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CARIBBEAN SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND THE CHANGING WORLD OF MEN



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PREFACE

The first attempts to seriously study and discuss the "women's issue" met with significant opposition and resistance from the established order even within the United Nations, while this organization had spearheaded the now famous International Women's Year in 1975. Similar resistance occurred when a concern about men began to grow in several parts of the world in the 1980s. It was the position taken by some Caribbean governments at UNECLAC/CDCC meetings in the early 1990s, regarding the deteriorating performance and participation of men in the public service in favour of increased inclusion of women, and the official statements made by the Vice Chancellor of the University of the West Indies expressing concern about the decreasing enrolment of boys and deteriorating performance of male students at the university, which lead to some interest in the "question of men" in the Caribbean. The book "Men at Risk", written by Professor Errol Miller of the Faculty of Education, UWI, Mona, in Jamaica raised both interest and controversy, but triggered the idea in ECLAC, Port of Spain, to pay some attention to this question.

As a *primeur* in the region, ECLAC Port of Spain convened an Ad Hoc Group Meeting on Men and Women in Changing Caribbean Social Structures, held in Port of Spain, 22-23 March 1993. It is the wider outpour of ideas and opinions, and the further development of research studies, thinking and action on what now is perceived as a valid "issue of men", that inspired the production of the document before you. The content of this document does not constitute an ECLAC position, but is rather a reflection of the debate at that initial stage. Several participants at the meeting have reviewed and revisited their presentations. Recent data and information has been added and an overview analysis of the question of men in their changing world complements the positions expressed.

For some, the following texts will be revealing. Hopefully others, with a particular interest in monitoring further developments as active or passive social actors in research and analysis, may find this document useful.

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Perceived Marginalization of Men in Trinidad And Tobago

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CARIBBEAN SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND THE CHANGING WORLD OF MEN

Introduction

The decreasing performance of boys, the questioning of the roles of females, men's isolation, manhood, a crisis of masculinity and what it means to be a man are issues which have emerged in many parts of the world. The cumulative lessons of feminism, the women's movement and, most importantly, the more than moderate attention given to the advancement of women by the United Nations over the past two decades, have broken down the old rules of the game in which men enjoyed most of the privileges, dominated a world with elaborate old boys networks where they were performers and achievers, controlled the workplace, controlled women and had power.

Responses in the western world include reflections on men's lives, studies and research, formation of men's groups and organizations and the opinion that masculinity should be recreated. It has also been recognized that men's experience of power is accompanied by pain and isolation, much of which has been hidden as a secret within men's lives.

The first signs of a special attention to the situation of men and a growing concern with the situation of boys and men in Caribbean society were perhaps felt in the early 1990s. A group of men, concerned about fatherhood, got together and with the assistance of Dr. Barry Chevannes of the University of the West Indies (UWI), organized themselves around the wish to become better fathers. They formed an organization called "Fathers Incorporated".

Elsewhere, in several places in the Caribbean, more and more voices are being raised in concern with the perceived bad performance of boys in schools, increasing drop-out rates and a notice of withdrawal from the world of performance, productive activity and responsibility. There has also been a persistent concern in Dominica, where some men have been panicking in view of increased replacement of men by women in public and private sectors and as an increasing number of qualified men are remaining jobless or without positions in better jobs.

At the same time, due to adjustment and austerity programmes in several parts of the region, men drop out of labour and employment situations and boys drop out of school. These males tend to show signs of insecurity in social interaction and in man-woman relationships. The absence or retreat of the male in several areas of social production and reproduction continues and is increasingly drawing the attention of concerned people in the Caribbean society. Much can be deducted from data in, for example, the field of education and training, implementation of family planning and family life education programmes and also from the increased incidence of violence and domestic violence in society. While development regards both male and female, male involvement in programmes which could alleviate the situation has been minimal.

Gender analyses of access to education, enrolment in skills-training and levels of achievement and performance in Caribbean society show sustained discrepancies in most instances, not in favour of the male. Although the unemployment rate of women continues to be higher than that of men, it

is a fact that female employment in traditionally male-dominated sectors has been on the increase. Females join the Police Force, the Defence Force, work in security services, construction and car mechanics.

Meanwhile the region is also experiencing increased waves of violence, which is unfortunately often directed at women. While several countries in the region have started to address this problem, no attention has been given to the male who generally is the abuser and perpetrator. Most recently though, there are signs of male interest groups which have begun to direct attention to the male for what they consider is "a need to change thousands of years of bad attitude of men". MAVAW - Men Against Violence Against Women in Trinidad and Tobago, offers support to male offenders, seeks therapy for transgressors, uses their house telephones to provide hotline services and dips into their own pockets to finance these activities. MAVAW has been invited to sit on a Cabinet Appointed Committee, which will make proposals for the amendment and reform of the Domestic Violence Act of 1991. In collaboration with the Ministries responsible for Culture and Youth Affairs, MAVAW is involved in two national campaigns to train young people in schools, malls and community centres to knock out violence. (Trinidad and Tobago Guardian, 1997).

"While the source of the problem may be unemployment, much of the damage is connected to the easy availability of guns and drugs", says The Economist in a Leader article on "The Trouble with Men". The article also states that men are more violent, more prone to disease, more likely to succumb to drugs and a bad diet and are more socially undesirable from almost every point of view. An interesting point is made while trying to explain the trouble with men and it says that "Men learn social behaviour through work and marriage... As their jobs have declined, so have their prospects of marriage. And as work and marriage have declined together, so everyone has suffered, for these two, since time immemorial, have been the twin responsibilities that have persuaded men to stay with women and children, obey the law and behave as social animals. For women, work and family are often competing spheres; for men, they are linked. When the link is broken, some men, in some places, become loose molecules: uneducated, unskilled, unmarried and unemployed." The debate includes arguments that boys are doing worse than girls at almost every age in school and that the uncertainties in the labour market are carrying over into uncertainties in the marriage market. The total condition is seen as evidence of a growing social problem. Although the research on which the above positions are based has been done in the United States of America, there may be similarities with the situation in many other parts of the world, including the Caribbean, where the concept of marriage means many forms, of course.

The Family Planning Association of Trinidad and Tobago has recently introduced a programme on manhood. Workers on the programme inform their work by acknowledging the social conditioning of the Caribbean male. They recognize that "young men are looking for things that make them a *man*. There are a number of related factors that they need to come to grips with and which they are not being taught or not being introduced to properly. As male, they have been conditioned to the notion that power is expressed in the pocket, but they are facing the fact that girls and women now have power of property. The male is in pain, feels inadequate in terms of achievement and performance. All the time he has to demonstrate his power. Parental and teacher conditioning is that he is entitled to control over women, but times have changed, the woman is in

control of herself, she earns, she buys property, owns her car. The psyche of the male is confused. He needs to feel good about himself and this will govern how he behaves with regard to women. It is important for young men to have a vision of themselves in life. To this end, there is a need for knowledge, skill and will..." (Frank Dolly, 1997).

Several countries in the region have implemented structural adjustment measures. In many cases, the social fabric of Caribbean societies has been severely affected. In addition to safety net programmes of governments, several action programmes have been put in place by NGOs and others to alleviate the negative repercussions of austerity on people, especially women and children. However, little or no attention has been given to the male to deal with retrenchment and other austerity ills. The boomerang effects are being felt in many Caribbean societies.

The United Nations Decade for Women: Development, Equality and Peace addressed a wide range of limitations which existed for women in society and sparked off advancement for women in many areas of life. Their new participation is becoming increasingly visible. The changing condition of men in the new context is perceived by some as one of the effects of such advancement. Analyses from different perspectives is important, as well as the design and formulation of strategies for full attainment of equity in society.

A note on conceptualization, as a necessary step towards informing policy and action, may be in place here. In the study of women as proliferated in the past 20 years, some confusion has been caused by the arbitrary use of terms and concepts such as status, situation, condition and position. As a result, the concepts and research tools have often not produced the precise information which the research was aimed at. Several studies, for example, focused on the *condition* of women, whereas in fact the *position* of women was being analyzed. Therefore, it is important to clarify the use of two major concepts: condition and position.

In this context, the term *condition* refers to the material state in which a person is: poor, (un)educated, (un)skilled, (un)employed or victim of abuse. The term *position* refers to a person's social, political or economic place in society. Over the past decade, action has been taken to address various aspects of women's condition in the Caribbean and some action has been taken in terms of the *position* of women in society. The same may not have been the case with regard to men. While there may be a case in terms of the deteriorating *condition* of men in Caribbean society and a question of increasing concern about this, it will be difficult to declare that the *position* of men is a major problem. As in the case of women, the *position* of men needs to be analyzed from a class, gender, ethnic and racial perspective. More importantly, the *position* of either men or women can only be studied in relation to each other. This is the added contribution of a gender approach.

Another concept of contention is *responsibility*. While in the Caribbean the expression 'irresponsible men' is associated with a lack of response of fathers to the material needs of their offspring, in Latin America and other countries, it is mainly associated with "illegitimacy" of birth and male abandonment of the family. Where the nuclear family is the norm, the disorganization of the family is blamed upon 'irresponsible men'.

In the Caribbean, where the nuclear family structure is not the norm, the man has been termed the "passing figure" (Hoetink, 1959). The person who comes and goes, in a way is a passing figure, a passenger in the household, when he is there. Linden Lewis in his reflection on the construction of masculinity in the Caribbean, attempts to relativize the image of the Caribbean male and masculinity created in the literature on masculinity and on family as embodying power, promiscuity, irresponsibility and absence in the household. He recognizes though that the process is multi-layered, including culture ideology, race ethnicity, class, religion and sexual orientation. (Lewis, 1993).

Whatever the analyses, conclusions or suggestions, men seem to be in crisis, and they are in crisis at a very basic level in terms of their sexuality. Introduction of sexuality to the female is usually guided and systematically presented from a positive perspective. Introduction of sexuality to the male, however, often occurs through pornography or does not take place at all. Until recently, for example, Family Planning Clinics were not visited by men. On 28 June 1996 the Family Planning Association of Trinidad and Tobago opened a "For Men Only Clinic", which offers services specially for the male population. It was felt that this new facility would fill a gap in the actual target population which, although always meant to be composed of male and female, in practice comprised women only. At the inception, service was rendered once monthly, but very soon had to be provided twice per month and moved to once a week in 1997. The majority of men visiting the Clinic had to be referred to Prostate Specific Antigene (PSA) tests.

