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**Graduate School of Development Studies**

**The Upper Rung:  
A Study of Women in Senior Management Positions and the  
Glass Ceiling in Jamaica**

**A Research Paper presented by**

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## ***DEDICATION***

*To my mother, a female entrepreneur, who mothered and fathered us all for the better part of our lives.*



## INTRODUCTION

The current trend toward higher educational attainments among women compared to men is observable not only in the developed countries of the north, but also in the less developed countries. While this might be considered a less than ideal situation compared to equality for example, it is indicative of progress made by women in the post-war era. Yet, even as women catch up with men in the classroom, there remains a differential between male and female managers. In the case of Jamaica, this is especially true at the senior managerial level.

The issue of the 'glass ceiling', an American term coined to describe the difficulties faced by some groups in attaining certain positions in the workplace (ILO, 1998) has been researched and reported on by several writers. Of note is Keisha Lindsay's 1996 paper, "From Numerical dominance to 'Equal' Managerial Power?: A Case Study of Power Differentials Among Jamaica's Male and Female Senior Managers". This study focuses on Jamaica, and examines the issue from the point of view of male/female power relations.

Another paper focussing on the Caribbean, is Linda Carty's, entitled, "The Political Economy of Gender Inequality at the University of the West Indies", written in 1988. Carty's study, a doctoral thesis, examines "the workings of the University of the West Indies to determine where women are located as academic, administrative, and support staff and how they survive within the system" (1988: 1). The paper focuses on class and gender relations and her findings centre on (a) the class dichotomy between the women faculty members at the institution and the support staff women; and (b) the gendered class relations that exist between male and female faculty members, despite their purportedly being of the same social class. Carty predicts a possible increase of the number of women in the "male dominated fields of administration and...technically skilled operations". She supports this by reference to the over-supply of educated women in relation to the demand in "traditionally female dominated professions...[such as] teaching and nursing" (1988:273). In specific relation to her case study, she notes that the "large numbers" of women in

administrative positions and in the traditionally female-dominated faculties “hardly have any elements of power” (1988:274). Thirdly, upper class men “maintain their positions of power both within, as well as outside the University, by means of the capitalist system reproducing these unequal gender relations as part of the sexual division of labour” (1988:276). Writers from other parts of the world have similarly emphasized feminist aspects of the phenomenon (Davies-Netzley, 1998 and Horton, 1999) and the issue of labour market discrimination (ILO, 1998 and Elson, 1999).

This paper is aimed at investigating the reasons for the disparity between men and women in positions of seniority in the Jamaican labour market. This is one of the main points of departure from Carty’s 1988 paper. For while the present study focuses on a single tertiary-level institution, as does Carty’s, in this instance, the case is used to deepen the analysis, rather than forming the core of the study. Thus, the focus of the current research is the *Jamaican society*, not the case study institution. Secondly, the approach taken in the present study is from a labour market/economics perspective, rather than the narrower class and gender slant of Carty’s, and the focus on power in Lindsay’s. Thus, the present research paper might be considered a comprehensive exploratory approach to the issue in Jamaica, with wide-ranging analytical implications.

Labour market discrimination is seen as a likely explanation for the relatively small numbers of women in senior management, however, there is recognition of the existence of other possible explanations. The intention is not to determine causation, a somewhat dubious concept, but to find logical explanations for the observation. To this end, the paper explores a number of complementary and contrasting hypotheses in pursuit of sound conclusions. The methodology utilized is discussed in detail in Chapter 3, however, suffice it to say at this point that it involves mainly analysis of secondary data, supported by the case study.

## 0.1 Background

All over the world, women's labour market experiences differ from those of men. While the feminist movement has engendered a great deal of progress for women within and outside of the workplace, there remain areas of difference. The ILO identifies several different types of segregation in the labour market according to gender (ILO, 1997). Occupational segregation describes the way in which occupations are dominated by one sex or the other. This is closely related to labour market segregation, as it is observable that the jobs that are dominated by women are at the lower end of the market; they are low-status occupations and attract lower levels of remuneration than those dominated by men. But in addition to being concentrated in jobs at the lower end of the market, globally women earn less than men. Although there are variations across countries, on average, women earn some 75 per cent of their male counterparts' earnings (ILO, 1996). Fourthly, women's labour force participation rates are lower than men's, averaging roughly 35 per cent to men's 54 per cent in 1998 on a global scale (ILO, 1998). While this may in some cases be viewed as a matter of choice, there are cultural and legal influences in some countries that limit women's economic activities.

In terms of hours worked, the ILO (1997) points out that women work shorter hours than men on average. This, however, is a fact limited to paid work, and the feminist literature make numerous references to the unpaid work of women in the household and community (see, for example, Moser, 1989). The fact that women have a greater responsibility for care of the household, offspring, family and community, actually increases their hours of work (paid or unpaid). Unpaid work leaves women with less time for paid work and the pursuit of education. Furthermore, not only are women paid less than men for work of equivalent value, but their commitment to other responsibilities limits their capacity to earn more through activities such as overtime work. Finally, at higher levels of employment, the ILO (1997) points out that non-financial rewards (perquisites) such as company cars, are more often obtained by men than by women. These factors combine to reduce women's earnings compared to men's (ILO, 1997).

## **0.2 The Research Problem**

Over the past few years, the number of women graduates of tertiary level institutions in Jamaica has exceeded the number of male graduates. Data on the output of tertiary institutions in the area of professional, technical, managerial and related manpower, indicate that women outnumbered men by more than 2.5 to 1 (PIOJ, 1998). This, however, is not reflected in top management positions, as men continue to outstrip women. Lindsay's 1996 Jamaican study revealed a ratio of roughly 11 men for every woman at the level of board of directors; 6:1 at the executive management level; and 3:1 in senior management (Lindsay, 1996). This anomaly is consistent with similar trends worldwide.

The researcher's interest in this phenomenon is primarily from an economics/labour market perspective, within a wider concern for developmental implications. Simultaneously, there is a certain, albeit admittedly reluctant sympathy with the feminist movement<sup>1</sup> arising perhaps mainly from an associative origin, whether first hand or vicarious. The main concern is essentially related to efficiency. Efficient resource allocation in the labour market requires that the best candidate get the job; 'best' being in the main a function of education, experience, natural ability and personality characteristics. If women are achieving higher educational levels than men, then from an efficiency perspective, it would be expected that this be reflected in the workplace. Where this is not observable, then suitable explanations must be identified to account for the anomaly. This study is aimed at exploring possible reasons for the differential between the ratio of male and female managers at the senior level, vis-à-vis corresponding patterns in education.

## **0.3 Objectives of the Study and Contribution**

The main aim of the study is a developmental one. In the absence of plausible, acceptable explanations for the male/female differential, focus turns to the issue of

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<sup>1</sup> For a succinct discussion of the negative views of the feminist movement in the Caribbean, see Carty, 1988. This perhaps accounts for the author's own reservation.

discrimination. This and other forms of inefficiency in the labour market have negative implications for overall development. Thus, once the problem has been determined, it becomes necessary to identify appropriate solutions. These may take the form of policy guidelines and/or best practices in relation to employment and workplace practices.

More specifically, the aims of this study may be identified as follows:

- To investigate from an exploratory perspective, possible reasons for the differential in the ratio of male to female managers at the senior management level in relation to prevailing patterns in education;
- To explore hypotheses in pursuit of explanation;
- To identify and recommend suitable solutions to overcome the problem, with due consideration for the relevant social, economic and cultural factors that apply in the context of Jamaica.

In view of these ends, it is expected that this study will make a valuable contribution to labour market policies and practices. Ultimately, it is hoped that it may serve to raise the level of efficiency and by extension, outcomes in the Jamaican labour market.

#### **0.4 Main Research Questions and Hypotheses**

The core research question is concerned with the paucity of women in senior management positions. This will be examined from the point of view of the power relations that exist at the socio-cultural, political and economic levels that contribute to this phenomenon, but also with reference to the historical context. The central question leads to two basic hypotheses, which the research will be aimed at exploring:

- a) The under-representation of women in senior management positions can be accounted for by purely labour market segmentation theories, that is, non-economic reasons of discrimination against women;

- b) A time lag accounts for the inequality currently observable, as women have only attained comparable levels of education recently.

An interesting social aspect of the lives of working women relates to their reproductive role. This issue tends to be hinted at but largely skipped over in much of the non-feminist literature on gender in the labour market. It is, however, a very important issue, especially in light of modern work practices that demand far more of workers, both in terms of their skills and time.

While it is recognized that the issue of child-care is equally important for men as it is for women, an inescapable fact is the biological uniqueness of women with respect to the reproductive role. The importance of this fact in relation to the topic is borne out by the prevalence of singleness as illustrated in Lindsay (1996), and more so, childlessness among women with professional careers.

Investigation into this issue will help to illuminate the options faced by career-oriented women. Does the choice of a career mean the sacrifice of family and/or the reproductive role? This can be examined both from the point of view of professional women with families, as from the angle of single professional women. These are the secondary issues and factors that will guide the research.

## **0.5 Rationale**

The relevance of this study might be questioned in some corners in light of conditions in regard to women at lower levels of the labour force in Jamaica. For example, the highest rates of unemployment occur among young women under 25 years old. Similarly, as in other parts of the world, women comprise the bulk of low-wage, low-level employment, such as in export-processing zones and clerical positions. Further, with the current trend that is being termed the 'feminization of poverty', Jamaican women at the lower end of the market, many of whom are single mothers, certainly deserve attention. Yet, precisely because of their dire positions, they do attract a great



deal of attention. It is these extreme conditions that lead some persons to think there is little or no room for focus on other groups. That is a misguided attitude.

It is our opinion that in the same way that men have formed and maintained their own networks, so women need to unite in their own interests. Women need to lobby in the interest of women just as men act in their own vested interests. If more women can hold positions of power and influence in the society, it is hoped that the interests of all women will become known.

## **0.6 Scope, Methodology, and Limitations**

The main limitations to the scope of the study are constraints of length, the availability of secondary data and the distance involved, (the study being carried out from The Netherlands). The organization selected for the case study is a Jamaican tertiary level institution. While the study has been limited to one organization, the merits on which this institution was chosen will be appreciated. First, having established a relationship between education and employment, the usual practice of tertiary institutions to employ their graduates was then taken into consideration. Secondly, it was thought that this university, with its various faculties and departments could be considered a reflection of business and industry in the wider economy, a point which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. Thus, given the time limitation, the decision was taken to focus on this institution only.

The study is qualitative in nature and seeks to document the experiences of women in managerial positions, rather than to prove or disprove theories and/or hypotheses through quantitative statistics. The case study is intended to add depth to the research and, rather than being the starting point, serves to enhance the research findings. However, questions of interest have been established at the outset in order to guide the exploration process and the basic aim of the research is to explore possible answers to these questions. As the paper is a descriptive/analytical one, and is aimed at exploring and highlighting the experiences of women at the managerial level, the case study is confined to interviews with women.

The paper is divided into four chapters, preceded by an introduction. Chapter 1 discusses the relevant historical background of Jamaica, demonstrating how its colonial past has influenced practices and institutions today. This provides a useful context in which to understand the perspectives, aspirations and experiences of women in the Jamaican labour force. In Chapter 2, the focus turns to the various theories that form the collection of ideas in relation to the problem. This chapter also examines existing legal provisions. The case study forms the basis of Chapter 3, where a full discussion of the methodology used is set out, followed by discussion and analysis of the case and findings. In the final chapter, the conclusions and possible recommendations drawn from the research and case study are presented.

## **0.7 Definitional Premise**

The ILO (1997) gives a gainful explanation of the difficulties encountered in classifying employees in managerial positions. This, they point out, accounts for much of the inconsistencies in different accounts of women in management. Thus, we would like to establish that the classification used throughout this research is that contained in the ILO International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88). ISCO-88 defines a manager as any person whose job entails “planning, directing and co-ordinating the policies and activities of enterprises and organisations, or departments” (ILO, 1990:5). A clear distinction is made between managers and professionals. In the case of professionals, “the main tasks require the operational application of specific professional knowledge or a particular skill” (ILO, 1990:23). With respect to senior management, the definition used throughout this paper is that group of managers that comprises the highest hierarchical group in an organization.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND**

Jamaica has been described, among other things, as a country of contradictions. The largest of the English speaking Caribbean islands, it has a history of colonialism, having existed under British rule for some 300 years. Influences of these later colonizers, as well as the earlier Spanish occupation are still evident in modern day Jamaica. These flavourings combine today with a strong African heritage, and the overwhelming influence of the United States, Jamaica's nearest industrialized neighbour. The aim of the ensuing discussion is to provide an overview of how these various factors combine to produce current patterns in women's employment in Jamaica.

#### **1.0 Historical Setting**

Jamaica's colonial history is a fundamental influence of patterns of education and employment today. The country existed under British rule, the last of its colonizers, from 1655 to 1962, when Jamaica gained independence. Like most colonized countries, however, independence has not meant complete severing of the dependent relationship with a hegemonic state. Today, this might more correctly be identified as the United States. However, many features of British occupation are still reflected in Jamaica today and the majority of inhabitants are of African heritage, and can claim ancestral slavery.

Patterns of employment under colonial slavery and the system of production are inheritances that can still be recognized today. There still remains a strong dependence on the export of primary products, and capitalism remains the dominant system of production (Carty, 1988).

Marxists ascribe to capitalism an inherent class system, with a clear line demarcating the owners of the means of production (the capitalist class) from the producer class.

In Jamaica, this class system is further complicated by the issue of colour, and to a lesser extent, race. Those at the top, the capitalist class, are predominantly whites or 'browns', of mixed African, Asian and/or European descent, while the bottom is comprised predominantly of blacks.

An additional factor that can be identified as influencing employment today is patriarchy. A somewhat narrow view places patriarchy within family relations. For example, Carty (1988) explains that some feminist writers are of the view that patriarchy does not exist in the absence of cohabiting men and women. This perhaps explains the tendency for some writers to refer to Jamaica as a matriarchal society, because of the prevalence of single female-headed households. However, a brief examination of relations under capitalism will reveal strong relationships with patriarchy. Most of the owners of capital are men, while women are mostly workers or producers, and are disproportionately represented at the lowest levels of employment. The following sections trace the historical role and experiences of women to their present position in the labour market.

### **1.1 Jamaican Women in the Family**

Carty (1988) gives a solid account of the traditional role of women in the family. With her strong feminist views, she rightly sees women as being subordinated to men. However, she indicates that in the English speaking Caribbean, single female-headed households are prevalent. Momsen (1993) makes the same point in relation to Caribbean women in general. Carty explains this independence as a carry over of slavery, in which marriage among slaves was discouraged. As she points out, however, marriage is more highly respected, among the upper classes and educated (1988:36). Thus for the particular group that is the subject of this research, marriage can be considered a respected and desirable institution.

Carty also discusses the issue of childbearing, indicating that in the Caribbean context, motherhood is greatly regarded among women from whatever class or educational background. Indeed, she asserts that in the Caribbean "[t]he essence of

womanhood...is synonymous with motherhood" (1988:60). Thus, a typical educated Caribbean woman of the middle class, might be described as a wife, a mother and a career woman...in that order. Carty's broad analysis can be applied in the case of Jamaica. We will later revisit these issues in regard to how they impact on the labour market experiences of women at the managerial level.

## **1.2 Gender Issues in Education**

A cursory look at occupations will show that they are segmented according to sex. This partly accounts for segmentation in the labour market. However, a deeper analysis will easily trace occupational segmentation to education and social relations, such as within the family.

In her comprehensive historical analysis, Hamilton (1997<sup>2</sup>) points to the strong influence of British colonial systems of education on present-day ones. Initially, schools were established primarily for the education of the sons of the colonizers. Girls' education was always considered less important, consequently, there were fewer schools for girls. Secondly, while boys were educated in subjects suitable for wage employment, girls were taught domestic and grooming skills (see also Carty, 1988 and Bailey, 1997). When education was extended to 'he colonized, it followed the same pattern<sup>3</sup>. Many of the traditional single-sex schools have been converted over time, to co-educational institutions; though a number of the oldest and most prestigious schools have remained persistently single-sex. Many of these are boys' schools and their traditions include fierce competitive rivalry, but more importantly, a strong male network is developed, maintained and reinforced.

