to be done:

(1) The mobilization and education of women to assume leadership roles in the society comparable to their contribution.

Women vote, pay taxes, engage in independent economic
activities, have the primary responsibility for raising children, are active in church and other social organizations and have comparable educations with men. The basis for equality exists. The attitudes and behavior of men and women need to be re-oriented. Since men's ideology has created the unequal structures, women have the responsibility to create a counter ideology that will define women both ideally and in the context of their social realities. The warning against the "me too syndrome" which would achieve status position for few women and perpetuate the structure of inequality (June Nash above) is reiterated by Gloria Josephs (1980: 143-161) who is concerned about class differences among women and the possible negative consequences for a social revolution which will liberate the society from the impact of racial, sexual and economic oppression.

(2) Governmental promotion of women's rights politically, economically, educationally and culturally through legislative and demonstrative actions.

Caribbean political leaders have the propensity for adopting democratic ideals: The acceptance of the United Nations Declaration on Discrimination against women and the taking of "appropriate measures" to abolish laws, customs, regulations and practices which are discriminatory against women is an example. As indicated earlier, the governments established such mechanisms that could identify discrimination. The revision of family laws to bring equity to women and children is a case in point.

The government and the political system generally are dominated by men who have not undergone metamorphosis in social
attitudes and behavior toward women. Their action on behalf of women will be limited by their perception of women and women's roles in the societies. Cuba, the one socialist country in the Caribbean region, has not succeeded in incorporating women into the political decision-making process (Cole, 1980: 173-4). There is tacit agreement that the exercise of power is men's role. There are not sufficient women in power positions to influence policy relating to women's equality.

Women are the "cutting edge" in removing the structural barriers to their inequality. On a class-by-class basis, women are the equal of men in most areas. The contradictions between the roles women perform and their conception of what are their primary roles, can be eliminated when women have to evaluate themselves on a multiple role basis -- as mother, wife or lover, worker, politician -- or any other social role they occupy. The attitudes of women are crucial and the building of support across class lines is essential.

Institutional structures are enduring and resistant to change. The history of the Caribbean has created conditions which make social structures and cultural patterns less resistant to change. Even with good intentions, however, implementation of change is difficult. The economic restrictions on political and social action have not been discussed, however, that context is understood. The advancement of females toward social equality with males will, as Jesse Bernard (1968: 14) suggested, take away privileges from men. However, it has the potential

5 Note the Prime Minister of Barbados' attitude toward Barbadian women with "foreign" husbands above.
for developing more cooperative roles between men and women, based on social and economic realities, not on ideology that is not only no longer relevant but also destructive.
Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment category</th>
<th>Wage</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agricultural (Sugar)</strong></td>
<td>9/6</td>
<td>7/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8/6</td>
<td>6/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8/3</td>
<td>6/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Public Utilities</strong></td>
<td>132/8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricians</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serviceman</td>
<td>117/4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linesman</td>
<td>106/5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>74/1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbers</td>
<td>80/8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Manufacturing**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wage</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable Products</td>
<td>68/3</td>
<td>48/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confectionary</td>
<td>66/1</td>
<td>48/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carbonated Beverages</td>
<td>105/0</td>
<td>62/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical Products</td>
<td>76/1</td>
<td>56/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Transportation and Communication**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wage</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bus operators*</td>
<td>100/6</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conductors</td>
<td>68/9</td>
<td>67/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone workers +</td>
<td>85/7</td>
<td>105/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cable workers +</td>
<td>145/11</td>
<td>155/6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Commerce**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wage</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>100/4-180/10</td>
<td>56/8-160/9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* Bus operator is no longer an all male category
+ I could not determine the reason for the salary differential in favor of females.
Wage is based on the British Pound, the wage is given in Shillings (now pence).
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Barrow, N. O. Quoted in "New Voices in the Caribbean: The West Indian Woman's Struggle for Recognition" by George M. Daniels. In Tuesday at Home, April 1973, p. 20.


Mathurin, Lucille. "Reluctant Matriarchs." Savacou 13 (Caribbean Women)


Pascal, Phil. "When will the Church End Discrimination Against Women?" Caribbean Contact 6(1) 1978.


Smith, Raymond T. "Social Stratification in the Caribbean." Essays in Comparative Social Stratification, Plotnicom and Tuden (eds.) University of Pittsburgh Press.


Trinidad and Tobago. Annual Statistical Digest, 1976/77.

Trinidad and Tobago Today, Central Statistical Office, 1969.


---. 1973 OPI/494 "Equal Rights for Women."