In addition to the historical factor of enslavement, several factors, among which material constraints, and as a result, image devaluation, tend to weaken the authority of fathers and husbands in the home. Loss of authority, control and respectability affects men terribly. It often leads to loss of a sense of self as well. In fact, one argument is that the very same social processes that give men power and privilege in a patriarchal society, cause men pain and hurt but also cause diminution and distortion of their human capabilities and capacities.

The Caribbean man escapes. He runs away from the obstacles to fulfil the expected obligations and avoids confrontation with his non-performance. He escapes to another woman and another home, he escapes in work, cricket or the gym, the computer and Internet, or to the street corner where he hangs out with the "fellers", and/or he escapes to the rumshop in some instances, he debates with "the boys" in other social classes. In middle class situations he may escape into his computer.

In the Caribbean society of today, young men hunt status symbols of the time. Their role models have model lifestyles which they also wish to follow: fancy cars, hang-outs in expensive popular locations, among others. On the other hand, in the Caribbean society of today, performance, achievement and success are not linked to effort, and do not always pay.

Manifestation of power is not linked to concepts of responsibility and to the performance of duties. The use of power has no legitimation either. It is connected to violence. The image of fathers or other male adults in the home is often that of a person who turns to domestic violence as he escapes eroded male authority.

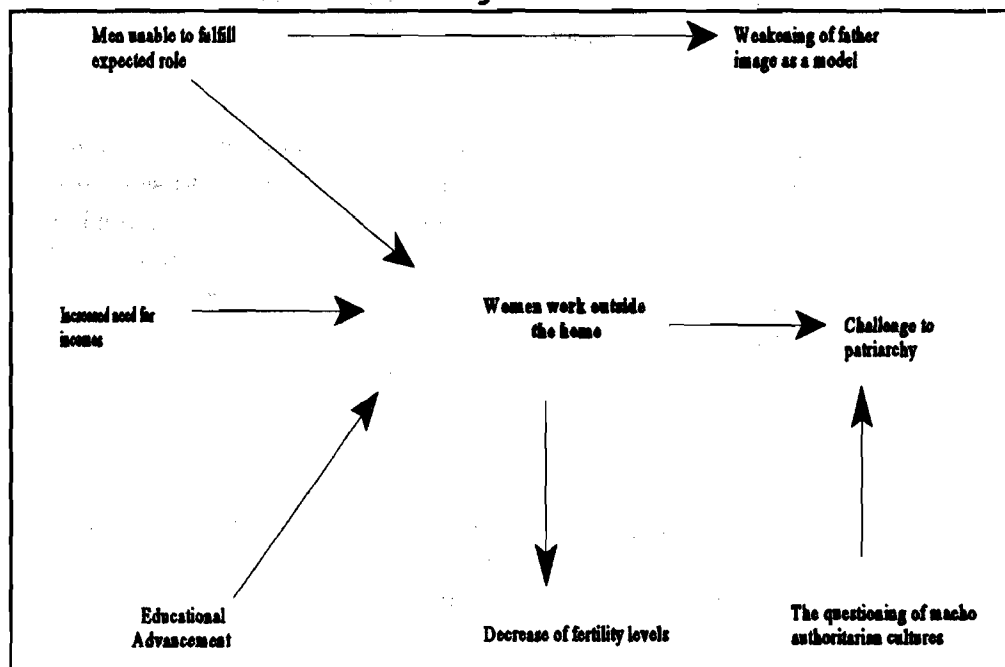
Young people often have an inferior image of their fathers and of adult male in general, compared to the image they have of their mothers. Women often have a similar image of their husbands or partners. The real behaviour of fathers and husbands does not respond to the traditional father and husband figure. (Katzman, CEPAL, 1992).

Various factors interplay to raise the perception of the non-performing male at risk. (See Figure 1).

A concept of continued controversy is that of patriarchy. Patriarchal power is very difficult to comprehend as it involves everything. The institution of patriarchy has influenced the most fundamental notions of human nature and the relation between the individual and the universe as well. Patriarchy is the only system which up until very recently has never been challenged openly in history. Its doctrines have held such universal acceptance that they seemed to be the law of nature. In fact, they have often been presented as such.

Patriarchy is male domination of society. This domination is a structure of power and is said to have emerged from adaptive responses to ensure survival in society as it was organized. An important fact is that patriarchy is learned behaviour and we know that learned behaviour can be changed.

Figure 1



Today, however, the disintegration of patriarchy is imminent. The system of male domination is moving into decay, slowly but inevitably. Plans of Action of every world conference are based on the pursuit of equality and sustainability in society.

Feminism and the feminist movement - based on respect for differences - is one of the most spirited cultural currents of our time. Its ideas will have profound repercussions on future evolutions. Feminism is an expression of the transition to modernity. It has, in fact, emerged as part of modernity and at the same time in response to its entry. As from its inception, feminism has criticized the old paradigms of action and knowledge while it has at the same time, been under their influence. (Vargas, 1992).

As the confidence in institutions, political parties and the State tend to lessen, and as vehicles for social change and transformation start to weaken, feminism arises as one of the most integrated explanations of social reality, shaping itself as a political project which not only stands for the liberation of half of the world's humanity but also presents itself as a proposal for transformation of life on this planet.

But the world has not entered post-patriarchy yet. All men and women are part of male-dominated society. They belong to it as men and women from different economic and social groups, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, etc. The ravages, conflicts and contradictions of patriarchal society cannot be escaped.

The recent concern in the Caribbean about men in danger has grown not only because of poor male *participation*, but particularly because of poor male *performance*. In a review and analysis of changing Caribbean social structures, in which perceived marginalization of the male is a concern, due attention should be given to the fact that men are not homogeneous, nor are the women to whom they relate. For more reasons than one the experience of black men and women in the Caribbean has been very specific.

Similarly, masculinity and femininity are not homogeneous and need to be analyzed in relation to each other. In fact, gender relations include several masculinities and several femininities. In terms of class there is also the view that men of **popular class** backgrounds have been marginalized by the system. The whole organization of society, its production and reproduction, has endangered the marginal position of men in the social sphere. These men have responded to their exclusion by escaping the home. On the other hand, men of **middle class** backgrounds, equally marginalized by the same system, have often responded to their social marginalization by presenting themselves as tyrants in the home. The father who everybody fears.

What about power? Caribbean (contradictory) experience of power is very specific as well. Shaped by enslavement and oppression, its reality confirms the heterogeneity of power. To further complicate matters, societies of oppression breed resistance to oppression, so that the history of oppression is also the history of struggle against oppression. This includes the creation of forms of personal power not valued by society.

Methods to approach the issue are important to consider. The study of the specific experience of different social categories or groups of people is very possible, thanks to the revolution in social science research caused by feminism, which introduced a new methodology. A fundamental parameter of the new research methodology is the acceptance that the personal is political. This

means that the experience or situation of the individual person is not hers or his alone, it is the experience or situation of many others as well. Or, vice versa, the experience or situation of so many others is the experience or situation of the individual person as well. This implies that the researcher is both subject and object of study, rather than an impartial observer. In other words, the research must include the researcher. The results will necessarily be richer and closer to social reality than if the individual researcher were not included. The importance of her/his inclusion is related to the fact that everyone has divergent placements in the hierarchy of power. (Kaufman, 1991).

As is often the case with a new idea, the feminist study of gender relations has created controversy. It has raised fundamental questions about the roles and the status traditionally ascribed to both males and females. Its spearhead, the feminist movement, has been rejected by some, though for others feminism has caused a new awareness, including at the intellectual level, that gender might be a useful new category to examine many aspects of human behaviour and this methodology has been emulated. The result has been a comparative analysis of a number of issues based on gender. This comparison has brought new information to the fore. In a sense, feminism has presented an hypothesis and so encouraged others to engage in the task of testing it. New information is causing some people to refine their original perceptions and create new ones. One such new perception is what has been referred to as the increasing marginalization of men.

Men actually manifest many of the same symptoms as a class suffering downward social mobility. The thought was prompted by the distinction between the status or position ascribed until now to men and the material position that they achieved. Not only is the gap between these two widening but the prevailing ideology, i.e., patriarchy, is being challenged. The perception of downward mobility creates many responses. Often there is aggression, which is the traditionally conditioned and expected male response to an obstacle. Where this fails, as it is bound to do with increasing frequency, since it is not an appropriate response to this type of situation, the result will be confusion, a sense of failure, or withdrawal, perhaps escape and often a lack of self esteem. Experience also shows that in other cases of downward mobility this trauma leads either to conformity to the new norms or to social deviance, and with the mirror image of the same thing, maybe to innovation.

It is not difficult to understand why men are facing a challenge to their preeminence in the formal work place. In a rational modern society positions of leadership will be achieved by the most capable for the task, irrespective of gender, race or other ascribed criteria. At one level there has been an opening of opportunity to women in all fields. The traditional roles of women have been challenged, liberating them to participate in a variety of new fields.

At the same time the nature of work itself has changed to downplay the physical strength and to emphasize the mental agility. As we enter the information age, it is preeminence in mental tasks that will confer the greatest social mobility. Even in war, it is now mental acuity which will prevail over physical strength. In industry, even in those tasks not yet requiring high levels of training, it is manual dexterity and the discipline to perform repetitive tasks consistently and with discipline which will be selected over physical strength or aggression. Indeed, aggression becomes dysfunctional where cooperation and teamwork are called to be paramount.

But perceptions often lag behind reality. Maybe males need role models more appropriate to the times. It seems that the many popular male role models, certainly those in the popular media, are still popular because of their capacity to use violence in solving problems. The real world we now have to face is quite different and the signposts are not clearly marked.