In those schools that have remained single-sex, curricula for the most part, do not vary between boys' and girls' schools, with the exception of domestic oriented courses on

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<sup>2</sup> Hamilton (1997) presents an excellent overview of the historical patterns and influences on gender divisions in education, leading up to the latter half of the current century.

<sup>3</sup> In Jamaica today, there is currently an on-going programme for revision of the primary and secondary education system. It is hoped that this will result in significant improvement in the education system as it exists at present (see also Bailey, 1997).

offer in the latter but not in the former. Yet, in the co-educational schools, there are still apparent clear divisions by gender in terms of subject choices. Fewer girls opt for traditionally 'male' subjects, such as land surveying and woodwork, and the few boys who dare to take courses such as typing and cookery, do so at risk of ridicule and/or labeling. Bailey refers to the "encourage[ment] and reinforce[ment]" of "strong gender divisions...explicit[ly] and implicit[ly]" in the "practices" of schools. She goes on to cite the use of "cross-timetabling" in co-educational schools, which limit students' choices according to gender, and uses data of examination entries to demonstrate female- and male-dominated subject areas (Bailey, 1997: 147). However, it appears that it is not merely the school system that accounts for gender stereotyping among occupations, a point also underscored by Bailey. This warrants an examination of social influences on occupational choice. Yet, the social influences also have an impact on other areas, such as institutional ones through the school system. A case in point is the fact that residential hostels at the HEART<sup>4</sup> academy for commercial skills were originally for women only, as were those at the academy for construction skills for men only (Bailey, 1997). This oversight has recently been rectified and the academies now accommodate resident students of both sexes.

Socialization starts even earlier than in the home; one might without fear of contradiction locate it in the period of pregnancy, if not at conception, where there is often greater desire for male than female children. As babies, girls and boys are treated differently, given different roles and toys and, generally nudged in certain directions. Girls, for example, might be treated more gently than boys and vice versa. Similarly, through subtle persuasion, girls and boys are influenced in their choice of occupation. Bailey also notes the influence of teachers and peers on students' choices. These influences might not be a bad thing, per se, but for the fact that in the labour market, 'female' occupations attract less pay, lower status and power than do 'male' ones. Furthermore, according to Bailey, girls are placed at greater disadvantage than boys through this type of stereotyping, as it bars them from the better paying jobs in the labour market (1997: 149). The final insult is the difficulty

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<sup>4</sup> The Human Employment and Resource Training/National Training Agency (HEART/NTA) is Jamaica's main governmental training agency for vocational and technical skills.

faced by those women who, having crossed all the childhood, educational and social hurdles, dare to challenge the status quo by attempting to compete with men in the workplace.

### 1.3 Women's Employment in Jamaica

The population of Jamaica is some 2.6 million (PIOJ, 1998), divided roughly equally between men and women. Of this total, less than 1 per cent attain tertiary level education. Available data for the period 1990-1998 indicate that women graduates of tertiary level institutions number more than male graduates. For example, in 1997, some 60 per cent of tertiary level graduates were female (PIOJ, 1998). More specifically, in terms of the occupational classification "Professional, Senior Officials and Technicians", the percentage of females is even higher, at just under 70 per cent (see Table 1).

**TABLE 1**  
**TOTAL OUTPUT OF PROFESSIONAL, SENIOR OFFICIALS AND TECHNICIANS,**  
**1990-1998**  
**(AGGREGATE OF OCCUPATIONS)**

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
<b>MALE</b>	1,134	1,613	1,481	1,569	1,649	1,989	1,882	1,931	2,347
<b>FEMALE</b>	1,795	2,899	2,577	2,999	3,402	3,827	3,923	4,255	4,825
<b>TOTAL</b>	3,318	4,512	4,058	4,568	5,051	5,816	5,805	6,186	7,172
<b>% FEMALE</b>	54	64	64	66	67	66	68	69	67

Note that the totals include occupations classified as 'miscellaneous'. These figures result in an increase in the overall total, thus accounting for any differences in percentages shown compared to those in the text.

**Source: University of the West Indies, University of Technology, other tertiary Institutions and ESSJ 1990-1998**

In the absence of enrolment data, it is not possible to determine dropout rates, which might be of interest in assessing reasons for this disparity; however, the main interest for the purpose of this study is the extent to which this pattern is reflected in the workplace. Despite these facts, women's formal sector labour force participation rate continues to be lower than men's. In 1997, for example, it was some 60 per cent,

compared to 75 per cent for men. Yet, Carty (1988) notes that Caribbean women's labour force participation rates have "always been...significantly higher...[than] other Third World countries" (1988:32). She attributes this fact to the historical experience of slavery, which helps to account for the strong work ethic and sense of responsibility for family observable in Jamaican women.

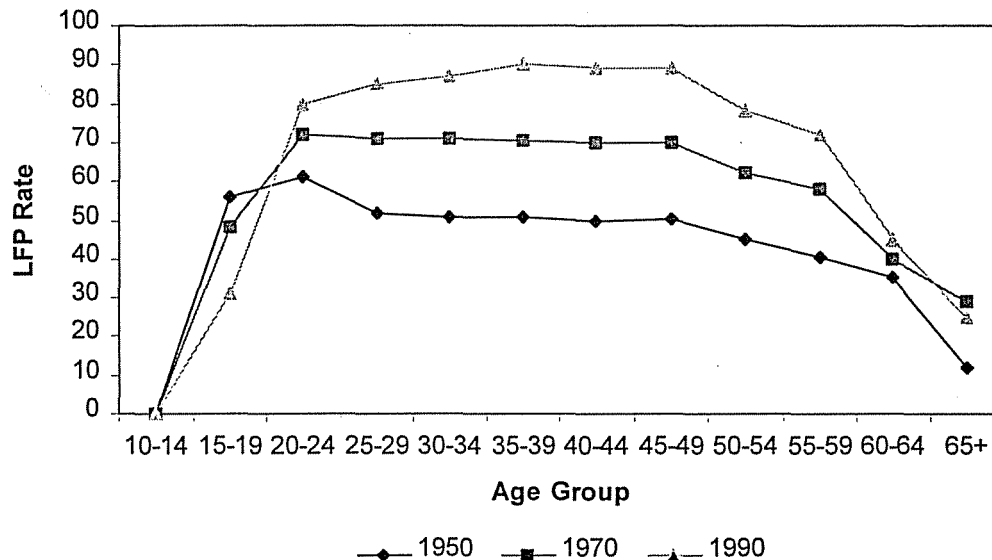
ILO studies have shown women's labour force participation to trace an M shape, while men's is graphically depicted as an inverted U. The reason for this is that women typically break their work pattern in order to raise children then rejoin the labour force. This pattern is now changing, and women's employment trajectory is approaching that of men. This, of course, differs between countries, and Jamaica has been shown to be among the most progressive countries in terms of this trend (ILO, 1997:7). Figure 1 shows the trajectories of Jamaican women's labour force participation rates for 1950, 1970 and 1990. (ILO projections show the trend continuing to 2010.) Possible explanations for this are (a) poverty, which forces more women to work to supplement their spouses' incomes; (b) the prevalence of single female-headed households in Jamaica, which again would necessitate their employment; and (c) the availability of cheap domestic labour, which frees women to work outside of the home.

As in the rest of the world, Jamaican women make up the large part of the low level, unskilled labour force and represent the majority of the unemployed. Men's unemployment rate in Jamaica in 1997 was recorded at some 11 per cent, while women's was 24 per cent; that is, more than double the male rate. As the data are disaggregated to more specific components, a pattern of women's unequal experiences in the labour market begins to emerge clearly. The ILO (1997) documents the paucity of women in senior management positions. In accordance with worldwide trends, figures for Jamaica reveal an increase in women management. In Lindsay (1996), the percentage of women in senior managerial positions is shown as increasing from 30 per cent in 1983 to 50 per cent in 1993. She does, however point out that despite this seemingly phenomenal rise, women are not significantly represented in the "more 'exclusive' senior managerial labour force" (1996:20).



FIGURE 1

Women's Labour Force Participation Rates (LFP), 1950, 1970 and 1990



Source: ILO, 1997

Furthermore, a critical point is made by the ILO in reference to such wide variations in accounting as above:

Figures on women in top management jobs vary considerably depending on whether surveys target only the largest companies or include all types of enterprises. Comparison of “jobs at the top” across countries is clouded by the use of such terms as “senior management” or “top level management”, which can include managers just below the very top executive positions. Similarly, the scope of the term “director” is broad and can vary according to the context and level of directorship” (ILO, 1997:19).

This point is an important one to bear in mind, and will be revisited when the case study is discussed in Chapter 3.

#### 1.4 Summary

This chapter has served to lay the foundation for the socio-economic, ideological and historical influences on women’s employment experiences in present day Jamaica. These important factors continue to have an impact on structures and behaviour today. Their examination is expected to help in contextualizing the study and in aiding understanding of its analysis, findings and conclusions. The following section shifts focus to the collection of theory and legal considerations upon which the issue of women’s employment is based.



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THEORETICAL AND LEGAL BACKGROUND**

This chapter is aimed at exploring the theories and legal considerations that underpin and impact on the differences between men's and women's labour market experiences; particularly those of relevance to the narrow segment of the labour market being considered in this paper. Of specific interest are those theories that will assist in providing answers to the questions of women's paucity in senior managerial positions, and the career/family dilemma believed to be faced by many women. The theories are discussed in Section 2.1, where an attempt has been made to classify them for clarity and comprehension. In Section 2.2, the relevant legal instruments and issues are considered.

#### **2.1 Theoretical Foundations**

Theoretical considerations that underscore women's experiences at the managerial level can be identified within neo-classical economic theories, Marxist theories, labour market segmentation theories and feminist theories. For purposes of clarity, they are divided here according to demand and supply. The neo-classical based theories emphasize market analysis and rational, individual behaviour on the part of employers and employees. As such, they tend ultimately, to reduce their analysis to the explanation of wage differentials. Another set of theories are institutionally based, and focus on the role of institutions such as trade unions and large businesses, and the influence they have on market outcomes. The basic thread of these theories is that such institutions serve to segment the market because of their strong influence on market forces. This is perpetuated by their role in determining recruitment, termination and pay policy within organizations, and the accompanying micro-level effects on individual workers. The size and consequent reach of such institutions limit the ability of workers to move between segments. This, therefore, serves to relegate some workers to less favourable segments of the labour market (Anker, 1997).

### **2.1.1 Theories of Labour Supply**

The supply side of the labour market is concerned with the provision of human capital resources for employment. Thus, on this side, we examine those theories and aspects of theories that deal with the behaviour of men and women in the labour market in relation to the sale of their labour.

#### **(i) Human Capital Theory**

The core emphasis of this theory is the distribution of human capital in a competitive environment. Workers seek to maximize utility in terms of their preference for certain jobs. This objective is influenced by their relevant endowments (education, experience) and their particular job/workplace preferences, such as hours of work and distance from home. Women's lower levels of education and/or less experience, explain their lower earnings relative to men's. Three reasons are advanced in support of this idea:

- Women are considered to be less educated in general than men;
- Women are thought to be trained in areas that are less relevant or suited to the demands of the market; and
- Women's work experience is considered to be less than men's because of the tendency for women to break their employment in order to marry and/or raise a family (Anker, 1997:3).

#### **(ii) Compensating Differentials**

A variation on the theory described above, compensating differentials is used to explain women's preference for certain jobs. It presents the idea that women have a preference for certain conditions of work and accordingly, seek jobs and occupations that afford them these conditions. Apparently, women are thought to make a trade off

between remuneration and these non-monetary 'rewards', and will accept less pay if they are satisfactorily compensated (Anker, 1997:7).

### **(iii) The New Home Economics**

In a relatively 'new' attempt to incorporate domestic labour into neo-classical economic analysis, in the 1960s, Becker utilized comparative advantage theory to explain women's specialization in domestic production and their lower earnings in the marketplace compared to men. Women are considered to be relatively more productive in the home, while men are more productive in the market. Hence the lower wages that accrue to women, and the reason for their specialization in household work (Gardiner, 1997; Blau, et al, 1998).

### **(iv) Occupational Over-crowding**

The theory of occupational overcrowding adopts the concept of dual labour markets, in which one sector of the market is seen as superior to the other. The asymmetry between the two segments reduces the ease with which persons can transfer from one to the other. The argument of dual markets is extended to gender divisions in specific occupations (Anker, 1997), where some occupations are considered male and others female. A large number of women compete for a few jobs in the female segment because the more desirable male jobs are inaccessible to women. This depresses the wage (price) in the female market (Bergman, 1986).

## **2.1.2 Labour Demand**

A complementary set of theories to those that focus on supply, centres on labour market demand. These theories involve analysis that emphasizes the motives and actions of employers with respect to human capital.

### **(i) Human Capital Theory**

The corresponding analysis on the demand side presents employers' demand for workers as being guided by their economic aims of maximizing profit through minimizing costs, *inter alia*. To this end, employers seek to hire the most productive workers at the lowest possible wages. Because higher costs are believed to be incurred when women are employed, the objective of cost minimization accounts for employers' preference for male workers. This preference is driven by the following considerations:

- Men are considered as having higher levels of education and more experience;
- Men are believed to be better investment risks for training, for example, because they are more committed to the organization; and
- The costs associated with male employees are lower than those associated with female employees. (Anker, 1997:3,5). These include child-related leave, such as maternity leave and time off to attend to sick children, which often falls to the mother.

### **(ii) Discrimination Preference**

This theory is based on the idea that employers have a preference for certain types of workers who usually are easily identified by physical characteristics such as height, skin colour and/or race. Obviously, the converse is that those who do not conform to this type also are identified easily. Therefore, employers discriminate in favour of their 'preferred type' and against those who are not of this type (Anker, 1997:7). The idea is extended to include gender, demonstrating that employers will discriminate in favour of men or women for particular jobs.

### **(iii) Productivity Differentials**

Starting from the basic assumption that the payment to human capital is determined by its productivity, this theory seeks to explain broad differences in wages between

groups. Four elements that help determine differences in remuneration are education and training; work experience; job characteristics; and personal characteristics (Begg, et al, 1997:187).

If wage differentials reflect differences in productivity as the theory asserts (Begg, et al, 1997:186), then the logical conclusion is that women on the whole are less productive than men. This dubious result is explained in terms of investment and discrimination. Employers, in recognition of the productivity benefits of training, will invest in their workers by providing training. The return to the firm is in the form of the greater productivity of trained workers. However, women have the biological role of bearing children and are assumed to break their employment service for this purpose. While this is not true for all women, as some remain single and/or childless, or resume work shortly after childbearing, the challenge to employers is to identify women who are 'bad investment prospects'. The concluding analysis of the theory employs the notion of statistical discrimination (described below), which contends that employers base their decisions on the generally 'known fact' that women are more likely than men to terminate their employment before the investment is recouped. Therefore, firms are more inclined to employ, train and promote men than women. This serves to perpetuate women's employment experiences, as women end up with less experience and training than men and, therefore, do not merit promotion. Ultimately, they earn less than men.

#### **(iv) Statistical Discrimination Theory**

Statistical discrimination theory employs the notion of comparative cost in its analysis. Employers understand that statistically, men in the aggregate, possess more labour market endowments than women. While recognizing that some women do not conform to the general rule, employers compare the cost of finding such women with the lower cost of simply selecting from the statistically known stock of men. In keeping with the cost minimization objective, they favour men over women (Anker, 1997).

Anker presents a notable critique of the neoclassical theories on a number of issues. First, he points out the questionable use of the term “preference” in the theories. While the theories are based on the idea of different ‘preferences’ of employers and employees, Anker makes the point that these so called preferences are based on influences such as socialization, culture and gender stereotypes (1997:2). Secondly, he asserts that where there is a large (unlimited) supply of qualified labour, as in developing countries, then the absence of male/female employment patterns that are proportional to patterns of education is suggestive of discrimination (1997:3). His third point relates to the failure of neo-classical theories to recognize the relationship between women’s education and employment experiences, which he describes as “bi-directional”. On the one hand, women are excluded from certain jobs and/or occupations because they are not appropriately qualified. On the other hand, they are seen as forcibly excluded because of the influence of gender stereotyping on educational choices and decisions.