The issue of marginalization raises a number of questions, and elicits responses of rejection, acceptance or enquiry in different people, similar to the process engendered by feminism.

The following texts represent research and experience of some participants to the first official meeting in the Caribbean which addressed the question of male marginalization: **Men and Women in Changing Caribbean Social Structures**, convened by the United Nations ECLAC in Trinidad and Tobago, 22-23 March 1993.

Gemma Tang Nain takes the reader back into history, examines positions of men in the world of work and looks at boys in the education system and in the home from a gender perspective, in the three periods of enslavement, post-emancipation and modern times.

Sonja Harris explains how socialization, opportunity and organization affect men and women differently and affect the relations between men and women as well, while Jeanette Morris investigates academic performance and related conditioning factors.

Annette Wiltshire is preoccupied with the eroding external power upon which men have always depended and with the dearth of healthy role models for young males. She also rejects the mother blame for societal ills today.

The preoccupation with the perceived marginalization of men in Dominica is illustrated by Michael Anthony in terms of the education system and the emerging data on the labour force.

The recent history of male organizing around a social issue is told by Barry Chevannes in the case of men's efforts to alter the self-image and behaviour of Jamaican men.

Rafael Ramírez describes and reconceptualizes the concept of machismo, which otherwise distorts the concept of masculinity, and focuses on the complexity of its construction and its varied manifestations. The sex-oriented construction of manhood in Puerto Rico occupies an important place in his discourse.

Rhona Flores undertook some research on male-female performance in secondary schools in Trinidad and uses primary data to examine the mechanisms through which the male becomes marginalized.

In his profound study of the Caribbean male, Errol Miller draws on a wealth of sources including his own research to show that conflict based on power, resources, status, belief and culture riddles Caribbean societies and is at the root of the marginalization of the male as expressed in a wide range of symptoms.

Stephanie Pile looks at the UWI Faculty of Engineering through a gender lens and acknowledges that power is in the hands of the academic males and that this is perpetuated by the very structure of the organization.

In his study and analysis, Fitzroy Joseph shows that marginalization of men is created throughout their lives as they are denied knowledge and full experience and participation in major life events of their female partners and of children. As a result, they become very fragile and vulnerable when hit by economic insecurity or loss and by illness or other limitations.

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HISTORICAL REVIEW

by

Gemma Tang Nain

One can identify three broad periods in Caribbean social structure - slavery, the post-emancipation period up to the 1930s, and the modern period beginning in the 1940s and taking greater shape since political independence in the 1960s and 1970s.

Enslavement

During the period of enslavement, the vast majority of women and men had the same social status. They were all enslaved. The majority of adult female enslaved - with the exception of pregnant and aged women - worked alongside their male counterparts in the field in the first or big gang. There they cut and ground the cane during the crop season and, out of season, they cleared and hoed the land and planted the cane. In fact, in the 1830s, towards the end of slavery, women accounted for over 60 per cent of the field labour force.

Within the system of enslavement, women and men were occupationally differentiated which provided the basis for social differentiation later on. There were three broad categories of work: the work of artisans, domestic work and field labour. Men worked in all three categories. Women worked in both domestic work and on the field, but were completely excluded from the artisan group, which offered the most prestigious and widest variety of occupations with good opportunities for earning cash incomes in the latter years of that historical period.

Domestic work and field labour included a wide range of occupations. Those of butler, coachman and quite often, cook, in the domestic sphere, would not be assigned to women. Similarly, women were excluded from the position of driver or foreman (supervisor) in field labour, except when related to the children's gang. Women predominated as field hands.

Thus field labour in times of slavery took place according to a sexual division of labour with women occupying the least prestigious positions and men predominating in the relatively few higher status positions available.

The post-emancipation period

The post-emancipation period experienced a process of housewifization of the female ex-slave. This was effected not only through material conditions relative to jobs, remuneration and access to land, but also through the use of the ideological apparatus in the education system and in the church.

From the outset of wage labour, women not only received less wages than men, sometimes for identical jobs, but were replaced by men as the preferred worker. As early as 1842, men

accounted for over 60 per cent of the work force, moving from just under 40 per cent in 1838. Thus, a complete reversal of male to female labour was effected in just four years. To the extent that women remained on the work force, they tended to predominate as irregular or casual workers which had implications for their access to land and income. A significant number of female ex-slaves were employed as domestic servants, especially in the urban areas.

For those women of the middle classes who worked outside the home, employment was limited to shop assistant, clerk, teacher, nurse and junior member of the civil service. Similar to their working class sisters, these women were discriminated against in terms of positions held and remuneration received.

The situation of Indian women under the indentureship system introduced in some countries was similar to the new wage labour system and was characterized by a division of labour along gender lines and lower wages to women than to men. In fact, while work for men within the indentureship system was divided into three categories, "Sirdar" (community head), Head Man and Male Labourer, all women were simply classified as female labourers and paid less than the male labourers. In 1913, four years before the indentureship system officially ended, two British Commissioners found that women were earning something like one-half to two-thirds of the wages of men.

The promotion of the ideology of the dependent housewife and the male breadwinner was intensified in the 1930s with the differentiation of school curricula along gender lines and the prohibition of employment of married women in certain categories within the civil service. The prohibition by law of employment of women in certain industrial enterprises at night was also effected in the 1930s in some territories.

During the post-emancipation period, therefore, differentiation along gender lines deepened and became more institutionalized in both the education system and in employment.

The modern period

Both women and men made significant advances in education in the modern period, particularly with the expansion of the education system since political independence. In recent years, women have been out-performing men at every level of the system, from primary to tertiary.

The point must be made that women's advances in education have been achieved despite the fact that in almost all the territories of the English-speaking Caribbean, boys are given a lower passing grade than girls for entry into secondary school. Further, gender stereotyping within the system persists with girls being channelled into a limited range of subjects, particularly at the level of technical/vocational training.

It is arguable that the sexism inherent in the content of textbooks may partially explain the persistence of gender stereotyping. Towards the end of the 1980s, an analysis of the English language textbooks published after 1978 for the Caribbean Examinations syllabus, showed that over 90 per cent of the principal characters as well as those in leadership positions was male.

Another fundamental point is that, by and large, women have not been able to translate their advances in education into significant increases in employment and earning capacity. In addition to being concentrated in a narrow range of jobs, they consistently earn less than men at all levels. Indeed, their predominance in lower and middle level white-collar jobs which, while requiring relatively high levels of education attract minimal earnings, ensures their lesser earnings relative to men's. Meanwhile, men predominate in the top positions of all the major social institutions and the business sector, in the technical and vocational areas which attract high earnings, in the maxi taxi/minibus trade and in the entertainment industry. It is no wonder, then, that a significant number of boys of the lower socio-economic groups frown on formal education as they can earn money through activities which do not involve deferring gratification to the extent that formal education does.

While, therefore, it is true to say that increased educational opportunities have improved the social status of women, as a group, women continue to be disadvantaged relative to men. With respect to the legal system, significant pieces of legislation have been passed in recent years as a result of women organizing in their own interests, particularly since the reactivation of the women's movement in the 1970s and 1980s. While these laws have helped to equalize the position of women and men some discriminatory laws, in favour of men and against women, still remain. Further, the endemic problem of violence against women continues to frustrate our efforts for equality.

Another challenge faced by women in recent years has been the impact of structural adjustment programmes in several territories of the region. Studies have shown that women, children and the elderly tend to be the worse affected by these programmes with women suffering in particular ways on account of their reproductive capability and their gender specific responsibility for reproducing labour power through a combination of housework and child care.

The modern period, then, may have resulted in women being less marginalized than they were before though some experts may dispute such an assertion. As mentioned earlier, men continue to dominate the leadership positions in all the major sectors and institutions of society. Therefore, given that women seem to need higher educational qualifications than men for meaningful employment, poor, uneducated women remain the most marginalized group in the English-speaking Caribbean.

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WHO IS MARGINALIZED?

by
Sonja Harris

This author offers the following notes for thought with regard to conditioning social settings which lead towards marginalization of certain social groups.

At least three factors contribute to the development of marginalized social groups in Caribbean society:

1. Socialization patterns
2. Opportunity and mobility
3. Organization and associations

The fact is, however, that these factors affect men and women differently, as they do affect the relations between them. The first one may relate to family values and gender roles, the second one to education, occupation and income, while the third bears on the formation of interest groups and actions of lobbying in minor or major societal contexts.

Socialization

The process of socialization gives different messages to male and female in society, as it creates and portrays different gender positions and gender roles, different ways of treating male and female, some of which are not always socially necessary.

* A different value is placed on female vs. male offspring. Evidence of female subordination appears in number and range of household tasks and social restrictions imposed on male or female children, while the value of both to family life is indispensable and therefore equally high. Evidence of male dominance appears in limited household and caring responsibilities assigned to them and more social freedoms granted. In general, the value of the male to family life is based on economic contributions, thus rendering him dispensable and of lower value when not financially solvent or secure.

* The education system has gained increasing relevance as the curriculum becomes more Caribbeanised. However, the challenge of education's relevance to the job market has not yet been addressed. There is, for example, limited relationship between Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) and Vocational/Technical training. Boys are opting out of the secondary school system and seizing other opportunities, as for example, DJ singers especially in Jamaica, or as drug/gun traffickers. These alternative avenues to mobility and income can pay off and reinforce male dominance based on financial resources. In cases where illegal activities lead to incarceration, male

marginalization in the household has increased. This leads to greater burdens on the females and further disregard of the male.

Opportunity

Access to education, though equal by law in most Caribbean countries, cannot equally be utilized by male and female, especially not by those living in less privileged circumstances. Similarly and as a result of deficient or inadequate education, a significant gender differentiation occurs in both participation and performance in the world of work, while differences in income for equal work pertain as well.

Organization

Women have been largely marginalized by policy makers. In order to address their developmental needs, women have had a history and tradition of grouping themselves into organizations and associations to discuss the issues pertinent to them and address their needs. However, the largest pool of women workers -domestic workers- still experiences discrimination under State laws and regulations. While male unskilled workers are equally unorganized as unrecognized as a group, they are better positioned on the labour market. Both groups are marginalized in different ways, and the effects are negative for both sexes of the next generation.