Anker (1997) further demonstrates that in light of prevailing labour market trends in relation to men and women, neo-classical theories fall short of explaining labour market segmentation. For example, the emphasis on women’s household responsibilities in the theories is largely refuted by the prevalence of household aids today; the increasing tendency for men to share in household work and child care duties; and single-female headed households (1997:4).

His fourth point relates to the fact that in comparing traditionally male dominated with female dominated occupations, not all ‘male’ occupations require more education or experience than comparable ‘female’ occupations. However, higher wages accrue to ‘male’ occupations than to ‘female’ occupations. This contradicts the idea presented in neo-classical theories that higher wages are representative of higher productivity.

In relation to institutional theories, Anker argues, in criticism of the notion of higher costs being associated with female employees, that this has little empirical support (1997:5). However, even in the absence of empirical evidence, it is worthwhile to



note that there is *logical* support for the idea. For example, where female employees are offered maternity leave and no similar leave is reserved for male employees, there is an obvious higher cost incurred in the case of women. In some countries, however, these costs are distributed socially, therefore, individual employers do not bear such costs directly. Anker cites also the assertion of the theories that women are considered to be late for work more often than men, to demonstrate higher rates of absenteeism, and to have higher rates of turnover (1997:5). This is a point that has been discussed by several authors; two of these views are presented here. The first is in support of the idea but with an alternative explanation; the second in direct contradiction. In Carty (1988), the point is made in a quote from Anker and Hein (1978) that:

absenteeism and turnover tend to be greater in low-level, dead-end jobs where women tend to be concentrated, [therefore] higher turnover and absenteeism among women (where it exists) may be explained, at least partially, by sex differences in type of occupation rather than by inherent characteristics of women (1988:28).

In his 1996 study carried out in the Philippines, Abdelkarim demonstrates that:

the cost associated with high turnover is less with...[women] and the investment in training them...more rewarding than...[for] men. Staying longer also generally means becoming more experienced with tasks to be performed. From the fore mentioned, it becomes difficult to believe that men's higher level wages reflect higher level productivity (1996:22).

Anker also refers to contradictory empirical evidence, indicating that the difference in turnover rates between men and women is small (1997:5). The fundamental point he makes is that men and women leave jobs for different reasons, women, however, being more likely to leave for family reasons.

In relation to Becker's discrimination preference theory, Anker introduces the issue of cost. If certain groups of workers find it more difficult than others to obtain work, then they would command comparatively lower pay. Maintaining the cost minimization assumption, rational, non-discriminating employers would employ such workers. Through the operation of competitive forces, discriminating employers would be forced eventually to employ such persons (Anker, 1997:7). Berger (1986:139), however, while arguing on the same side, dismisses this analysis as steeped in economic tradition with little regard for the social influences that maintain discrimination against women. Anker's second criticism is that even with the

existence of discrimination, the “great overlap in the skills, preferences, etc., of individual men and women should make it likely that both the sexes would be substantially represented in every occupation” (1997:7). He concludes that the existence of labour market segmentation refutes this logic.

Anker’s critique of the compensating differentials theory presents some controversy however. He asserts that the model is “much more difficult to accept in countries where a substantial percentage of women work and/or when women are the principal earners in the family” than “in countries where cultural values restrict the types of job women can do” (1997:7). This argument appears to ignore the fact that if it is cultural values that restrict women’s employment choices, then women may be forced into accepting certain jobs rather than making free choices. Thus, such women could hardly be considered to be making a trade off between time, for example, and pay.

Anker is less critical of segmentation theories relative to human capital theories. His main attack on them is that though they are quite useful in explaining the existence of segmentation in the labour market, they fail to provide reasons for this segmentation (1997:10). In specific relation to statistical discrimination theory, he reinforces the bi-directional nature of women’s education and employment experiences pointing out that this serves to “perpetuat[e] labour market discrimination into the next generation” (1997:9). His second point, which is particularly relevant in relation to the current study, is that statistical discrimination is less applicable in explaining women’s career movements within organizations. He correctly contends that while the theory may supply a plausible explanation for why employers prefer to hire men than women, it falls short of explaining why men are promoted over their female counterparts. In Anker’s opinion, the theory falls short in its ability to address the typically lower costs associated with comparing the knowns of two workers’ abilities and performance as opposed to those that result from the hiring decisions highlighted in the theory (1997:9).

### **2.1.3 Alternative Theoretical Perspectives**

In addition to the mainstream or orthodox theories on gender relations in the labour market, heterodox theorists have presented alternative analyses. Chief among these are those with Marxist flavourings, which though considered dated by some scholars, still provide a useful analysis of the social and economic influences on gender relations. Below, a summary of the main tenets of Marxist feminist theory is provided, followed by the more modern feminist economic views.

#### **(a) Marxist Feminism**

Marxist feminism combines pure Marxist theory with theories on patriarchy, and presents a comprehensive analysis. It provides a useful alternative to the mainstream, neoclassical theories, and directs focus away from pure economic analysis. In these respects, as Anker summarizes, it provides a valuable contribution to the collection of theory on labour market segmentation (1997:11).

The Marxist feminist view adopts what Cockburn (1991) refers to as 'dual systems theory' and regards women's position in the home and labour market as originating in patriarchy and capitalism. Patriarchy is seen as preceding and perhaps superseding capitalism; however, capitalist production methods serve to reinforce the subordination of women through the maintenance of a class system. This point is supported by Cockburn who asserts that "patriarchy is not the sole determinant of reproduction and sexual relations, since relations of class...also in turn structure these" (1991:7).

Occupational segregation is seen as the principal mechanism under the capitalist system by which women are subordinated in the labour market and relegated to inferior jobs (Blau, et al, 1998:39). This structure is reinforced by power relations between men and women that allow men to dominate women through, for example, trade unions and other such predominantly male institutions. Leanings toward

orthodox institutionalism is revealed in this component, as these 'male' institutions are seen as forcing down and maintaining low wages for women's work.

The economic component of the theory is complemented by a non-economic portion that looks at women and men's relationships within the household. According to the theory, "the traditional division of labour within the home reinforces occupational segregation in the labour market" (Blau, et al, 1998:39). Thus, while recognizing the role of men in subordinating women, the theory maintains the existence of a class hierarchy, and presents working class men as compliant if not willing pawns within the capitalist system. The ultimate solution to women's subordination as presented by the theory, is removal of occupational segregation in the labour market and the sexual division of labour in the household. This requires the unification of men and women in order to overthrow oppressive capitalist forces that force them into dominating women in the home.

#### **(b) The New Feminist Economics**

A new wave of feminist economists has advanced alternative theories in response to weaknesses identified in the Marxist, neo-classical and patriarchal paradigms. The feminist political economy is institutionally based, and focuses on markets, households and the state. The theory embraces the fulfillment of material needs as the basic objective of economic theory, rather than the individual choices of rational beings, emphasized in neo-classical economics. Households are described as being differentiated by composition, class, education, access to income, race and culture, sexual orientation, age, and isolation from other households (Gardiner, 1997:239). These operate within the confines of the prevailing political and economic ideologies.

Within the household three sets of converging and diverging interests operate. These are the relative bargaining power between partners, the nature of dependency relations, and the types of caring relations in operation in the household. Household work is seen as a collection of changing roles and relationships, having as stakeholders dependent children, dependent adults, men, women, employers and the

state. The relationship between care givers and those benefiting from this care differs from the impersonal relationships that obtain in the market, thus this is hardly a 'commodity' that is exchangeable in the market. Secondly, the costs and benefits of household care are shared personally, while thirdly, the relationship between households and markets is one of mutual dependency.

The preceding ideas relate to the issue of gender in the labour market in a general way. Some of these are more relevant than others to the specific case of the Jamaican labour market and the even more specific case of the glass ceiling. However, the intention was to review the collection of ideas, in order to understand the range of existing views. The issue of relevance is dealt with in detail in Section 2.3, however, in the immediately following section, we turn to some legal aspects that impact on the issue.

## **2.2 Legal Considerations**

It is felt that an examination of the legal provisions that relate to labour market gender issues will help to guide recommendations arising from this research. Little is served by recommendations that do not improve on the existing, particularly where, as is shown below, enforcement is a problem. Hence, the purpose of this section is to identify existing provisions and their failure in adequately addressing the main issue under discussion.

The United Nations Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (1979) makes provision for "wom[e]n's right to receive employment opportunities and economic support, maternity leave, appropriate services during pregnancy, and facilities for child care" (Gooneskere, 1992). However, while many countries, including Jamaica, have ratified the Convention, the system of enforcement does not ensure compliance. Gooneskere (1992) points out that according to "accepted legal tradition...[a]n individual cannot...lodge a complaint against a State Party for violation of a right protected by an international treaty" (1992:30).

Ratifying countries, therefore, are encouraged to comply through a system of reporting. Many countries' national laws reflect the principles of the Convention.

Thomas and Taylor note that "[p]rovisions prohibiting discrimination or guaranteeing equal rights on the basis of sex have been adopted in almost every country of the world" (1997:189). The most developed countries lead the way with legislation that aims at ensuring equality between men and women. Cockburn cites examples from the European Union, Britain and the United States, whose laws seek to ensure equal employment conditions for men and women with regard to such issues as hiring, promotion and remuneration (1991:31). In addition to these aims, gender equality laws are also aimed at establishing the separateness of men and women, by identifying women as constituting a separate sex. This is in response to the popular practice of using typically masculine terms to denote both men and women, or use of the term 'person' to mean woman. Thirdly, they contain punitive measures for breaches. Some of these laws additionally seek special treatment for women (affirmative action) where it is felt that equal treatment will not ensure fair outcomes. Thus, the main foci of such legislation may be summed up as being (i) opportunity and (ii) outcomes (Cockburn, 1991:31).

In many LDCs, comparable legislation is less far-reaching, in terms of both extent and content. Where they do exist, cultural norms may direct practices in regard to the treatment, behaviour and experiences of women. In extreme cases, women are heavily suppressed through these cultural laws and practices. The more liberal developing countries, such as Jamaica, while being more 'progressive' in such legislation, tend, however, to fall behind the developed countries in their legal provisions. In the following section, some of these laws are considered.

### **2.2.1 Specific Jamaican Laws**

A general set of laws that make provision for women's employment and conditions of employment exists in several countries. These are based loosely on international standards but vary in extent and content from country to country. The following are

the main ones that exist in Jamaica. These are more or less representative of the collection of equality legislation that exists worldwide.

- i) The Employment of Women Law, 1941 is aimed at protecting women employed in factories from exploitation and sweatshop conditions. It serves as an accompaniment to the Factories Act (1943), and limits women's hours of employment and legislates rest breaks.
- ii) The Factories Act (1943) legislates for the provision of sanitary conveniences, specifying one for every 25 women on staff.
- iii) The Employment (Equal Pay for Men and Women) Act of 1975 seeks to ensure that women are paid the same as men for work that is considered equal.
- iv) Under the Maternity Leave Act (1979) women are entitled to paid leave of a stated duration when they give birth to a child.

In addition, Jamaica has ratified the ILO's Equal Remuneration Convention, 1957 (number 100), and number 111, Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958, which Thomas and Taylor describe as "[t]he principal international instrument concerning the elimination of sex discrimination and the promotion of equality" (1997:191).

As has been stated by many authors (notably, Cockburn, 1991; and Thomas and Taylor, 1997), many of these laws, while intended to protect women in the workplace, serve to increase the costs associated with their employment. To this extent, they further labour market segmentation to the detriment of women. Cockburn also raises the interesting point of the underlying motive in relation to certain such laws and workplace practices (1991:12). She suggests that they often serve to perpetuate the position of women as caregivers, and reinforce and maintain their role as having primary responsibility for household work and childcare.

The lead countries with respect to equality legislation, have laws that are more far-reaching in content, conferring more relevant and practical benefits on women. The literature, for example, now refers to 'parental leave' rather than maternity leave,

reflecting the shared role of parenting. This is supposed to ameliorate the discriminatory effects of such 'protective' legislation as Jamaica's Maternity Leave Act, 1979, which legislates provisions for postnatal leave for women. With respect to the Jamaican Employment (Equal Pay for Men and Women) Act, 1975, 'equal work' is generally interpreted to mean the same work (tasks) or job; for example where a man and a women both work as, say, prison warders. In the more progressive legislation, such as in the USA cited in Cockburn (1991), where the term 'work of equal value' is used, jobs are compared to determine whether they are equal in terms of effort and output. Thus, a secretarial job could be determined as being of the same value as an electrical technician, for example. The determination of such equality is not, however as Thomas and Taylor (1997) point out, without its own problems as there is room for varying interpretations.

### **2.2.2 Enforcement**

Given the range of equality legislation and its geographical spread, it might appear at a glance that women are well protected. However, when the issue of enforcement is considered, the effectiveness of these instruments falls into question. Thomas and Taylor (1997) document several points of particular relevance in the enforcement of equality provisions. These are in specific relation to limitations on the enforcement of equality provisions in Europe – one of the leading regions/continents with respect to such measures. These are set out following.

- the inadequacy of institutional assistance to, and representation of, individual litigants;
- the need to pay extensive costs to commence and complete litigation successfully;
- the lack of trained and motivated lawyers;
- the inadequacy of remedies provided, both to compensate the individual fully in financial terms, and to ensure that the individual victim secures the benefit discriminatorily denied her;
- the inadequate knowledge of European Union law principles by representatives and judges;
- the difficulty of proof of discrimination;
- the difficulty, specifically, of lack of adequate information being made available to an actual or potential plaintiff;



- the delays in the operation of the judicial process leading effectively to denial of individual justice;
- the lack of involvement by unions in addressing equality issues;
- the absence of mechanisms for tackling institutional (indirect) discrimination directly;
- inadequate settlements;
- remedies and sanctions which are addressed only to the individual plaintiff and not generalized to the class affected;
- the absence of adequate aggregate information on employer's pay or workforce composition by sex;
- lack of public bodies with a specific equality mandate to adopt a strategic approach to enforcement rather than an ad hoc reactive approach;
- understaffed , ill-equipped, badly resourced , or poorly led special enforcement bodies;
- inadequate opportunities to challenge discriminatory collective agreements. (McCrudden in Thomas and Taylor, 1997:191).

Thomas and Taylor (1997) indicate that the ILO makes provision for the enforcement of its regulations in the Conventions and Recommendations that accompany them. In addition, it provides for labour inspectorates that monitor employers' compliance. Yet, compliance with and enforcement of labour regulations remain persistent problems. But even with the best system of enforcement, to the feminist way of thinking, the issue runs much deeper. Cockburn suggests that implicit in the patriarchal social system is maintenance of the status quo. So called 'equality provisions' are intentionally designed to uphold women's primary responsibility in the domestic sphere (1991:12). While women's wage employment is desirable and necessary to the perpetuation of capitalist production systems, their rise within organizations and even distribution of domestic responsibility are decidedly not (Cockburn, 1991).

### 2.3 Theoretical and Legal Perspectives in Relation to the Glass Ceiling Phenomenon

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Having examined these foundations, what can be said in relation to the topic under discussion? We begin with an analysis of the theories discussed in Section 2.1 and then consider the legal factors presented in Section 2.2.

While a number of the theoretical perspectives appear to be relevant and applicable in the Jamaican situation, others seem less so. In relation to the New Home Economics, the argument is forwarded that women are more productive in the home and men more productive in the workplace. Gardiner (1997) asserts that there are benefits to be accrued from domestic labour that are applicable and transferable to market labour that the theory fails to recognize. This is particularly relevant to the case of Jamaica, where women have traditionally engaged in market labour, and domestic labour, household and financial management, because they are often single mothers. Indeed, these factors are sometimes indicated as the reason for Jamaican women's progress in the workplace in recent times.

Similarly, the neo-classical proposition that employers seek to hire the most productive workers at the lowest price (see Section 2.1.2(iii) and (iv)), can be used to support the large numbers of women in management positions in Jamaica. If higher education raises productivity, then Jamaican women in the aggregate can be considered more productive than Jamaican men. Employers will demonstrate a preference for women because they can pay them less than they would a man in the same job. Furthermore, in reference to statistical discrimination, women would statistically be known to be more educated and more productive than men.

Bergman (1986) discusses strong male resistance to equality with women and the staking out of territory in the labour market. This, she maintains, is the chief reason for the differences in male and female remuneration, despite women's advancement in education and the labour market. Thus, with respect to productivity differentials at the senior management level, it is hardly valid to assert that Jamaican women are any

less productive than men. It is quite unlikely that women in Jamaica would be considered bad training investments (see Section 2.1.2(iii)), as 'statistically' they have demonstrated a strong work ethic and few afford the luxury of breaking employment for child-rearing as pointed out in Chapter 1.

Finally, where it is demonstrated that women have more labour market endowments than men, as in Jamaica, other plausible explanations need to be identified for women's low representation in certain areas.

The particular relevance of some of the theories is however, demonstrated by certain trends in Jamaica. The total number of men in professional, senior official and technician jobs stood at nearly 65 000 at the end of 1998 (STATIN, 1999). The comparable figure for women was just above 84 000. When these figures are adjusted for the large numbers of women in teaching, the difference, though lower, still reflects a considerably larger number of women than men, that is, roughly 68 000 women to 60 000 men. This suggests that there may be merit to the theory that employers consider productivity differentials.

Neo-classical assumptions about women being, on the whole, less educated than men and having less relevant training are refuted by the current educational trends in Jamaica. Factors such as the strong work ethic demonstrated by Jamaican women, (Carty, 1988), and the prevalence of single female-headed households, also reduce the tendency toward the assumption of less market work experience among women through broken employment. Furthermore, the trends toward more reliance on household aids, and men's greater sharing in household work, referred to by Anker (see Section 2.1.2), combined with the availability of cheap domestic labour in Jamaica, all serve to aid women's continuous employment.

The focus on patriarchy in Marxist feminism renders this theory particularly useful in explaining women's restriction in senior management jobs. Likewise, the institutional aspects of the new feminist economics are also particularly relevant. For example, as will be seen in Chapter 3, the male network is named by respondents in the case study

as a perceived element in women's subordination in the organization studied. This latter theory is also particularly relevant in application to a society comprising households that do not, in the majority, reflect the nuclear structure.

## **2.4 Summary**

In this chapter, a number of mainstream and heterodox theories with respect to the issue of labour market segmentation by gender were examined. While all are considered as having relevance to women's employment experiences, and served the purpose of laying the groundwork, only some were specifically relevant to the case of Jamaica, and then to the even narrower confines of women in senior management. Thus, the particular applicability of Marxist theory and the new feminist economics is recognized.

In Section 2.2, the related legal aspects of labour market gender issues were discussed with some focus on advanced countries in comparison to Jamaica. The important issue of enforcement was also explored, as this is crucial in the ultimate effectiveness of any legislation.

It is hoped that this discussion of the collection of scholarly ideas, and national and international provisions that are associated with them, has helped to lay the groundwork for the ensuing two chapters. The first of these will present a discussion of female managers' labour market experiences in Jamaica, complemented by a case study of a Jamaican institution. The final chapter will discuss the conclusions and recommendations arising from the research.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **FEMALE MANAGERS IN THE JAMAICAN LABOUR MARKET**

This chapter considers the labour market experiences of women in Jamaica. While the particular interest is women at the most senior management level, the dynamic nature of employment experiences extends the study to lower level female managers. Interest in the topic emanates from observation of the trend in women's education, particularly at the tertiary level, and the chapter begins with an exploration of this trend. A snap-shot of Jamaican women's labour market experiences is captured in a case study, the findings of which are set out herein.

#### **3.1 Trend in Education**

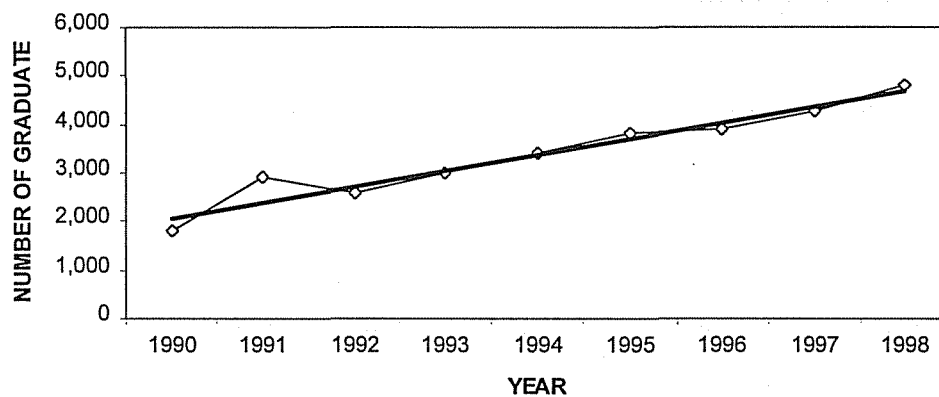
In many parts of the world, there has been a trend toward greater female participation in education. This is a positive developmental issue, as Psacharopoulos shows that the return to investment in females' education is greater than that for males (Psacharopoulos, 1994). Anderson's 1997 study of youth unemployment in Jamaica looks at the entire population disaggregated according to gender, and contains data on educational attainment for the years 1970, 1982 and 1991. Her findings revealed that although the proportion of males in relation to the male population with no schooling was greater than the corresponding proportion of females, a larger proportion of males had primary education compared to females. Ascending the educational ladder, her study revealed further, a larger share of females than males with secondary education. For the earlier years, 1970 and 1982, the percentage of males with university education exceeded that for females, but by 1991, the proportion is the same for both sexes (Anderson, 1997:12).

The trend at the upper level is further supported by data from various other tertiary level institutions. Table 2 shows data for the period 1990 to 1998 and indicates areas of study which correspond to occupations. The areas of study are divided according to gender, with teaching, nursing, accounting, managerial/administrative fields, and

chemistry dominated by women. On the other hand, medicine, engineering, physics, architecture, land surveying, agriculture and computer science are male-dominated. Yet even within these broad divisions, changes are evident. There seems to have been an increase in female enrollment overall, roughly midway through the period. A look at the total for all professional areas shows that in 1990, even though women already out-numbered men, the ratio was approximately 1 100 males to 1 800 females. By 1993, the ratio was 1 600 males to 3 000 females. At the end of the period in 1998, the figures were 2 300 males to 4 800 females, a ratio of 1:2 males to females.

**FIGURE 2**

**FEMALE GRADUATES OF TERTIARY LEVEL INSTITUTIONS,  
1990-1998**



Examination of some of the professional areas reveals a similar trend. There was an obvious increase in the number of female medical students, the shift being apparent in 1994, when the male/female ratio changed to 35 males to 36 females from 23 males to 19 females in 1990. The trend of more female student doctors continued to the end of the period, when 21 males and 25 females graduated in 1998. Similar changes are apparent among computer technicians, but the area of accountancy showed a particularly dramatic change in 1994. In 1990, at the start of the period, the distribution was 65 males to 95 females. By 1994, the number of female students was more than twice the number of males, with 169 females to 82 males.

**TABLE 2**  
**OUTPUT OF PROFESSIONAL, SENIOR OFFICIALS AND TECHNICIANS, 1990-1998**  
**(SELECTED OCCUPATIONS)**

OCCUPATION	1990			1991			1992			1993			1994			1995			1996			1997			1998		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Teacher	182	715	897	146	759	905	183	523	706	212	702	914	225	1,019	1,244	263	1,302	1,565	271	1,226	1,497	280	1,446	1,726	286	1,102	1,388
Medical Doctor	23	19	42	30	25	55	16	22	38	19	17	36	35	36	71	22	43	65	25	38	63	26	39	65	21	25	46
Nurse	0	133	133	0	163	163	0	172	172	2	139	141	0	206	206	0	226	226	1	202	203	0	296	296	1	284	285
Accountant	65	95	160	80	152	232	111	216	327	81	157	238	82	169	251	97	239	336	71	165	236	86	182	268	119	283	402
Mngr./Admin'r	205	445	650	352	798	1,150	267	745	1,012	308	760	1,068	375	887	1,262	340	768	1,108	227	729	956	289	720	1,009	436	1,196	1,632
Engineer	48	6	54	52	1	53	68	6	74	53	7	60	81	10	91	97	12	109	30	13	43	45	14	59	73	16	89
Engineering Technician	49	4	53	54	4	58	68	6	74	86	10	96	63	9	72	204	16	220	166	14	180	262	15	277	268	23	291
Physicist	0	0	0	1	3	4	14	4	18	6	2	8	1	1	2	2	0	2	3	0	3	2	0	2	0	1	1
Chemist	0	0	0	17	30	47	24	47	71	26	42	68	35	65	100	33	42	75	34	51	85	34	45	79	35	48	83
Architect (prof'l & tech)	6	3	9	1	0	1	3	1	4	13	9	22	21	7	28	22	8	30	11	6	17	21	7	28	32	24	56
Land Surv. (prof'l & tech)	7	2	9	26	4	30	14	3	17	39	6	45	20	3	23	34	6	40	12	7	19	24	12	36	16	5	21
Agriculture	58	17	75	58	30	88	48	22	70	13	3	16	17	2	19	54	30	84	90	45	135	73	43	116	34	23	57
Computer Opr/Progrmr	37	27	64	116	142	258	107	94	201	96	91	187	107	95	202	35	32	67	43	33	76	41	34	75	40	37	77
Computer Technician	51	0	51	89	10	99	58	9	67	51	1	52	47	1	48	73	60	133	104	112	216	132	152	284	209	180	389

Source: University of the West Indies, University of Technology, other tertiary institutions and ESSJ 1990-1998

While the pattern is consistent with global trends, the observation of increases midway through the period warranted investigation. This led to the finding that in the 1993/94 academic year, user fees for tertiary education were increased. Accompanying this was a World Bank/Government of Jamaica agreement for loan funds for students. Initial reactions were that higher fees would reduce the ability of students to access higher education and enrolment numbers would fall. Indications are that not only did numbers rise, but more women than men opted for higher education after this occurrence. Two possible reasons for this observation can be surmised from Anderson (1997). She notes, on one hand, the “general concern within Jamaica regarding...a growing pattern of educational under-achievement among young males”. Secondly, she indicates that “young males in the labour market are more likely to have dropped out of school than their female counterparts” (1997:14). So the evidence indicates that women are more ambitious with regard to higher levels of education than men, and men tend to enter the workforce earlier, perhaps through less inclination to delay earning. These observations would suggest a pattern of larger numbers of men than women in low-level jobs. The reverse is true. Our question then, in light of these observations, is why do men end up with the best jobs?

### **3.2 Case Study**

It is indeed difficult, if not impossible, to come up with a concrete answer to the question posed above. Bearing this in mind, and given the limited scope of this paper, our intention is to explore the experiences of women managers with the hope of uncovering factors that possibly account for their apparent comparative underachievement in the labour market. In pursuit of this end, we undertook a case study of a single organization. The conduct and findings of the case study are set out following. We begin with a brief description of the selected organization, followed by a discussion in Section 3.2.2 of the considerations influencing its choice.



### 3.2.1 Background, Rationale

The institution chosen for the case study is a Jamaican tertiary level institution with degree-granting status<sup>5</sup>. It is some 50 years old and comprises a staff of over 2000 persons, the majority of whom are women. In keeping with typical organizational patterns, most of the women are concentrated at the bottom and in the middle categories, and their numbers and proportion dwindle as the top level is approached. An interesting point of departure, however, is the large number of women in administrative positions at various levels in the organization. The highest managerial echelon comprises twelve persons. These are one Vice Chancellor, five Pro-Vice Chancellors (which include the Principal), three Registrars, one Deputy Campus Registrar, and a campus Bursar and Deputy. The number of women in this group is five: the Deputy Principal (DP) and a Pro-Vice Chancellor (PVC), the Centre Registrar and Deputy, and the Campus Bursar. The route to this top management group is by way of the Senior Assistant Registrar position; the Senior Accounting group; from an administrative position such as a director; or through academic appointments such as a deanship or headship. A headship is the equivalent of a directorship and the latter may be administrative or academic. However, it should be noted that not all directors are of the same level and some are at a lower level than the headship equivalent.

While the proportion of women in this group may appear to be incomparably large, it is our opinion that most of the five do not really wield much power. It appears that the Registry and Bursary senior staff, though included in senior management, are rather implementers than policy-makers. If this is true, then this leaves only two women with real influence in senior management. Reference to Appendix 3 will illustrate the involvement of the PVC and DP in a number of committee decision-making boards. The Registrar, however, is relegated to the position of Secretary in all instances. It should be noted, however, that the Registry and Bursary departments are quite large in terms of staffing. Additionally, even though the PVCs have various

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<sup>5</sup> Jamaica has three indigenous, degree-granting, tertiary level institutions, two of which are public.

portfolios, the female PVCs are usually given what might be considered 'harmless', 'feminine' roles as deputy, responsibility for student services, or administration.

The choice of this institution emanated from considerations of capturing as closely as possible patterns of employment reflected in the wider society. The nature of the organization, as a tertiary level institution, might suggest that it is more liberal than other organizations, perhaps mainly because of its role as a forum for the expression of dissidence and ideas. However, Carty (1988) cites instances of suppression of perceived subversive staff members carried out by the institution in the 1960s and 1970s (1988:263). She also demonstrates on several occasions, that some of the female staff see the organization as being "disappointingly" reflecting of the wider society (Carty, 1988:145, 194 and 276). Yet, on the other hand, the institution might be considered as possessing a proportion of women in senior management, unmatched by most organizations in the remaining society. Coe (1998), for example, cites men as "hold[ing] more than 90 per cent of senior jobs in the private and public sector[s]" (1998: 5). He further gives an example from his own organization in which he says, "the board of executive directors compris[e]s one women and six men, ...[while] below that level the women outnumber the men five to one" (1998:5). Referral to the institution's highest decision-making bodies will serve to clarify any uncertainty.

The institution's Council is headed by the Chancellor and Vice Chancellor, both men, and also chaired by a man. This body, along with the Senate, Academic Boards and Appointments Committee combine to form the institution's equivalent of a board of directors in the corporate world. The two latter have a certain amount of autonomy and are not strictly bound by referral to the Council. Four of the five PVCs are men and the Principal is also male. Likewise, there are four representatives of academic boards, three of whom are men. While the appointees to the Council (by various stakeholder groups) are fairly mixed, of the 10 appointed by the (male) Chancellor, only three are female. In total, 16 of 63 members are female, that is, a mere one-fourth. Similarly, the 29-member Senate, is made up of only five women (17 per cent representation). Examination of all the main decision-making committees throughout

the institution reveals a similar pattern (see Appendix 3), and lends credence to the view that the institution is dominated by a small number of men<sup>6</sup>.

Thus, given the prevalence of such opinions, the further evidence, and the wide range of disciplines and large staff, it was considered a fair approximation of the society at large. Secondly, in relation to the education/employment link, assuming conformity with the usual practice of tertiary level institutions to employ their own graduates, it was felt that by studying patterns of educational choices by sex, some emerging pattern could be traced to employment.

**TABLE 3**  
**STAFF COMPOSITION IN THE DEPARTMENTS IN THE CASE STUDY**  
**INSTITUTION**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>% Female</b>
<b>Vice Chancellor's Personal Office</b>	2	1	50
<b>Sub Offices of the Vice Chancellery</b>	9	8	89
Office of Administration	7	7	100
Office of Administration and Special Initiatives	4	3	75
Office of Finance	3	2	67
Office of the Board for Graduate Studies & Research	3	1	33
Centre for Gender & Development Studies	3	3	100
Distance Education Centre	10	6	60
Institute of Social & Economic Research	9	7	78
<b>Campus Administration</b>			
Office of the Principal	7	5	71
Registry	23	15	65
Office of Student Services, Student Counsellors	10	5	50
Bursary	11	7	64
Library	25	23	92
Department of Educational Studies	16	13	81
Institute of Education	17	10	59
Faculty of Medical Sciences	209	66	32
Faculty of Pure and Applied Sciences	76	15	20
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>444</b>	<b>197</b>	<b>44</b>

**SOURCE: University of the West Indies**

<sup>6</sup> Note that while the institution's Calendar indicates the gender of each member of staff listed, there is no such indication for the persons listed as committee members. Thus, gender in each case was 'determined' by first name. In most instances, this served as a useful method as most of the names were common English/Christian names. There were, however, a few instances of uncertainty.