In conclusion, it is suggested that unless change occurs in these factors to the effect that gender equity is guaranteed in all, the process of marginalization of one group or the other cannot be arrested.

SCHOOL TEACHES BUT REACHES ONLY HALF THE SCHOOL POPULATION

by
Jeanette Morris

Introduction

The concept of male marginality is not a new one in the Caribbean context. It has been raised in the discourse about the Caribbean family and the absent father giving rise to the image of the strong Caribbean female - the mother who fathered her offspring. Today, however, the question of the absent male is a matter of concern. Male marginalization is being raised especially in the educational context in Trinidad and Tobago as well as in other islands of the Anglophone Caribbean. From all appearances, females outperform males overall at every level of the educational system. It has been suggested that this underperformance of males is a direct result of the increasing and improved achievement of females. There have been calls for special attention to be paid to boys within the schools to reverse this trend.

It is the thesis of this paper that males in the Anglophone Caribbean are not marginalized, that their rejection of traditional forms of schooling may be a deliberate choice based on the perceived material advantages of alternative activities. An examination of the parameters at the supply end i.e. what school education offers, may be a point of consideration. It may also be an affirmation of gender identity based on an image of masculinity, prevalent in the society and reinforced by the media, which emphasizes sexual prowess, wealth and violence and devalues intellectual pursuits. Male academic performance will be examined as well as contributory factors such as gender socialization, the school experience and other societal factors.

Academic performance

At the primary level in Trinidad and Tobago there are single sex as well as coeducational schools both of the denominational and government-owned types. In a study which aimed to identify determinants of educational success in primary schools of Trinidad and Tobago, Jules and Kutnick (1991) found that regardless of type of school, girls did better than boys overall and in every curriculum area. Miller (1991), in a study on the effectiveness of Jamaican primary schools, found that at the end of primary schooling, measured by the Nelson Reading Test, a United States standardized test, girls were more literate than boys. The superior performance of females is borne out by the results of the Common Entrance Examination which is used to select children for placement into secondary school in the majority of the Anglophone Caribbean islands. In Trinidad and Tobago, as in Barbados, girls usually outperform boys in this test. However, as there are more secondary school places available for boys, the cut off scores for boys are usually lower than those for girls so that in effect girls suffer some disadvantage in access to secondary education (Layne, 1989; Trinidad and Tobago Ministry of Education, 1987).

At the secondary level females are more successful than males in terms of remaining in the system and participating in external examinations. This is evidenced in the entry statistics for the Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) examinations, which all secondary school students take on completion of five years of secondary schooling. Overall, females dominate in the majority of subject areas. Of the 33 subject areas in 1988 and 1989, only 12 had more male entries (Morris, 1991). Gender stereotyping of subject areas was evident as the subjects with higher male entries were in the science and technical areas, while female entries were clustered in the humanities, business studies and craft areas related to homemaking. Females performed better in the subjects in which female entries predominated while males performed better in the areas in which male entries were greater.

The enrolment statistics for technical institutes show the same pattern of gender stereotyping in subject choice. The same is true at the University of the West Indies, where 60 per cent of all graduates are now female, while the largest numbers of female students are found in the Faculties of Humanities, Education and Social Sciences. What accounts for the persistence of gender stereotyping in the education system which leads males to consider the majority of subject areas more suitable for females and restrict themselves to a narrow curriculum? The answer may lie partly in the socialization process.

Socialization

Gender stereotyping begins in the family. From the moment of birth boys and girls are treated differently. Child rearing practices seem to respond to a traditional view of sex roles, as boys are encouraged to explore the public sphere while girls are restrained and limited to the home. This emerged from a survey administered to students during an ethnographic study of a senior comprehensive school in Trinidad and Tobago (Morris, 1992). Girls are stifled by the protectiveness of parents and envy boys' freedom.

One boy made the following comment: "I feel girls are under more pressure than boys. For most of the time the girls are in the house and they hardly get a chance to see the outside world".

Some boys perceived this as the reason for girls' superior academic performance. They did not attribute it to girls' greater ability but to more time spent studying: "My parents are more protective of my sisters so they hardly go out. So they have a lot of spare time, so they study, do school work".

Students were also asked what household chores were performed by their parents as well as what chores they themselves performed. There was a clear division of tasks by gender. Mothers in general performed those duties associated with child-rearing, cleaning and cooking while fathers often did no chores at all. Tasks considered suitable for males include: clean the yard, fix cars, take care of animals, etc. Girls tend to assist their mother and boys tend to perform tasks similar to their fathers'. Girls, because of the discipline and restraint to which they are subjected in the home, are better prepared for the traditional educational environment of our schools, where passive rather than active learning is the norm and where silence in the classroom is seen as the hallmark of good

teaching. Boys, accustomed from early to an active life outside the home and on the street, are less able to conform to the rigidity of the classroom.

Chevannes (1996) makes the point that a large part of male socialization takes place on the street, where prevalent behaviours and values are the antithesis of all that schools represent. On the street, survival is the name of the game and education does not serve the male well in that context.

A variety of other explanations for male rejection of education have been proffered and Miller (1993) identifies some of them. The absence of male role models in the schools has been suggested as one possible cause. The majority of teachers at all levels of the school system are female. Because of the low pay and declining status of the profession, many men are leaving the teaching jobs. Research does not indicate, however, that there is a correlation between sex of teacher and pupil achievement.

Another suggestion is that girls, in order to succeed and to obtain jobs, need more education than males, who gain employment more easily in spite of their lack of qualifications. Girls therefore are more highly motivated than boys. Miller points out that labour markets in the Caribbean are not only segmented by gender but also by education, and that although unskilled men earn more than unskilled women, the differences in income among educated men and educated women are less. Boys should therefore be motivated to seek education if they wish to achieve better jobs. It is clear, however, that they are not motivated to achieve when in school or even motivated to stay in school. Drop-out rates for public primary schools show that males are the ones dropping out in larger numbers (C.S.O., 1997). Although the data for secondary schools was not disaggregated by sex, the trend probably continued. Research on drop-outs should identify whether they have joined the labour market, whether they joined the ranks of the idle unemployed or whether they have found a source of material wealth and an affirmation of themselves as men through crime, violence or other deviant behaviours. While these young men present a social problem, to lay the blame for their perceived "marginalization" on young women who are empowering themselves through education, is to compound the problem. It is to react in a simplistic manner to a perceived threat instead of examining what we do in schools, how and what we teach, in order to see why it is not relevant or interesting to young men. Changing circumstances and a changing world demand that we reassess our offerings in schools, as the content and delivery of our programmes do not address half of our school population. We cannot afford not to educate our future fathers.

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FACING EMPOWERMENT VERSUS WITHDRAWAL

by
Annette Wiltshire

Many of the ills in society today are accounted for in terms of what is commonly referred to as "the decline of the family". Entrenched in that concept is a great deal of misplaced mother blame. The role of the woman/mother in the family has changed in that women are no longer family-tied as before. They have joined the labour force and even when they do not work outside of the home, they do not accept the traditional role of being all things to all family members. In past decades we have seen a growth in the notion of gender equality, operating in many contexts, including among races and ethnic groups. Equality of opportunity for education, jobs and access to proper housing, equal pay-scales, political participation and domestic work within the home have been on the agenda.

This quest/demand for equality has struck at the quality of the power potential which existed (unfair in most instances) between the sexes on all fronts, including within family. The external sources of power upon which men drew (from physical stature to boss on the job) have been tremendously eroded as women increasingly take charge of their lives. Women draw on internal sources of power as they go through their paces of daily living. They have defined new gender roles, they are more goal-directed and assertive.

The male response to this has been at the least a sense of disorientation, accompanied by a frantic duck-like struggle (i.e. calm on the surface, but paddling hard, sometimes viciously below) to exhibit superiority in one form or the other. Ways of communicating, relating, sharing and caring have become jeopardized. Evaluations of social life, friendship, family life and marriage have become highly weighted in sexual terms and symbols, which have come to represent the last *perceived* secure vestiges of manhood. Male self-image is often quite fragile, really.

That within the family, mothers are primary care givers cannot be disputed. But research has increasingly unearthed the critical importance of the male/father whether he is absent or present physically or psychologically. Many indirect processes associated with the role of the father contribute to the psycho-pathology of children. Many are typified by behavioural disorders of the external kind-delinquency. Alcoholism and anti-social paternal behaviours have far-reaching consequences.

Today's young males have a dearth of healthy male models. Pervasive media techniques have intensified the problem of negative modeling. Educational institutions have failed in not being able to strengthen the frayed social and, consequently, academic self-image of males. Unemployment has also taken its toll. We are now watching the progressive decline/lag in male development at the personal level as males have not engaged in any meaningful way in keeping up with the changing nature of relationships between men and women.

Men and women now have to strive to share and communicate in such a way that a new society will evolve in which the person - male or female - and the quality of his/her immediate relationships (be they at home, in the workplace or recreative) is perceived as fundamental to the quality of society and its institutions. Growth will then be not only the right of all, but it will be perceived by all to be attainable.

MALE MARGINALIZATION IN DOMINICA

by
Martin Anthony

Groups of persons in the Commonwealth of Dominica have quite aptly realized that amidst all the global changes, one cannot remain blind to the perception that the marginalization of man in Caribbean society is growing and needs to be addressed.

This author states that man was chosen and delegated in various ways by the Creator since biblical times. The view is that man has failed, to a certain extent, to fulfil his various callings. There are persons who are quick to put the blame squarely on the shoulders of man himself for his marginalization. Others put forward the opinion that male marginalization is now openly seen because women have asserted themselves. Whatever the reason, the perception that the Dominican man is marginalized persists.

This scenario can be traced, for example, in the field of education. Studies show that in the Caribbean, there is a preponderance of women teachers, both at primary and secondary schools. One wonders what impact this is having on the male student. In Dominica, and perhaps in the entire Caribbean, one is left to wonder for what concrete reasons girls generally outperform boys at Common Entrance Examination. There is also an overall higher entrance of girls at the University of the West Indies. This, partly explains why on the job market, more women qualify to enter the civil service and even the private sector.

Dominica's Labour Force Survey of 1991 illustrates:

<u>Occupational group</u>	<u>% Male</u>	<u>% Female</u>
Legislators, senior officials and managers	3.5	5.6
Professionals	2.1	3.1
Technicians & associate professionals	5.0	8.2
Secretarial & clerical personnel	2.9	13.5
Service & sales workers	3.7	17.2

Source: Labour Force Survey of Dominica, 1991.

The scenario of male marginalization affects the family and by extension, the society. Women need men in creating new life and family. They expect and deserve not merely a co-worker, but a spouse, who will provide quality family life, moral support and who would also be capable of intellectual stimulus. Today's women ought to feel confident and proud of their men; unafraid of presenting them to their associates at work, organizations, forum or to society at large. To achieve this, education is helpful. Not necessarily academic education, but finances are important as well.

The question of finance relates to the labour market. For example, Dominica's 1990 Labour Force Survey shows a high unemployment rate among men of marriageable age. It is, therefore, not surprising that young Dominican females meet few eligible men. In addition to the normal pressures of being wife, mother, resource persons, should they also deliberately set out to be sole breadwinners?

The absence of men to head the family, plus their absence in the religious realm is worth noting. Errol Miller, in his book "Men at Risk" highlights the fact that the black family has, over the years, undergone many changes. He notes the greater number of women, especially married women, remaining in the labour force. He also examines black women's progress in the field of education and their success at the workplace, at precisely the time when men suffered a decline. Miller claims that many men are unable to cope with this change in gender relationships and that domestic violence is a common response. In this context it should be recognized that men tend to assert themselves by adopting an "I am the boss" attitude. Miller also notes the rise in the divorce rate and the phenomenon of women proceeding with motherhood and single parenthood in the face of scarcity of marriageable men. In this scenario one may expect the perpetuation of children being born into families without male role models.

To address the issue of male marginalization the following suggestions are made:

1. Research should vigorously address reasons why male students seem to be underachievers.
2. Men need to rediscover and strengthen their role in the family.
3. Women should not see themselves as independent of men, but as partners.
4. Male solidarity should be fostered to examine the plight of men.
5. Men need to assert themselves, but not necessarily dominate.

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HELPING MEN BECOME BETTER FATHERS: A CASE STUDY OF JAMAICA

by
Barry Chevannes

In the early 1990s a group of young fathers got together for a particular purpose: to alter the self-image and behaviour of Jamaican men by projecting a more positive image of fatherhood. They had individual and collective concerns about men's role, attitude and behaviour in and outside the home and in society at large.

The role of men in family and family related issues has only recently become a subject of concern and study in Jamaica. To some extent, this concern was prompted by the resistance to family planning on the part of large numbers of women, who cited the objection of their spouses as reason for not contracepting. An attempt by the National Family Planning Board to offer a Male Education Programme was largely in response to this male objection.

The activism of the women's movement, which began in the 1970s, brought into sharp and contentious focus the sex-role differentiation in the family. A large proportion of women head their own households (on an average of 34 per cent) and in many cases are deprived of the moral or financial support of the fathers of their children. As more and more women enter the labour force, some sectors, for example, tourism, employ as many women as men, while other sectors, for example, the garment manufacturing industry, employ upwards of 90 per cent, more conscious and articulate women are demanding of their spouses a share in the double burden.

The AIDS epidemic has made it imperative that efforts be made to alter the sexual behaviour characteristics of men and women, but particularly of men. There are the widespread practice of casual sex and multiple partnerships on the one hand and aesthetic and even ideological revulsion to the use of the condom on the other. The combination of these two features poses, in the current situation, a grave danger to health.

Caribbean Child Development Centre

This was the social background in Jamaica when the Caribbean Child Development Centre of the University of the West Indies, Mona, organized its conference on parenting on 29 January 1991. One of the workshops was targeted for fathers only. The session had hardly begun when the group of 17 men, most of them between 25 and 35 years old, expressed strenuous objections to the fact that all men were being stereotyped as either absentee or poor fathers, when, to their certain knowledge, they, by their own personal conduct and experience, were good fathers and spouses. Some blamed the feminist movement, others the media, which, they felt, was more disposed to project the many bad examples of irresponsible fatherhood. Good fathers, not inclined to project themselves, went unnoticed. From there the discussion moved on to consider men's role in the family and their own positive attitude towards and actual involvement in household activities traditionally reserved

for women. These two themes dominated the 75 minutes-long-workshop, and were reported to the plenary session in the form of a dramatized presentation.

The realization by the group of a sense of common identity and their evident enthusiasm led me to suggest that the group stay together. All 17, plus a few others who had opted for other workshops, responded positively. Several women also volunteered their absent husbands. Despite these intentions and mobilization efforts, however, only 10 men turned out to the first meetings.

Two categories of men proved the most difficult to mobilize. Only one of the five or six living in the Portmore suburb, some 10 miles from the centre of the city, where the meetings took place, attended once. He never returned. The distance might have been a serious constraint. Of those men who were volunteered by their wives, some of whom were contacted face to face, not one came. This was a significant signal relative to power in gender relations.

Action

Taking its name from the conference, Fathers Only immediately set to work, even before discussing its objectives. In the advent of Labour Day, the group decided that its project for the day would be to play fathers to the children at the institution, Glenhope Place of Safety for Girls. The administration was delighted. Five different activities were planned with the girls: a period for each father getting to know his 10 or 15 children and for the children to know him; a couple hours of play with the girls; lunch at table, each with his own family; a counselling session organized on an age-grade basis; and, an evening concert, at which the girls performed and the fathers dramatized their role in a skit. The success of the day may be judged from the many requests to return, which some have found time to do.

Following this event, Fathers Only agreed on one single objective: to help men become better fathers. Two strategies were to be utilized: (1) mobilizing and training men to be peer counsellors, and (2) drama-in-education. To carry out the activities related to these strategies UNICEF provided a grant of J\$30,000. Its success led to an invitation from the Institute of Management and Production for Fathers Only to dramatize its conception of the role of father to a lunch hour group.

Following the summer break, the group planned and staged a two-day peer counselling training workshop for 17 young fathers who received training in the parental role of father, human growth and development, sex and sexually transmitted diseases, and budgeting and economic issues. Nearly all joined Fathers Only. In the activities leading up to the training workshop, which came off in February 1992, two members appeared on the "Night Doctor", a radio call-in show. Members of the public were very supportive.

Launching Fathers Incorporated

More and more people, hearing about the group and its activities, were expressing encouragement, based on what they felt was its timeliness. However, these sentiments, while vindicating the judgement to establish the group, were not being matched by a corresponding rate of

growth in membership. Concluding that the group needed a higher public profile, the membership decided to stage a public launching. The Caribbean Child Development Centre (CCDC) which was then planning a second conference, this time to receive and discuss a report on a two-year research and animation project, entitled "The Contribution of Caribbean Men to the Family", invited Fathers Only to link the public launching with the conference. The CCDC decided to limit the conference to male participants only.

In preparation for the conference, the group received an audience with His Excellency, Sir Howard Cooke, the Governor General of Jamaica, who offered his support. It mobilized 50 of the 160 conference participants and provided logistical support. Membership consultation led to a change of name from Fathers Only to Fathers Incorporated.

The future

Fathers Incorporated has developed in the course of time. Over 70 men signing membership forms at the first conference has brought total signing membership to nearly 100. Mostly drawn from the working class, they could, it is hoped, prove influential in beginning to change attitudes and practices in their communities. For example, many of the new membership derive from communities which supply the garment manufacturing industry with female labour. As more and more women join the labour force permanently, changes are called for in the way children are being nurtured. Fathers Incorporated is in a position to encourage men to play a more prominent role.

Fathers Incorporated has also begun to tackle issues related to sexuality, for example, condom use, certain traditional views about sex and male-female relations.

In collaboration with the Department of Sociology and Social Work, at the UWI, plans have been put in place to study the impact of a group of fathers trained as peer counsellors over a long term. Through such a study, it would be able to document the behavioural changes induced by Fathers Incorporated and verify its aim "to help men become better fathers".

THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SELF IMAGE OF THE PUERTO RICAN MALE

by
Rafael L. Ramírez

Several decades before the term became popular and widely used, Nemesio Canales (1992), a Puerto Rican essayist and journalist, attributed to our machismo (*nuestro machismo*) the persistence of male chauvinism, authoritarianism, and violence against women in our society during the early years of the present century. Although Canales is seldom quoted, his brief description of some characteristics of the macho persist on the extensive literature on machismo. In that literature Latino men are generally described as virility obsessed, aggressive, oppressive, insecure, narcissistic, boastful and highly sexed. Although some authors (Abad, Ramos and Boyce 1974; De la Cancela 1981; Padilla and Ruiz 1973) point out what they consider the positive aspects of machismo, such as courage, responsibility and perseverance, the term is usually associated with negative attributes and pathological traits.

Machismo

The discussion of machismo became popular in social sciences literature in the mid-1950 and the 1960s. It was initially considered a particular characteristic of Latin American males, specially among the lower classes of these societies. The ethnocentric and class biased approach to machismo was later modified when it was incorporated into feminist discourse and everyday life speech both in Latin America and the United States (Stone 1974). A review of the literature also shows that the term has been incorporated into a psychological discourse which emphasizes individual characteristics and in which machismo is considered an attitudinal complex, a constellation of traits, or a syndrome. The literature on machismo is highly repetitive, both in the definitions of the phenomenon and in the description of the behavior associated with it. With very few exceptions that literature consists mainly of variations of statements made during the 1950s by the Mexican psychologist, Bermúdez, (1955) and Stycos (1955); the latter is the Anglo sociologist known by his research on attitudes towards contraception and birth control in Puerto Rico. Bermúdez defines machismo as "a typical case of unconscious compensation against hidden feminine tendencies in the Mexican male." The initial statements of Bermúdez, according to De la Cancela, set the trend among psychologists to discuss machismo as an intrapsychic phenomenon "devoid of its socio-historical roots" (1981:23).