### 3.2.2 Methodology

Data for the case study were gathered by means of a semi-structured questionnaire, administered face-to-face. As background to this, the first consideration was to determine broad patterns of employment by gender throughout the institution. These would later be used to compare male/female ratios in the organization with those in senior management. To this end, general staff lists were acquired. From the staff lists, a selection of women in managerial positions was chosen. This encompassed staff from both the centre and campus, and in middle and senior management. While recognizing the value of randomness in the final selection, the actual sample was chosen with regard to several factors.

- (1) First, consideration was given to the desire to include as many women as possible in senior management positions. Given the fact that such women comprised a smaller proportion of the managerial staff, all such persons were selected.
- (2) The second consideration was for the distribution of the professions. This was based on the trend in women's educational choices at the professional level identified from the output of tertiary institutions (see Table 2). The professional areas of greatest interest were education, the natural sciences (particularly chemistry), and management, which demonstrated female dominance over the period (1990 to 1998); and medicine and accounting that showed steady increases in female graduates over the same period. Given these patterns, and in consideration of the need to limit the sample in the interest of time, four departments were excluded. These were Student Services/Student Counseling; the Department of Literatures in English; the Department of Modern languages and Literature; and the Faculty of Arts and Education. This decision was based on the following secondary considerations in addition to the main reason cited above:

- a) All of the managers in the excluded departments were below the senior management level;
  - b) The fact that historically these departments have been headed by women; and
  - c) The collection of professionals comprising staff in these departments did not belong to the areas identified as being of greatest interest (see Section 3.1).
- (3) The third consideration was for the disproportionate distribution of female managerial staff in the 16 remaining departments and units. The numbers ranged from one to nine per department. Therefore, it was considered prudent to try to stratify the sample disproportionately. On this basis, from the shortened list, all the departments with one female manager were included. The second consideration was for the distribution of professionals within each department. For example, some departments comprised several persons of the same profession or grade. The library management staff, as a case in point, consisted of four Level II Librarians, in addition to the University Librarian and the Deputy. In such cases, a deliberate selection was made in order to capture a variety of experiences at the different levels. In this specific case, in addition to selection of the University Librarian, two of the Librarians were selected at random. For the most part, however, persons were chosen on the basis of their professions and level within the organization.

The final sample comprised 25 women in senior and middle management positions. Of this number, some substitution was necessary because of difficulties encountered in obtaining interviews with some persons, for various reasons. In addition, the interviewer was able to conduct eight additional interviews with persons not on the selected list, but nevertheless roughly fitting into the confines of the group. This resulted in a number of respondents from the excluded departments named above. It was felt, however, that these respondents could only enhance the study, rather than jeopardize it. The final outcome was a total of 33 respondents, 23 of whom were in the original selection (including appropriate substitutes). For the purpose of analysis,

the respondents were divided into three groups. Group A comprised 11 persons in senior managerial positions, Group B women in middle management at the upper level (15 persons) and Group C, those at a lower level of middle management (7 persons). For profiles of these respondents, see Appendix 2.

The interviews were based on a semi-structured questionnaire (see Appendix 1) and carried out over a two- to three-week period, during September to October 1999 by an external interviewer. The questionnaire was divided into four sections and comprised 42 questions. Section 1 was aimed at gathering background information on the respondents and included questions about age, occupation and other similar questions that would help to characterize each respondent. The second section dealt with education and career, Section 3 with factors influencing career choices and Section 4 with family.

While the majority of questions were pre-coded, there were several open-ended questions where it was felt that a broader range of answers might be revealed. Indeed, initial review of the completed questionnaires resulted in greater reliance on the open-ended responses, as it was felt that the level of bias was minimized with these.

The difficulty of avoiding bias in the research process need not be reiterated here. Suffice it to say that the very questions chosen were an indication of the direction of the study and the leanings of the researcher. These factors influenced the range of responses, even though the survey instrument was pre-tested in order to guide the selection of pre-coded answers. The explanation of the objectives of the study given (see Background and objective to the questionnaire in Appendix 1), further helped to bring these issues into focus. Thus, particularly in consideration of the educational levels of the respondents, it is felt that the above factors helped to create some bias in the responses. These may also be apparent in the open-ended answers; however, it is felt that the independent nature of these questions minimized it in these instances.

### **3.3 The Core Question – Why more men than women?**

The fact of there being more men than women in managerial positions is not peculiar to Jamaica. Indeed, various studies centred on this issue have been done, and it is apparent that the glass ceiling is rising. This is concurrent with the findings of Lindsay (1996), upon which we base the assumption that in Jamaica, the disparity is concentrated at the senior managerial level. The various reasons that might account for this situation include the existence of patriarchal forces that subordinate women to men, pure labour market segmentation (discrimination), inadequacy in existing legal provisions, and a time lag in the process of 'catching up'. We would prefer to believe that it is a combination of these factors rather than any one in isolation. We intend to explore these elements in greater detail in the following sections, with the support of the organizational case study. As we do so, we will also focus attention on the issue of women's household responsibilities, in particular, child rearing and how economic responsibilities are related to the undeniable biological role that women have for child-bearing.

#### **3.3.1 Patriarchal Relations in the Jamaican Society**

The PIOJ's Survey of Living Conditions (1997) notes that two-thirds of all single headed households in Jamaica are headed by women. This has led to the highly debatable description of Jamaican society as a matriarchal one (see Chapter 1). It is indeed true that women are, to a large extent, managers in the home and in the community. Carty (1988) emphasizes repeatedly, the strong ethic toward work (earning) and family responsibility observable in the Caribbean female. But do home and community responsibility indicate true power or authority?

Various feminist writers have shown that women bear the brunt of home and community responsibilities (see Moser, 1989 and Kabeer, 1994, for example). In the poorest households, these traditionally female roles, combined with the need to supplement male earnings, lead to women working incomparably long hours. For example, ILO "Facts and Figures" reveal that the time spent in unpaid work by

women in developing countries is between 31 and 42 hours per week, compared to only five to 15 hours for men (ILO, 1996). In relation to power relations at the corporate level, although Lindsay (1996) found an even distribution between male and female managers in the firms she studied, she argues that the rein of power was held by men.

An examination of national leadership also demonstrates the meagre hold on power that women possess. Worldwide, only 13 per cent of women hold lower or single house seats. In the Upper House or Senate, the percentage is even lower: some 11 per cent. Jamaica ranks 40<sup>th</sup> in the world, with percentages of 13 per cent in the Lower House and 24 per cent in the Upper. The absolute figures are more demonstrative, being eight of a total of 60 in the first instance, and five out of 21 in the second. Of these, only six per cent have main managerial responsibilities (UN, 1999; IPU, 1999).

In the case studied, a similar pattern of male domination emerges. The institution's 1998/99 Calendar lists 26 "principal officers". These include chancellors, vice chancellors, principals, and registrars, among others. Of the total, only six are female. Additionally, in the more than 50 years of its existence, the institution has never had a female principal or vice chancellor.

Examination of the distribution of managers at the institution reveals that women are concentrated in certain areas. These are, on one level, middle management positions and, secondly, within certain disciplines, such as education, that have historically been female-dominated. At the real decision-making level, however, there are very few women. But even in the face of a few women at this level, one wonders to what extent they are able to be of influence. One of these women relates the following:

I have experienced discrimination in my present job on one occasion...I was a member of a committee which was all male (except for me). I was asked by my boss to participate in note taking/minutes rather than as a participatory member.

The preceding quotation demonstrates how women are viewed, and who wields power. Indeed, the act of relegating the duty of note taking to the only female committee member is a time-honoured practice among males used as a way of



asserting lines of control. It might also be analyzed as being, at a less overt level, an act based on gender stereotyping.

Another female employee bitterly recalls her appointment being referred to as a 'token' one by another women. The issue of tokenism is a very real one. Political considerations are often central to decisions of national importance. It is not inconceivable that an institution such as the subject of the study, wanting to position itself favourably nationally, regionally and internationally, might appoint a few women in top positions. These are the sub-level issues that the winning of grant funds and other such 'rewards' are made of.

But patriarchy is not always asserted in an overt manner. Centuries of socialization have led women to view themselves and each other in a certain light – as being less than men. The perceptions of female managerial staff at the institution are instructive. Only 45 per cent of the total responded 'yes' to the question of whether they had experienced or been aware of discrimination in their current organization. Perceptions of discrimination vary widely and it is decidedly difficult to form conclusions from these. However, it is interesting that in such an overtly male dominated organization, only eight of 18 respondents made reference to this, and the male networks that exclude women, in their independent comments. One respondent's comment makes explicit reference to these influences:

The cliques that operate in the organization are male cliques. Men know how to advance in the [institution] and outside as well, women don't. The [institution] is run by lodges and women are not members of lodges. Although policies may point to "no discrimination", in practice, this is not so.

This sentiment is endorsed by another women who asserted:

There is a lodge which comprises males only. The highest decision making level is predominantly male and promotion is given to members of the lodge.

While another remarked:

There is an old boys' network that is tough to crack as a woman. It is reducing but still very dominant.

These are particularly interesting observations of the reasons men dominate positions of authority. However, there is nothing to prevent women from forming their own lodges and other social networks, such as alumni associations, that already exist in

and outside of Jamaica. This suggests that the issue goes deeper than male networking.

The inculcation of patriarchal relationships and gender-stereotyping starts before women enter the work place. The subtle or overt influences on boys and girls referred to in Chapter 1, become ingrained and are carried into adulthood. Even professional women 'understand' that they have a primary duty for the care of their families. It may well be that these ingrained cultures lead women to pursue career paths that are less threatening to men. That, with the hope and expectation of becoming wife and mother, will allow them time for their 'primary' role. These are the types of reasoning that are supported by the human capital theories set out in Chapter 2. They are likewise supported by the comments of respondents in the study who alluded to the negative effects of family life on career:

Women have domestic responsibilities and do not have enough time to put in[to] their academics.

Another comment from an unmarried group A Administrator in the 51 to 60 age range also serves to support this:

I figured I was able to hold this post because I have no domestic commitments.

She goes on to attribute her success to the absence of a family:

I am committed to my job and so can move up the ladder in any organization I am in.

Implicit in this statement is a belief that a woman cannot be committed to both family and the organization and secondly, that single, childless professional women are more likely candidates for promotion than their married counterparts. Indeed, this is supported by the findings of Lindsay's study. She notes that "the women managers interviewed, *unlike their male counterparts* [my emphasis], more often than not perceived their family commitments as curtailing both the scope and nature of their professional careers" (1996:108). The greater independence displayed by the men in Lindsay's study in regard to housework is a further effect of socialization. Bailey suggests that if boys were encouraged in the so-called 'domestic' subjects or took them mandatorily (see Chapter 1), this would instill in men a greater sense of responsibility for sharing household responsibility, rather than viewing it as 'women's work' (Bailey, 1997). Our respondent above finally implies that not having children

has been something of a sacrifice. She expresses the view that she hopes that she does not regret not having children later in life, as she sees children as the “only thing” her married colleagues have “over” her.

It is also instructive to explore women’s interest in positions of power and leadership. Again, the stereotype presents men as leaders while women are positioned as supporters, whether as wife, secretary or nurse – always the “woman behind the man”. Thus even in situations where women are really in control or have strong influence, they are required to adopt subtle trickery – to deceive men into thinking they are the ones in control. In the past, women who challenged the status quo and broke away from these stereotypical images were often forced to be masculine, ruthless and cunning. They were constrained in their exercise of ‘femininity’ to the extent of their mode of dress, language and emotional displays. They often were shunned by other women, labeled, and frequently existed on the outskirts of the male network – being ‘allowed’ no further than the bar (pub). This is an image that most women find unacceptable and personally avoid. One woman in the study commented:

Only persons [women] of ‘hard-edged’ character are inclined to take on these top positions.

As the stereotypical female personality is not “hard-edged”, this implies that most women are not so inclined<sup>7</sup>. And her’s remark was:

The women on this campus would have to have ‘fire in their bell[ies]’...to achieve much.

Translating from Jamaican parlance, this means that female staff would need to be overtly aggressive in order to attain success in the institution. Hanson in Taylor (1997) provides an interesting contrast between the labels applied to similar qualities in men and women. These are illustrated in Table 4 below.

**TABLE 4**

**Indications of Gender Stereotyping in Male and Female Labeling**

<b>CHARACTERISTICS</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>FEMALE</b>
	Dynamic	Aggressive
	Confident	Stuck up
	Exercises authority diligently	Power mad
	Has the courage of his convictions	Stubborn

**SOURCE:** Hanson in Taylor, 1979

Nearly half of the 22 respondents who responded to the question “Do you aspire to a senior management position in this organization or any other?” indicated a negative response. The reasons given for this response ranged from not being ‘cut out’ for management, seeing managerial jobs as ‘too stressful’ and involving too many ‘fights’, enjoying their current (non-managerial jobs), and simply having no interest.

The preceding discussion indicates the extent to which patriarchal relations influence women’s positions in organizations. Why more men than women? The foregoing argument is that women are held at bay by social and organizational interactions that combine to maintain men in positions of power.

### **3.3.2 Discriminating Practices in the Labour Market**

Discrimination preference theory (see Chapter 2) gives economic justification for employers’ preference for certain types of workers over others. This directs focus toward recruitment. At the higher levels, however, we are more concerned with such issues as remuneration and promotion.

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<sup>7</sup> For an interesting and comprehensive discussion of stereotypical male and female personality types, see Anker (1997).

Even with the existence of legislation that is aimed at ensuring equality in remuneration, men continue to earn more than women. At the managerial level, the main reasons for this relate to the occupations that are usually dominated by women, the differences in positions held in organizations by men and women with similar qualifications, and the rewards that accrue to men and women. Differences in remuneration between men and women are most often cited in support of discrimination against women, which, according to Bergman (1986) is because it is the wage that determines male and female labour markets.

#### **a) Men's Jobs, Women's Jobs**

As mentioned in Chapter 2, occupational segregation is not bad, per se. It creates cause for concern when it becomes apparent that 'male' jobs consistently pay more than do 'female' ones. Even within broad professional categories, men always seem to dominate the highest positions while women hold lower level ones. For example, in medicine, men are usually doctors, women are nurses; in food preparation, men are chefs, women are cooks. In both these instances, as in numerous others, the higher paying professions are dominated by men. The pervasiveness of these patterns, both across occupations and within occupational fields, has led to a feeling among women that there is a direct relationship between female dominated occupations and lower reward. One respondent in the study, for example, made the observation that:

There is the perception that nursing qualifications are not as good as the non-nursing. This is not in black and white but subtle. Under the medical scale there are seven units, six receive salaries based on the scale and the seventh, nursing, does not receive medical scale salaries.

The point is underscored in this instance, as under discussion here is not the pay received by nurses who study for a-year-and-a-half to the five or six for doctors, but women who have higher level qualifications in nursing. In a 1998 PIOJ article, nursing is identified as the lowest paid profession, next to Data Processing Officer, among the Professionals, Senior Officials and Technicians group in a selection of occupations. This, the article points out, is despite the "scarcity of nurses in Jamaica to the extent that nurses have been imported from other countries" (PIOJ, 1998b).

Thus, the importation of foreign nurses helps to maintain low wages in this field by serving to relieve the scarcity caused largely by the migration of Jamaican nurses.

### **b) Men at the Top**

Carty asserts that the trend in the Caribbean is for men to dominate managerial positions, even in predominantly female occupations (1988:146). In Jamaica, for example, even though women comprise the vast majority of teaching staff, the proportion of male to female principals is higher than male to female teachers. Of the total number of women teachers in primary and secondary schools<sup>8</sup> in Jamaica (some 16 000), only 3 per cent are principals. Male principals, on the other hand, account for roughly 6 per cent of male teachers, that is just under 300 in total, compared to just about 460 women principals. At the level of teachers' colleges, the percentages are 3 per cent male to 2 per cent female principals, compared to a ratio of roughly 2:1 female to male teachers at this level (see Table 5) (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1998). Taylor (1997), illustrates the same point using data from Trinidad and Tobago, where in the 1987/88 academic year, just about 40 per cent of primary school principals were female, though no indication of distribution at the lower levels is provided. He makes a link to the prevalence of male publications in the literature related to educational administration, and notes the dominance of men on the editorial boards of journals. These factors, he implies, lead to the "androcentric biases" that might be considered as "dominat[ing] almost every theme" in such publications (Taylor, 1997: 191). On a similar note, Carty notes that in the period during which she conducted her study, there were no entry-level male student nurses. Nevertheless, there were males enrolled in the Diploma of Health and the Diploma of Nursing Administration programmes, both post graduate programmes (1988:146).

Although women have been advancing in organizations in the last decade, there still remains a concentration of men at the very top. What this translates to is that ultimate power and decision-making rests with men. Lindsay (1996) explored the power

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<sup>8</sup> This reference to 'primary' and 'secondary' schools includes primary, all-age, primary and junior high, new secondary, technical high, secondary high and comprehensive high schools.

vested in female managers in the firms studied by comparing what she termed 'power differentials' between male and female managers. Her first power differential was based on managers' scope for flexibility within the confines of entrenched organizational policies. These included such factors as "salary scales and budgetary restrictions". The second power differential was the different management styles between the male and female managers. In her findings she suggests that "male managers [have] greater autonomy and manoeuvre" than do female managers, and that the "managerial environment" in Jamaica "questions women's 'fitness' for management" (Lindsay, 1996:111). While the latter conclusion is somewhat dubiously conceived in relation to the data presented, there does appear to be general consensus that prevailing management practices, though changing, favour male personality characteristics over female ones (see, for example, Anker, 1997).

**TABLE 5**  
**NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND SCHOOL PRINCIPALS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS,**  
**BY GENDER**

TYPE OF SCHOOL	TEACHERS		PRINCIPALS		MALE PRINCIPALS AS A PERCENTAGE OF MALE TEACHERS	FEMALE PRINCIPALS AS A PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE TEACHERS
	M	F	M	F		
Primary	535	4,951	112	235	21	5
All-age	848	4,261	104	149	12	3
Primary & Junior High	202	901	12	20	6	2
New Secondary	275	490	7	8	3	2
Technical High	398	554	12	2	3	0.36
Secondary (grammar)	1,291	2,939	27	22	2	1
Comprehensive High	1,212	2,370	21	27	2	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4,761</b>	<b>16,466</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>463</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>
Teachers Colleges	151	316	4	6	3	2
Universities	350	274	2	0	1	0

SOURCE: Ministry of Education, Education Statistics, 1998.

From the case study, it seems apparent that many of the respondents have a perception of the glass ceiling in operation at the organization. Although only 45 per cent indicated that they had experienced or been aware of discrimination in the organization, many of the more general comments and responses to the open-ended questions suggested otherwise. Many expressed the view that men progress through the organization more quickly than women, and that the institution was dominated by men. One respondent's comment is captive:

Go to the council room and it stares you in the face. Principals and all heads of the institution have always been male.

Another endorsed this by her comment that there was:

a perpetuation of the tradition of men running the [institution]. They dominate most top positions.

A third sums it succinctly with:

Generally speaking, men are still the top executives and women hold the middle levels as 'operators'.

### **c) Unequal Remuneration**

In addition to these differences between and within occupations, the ILO data reveal that men receive more remuneration by way of perquisites (ILO, 1997:25). This is a particularly common way of increasing earnings, particularly in the face of strict salary guidelines, as creative ways may be found to circumvent them. Plus, where men gain promotions over women, it means that they move to higher salary scales. Some of the respondents to the questionnaire asserted in their open-ended responses that they thought there were pay differences between men and women at the same levels, though they appeared to be referring to the wider society rather than their own organization specifically. One respondent commented that "males seem to be better remunerated than females in similar positions".

There seems to be a feeling that men are more aggressive in demanding and receiving higher salaries than women. So, as one respondent suggested:

[it is] good to have a male friend to bounce off your compensation package in order to get a good deal because they seem to be better able to get what they want out of negotiations than women are able to get.



Carty's study on the University of the West Indies also revealed similar findings. She notes that "[a]lthough the University has a pay equity policy, employment equity is a long way off here as it is in the entire Caribbean" (1988:146).

A Jamaica Gleaner article of October 14 lists the 10 highest paid civil servants in Jamaica. There is only one woman among the 10, despite the ongoing discourse about the prevalence of women in top management positions in Jamaica and in the public sector in particular. Moreover, she is fourth on the list, earning roughly J\$600 000 less than the top earning male.

Men's dominance of top management positions also maintains their higher earnings. For example, in 1998, the annual salary of a Chief Executive Officer was reported at J\$6 million. This is in comparison to the next highest, J\$2.6 million, earned by a Financial Controller. The subtle gender implication here is revealed in the fact that, based on the trend in education and in reference to the distribution of occupations in the case study, women are infiltrating the accountancy field. This is an interesting finding in light of Bergman's assertion that as women are 'let into' a formerly male occupation, the wage falls (1986:113n).

### **3.3.3 The Time Lag Hypothesis**

The trend toward higher education among women is a relatively new one. Carty shows that in 1982, the number of women registered for undergraduate degrees at the University of the West Indies, exceeded that for men for the first time; though it is assumed that this was for all three campuses and not confined to Jamaica (1988:144). In that year, the proportion of women was about 53 per cent. Lindsay identifies 1974 as when women first exceeded men in the professional labour force; that year, the proportion of women rose to 54 per cent (1996:6). She, however, goes on to ascribe this "dominance" to the largely influential presence of women in traditionally female occupations, such as teaching and nursing. Yet, in the absence of education data disaggregated according to gender, the precise start of this trend in Jamaica is difficult to determine. What is known, is that the available output data from tertiary level

institutions show more female than male graduates from 1990. This also roughly coincides with the surge of articles, written mostly by men, alluding to the advancement of women in the Jamaican economy (notably, Wint, 1989; Miller, 1991; and Stone, 1993)<sup>9</sup>. Hence, a reasonable assumption is that women's advancement in professional fields, other than teaching and nursing, occurred approximately in the mid-1980s.

The unavailability of tracer studies led to an alternative method of examining the hypothesis that it is a time lag that accounts for women's paucity in senior management. In order to explore the validity of this hypothesis, the questionnaire respondents were disaggregated according to managerial level. The 11 women in senior management were then isolated to form a 'test case', for observation of their movement through the organization to their present positions. Based on the assumption established above, it was determined that 36 per cent of the respondents received their highest educational attainments in the mid-1980s. In all, however, 45 per cent had been educated in the 1980s, while another 45 per cent had gained their qualifications in the 1970s. Only one woman had studied in the 1990s.

Bearing in mind the purpose of the exercise, a number of key questions were selected from the questionnaire as the basis on which the comparison would be carried out. The main interest was to observe the mobility of this group of women through the organization. This would be traced by reference to duration of employment within the organization, and movement from starting position to current one in that time. These interests would be influenced by other factors such as age, educational level and marital status. Thus, we were interested in the questions that dealt with these elements.

### **a) 'Test Group' Profile<sup>10</sup>**

Roughly 80 per cent of the women in Group A were in the two age groups spanning 41 to 60 years old. The majority had Master's degrees, and a slightly smaller proportion, PhD degrees. A small proportion also had professional qualifications and Bachelor's degrees. More than 90 per cent of the women in this group had attained these qualifications more than 10 years prior, and the largest proportion had been with the organization for five to 10 years. However, 36 per cent had served for more than 10 years. More than 60 per cent were married and just over 80 per cent had children. Thus, a generalization of this group might describe it as comprising older, married women with children, having high levels of education, and medium- to long-term service<sup>11</sup> in the institution.

### **b) Exploring the Hypothesis<sup>12</sup>**

We first sought to determine the duration of respondents' employment with the organization in order to give an indication of whether years of service with the organization, which might be translated into organizational experience, were a factor in promotion. Our second consideration was to determine respondents' different experiences with regard to mobility through the organization. Thirdly, we were interested in respondents' perceptions of discrimination in the organization.

#### **(i) Duration**

Duration in the organization is used as an indication of related experience specific to the organization. This is an important labour market endowment, along with education. The majority of respondents, some 80 per cent, had served with the

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<sup>9</sup> See references in Lindsay, 1996.

<sup>10</sup> For a detailed profile of respondents in all three groups, see Appendix 2.

<sup>11</sup> We have taken periods of service of five to 10 years as 'medium', and more than 10 years as 'long'.

<sup>12</sup> A second test was conducted in relation to the time lag hypothesis. This was aimed at exploring whether women in younger age cohorts were more qualified than their older counterparts. The small number of observations, however, do not allow for any reliable conclusions from this exercise. For further details, see Appendix 3.

organization for more than five years and 36 per cent had been with the organization for more than 10 years. A small minority of 18 per cent, two persons, had been employed for three to five years.

## **(ii) Mobility**

In order to observe the respondents' mobility through the organization, we looked at their start position in relation to their current position. This, along with the number of years in the organization would give an indication of the path taken to the senior management level. An 80 per cent majority of the respondents had experienced upward mobility in their duration with the organization. Of the remaining two persons, one indicated that she had moved laterally, though she described this as a change of name only, while the other had remained at her start position, having been with the organization between three and five years.

The only female PVC had served with the organization for 25 years. She started in the position of Lecturer, attaining a PhD degree two years later, and held the position of DP from 1991 to 1996. Her appointment to the current position of PVC was in the 1990/91 academic year, that is, 16 years later.

The female DP had served with the organization for 22 years, starting as a Research Fellow. She gained a PhD degree in 1978 and was appointed to her current position in 1996. Between 1987 and 1992, she broke her service with the institution, (serving as Executive Director of a private sector educational institution).

The movement of the Campus Bursar had been up from her start position of University Management Auditor, in some five to 10 years of employment. She was admitted as a Fellow of the College of Chartered Accountants (FCCA) in 1985.

It is recognized that the quality of the analysis is compromised by the absence of data on intermediate positions, knowledge of comparative performance on the job, and

comparative data for men. However, it is apparent that most of these women started in lower level positions and progressed upward in the organization.

### (iii) Discrimination

The perceptions on discrimination of these women, who had managed to break through the glass ceiling, are particularly interesting and relevant. It is felt that persons who represent the highest level of an organization might wish to present it in a good light, and this is apparent from the responses of the two most highly placed women, who both indicated that they were neither aware of, nor had experienced discrimination. Carty (1988) supports this point with reference to Smith, who says

Women in more senior positions in university do not ordinarily represent women's perspectives. They are those who have passed through [the] vigorous filter...whose work and style of work and conduct have met the approval of judges who are usually men" (Smith in Carty, 1988: 275).

However, it is useful to get an insight into the notions of discrimination held by these women as it relates to their organization and their rise to the top.

Seven of the 11 respondents, or some 60 per cent, said they were not aware of, nor had experienced discrimination in the institution. The comments of these respondents are particularly interesting. One reported that, although she was not aware of, nor had experienced discrimination, she had a "suspicion" of it in the organization; this is one of the two most senior women referred to above. Another made the following remark:

In a way, issues concerning gender have been quite recent. In the earlier years, these issues were not in the forefront of your mind. Now you are being asked questions [and] you wonder if you are being candid, because at those times it wasn't an issue.

A third stated that there was "no gender bias in upward mobility [in the institution]".

The remaining four respondents (36 per cent) who admitted to the experience or awareness of discrimination, all gave gender as a basis for discrimination in addition to other forms they identified. Two made specific reference to the domination of men

at the institution, citing the “old boys’ network”, the “tradition of men running the [institution]” and men “dominat[ing] most top positions”.

Other grounds for discrimination cited were “duration of service”, and “race”. In relation to the former, the respondent felt that there was no mentoring programme for women in the organization. Her comment suggests that there is one for men. In Carty’s study of the University of the West Indies, she revealed that there was the perception by some of nepotism, perhaps more so than gender discrimination, in promotion and appointment. In fact, she was able to quote at least one managerial employee who indicated that there was room for discrimination in promotion (1988:187). On the issue of race, cited above, the respondent related being denied a position she had applied for, and later learning from an “insider” that it was because she was a woman and white. She also makes explicit reference to the influence of “male cliques...lodges” in the organization. Another respondent stated:

the man who held this position before me got much more pay than what [*sic*] I am getting. I only accepted the job because he had much more experience than I did. He was not more qualified.

The remark of another was as follows:

I believe that in the Jamaican society there are gender biases and on this campus. I think the women on this campus would have to ‘have fire in their bell[ies]’ in order to achieve much. [The] senior management level is still very male oriented. (See Section 3.3.1.)

### 3.3.4 Conclusions

Having considered the discrimination and time lag hypotheses, within the wider context of social influences, what conclusions can be drawn in relation to these issues and women’s labour market experiences? First, it seems apparent that women and men do operate in separate segments of the labour market, even within the same profession. Boxill (1999) notes that studies out of the Departments of Economics and Sociology at the University of the West Indies have shown that “a university degree has a greater impact on the earning capacity of a woman than a man”. Yet even with higher qualifications, women seem to occupy lower level jobs than men, and receive less pay. Thus, as Bergman suggests “male workers may worry that just as a

neighbourhood can go from white to black, a job can go from male to female” (1986:103). The main implication of this is falling wages, as Bergman further notes that wages fall when women enter occupations (1986:113n). Hence, it would seem that men have strong economic reasons not to ‘allow’ women into their work spheres.

On the other hand, employers have equally strong incentives to do just the opposite. In pursuit of cost-minimization, employers will employ women who, with higher education are more productive, but can be paid less. This may be observed in intermediate managerial positions in Jamaica, as well as elsewhere. Why then does this not occur at the senior management level?

Bergman’s (1986) assertion that firms do not always act according to the strict rationality described in neo-classical economics holds some truth. In any situation, the stronger, more important value will prevail. If firms choose to maintain a system of male domination, what Taylor refers to as the “gate-keeping function” (Taylor, 1997:191), then their financial loss is minimal if they maintain a strong male hold on the top levels by employing low-income, productive women in the lower levels. In the name of good relations and for the sake of peaceful existence, a few ‘well-behaved’ women are promoted to the top levels, but their place must be established early in the game. After all, no employer wants disruption in the workplace (Bergman, 1986). So it might be concluded that labour market segmentation, influenced by patriarchal forces keeps women out of senior management.

The time lag hypothesis is an interesting one which holds an element of allure, however from the present findings there appears to be little evidence in support of it. Yet, it might be a worthwhile subject for future research. An interesting angle to the data on the Group A respondents presented above, is that the women in Groups B and C are also similarly qualified, both in terms of years of service, and education (see Appendix 2), yet they have remained in intermediate positions. Furthermore, of the 11 women featured, only two sit on the highest decision-making body of the institution; this is one of the complications in relation to the definition of senior management referred to in Sections 0.7 and 1.3. A fair conclusion is that while a time

lag is a reasonable assumption, it appears to be less relevant than other factors in accounting for women's sparseness in senior management.

Women's reproductive choices form a controversial issue that surfaces repeatedly. Linked to this is women's domestic role. While women are biological vessels of reproduction, it is social formations that have ascribed to them the role of care providers, and this has filtered its way into the workplace, in terms of the jobs that are 'reserved' for women. Yet, as women enter the labour force in increasing numbers, there is little reduction in their domestic responsibilities. In the case of the Group A respondents, as well as the others, this seems to have had little negative impact on their careers and mobility. The availability of cheap, domestic labour in Jamaica may partly account for this, though it may simply be that these women resigned themselves to the 'duties' of their gender.