In a preliminary study on the sociocultural aspects of human fertility in Puerto Rico, Stycos (1955) highlighted the direct and indirect effects of machismo, understood as a manifestation of virility in its association with sexuality, on the adoption of, or resistance to birth control practices among lower class Puerto Rican males. However, in a subsequent study in which he also participated, the researchers found that Puerto Rican men had no particular obsession with virility.

The alleged masculinity drives, which, are supposed to lie behind the Puerto Rican male's opposition to family limitation, appear largely the figment of novelists and others who have

stereotyped all Puerto Rican men with the macho stamp. In Puerto Rico, men are authoritarian, dominant, and distant but not virility obsessed. (Hill, Stycos and Back 1959:375).

It seems that their conclusion had no impact because in most of the literature, the cult and the obsession with virility are considered major characteristics of machismo. This tendency is illustrated by Mejía Ricart's (1975) summary of the 20 traits which distinguish machismo as a unique manifestation of Latino males, and in the following statement:

The chief characteristics of this cult are exaggerated aggressiveness and intransigence in male-to-male interpersonal relationships and arrogance and sexual aggression in male-to-male relationships (Stevens 1976:90)

In sum, the literature on machismo is generally descriptive and superficial. Machismo is defined as a collection of attitudes and behaviours shared by males. Some authors pay more attention to individual psychological characteristics and as a consequence they point out traits such as: narcissism, inferiority complex, aggressiveness, promiscuity, irresponsibility, latent homosexuality, ambivalence towards women, difficult relations with the latter and sexual anxiety. There is a tendency to approach the discussion of machismo with a strong emphasis on the individual, and to highlight its pathological and destructive aspects. This position, labelled "the traditional approach" by De la Cancela (1981), is sustained by a corresponding psychological discourse.

Other authors discuss machismo with a more sociocultural perspective in which they consider the social, economic and historical factors which account for the development of this trait. In this literature the topics discussed are male superiority, the subordination of women and power conflicts between men. Although the negative and destructive aspects of machismo are considered, the authors also discuss valour, responsibility and perseverance which they consider are the positive aspects of machismo. De la Cancela (1981) labels this literature as the "culturalist approach".

As noted before, most people who write about machismo assume a non-critical position and keep repeating what has been said about it during the last 40 years. Exceptions are Rodríguez Méndez (1972) in an interesting essay about social types of male in Spain in different historical periods and the doctoral dissertation of De la Cancela (1981). The latter assumes a highly critical stand in his evaluation of the literature, and he proposes a dialectical view in which the "interactive, interconnected, and contradictory aspects of machismo" (ibid:77) are articulated with socio-historical contexts.

Machismo reconceptualized

This author considers that the non-critical reproduction of the terminologies and descriptions of machismo and its use as an analytical category perpetuate a distorted conceptualization of masculinity among Latinos. Although the ethnocentric and class focus prevailing in the early writings on machismo has been somewhat modified with the popular use of the term to describe male behaviour in general, its reductionist approach persists. The reductionism consists in considering Latino males as homogeneous beings, in not paying adequate attention to the variations in the

manifestations of masculinity and the complexity of its construction. Another serious limitation of the literature on machismo is the emphasis on behaviour and traits while ignoring male discourses. In the discourses male present, they defend and justify a hegemonic position as well as their fears, contradictions and anguish. In other words the male presents the power, the pleasure and the pain of being a man.

In Puerto Rico, as in other societies where male ideologies are dominant, to be a real man (*un macho completo*) signifies command and constant display of the attributes of masculinity as a proof of manhood, which is addressed to both women and other men. Social encounters among Puerto Rican males are articulated with power, competition and potential conflict. Although most of us have the capacity to enter social encounters with other men based on trust (*confianza*), comradeship, cooperation, loyalty and affectivity, they occur within the context of power and to develop them we have to transcend the power games of everyday life. Early in our childhood we learn to command respect (*darnos a respetar*), to respond to physical and verbal aggressions as well as devaluation threats, to defend ourselves, to demonstrate invulnerability, self-sufficiency, courage and control. The requirements of masculinity are many and we find variations in those requirements according to social class, religious affiliation, age group, physical and mental conditions as well as in reference groups such as the workplace, educational institutions, neighbourhoods and peer groups. Within the context of such variations we share a gender construction and a male subjectivity in which sexuality and power constitute major elements of our discourses. These discourses, although specific, are not unique to us as Caribbean people. They occur in other societies as well, especially in the Mediterranean and throughout Latin America.

The genitals are prominent in our discourses. They are, according to Brandes (1980:20): "an important component of the masculine self-image throughout Andalusia" and also among Latino men. The penis and the testicles are symbols of power and are highly valued while female genitals and the anus, objects of pleasure, are devaluated. Male genitals become the locus of power. Our males display their genitals by fondling them in public, although this act is influenced by class and their position in the social hierarchy. It is more common among the lower classes because men with less power and control over their lives tend to specially emphasize the power that emerges from their genitals. Penis size is also a symbol of masculinity and power and it is a source of pride for those with large members and a source of anxiety for those with small ones. A man also has balls (*cojones*). A male without balls (*cojones*) is a (*pendejo*), an individual who is at the mercy of others, who has no power, and who is not considered as an equal. "Pass the test of the balls" (*pasarse por los cojones*) is the most common expression to denote an act of power. All of us, Puerto Rican males, share this discourse which appears in our speech especially in conflict situations and when our masculinity is threatened. It is a speech men use, mainly with other men although it is also used in the presence of women. Women sometimes reproduce this discourse when they say that they are furious (*encojonadas*). Another example of the articulation between genitals and power in our discourses is to urinate (*meor*), a physiological function laden with symbols of power. Thus he who urinates the most (*el que más mea*) is the most powerful man, and when we humiliate or hurt another man we say with great pleasure "I urinated on him" (*me le meé encima*).

The macho is expected to be proud of his sexuality, to display it, and above all to demonstrate it. The pleasures of sexuality are an inherent element of our subjectivity. With due respect to incest prohibitions, sometimes violated, and the treatment prescribed for family members, women, specially when they are young and attractive, are considered sexual objects to be enjoyed, seduced and penetrated. A real man pleases and satisfies his women while he chases, punishes, repudiates or devaluates those who do not respond to his advances. Some appeal to physical and verbal aggression. Sexual harassment and violence are part of this orientation to conquer and seduce women in a complex articulation of sexuality, power and pleasure. A man, however, will not try to seduce all women, only those he considers attractive and available. Wealth, power, class, and skin colour intervene and a man will not approach a woman who is considered his superior in the social hierarchy unless she sends him obvious signs of her availability. To penetrate a woman or a man, physically or symbolically is both a demonstration of power and a pleasure experience which is not exclusive of Puerto Ricans. It is a component of male ideologies and discourses in many societies.

It is obvious that the power and the pleasures of masculinity elude many men and there are more losers than winners in the pursuit of being a real man. Even the latter lose when they become old and sick and are not capable of displaying the lost symbols of masculinity. To live like a man, to live the constant reproduction of male discourses, the fierce competition in order to be accepted as a macho, the persistent threat of relegation to the sphere of the non-machos, the struggle to avoid being categorized as a sucker (*pendejo*), a weakling (*mongo*), a cuckold (*cabrón*) or a queer (*maricón*) is very painful. Pain is a hidden component of our discourses as men.

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MARGINALIZATION OF MALE SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

by
Rhona Flores

Since the 1980s, the performance of girls at high school level has surpassed that of their male counterparts. This is evidenced in the award of National Scholarships each year. This observation is even more marked against the historical background of an education system that has been geared towards the male.

Females slightly outnumber males in the total school population. However, this is not sufficient to explain the tendency of girls to out-perform boys. The explanations for girls' superior performance could be found in more sociological and psychological factors, including the absence of positive male role models for boys.

Although St Joseph's Convent, a Roman Catholic School for the Education of Young Ladies, was established in 1836, secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago were designed in the nineteenth century to cater to the needs of males of the privileged classes in society. In 1859, the Queen's Collegiate School (QCS) was established and then in 1863, the College of the Immaculate Conception was opened as a response to the absence of a religious component in the QCS. It was not until 1921 that Bishops Anstey High School, a girls' secondary school, which would address the needs of the coloured and black non-catholic sector of the population, was established.

Independence in 1962 led to an increase in educational opportunities for both boys and girls. Secondary education is provided at the levels of Junior Secondary, Senior Comprehensive, Government Secondary and Government-assisted schools. Available statistics show that at each of these levels of secondary school education, there is an equal distribution of places between boys and girls. At the level of the Government-assisted schools, however, the number of boys enrolled is slightly higher than the number of girls.

Performance at examinations (Caribbean Examination Council and Cambridge Advanced Level) is used as one measure to test the marginalization of the male in County St. George, for example. The analysis is based on personal research, experience and observation.

The student population at the Junior Secondary level in St. George is overwhelmingly from the relatively deprived sectors of the community. The results of the internal 14+ examination which is the criterion for entrance into the Senior Comprehensive Schools indicate that approximately half the population of both boys and girls drop out of the school system. This is largely due to the provision of far fewer places available at the Senior Comprehensive Schools compared to other schools. However, the far more dynamic sociological factor is the absence of motivation for educational attainment among students of these schools which results in both a high drop-out rate as well as low performance.

One readily observes the development of a vicious cycle here. There is a correlation between low achievement in the common entrance examination and lower socio-economic position. The dehumanizing element of Common Entrance has been ventilated repeatedly and here is not the place to revisit those arguments. Suffice it to say that given its rote learning and the importance of additional lessons for high performance at Common Entrance it is not surprising that relatively deprived families are unable to afford additional help. In addition, parental interest in the child's education is generally lower than in other secondary schools.

The results of the CXC examination show that students at the Government-assisted or prestige schools, which have a lower student population, perform better than those at other secondary schools. A comparative study between the performance of boys and girls in two Government-assisted schools in the years 1991 and 1992 shows that more boys than girls sat the examination, but girls performed better. In the Government secondary school sampled, approximately twice as many girls as boys sat the examination in 1991 and 1992, of which approximately 13 per cent of the boys gained full certificates, compared to 30 per cent of the girls. In 1991, 12 students failed all the subjects sat. These were all boys.