### **3.4 Summary**

This chapter has focussed on the core issue established at the start of this paper: the reason or reasons for more men than women in senior management positions. The basic premise that gives the question its relevance, is the higher educational attainments of women compared to men, and the chapter begins with an exploration of this phenomenon. In the next section, 3.2, focus turns to the case study incorporated into the research, explaining the chosen methodology and choice of organization. Section 3.3 commences the analytical discussion of the core question, and the subsidiary issues of patriarchy, discrimination, the time lag hypothesis and women's reproductive role.

Some basic findings and conclusions are presented in the concluding section of the chapter, where it is established that:

- Discrimination in the labour market, supported by patriarchy, bars women from senior management positions;



- The existence of a time lag in the labour market does not substantially support women's paucity in top-level positions in organizations; and
- Family considerations are minor setbacks to women's career advancement in Jamaica, though they may serve to increase their burden of responsibility.

Following is the concluding chapter, in which all the issues and questions will be synergistically discussed with a view to solutions and recommendations.



## **CHAPTER 4**

### **MANAGING LABOUR MARKET SEGMENTATION BY GENDER**

In this the concluding chapter, the issues discussed and analyzed in the preceding sections are reviewed and summarized, with a view to solutions. The chapter commences by revisiting the questions established at the start, and the topics they raised. Following this is an overview of the conclusions arrived at from the research. Finally, a number of recommendations are presented for the way forward.

#### **4.1 Some More Equal...?**

The main thread of this paper has been that despite women's progress in higher education in the Jamaican labour market, their mobility appears to be checked by a system of patriarchy. This is evidenced by the strong male presence at the very top of the hierarchy in all spheres of Jamaican life, despite women's prevalence in intermediate positions. It is further believed, albeit in the absence of concrete evidence, that women are not equally remunerated with men in the Jamaican labour market. This, coupled with their higher education and profusion in middle management, is suggestive of exploitation.

The findings arrived at from the issues explored, which are detailed in Section 3.3.4, point to the role of discrimination in suppressing women's mobility in the labour market. This finding served to refute the plausibility of the time lag hypothesis. Thirdly, it was felt that, given the socio-economic characteristics of the Jamaican female labour force, family responsibilities could hardly be cited as a deterrent to their progress.

#### **4.2 Conclusions**

Tackling the problem of gender inequality in the labour market goes beyond national boundaries. There needs to be greater concern at the international level. Yet,

individual countries also have a responsibility for ensuring equal opportunities for women in the labour market, and improving efficiency for long-term prosperity. In the following sections we consider some of the issues and ideas that arose in the course of this study.

#### 4.2.1 Reproductive Rights

The topic of women's childbearing role is an interesting one that involves the complementary issue of choice. This is a subject that was raised at the start of the research, but has not been thoroughly dealt with, and further work is required in order to address it adequately.

Although economists would have us consider gender-free 'economic agents' trading in competitive markets, the fact is that social aspects are of equal importance. So-called economic agents take to the labour market many and varied social characteristics, not the least of which is gender. At present, only the female of the species can bear children. This is a given. While it may be impossible to effect society-wide change in regard to employment attitudes toward women, it is possible to accommodate them in this role. This is not to detract from the importance of cost considerations in recruitment decisions. Any programme to address the issue of women's reproductive rights vis-à-vis their employment must thus take into consideration these issues.

However, we would merely like to state that, to the extent that women want to have children, they should be facilitated without compromising their economic potentials. Simultaneously, the issue should never be reduced to one of choosing between career and family. Ultimately, women should never have to fear discrimination in employment because they choose to carry out what is a *natural, biological role*.

#### 4.2.2 Import Aspects of Gender Approaches in Jamaica

European researchers, de Olde and Slinkman, suggest that one reason for the small numbers of women in top management is an insufficient number of women "in intermediate management positions" (Nieuwenhuis, 1999<sup>13</sup>). This, however, is not the case in Jamaica, as has been demonstrated in this paper. Although this does not discount the existence of discrimination, the facts do suggest that Jamaica is more progressive than many other countries in this regard. One reason for this may be, as Carty (1998) asserts, that Caribbean women have always had to work outside of the home. Being a housewife was a privilege enjoyed by only a very small minority in the upper classes. Thus, with higher education, it was just a short step for women to occupy managerial jobs. From all accounts, it appears that the more explicit forms of gender discrimination in employment in Jamaica are concentrated specifically at the senior management level.

Carty makes reference to the import aspect of the feminist movement in Jamaica (1988:256). It is supported by a small group of women and is less a cultural aspect of Jamaica. Therefore, any attempt to introduce the issue of gender equality into labour market operations will require a whole cultural change and substantial effort in gaining acceptance. In Jamaica, as alluded to by Carty, it is not only men but also women of all different orientations and educational backgrounds, who are less than accepting of feminist ideas.

Another factor is the strong respect for work that exists in Jamaica. On the whole, Jamaican men, rather than taking the typical North American position, particularly in the past, that their wives should not work, were quite proud to have a working mate and, indeed, expect their partners to work. Although women in typical male jobs, such as masonry, are a relatively new phenomenon, a woman in such a job is respected if she does her job well. The kind of derision that poor work might attract is not peculiar to women, but extends also to men. Thus, the US experiences and behaviour described in Bergman (1986) are not typical of the Jamaican working class.

Thirdly, there is little evidence produced to date that supports gender discrimination in remuneration in the Jamaican labour market, with respect to the same work. This is not to refute the existence of pay differentials between male and female occupations. It is generally felt that men earn more than women, however, can it truly be said that this is as a result of discrimination against women? True, the Jamaican labour market is segmented in the typical fashion into men's jobs and women's jobs, and women are only recently moving into some of the typically male jobs, such as masonry and private security. The fact is, that there is little if any hard evidence that points to lower earnings for women in such jobs, that cannot be accounted for by such factors as more over-time worked by men. This, in itself is an issue deserving attention, as we are aware that women's unequal burden constrains their earning. However, what is known seems to suggest that women are in large part responsible for their receiving lower pay. Women seem to (a) demand less in salary negotiations, (b) have less knowledge of prevailing market incomes, and (c) are more willing to settle with less of a fight than men. These observations can be explained using Harding's (1986) analysis of individual, structural and symbolic aspects of gender, which she applies to science.

At the individual or identity level, women wish to be seen in a certain way. Thus, as already mentioned in Chapter 3, women place importance on being seen as 'feminine'. The symbolic level relates to societal and personal perceptions of women. This again, places constraints on how women behave in given situations. Thus, if we consider these two aspects of gender relations in connection with the third, the structural level operating in the labour market, plausible reasons for women's contribution to their lower earnings emerge.

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<sup>13</sup> I acknowledge and thank Martin Blok for his assistance in translating this article.

The following actual episode is provided as a case in point:

Two friends, Carl and Debbie<sup>14</sup>, fresh out of university with qualifications in the same area, apply and are interviewed separately for the same job. Carl indicates that he would accept J\$380 000 per annum, and the firm makes a counter offer of J\$250 000. Carl turns the job down. In her interview, Debbie indicates that she would accept a salary of between J\$360 000 to J\$380 000 per annum. She is offered J\$240 000, which she accepts. She gets the job.

It is recognized that several other factors such as basic personality and personal finances may be cited as important influences on their decisions. However, this reticence on the part of women in relation to salary negotiations is widely recognized, and is supported by the respondent, referred to in Chapter 3, who thought it advisable for women to consult a man when preparing to negotiate salary. What is unmistakable, is that Carl, the man, was offered more than Debbie, the woman. Secondly, Debbie presented more room for negotiation and was willing to settle for a salary even lower than that which Carl had refused. It may be argued that more was offered to Carl because he was a man. That may be so, but to counter that, *women need to learn how to ask for and get more*. Yet, it might be argued that at the personal identity level, women, though capable of 'acting male', choose not to do so. Similarly, symbolically, women are seen as wives, therefore, their incomes need not be as much as a man's as they are not breadwinners. Evidence of this view on the part of male employers is supported in Berger (1986). In the case related, however, ultimately, the firm could hire a woman to do the job and pay her less than it would a man. This is one reason advanced in explanation of the plethora of women in middle management. That this has not seeped into upper management begs the question.

#### 4.2.3 Modern Work Practices

Modern work practices are demanding far more of today's worker, in addition to exploring new and creative ideas in management. One particularly important aspect of this in relation to women, is the trend toward a gentler, more empathetic type of manager. This shift is often suggested as being a move from the old-style 'male'

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<sup>14</sup> This anecdote is based on an actual incident that occurred in Jamaica at the end of the 1998/99 academic year. Both parties' names have been changed. I would like to acknowledge the contribution of Jennifer Green in providing this story.

management, to a more 'feminine' management style. Thus, the very characteristics that are cited in some quarters as possible reasons for women's unsuitability for management (for example, Chang, 1999), are being touted in others as a possible asset (for example, Coe, 1998).

Another factor within the new work dispensation is the issue of time. The truth is, managers have always been expected and required to put in more hours than lower level employees, without extra pay. In reference to the comments of a male manager in a US corporation, Davies-Netzley says "there is still a conflict between work and home for women in senior positions that require 12- to 14-hour workdays" (1998:345). Some seem to think that flexible hours and more part-time employment are practical solutions to these problems for women. Yet, Shaw sees these measures as merely another way of exploiting women. She states:

Flexibility in time management appears to have thoroughly infiltrated housework, possibly because there are no institutional ways of 'protecting' women's work, and has led to ever greater numbers of women doing the 'second shift'. Flexitime is indeed the most important new mode of exploitation and one which is intrinsically linked to the rising rate of women in the labour market" (Shaw, 1995:155).

There may indeed be truth to Shaw's assertion that the ultimate beneficiary of women's increased labour is employers (1995:155). However, this position appears to ignore the issue of women's choice in the matter. It appears that it is not the 'guardians' of market work who need to be attacked, but the social system itself, which maintains women as primary home carers. Yet, how is this handled in the case of single women with children? Here, the role of employers in facilitating women's reproductive role without increasing the cost of their employment relative to men is recognized. Large-scale voluntary action in these directions can hardly be expected, and government intervention is necessary.

### **4.3 Implications**

In late 1994, the Jamaican government arrived at a decision to reform the Jamaican labour market. A cursory examination of the Labour Market Reform Committee's



interim report revealed some interesting features. First, of the 10-committee members, there were only two women, one of whom was the committee's secretary. Secondly, reference to women and gender issues in the report are minimal and at most, vague. Under the heading "Employment Trends", no mention is made of the feminization of labour, for example. Under a second heading, "Men, Women and the Service Economy", absolutely nothing is said about women. Subtle reference is made to women in part-time employment and the "vulnerab[ility]" of the "labour force"; but it is not until the topic of family is raised, that much attention is paid to women's balance between family responsibilities and market work, the suggestion being flexible work hours. Despite the prevalence of single female-headed households, no mention is made of their special needs in this section. Of the "38 representative organizations and expert witnesses" that are mentioned in the report as having made presentations, only one women's organization appears. Finally, 10 major issues are listed as "emerging from the hearings"; three of these can be considered as being indirectly related to the women's issues alluded to in the report. They are "flexible work hours", "labour market information", and the extremely vague "gender issues". Today, some five years later, women's labour market experiences remain the same. This is an indication of the national interest in women's issues.

However, the topic of women in management remains a current one if the frequency of contributions to the ongoing debate might be used as an indicator. What then can be done to improve the situation?

The issues uncovered in this research have led to identification of several areas of need in relation to women's greater representation in senior management positions in the Jamaican labour market. First, it is believed that word of vacancies is sometimes circulated narrowly within organizations; this, along with gender bias in the wording of job advertisements (Bergman, 1986), reduces women's chances. Secondly, there seems to be a greater role for the growing number of women's organizations in improving women's networking. Thirdly, women continue to bear the responsibility for child and home care unequally, thus increasing their workload and reducing their market work opportunities. Finally, a change is needed in relation to perceptions, the

national culture and ideology about motherhood and women's roles. Following are ideas suggested as guidelines for policy and best practices in regard to labour market operations. While some of these suggestions reflect ideas put forward elsewhere, this is not to discount their applicability in the Jamaican context. Implied in this is tailoring in their implementation to suit local peculiarities. There is also room for further research and some of these areas are indicated below.

- (1) Improved access to information on vacancies and salaries to assist in 'leveling the playing field' in relation to men's and women's jobs. Work on this has already begun, with the efforts to establish a comprehensive labour market information system in Jamaica. The organizations that are currently involved in this effort include the Planning Institute of Jamaica, the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Sport, and various other public and private sector entities.
- (2) Legislation to improve transparency in job advertisement, both within organizations and externally. This might include mandatory advertisement of all vacancies, inside and outside of all organizations, and explicit guidelines with regard to the wording of advertisements to remove gender bias.
- (3) Legislation for greater transparency in employment policy in organizations, particularly in regard to recruitment, remuneration and mobility. This might involve a set of measurable guidelines for application in organizations.
- (4) Legislation to ensure greater equality in employment chances between men and women by, equating the costs of employment between them. Thus, maternity leave might be replaced by parental leave and all workplaces be mandatorily equipped with crèches. In order to spread the costs of such measures, a general insurance scheme, similar to the National Insurance (NIS) might be implemented.
- (5) Self-improvement courses that help to improve or develop marketable management skills in women, to counter the belief, even among themselves,

that women are less suitable for management. Women's organizations, such as the Association of Women's Organizations in Jamaica (AWOJA) and the (women's) Kiwanis might be encouraged and assisted in this regard.

- (6) Greater and more widely disseminated information about the experiences of women in the labour market in order to improve sensitivity and encourage a national culture in this regard. This might be handled by the Centre for Gender and Development Studies at the University of the West Indies.
- (7) The inclusion of sufficiently punitive measures for breach of laws, and greater attention to enforcement of labour legislation. This might be incorporated under the on-going reform of operations under the Ministry of Labour, through, for example, improved inspectorates.
- (8) Greater effort in breaking down the male 'clubs' that help to maintain women's subordination. The progress made in the formation of a parallel women's Kiwanis is commendable, however, ultimately, we need to move to integration.

Further research might help in bringing to light certain areas of difficulty in regard to women in the Jamaican labour market. This will allow for the formulation of practical solutions. In this regard, it is our opinion that further work could focus on the incidence of wage discrimination in Jamaica. Wide reporting on salaries is minimal at best and unreliable at worst. However, what is lacking is concrete evidence of wage discrimination against women in similar occupations as men. Secondly, we think here is an interesting element to the notion that a time lag might account for women's disproportionate representation in senior management. Reliable evidence in favour of this idea would serve to refute the strength of ideas in favour of discrimination against women. On the other hand, findings to the contrary would indicate the truth of such hypotheses. Thus, the labour market experiences of women can only be helped by continued research in the pursuit of knowledge and ultimately, solution.

10. The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been

admitted to the office of the Secretary of the State since the

1st of January, 1900, and who have been sworn in as members of the

Bar of the State of New York, and who have been admitted to the

practice of the law in this State, and who have been admitted to the

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# APPENDIX 1

## SURVEY INSTRUMENT

COMPLETION TIME FOR THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS APPROXIMATELY 30 MINUTES.

Women's Employment Experiences  
at the  
Senior Managerial Level

### QUESTIONNAIRE

#### Background and objective:

This questionnaire is aimed at collecting data on the social and economic reasons for the differential in male and female senior management positions. The study arose out of an interest in women's progress in education, particularly at the tertiary level, and how this is reflected in their employment experiences. It has importance to the field of gender studies in general and to women's educational, employment and labour market experiences specifically. It is expected that the findings of this study will provide a valuable insight into the employment experiences of women, labour market processes and labour market segmentation. It is hoped that it will help to inform and direct policy and practices in relation to human resources and human resource management. It is an international study being done from the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, The Netherlands.