The overall better performance of girls at the CXC is largely a result of the disadvantages of male stereotyping in the school system. More attention is paid to the needs of girls while boys are expected to function independently. Consequently, teachers tend to be less patient with boys, disregarding the fact that they mature at a later stage than girls.

Boys are at a further disadvantage because their female counterparts tend to be more intelligent in the co-educational school. This is due to the fact that there are less places available to the girls in "prestige schools" so that many bright girls end up in the co-educational schools. The pace of the class generally is geared towards the brighter student. This combination of factors leads to alienation of the male student, who seeks accommodation, either through disruptive activity within the school or self-destructive behaviour in the wider society. This behaviour pattern can be generally contrasted with behaviour in the prestige school, which caters for its male population by providing male-oriented activities, for example Scout Groups, Cadet Corps, etc. Teachers in these schools are predominantly male and thus, there is the potential for positive role models. The absence of female competition creates an environment for the fostering of support mechanisms.

This is not to say that stereotyping does not impact negatively on male students in "prestige schools". From an early age boys are socialized to believe that certain areas of study symbolize maleness. As such, there is a tendency for them to concentrate on Science and Business subjects while the emphasis in the schools is on the classical subjects. The latter is always an integral component of the full CXC certificate; but because of the attitude mentioned previously, male students make little effort to excel at them, and are often unsuccessful in these subjects or receive low grades in them, thus reducing their overall performance.

Female students, on the other hand, free of these social pressures, are committed to achievement in all areas of study. In the Central Statistical Office Examination Results for Secondary and Tertiary Schools for 1986-1988, the following is recorded: "In the General Certificate of

Education Advanced Level Examination a comparison of the performance of boys and girls over the period shows that the girls were able to achieve a slightly better pass rate of 74.3 per cent while the boys attained a 72.7 per cent pass rate." When we take the number of persons who passed more than three subjects as a percentage of those who sat, the boys obtained 24.3 per cent and the girls 19.7 per cent. Of the 46 who achieved four or more passes, 30 or 65.2 per cent were boys. This indicates that having matured and now concentrating only on the subjects of their choice, the performance of the boys is now enhanced.

Technical-Vocational education was introduced mainly for males and was not considered part of the mainstream areas of the education system. The role of the tech-voc school in society has changed considerably. The curriculum has been expanded and even though it is still male-dominated, there is an increased enrolment of females, as well as competition for places in craft areas that were previously not associated with females in the society. On the other hand, there is no widespread participation of the male in the traditional female craft areas even when these areas have the propensity to yield high-paying employment.

In conclusion, it can be stated that women entered the education system at a significantly later juncture than men. At all levels, their performance is more or less equal to that of men. Marginalization in the education system is not related to gender per se, but to social class except in the Government Secondary Schools. In these schools, the problems of stereotyping, the absence of male role models and competition with brighter female students lead to disassociation and consequent low achievement and low self-esteem.

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THE CARIBBEAN MALE IN PERSPECTIVE

by
Errol Miller

Patriarchy and society

One of the seminal theoretical contributions of feminist scholarship to social theory has been that of the radical feminists in firmly insisting that patriarchy must be included as a substantive category in social theorising and analysis. Social theory of all hues have been uniformly unisex, making no distinction between male and female whether in terms of their relations to the means of production, in status groups, their perceived worth in the market place or in relation to the various structures of society. All feminist scholars have pointed to this deficit and discrepancy in social theory compared to the empirical reality. However, radical feminists have refused to engage in reductionism, that is, attempting to explain gender issues in terms of other categories such as class or race or status. They have insisted that gender and patriarchy be recognised as substantive categories in themselves, not capable of reduction.

The problematic has become the definition of patriarchy. Weber (1947) had defined patriarchy as women and younger men being dominated by older men, who were heads of household. While a few feminist theorists have followed the Weberian definition, the more common approach has been to discard the generation difference among men and define patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. (Walby, 1990). In other words, the most prevalent tendency in feminist scholarship has been to adopt a narrower and more exclusive view and, in the process, to reduce patriarchy solely to gender.

But, to define patriarchy solely in terms of men's domination of women is to treat both men and women as two separate undifferentiated groups that have sustained their coherence over time and between different cultures. This posture has attracted sharp criticism especially from black feminists and post-structural and post-modernist theorists. Hooks (1984), for example, argues that while white feminists have traditionally conceptualised the family and home as a major source of women's oppression, this is not the same among Blacks where the family is not a major source of women's subordination. Indeed, increasingly it has become a major site of their liberation as more and more become heads of households. The post-modernist critique maintains that neither man nor woman are unitary categories. They argue that the categories men and women are a number of overlapping and cross-cutting discourses of masculinities and femininities which are historically and culturally variable.

It has been argued (Miller 1991) that the main limitation of Weber's definition of patriarchy has been challenged for its lack of attention to the kinship relations, factual or fictive, between the older and younger men and women that constituted the household. In other words, patriarchy needs to be defined as that system of reciprocal social obligations in which final authority rests with older men of the kinship collective, who exercise that authority over its individual male and female members

in the overall interest of the collective. In other words, it is suggested that patriarchy has to be understood within the context of kinship relationships and genealogy.

The differences between these definitions of patriarchy are the elements included. Most feminist scholars have confined the definition of patriarchy solely to its gender component. Weber's definition of patriarchy included the elements of generation and gender but omitted to pay significant attention to genealogy. This author explicitly highlighted the genealogy element in addition to gender and generation and insisted that recognition of this element is critical if the complexities of gender issues are to be better understood.

This author argues that the gender and generation elements relate to the internal relations of the collective while the genealogy element defines its external relations. This is a critical consideration both conceptually and empirically. The essence of his argument is that conceptually and historically patriarchal collectives have had major difficulties with other collectives that fell outside the covenant of kinship, and particularly with the men of those collectives. When patriarchal collectives interacted outside boundaries where kinship could not be established, whether factual or fictive, then one group had to submit to the hegemony of the other. Often elaborate ceremonies and rituals involving the payment of tribute marked such submission. Failing such compromise, violent confrontation became the means of establishing dominance. He traced the practice of genocide, where one collective sought the physical elimination of another, the killing of male captives, the castration of male captives and enslavement as historical outcomes of conflict between collectives which did not share the covenant of kinship or where it had been breached. In all of these circumstances this author showed that patriarchal collectives found it easier to incorporate women of non-kin groups than the men of such groups. He maintained that the external relations with men of hostile collectives is as much an element of patriarchy as the internally ranked relations between men and women bonded by kinship.

The more comprehensive definition of patriarchy therefore, has to include genealogy, gender and generation. In addition, categories of race, class or status group, region and religion or politics are super-ordinate elements that must be added as part of the structures linking the kinship collectives within the overall social structure.

The essence of this author's work has not been to deny or negate the contribution of feminist scholarship with respect to their findings and claims concerning the marginalization of women within patriarchy. Rather, it has been to add another dimension. That dimension is the marginalization of men of the subordinate groups within society, especially in those societies in which race and class have been actively contested as a criteria for organizing society. The marginalized are men, outside the covenant of kinship, whose patriarchs experience considerable difficulty with incorporating them into the collectives and corporations they dominate. By adding the dimension of non-kin male marginalization, men at risk, gender analysis becomes more than women's issues.

Advocacy has been one of the factors that have distorted gender analysis. Collins (1990) made the point well by drawing attention to the fact that while most individuals have no difficulty identifying their own victimisation, they routinely fail to see how they contribute to the suppression

of others. White feminists typically point to their oppression while they resist seeing how much their white skin constitutes a social privilege. Likewise African-Americans, eloquent in their analysis of racism, often persist in their perception of poor white women as symbols of white power. To this, one should add that some women intent on prosecuting the injustices perpetrated against their gender have been unable or unwilling to concede that any set of males may be marginalized.

In applying these ideas to the topic of the Caribbean male, it should be noted that the Caribbean qualifies male by differentiating these males from those of other areas of the world. At the same time it treats Caribbean men as a unitary category. While there is some cultural reality represented in this classification, it masks the further differentiation of Caribbean males by country, race, status group, religion and residence. These are meaningful distinctions especially as these relate to the place in Caribbean society. One important axis of differentiation is with respect to men belonging to the dominant groups and those belonging to the subordinate groups. To put it bluntly, if Caribbean men are treated as a unitary category, without differentiation into sub-categories differentiated with respect to power and position in society, the result will be to work at a level of generalisation that is patently unproductive of generating either a useful and effective conceptual framework for theoretical analysis or practical strategies to implement through some interventions.

Social structures

Nations like social organisations, incorporate numerous ethnic and other groups within the national polity. While the national ideology and rhetoric of the State embrace notions of social equality and human rights, civil society within the nation manifests and practices varying degrees of social inequality rationalized and justified on the basis of the criteria on which the society is organized. In other words, while nationals may be accorded equal rights on paper, many experience unequal opportunities and even curtailment of their rights, as groups within the nation compete for dominance or seek to subordinate others.

In circumstances of modal consensus between the dominant and subordinate groups, generally marked by segregation, men of the dominant group can be expected to make concessions to men in the subordinate groups, in facilitating their limited access to the public sphere, since the latter overtly accepts the hegemony of the former. Concessions by men of the dominant group to men of the subordinate groups, is as it were to reward or reinforce their voluntary acceptance of their subordination. Through this asymmetrical alliance with their potential rivals, the hegemony of the dominant group is preserved. The reward or incentive to men of the subordinate group is the limited access to intermediate positions and particular occupations in the public sphere. In these circumstances patriarchy is preserved in both the dominant and the subordinate groups. In this situation male solidarity across groups in the society work to the disadvantage of women, who are either excluded from, or allowed very limited access to the public sphere, as male solidarity between dominant and subordinate groups operate to minimize their participation. In these circumstances men of the dominant group will fill positions in the public sphere from among themselves and skip over women of their own group to facilitate men of the subordinate groups. The marginalization of women is most marked in societies in such periods of their history.