The questionnaire is divided into four sections. Section 1 deals with background information about the respondent; section 2 with education and career; section 3 with career influences; and section 4 with family and family-life. We ask that you complete all sections as truthfully as possible. The information you provide will be treated with the strictest confidence. Only the researcher and the interviewer will have access to specific personal information. No real names will be used and respondents will be identified by only a number. If you require further information and/or a copy of the research findings, the researcher may be contacted at the following address: [els9810@iss.nl](mailto:els9810@iss.nl).

Thank you.

Caren Nelson  
Institute of Social Studies  
The Hague  
The Netherlands

**Section 1****Background Data**

1. Age: Under 25 ☐ 25-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐  
41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ Over 60 ☐
2. What is your current occupation?
- a) Principal ☐  
b) Vice principal ☐  
c) Head of department ☐  
d) Head of faculty ☐  
e) Financial controller/Senior Accountant ☐  
f) Other (please state) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Name of employer
- a) Mona campus ☐  
b) Centre ☐

4. Please indicate your faculty and/or department \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Section 2****Education and career**

5. What is your highest educational attainment?
- a) College diploma/certificate ☐  
b) Bachelor's degree ☐  
c) Master's degree ☐  
d) PhD. degree ☐  
e) Other (please state) \_\_\_\_\_
6. When did you attain that qualification? year: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Did you work full time prior to attaining that qualification?
- a) Yes ☐ Go to next question.  
b) No ☐ Skip question 8 and go to question 9.
8. What was your first full time paid job? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

9. What was the first position you held in your current organization? \_\_\_\_\_

10. How long have you worked full time in your current organization?

- |    |   |                          |                          |
|----|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a) | Less than 1 year                        | <input type="checkbox"/> |                          |
| b) | 1 - 3 years                             |                          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) | More than 3 years but less than 5 years | <input type="checkbox"/> |                          |
| d) | 5 - 10 years                            |                          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e) | More than 10 years                      |                          | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**THE FOLLOWING QUESTION IS IN RELATION TO YOUR ENTIRE OCCUPATIONAL CAREER:**

11. Did the shift from your first paid job to your current job represent:

- |    |  |                          |                          |
|----|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a) | A sideways or lateral shift, i.e. you remained at the same level | <input type="checkbox"/> |                          |
| b) | An upward or vertical shift                                      |                          | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**THE FOLLOWING QUESTION IS IN RELATION TO YOUR CURRENT JOB:**

12. Did the shift from your first job within your current organization to your current position represent:

- |    |  |                          |                          |
|----|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a) | A sideways or lateral shift, i.e. you remained at the same level | <input type="checkbox"/> |                          |
| b) | An upward or vertical shift                                      |                          | <input type="checkbox"/> |

13. What were the particular successes or problems/difficulties you encountered on the path to your current position?

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_

14. Along your career path, have you experienced, or been aware of discrimination in relation to employment, promotion or remuneration?

- |    |     |                          |   |
|----|-----|--------------------------|---|
| a) | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | Go to next question.                    |
| b) | No  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Skip question 15 and go to question 16. |

15. Was this discrimination based on:

- a) Gender ☐  
b) Race/skin colour ☐  
c) Class ☐  
d) Other (please state) ☐

**YOU MAY INDICATE MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE.**

16. Explain \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

17. In your current organization, have you experienced, or been aware of discrimination in relation to employment, promotion or remuneration?

- a) Yes ☐ Go to next question.  
b) No ☐ Skip questions 18 and 19 go to question 20.

18. Was this discrimination based on:

- a) Gender ☐  
b) Race/skin colour ☐  
c) Class ☐  
d) Other (please state) ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

**YOU MAY INDICATE MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE.**

19. Explain \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**THE FOLLOWING QUESTION IS FOR PERSONS WHO ARE NOT IN A SENIOR MANAGERIAL POSITION, i.e. THE HIGHEST MANAGERIAL LEVEL WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION:**

20. Have you ever been offered a senior management position in your current organization?

- a) Yes ☐ Go to next question.  
b) No ☐ Skip questions 21 and 22 and go to question 23.

21. Did you:

- a) Accept ☐ Skip questions 22 to 27 and go to question 28.  
b) Refuse ☐ Go to next question.

22. List the 3 most important reasons for your refusal

1. \_\_\_\_\_  
2. \_\_\_\_\_  
3. \_\_\_\_\_

**SKIP QUESTIONS 23 TO 25 AND GO TO QUESTION 26.**

23. Do you aspire to a senior management position in this organization or any other?

- a) Yes ☐ Skip question 24 and go to question 25.  
b) No ☐ Go to next question.

24. Why? Give the 3 most important reasons.

1. \_\_\_\_\_  
2. \_\_\_\_\_  
3. \_\_\_\_\_

**Skip questions 25 to 27 and go to question 28.**

25. Are you actively working toward this goal?

- a) Yes ☐ Go to next question.  
b) No ☐ Skip question 26 and go to question 27.

26. Please indicate how:

- a) Upgrading educational qualifications ☐  
b) Explicitly seeking promotion ☐  
c) Seeking employment in a more 'progressive' organization ☐  
c) Other (please state) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**SKIP QUESTION 27 AND GO TO QUESTION 28.**

27. Why?

- a) It is not a priority ☐  
b) You expect to be promoted on your own merit ☐  
c) Other (please state) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

28. Do you have any additional sources of income or combined income (e.g., spouse, real estate (rent), private business, part-time work, etc.)?

- a) Yes ☐ Go to next question.  
b) No ☐ Skip question 29 and go to question 30.

29. Do you think that in the absence of this additional income you would aspire for higher income and/or a higher position in your job?

- a) Yes ☐  
b) No ☐

### Section 3 Career influences

30. On the path to your current employment position, what were the three most important influences? Indicate in order of importance, by placing a 1, 2 or 3 in the boxes (1 indicating the most important and 3 the least important).

- |    |                                    |                          |                                |
|----|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a) | Drive/perseverance                 |                          | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| b) | Education/qualifications           | <input type="checkbox"/> |                                |
| c) | Related experience                 |                          | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| d) | Organizational culture/policy      |                          | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| e) | Nature of the job/job requirements | <input type="checkbox"/> |                                |
| f) | Gender                             |                          | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| g) | Other (please state)               |                          | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |
- 

31. In your choice of field of education, what were the three most important influences? Indicate in order of importance, by placing a 1, 2 or 3 in the boxes (1 indicating the most important and 3 the least important).

- |    |  |                          |                                |
|----|--|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a) | Attraction to the field of work or study       | <input type="checkbox"/> |                                |
| b) | Academic or other strength in related subjects | <input type="checkbox"/> |                                |
| c) | Financial reward                               | <input type="checkbox"/> |                                |
| d) | Non-financial rewards                          |                          | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| e) | Career aspirations                             |                          | <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| f) | Other (please state)                           |                          | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |
- 

32. In your choice of field of education, who were the three most influential people? Indicate in order of importance, by placing a 1, 2 or 3 in the boxes (1 indicating the most important and 3 the least important).



- a) Self ☐
  - b) Guidance counselor/teacher(s) ☐
  - c) Parent(s)/guardian(s) ☐
  - d) Grandparent(s) ☐
  - e) Friends ☐
  - f) Other (please state) ☐ \_\_\_\_\_
- 

33. In relation to your current job, what are the three most important satisfiers? **Indicate in order of importance by placing a 1, 2 or 3 in the boxes (1 indicating the most important and 3 the least important).**

- a) Salary/remuneration ☐
  - b) Job content ☐
  - c) Career advancement (promotion) ☐
  - d) Job security ☐
  - e) Work environment ☐
  - f) Non-financial rewards (please state) ☐ \_\_\_\_\_
  - g) Other (please state) ☐ \_\_\_\_\_
- 

34. To what extent do you think gender influenced your choice of career?

- a) Very strongly ☐
- b) Strongly ☐
- c) Some ☐
- d) Little ☐
- e) Very little ☐
- f) None ☐

#### Section 4 Family

35. Are you:

- a) Married ☐
- b) Single ☐
- c) Divorced ☐
- d) Widowed ☐
- e) Engaged to be married ☐
- f) In a cohabiting relationship ☐

36. Do you have children?

- a) Yes ☐ Go to next question.  
b) No ☐ Skip questions 37 to 39 and go to question 40.

37. Do you children:

- a) Live in your household ☐ Go to next question.  
b) Live outside of your household ☐ Skip question 38 and go to question 39.

38. Please indicate their ages:

- a) 0 - 4 years ☐  
b) 5 - 9 years ☐  
c) 10 -14 years ☐  
d) 15 years & over ☐

39. Do you employ household help or have other live-in assistance for the care of your children?

- a) Yes ☐  
b) No ☐

**THE FOLLOWING QUESTION IS FOR PERSONS WHO ARE UNMARRIED  
AND/OR HAVE NO CHILDREN**

40. Do you think the pursuit of your career has been at the expense of family and/or child-bearing?

- a) Yes ☐ Go to next question.  
b) No ☐ End here. Go to final page.

41. Please explain \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

42. Do you think the pursuit of your career has had any negative effects on your family life, household activities or child-rearing activities?

- a) Yes ☐ Go to next question.  
b) No ☐ End here.

43. Please explain \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Are there any comments or remarks you would like to add or make? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

---

---

---

**End of questionnaire.**

**The confidentiality of this questionnaire is assured. Thank you for your time and co-operation.**

**Interviewer's comments:**



## **APPENDIX 2**

### **PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS IN GROUPS B AND C**

#### **(i) Group B: Middle Management, Upper Tier**

Several striking similarities emerged between the women in Group A and those in Group B. The differences, however, were perhaps even more interesting. Most of these respondents also belonged to the older age groups and had gained their educational qualifications more than 10 years earlier. Similarly, 60 per cent were married and 80 per cent had children. A surprising revelation, however, was the generally higher qualifications among this group. Nearly half of the group (47 per cent) had PhD degrees. Just over one-quarter had Master's degrees and one-fifth had professional qualifications. Also, these respondents, as a group, had worked longer in the organization than those in Group A. A large majority of 73 per cent had been with the organization for more than 10 years, and another 13 per cent for five to 10 years. Thus, a general description of the Group would closely resemble that given for the senior managers, that is, older, married women with children, high levels of education and long service with the organization.

#### **(ii) Group C: Middle Management, Lower Tier**

The third group appeared to be generally younger than the other two, with most of them falling between 41 and 50. Educational qualifications were more widely dispersed across this group, with only one PhD and one Bachelor's degree. The majority had Master's level qualifications. As in the other two groups, most had been educated over 10 years earlier and most had served with the organization for more than 10 years. Three of the respondents in this group were married, two divorced and two in cohabiting relationships. Six of the seven had children. This group might be described as comprising middle-aged women with, for the most part, Master's degrees, long service records and children.



## APPENDIX 3

### GENDER REPRESENTATION IN MAIN DECISION-MAKING BODIES IN THE CASE STUDY INSTITUTION

The following three committees are the main decision-making bodies in the case study institution. Together, they approximate the equivalent of a board of directors within a corporate organisation.

#### 1. The Council

##### Women's Representation in Council Membership

Incumbents	Number of Persons	Number of Women
Chancellor	1	0
Vice-Chancellor	1	0
Chairmen of Campus Councils	3	0
Pro-Vice Chancellors	5	1
Principals	3	0
Representatives of Academic Boards	12	8 <sup>1</sup>
Appointed by the Guild of Graduates	4	3
Appointed by Government	16	4 <sup>2</sup>
Appointed by the Chancellor	10	3
Tertiary Level Institutions in the Region	2	1
Administrative, Technical & Service Staff Representative	1	1
Student Representatives	3	0
Resident Representative of the NCCs	1	0
Senior Administrative Staff Representative	1	0
Secretary – Dir. of Administration/Registrar	1	1

<sup>1</sup> Note that gender was 'determined' in each case by consideration of the first name. In a few instances, such as this one, there was a minimal amount of difficulty in ascertaining whether the name was a male or female one. In such cases, the name was simply omitted. This might therefore account for some undercounting.

<sup>2</sup> See footnote 1.

## 2. The Senate

### Women's Representation in the Senate

Incumbent	Number of Persons	Number of Women
Vice Chancellor	1	0
Campus Principals	3	0
Pro-Vice Chancellors	5	1
Representatives of Academic Boards	12	2
Member of the Students' Societies	1	0
Representative of the Guild of Graduates	1	1
Other Members	5	0
Secretary – Dir. of Administration/Registrar	1	1

## 3. Appointments Committee

### Women's Representation on the Appointments Committee

Incumbent	Number of Persons	Number of Women
Vice Chancellor	1	0
Vice Chancellor's Nominee	1	1
Campus Principals	3	0
<i>Relevant</i> Faculty Deans	No data	No data
Dean of the School of Graduate Studies and Research	No data	No data
Professors	3 <sup>3</sup>	2
Bursar & Librarian <i>when necessary</i>	2	1
Secretary – Dir. of Administration/Registrar	1	1

<sup>3</sup> No information was provided for one of these professors.



## **APPENDIX 4**

### **THE TIME LAG HYPOTHESIS**

#### **TEST # 2**

A second test carried out in relation to the time lag hypothesis, was aimed at exploring whether women in younger age cohorts were more qualified compared to older ones. That is, what was the educational level of the older women when they were at an age comparable to the younger women?

For this test, we considered the women in the oldest cohort in Group A, for comparison with the youngest women in that group and Group C. In the absence of specific ages, we used the median age in each range, and calculated from that an estimate of the age at which each respondent received her highest qualification. We also eliminated from the experiment, the four women in Group A whose highest qualifications were post graduate diplomas and professional qualifications. This allowed for more even comparison, and left seven persons in Group A, with the following qualifications: 3 PhD degrees; and 4 Master's degrees. Excluding the one person in the younger cohort of 31-40, the group had an average age of 52 years. Based on the estimate, two of the women with doctoral degrees had received them at age 32 and 34, respectively. These two women were also the two with the highest employment positions among the respondents. The third had attained the PhD at an estimated age of 52. The women with Master's qualifications had attained them at estimated ages of 30, 39 and 44, respectively.

The youngest woman in Group A was combined with the three Group C respondents, making a total of four persons with an average age of 40 years. Three of these women had Master's degrees, and the fourth had attained the PhD level. The estimates indicated that two of the respondents with Master's qualifications had received their education before age 20, at 23 and 25, respectively. The third had received her Master's degree at roughly age 35, and the PhD holder around age 40.

Though the data are limited, a few observations can be made. In comparing the women with Master's qualifications, the younger women, on the whole, seemed to have attained their education at an earlier age: an average of 28 years, compared to 38 years for the women in the older cohort. In relation to the PhD qualifications, however, there appeared to be little difference. The women in Group A had received their qualifications at approximately age 39, while the Group C woman got hers at age 40.

In relation to the time lag hypothesis, though inconclusive, this might suggest that women are gaining higher levels of qualification at an earlier age. Thus, it is fair to assume that they will advance faster than women did in the past. This can only be observed over a period of time and is not determinable from the present study.

## APPENDIX 5

### DISTRIBUTION OF PROFESSIONAL STAFF WITHIN THE CASE STUDY INSTITUTION, BY FACULTY, DEPARTMENT AND GENDER 1998/99 ACADEMIC YEAR

FACULTY	Total*		Professor		Senior Lecturer		Lecturer		Assistant Lecturer		Gender of Dean	Gender of Deputy Dean
	Total	% Female	Total	% Female	Total	% Female	Total	% Female	Total	% Female		
Arts & Education	97	57	8	13	24	50	54	69	2	50	MALE	MALE(x3)
Medical Sciences	209*	32	18	0	38	24	123	38	3	100	MALE	MALE(x3)
Pure & Applied Sciences	76	20	5	0	24	17	36	22	2	100	MALE	?
Social Sciences	78	32	6	0	9	33	51	31	4	75	MALE	MALE
Total teaching staff	464	36	37	3	95	30	264	41	11	82		
Administration	82	68										
Total Professional Staff	546	104	37	3	95	30	264	41	11	82		

The total figures include other faculty staff that do not fall into the broad categories shown here, such as Readers, Associate Lecturers and Honorary Lecturers  
Gender 'determination' is based on first names. In some cases only a first initial was given, therefore it was not possible to identify the gender in this way.

**SOURCE: University of the West Indies**