In circumstances of conflict, confrontation and competition between the dominant and subordinate groups in which the latter is challenged by the former, or where the latter perceive threats to their position from the former, men of the dominant group will alter their strategy. Men of the dominant group will seek to minimize access to their main rivals, men of the subordinate group, to strategic and intermediate positions in the public sphere. One aspect of the strategy is to relax patriarchal closure with respect to women of their own group. By so doing the patriarchal forms of the dominant group are extended to the public sphere as men of the dominant group exercised final authority with the assistance of women of their own group holding intermediary positions. Another aspect of the strategy is forming alliances with some younger women of the subordinate group through promoting them in the public sphere. That is, by skipping them up the place queue over their fathers, brothers and husbands. One result of this strategy is the further marginalization of large numbers of the men subordinate group. Another outcome is the emergence of matrifocal forms in the subordinate group as traditional gender roles are reversed in numerous relationships within these subordinate groups in the society.

In a nutshell, when groups compete for positions, in societies espousing social integration led by their men, those groups controlling the gateways to opportunity and upward mobility will alter the structure of opportunity so that women of their own group and younger women of the subordinate group gain the lion share of opportunities that in periods of consensus would have gone to men of the subordinate group. In the process, men, especially the younger ones of the subordinate group are increasingly marginalized. This marginalization is observable in all the so-called legitimate avenues of opportunities and with respect to all the avenues and symbols of material progress that are under the control of the dominant group. The avenues of opportunity created by the marginalized for themselves are usually categorized as illegitimate or deviant and are usually dominated by the men of the subordinate groups.

It is important to note that these processes have been operative for more than a hundred years in Caribbean countries, at different rates and to varying degrees. As with all social phenomena there have been positive outcomes especially as these relate to the liberation of women of African and Indian ancestry. The increasing access of these women to education, particularly to those sections of the school system which allow for upward social mobility and the translation of these educational opportunities into better jobs and higher income has had profound implications on Caribbean demographics and the regional health status. Much of the success of family planning programmes in the Caribbean over the last 50 years has as its genesis the social transformations resulting from the processes previously described. The decline in the birth rate, family size and infant mortality and the increase in life expectancy and improved health status in the region all owe something to the motivation, momentum and marginal energy generated by women of the lower strata as they have attempted to maximize the socio-economic opportunities open to them.

At the same time, we must acknowledge the down side of these social transformations. This has been the further slippage of some lower strata men, especially Black and Indian, down the social ladder. Their increasing marginalization has engendered some negative outcomes. Among the negative outcomes are poor educational achievement, unsatisfactory performance at the workplace where they have jobs, chronic frustration among youths on street corners unable to find jobs,

increasing domestic and street violence involving the gun and knife, and a growing sub-culture characterized by despair and hopelessness.

Some recent findings on sexuality in Jamaica

Some of the above abstract arguments can best be illustrated with reference to the findings of a few recent empirical studies done in Jamaica. In the most recent and most comprehensive study of sexual behaviour in Jamaica, it was reported that Jamaicans highly value long-term serious relationships, in general, and marriage, in particular (Wyatt, Tucker et al. 1994). Factors deemed most critical for successful relationship were: love, fidelity, adequate income and good sex. Although having children was also important, these four factors rated ahead of children. These values were shared by both men and women and were also identical to those found in United States' samples of Black, Latino and White Americans.

With respect to the value placed on having children, the Report states that women place a higher value on having children compared to men: 72 per cent for females compared to 63 per cent for males. However, when controlling for education an interesting gender difference emerged. Men with tertiary education place the highest value on having children, 85 per cent, while only 69 per cent of men with primary education place a similar value. Among women the difference is in the opposite direction. Seventy-six per cent of the women with primary education place a high value on children compared to 68 per cent of women with tertiary education.

Tertiary educated men and women with primary education appear to hold more to the traditional values with respect to having children, while tertiary educated women and men with primary education show a greater tendency to the emerging value system in which life without children is contemplated as an acceptable outcome. In other words, educated men share similar values with less educated women about having children, while the reverse is true with respect to more educated women and less educated men.

Interestingly, these values seem to have translated into condom and contraceptive usage. Both unskilled and unemployed males and professional executives and managers have high rates in terms of the number of partners over a year or 12-year period. However, the unskilled and unemployed males have the highest condom use and professional men have the lowest. Wyatt et al., having examined the use of other forms of contraception, concluded that professional men were practising unsafe sex to a higher degree than any other group. This finding is contrary to the general stereotype of the uneducated lower status males as the irresponsible "studs".

It is important to note that the gender patterns found with respect to the value of having children and the practice of using condoms, have a very similar structure to the patterns found with respect to education and unemployment rates, and education and income. The gender patterns found in these very separate and different studies do not conform to conventional wisdom, or popular stereotypes, or standard explanations derived from long established sociological theories. Indeed, Wyatt et. Al. found that the variables included in their study accounted for a very limited proportion of the variance in condom usage; 10 per cent in the case of women and 13 per cent in the case of

men. This underscores the limitation of planning interventions based on opinions derived from conventional wisdom, popular stereotypes and leading sociological theories.

By and large, men with tertiary education and women with only primary education are located in the traditional positions of dominant men and marginalized women. They are holding to traditional values and therefore practising traditional sex, that is, sex to produce children, called unsafe sex in the era of AIDS. On the other hand, women with tertiary education and men with primary education find themselves operating outside of traditional positions in society. Tertiary educated women are newly empowered, while men with primary education are further marginalized. Both are practising sex divorced from producing children, so-called safe sex. They are operating within the framework of emerging value systems related to their new positions in society.

Boxill (1993) conducted a study on the knowledge and use of condoms by youths between the ages of 12 and 25 years. The sample consisted of 400 youngsters, 61.5 per cent of whom were females and 38.5 per cent males. Boxill found that 98 per cent of these youths knew of the condom; 30 per cent had used condoms and 24 per cent were currently using them. The 1993 Contraceptive Prevalence Survey carried out by McFarlane, Friedman et al. (1993) included a Young Adult Module which provided empirical data on the sexual behaviour and contraceptive use of youths between the ages of 15 and 24 years. The sample included 2580 youths, 1180 males and 1050 females randomly selected through the two-stage sampling process.

The Survey found that generally young women were better educated than young men. There were more males with primary education only and more females with post-secondary education. This finding is consistent with practically all surveys of recent vintage.

The Survey's major findings concerning sexual behaviour and contraceptive use of 15-19 youths can be summarised as follows:

1. Between 1987 and 1993 there had been an increase in the proportion of 15-19 years old females who had had sexual intercourse, from 55.4 per cent to 62.8 per cent, while there had been a slight decline among 15-19 years old males from 78 to 75 per cent. By age 15 years, 36.8 per cent of these adolescents had had sex while by 18 years the proportion rose to 77.8 per cent.
2. The average age of first intercourse was 15.9 years for females and 13.9 for males.
3. 15-19 years old attending church at least once per week were the least sexually experienced, while those with no religion were the most sexually experienced.
4. Among 15 to 24 years old females, those with primary and lower education were more sexually experienced compared to those with five to eight years of secondary schooling. Among 15 to 24 years old males the pattern was the reverse: those with five to eight years secondary schooling were more sexually experienced than those with primary or lower education.

5. The average age at first intercourse showed a similar pattern for males and females at different ends of the socio-economic continuum, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Mean age at first sexual intercourse by gender		
	Female	Male
Lowest social status	15.6	14.4
High social status	17.6	12.8

Of the various social groups girls of high socio-economic status were oldest, of any social group, at first sexual intercourse, while the boys were the youngest. High social status males were younger than their peers of the lowest socio-economic group, at first intercourse, while among girls it was the reverse.

6. Of 15-19 years old only 0.2 per cent of the males and 3.9 per cent of the females were involved in residential conjugal unions. However, 37.5 per cent of the males and 31.4 per cent of the females were involved in visiting unions or had boy/girlfriends with whom they had sex. 62.5 per cent of the males and 68.6 per cent of the females either had no partners or had boy/girlfriends without having sex.

7. At first intercourse the partners of both males and females were older, except in the case of boys under 13 years.

8. In the 1993 survey 42.7 per cent of the females and 21.6 per cent of the males reported the use of contraceptives at first intercourse. Compared to 1987, there was a slight increase among females but a marked increase among males. The major reasons for not using contraceptive at first intercourse were: (1) not expecting to have sex, 34.7 per cent among males and 46.9 per cent among females; and (2) not knowing about any method, 32.3 among males and 20.9 per cent among females.

9. At last intercourse 72.2 per cent of 15-19 years old reported using a contraceptive method. The condom and the pill were the most used methods.

10. Among 15-19 years old none of the females used condoms, because they desired pregnancy and only 1.8 per cent of the males did not use condoms. The main reasons for not using condoms were: (1) their partners did not like it, (2) it diminished pleasure, and (3) they had only one partner.

11. Among 15-19 years old 97.6 per cent of the females reported that they have only had one partner over the last month, compared to 68.6 per cent of the males reporting on the same.

12. Among 15-17 years old there was a dramatic increase in the proportion that had been pregnant and had had live births between 1993 and 1989. In 1993, 32.9 per cent had been pregnant compared to 12.4 per cent in 1989 and 27.0 per cent had had live births compared to 9.2 per cent in 1989.

13. When the proportion reporting pregnancy and live births in 1993 and 1989 are considered with respect to level of education, there is little difference with respect to the rates found among females with post secondary education. The increased rates are noted among females with primary and secondary education and is most marked among females with primary education and lower.

14. The same pattern is noted when pregnancy and live births among 15-24 year old females are compared.

15. The school status of 15-17 females at the birth of their first child shows that 69.7 per cent were in school and 30.3 per cent were out of school, which corresponds to the school status of the cohort as a whole. In other words, birth of first children of females 15-17 years does not appear to be influenced by educational status.

16. The data shows, however, that of girls 13 to 19 more than 85 per cent did not return to school after giving birth. Child birth would therefore appear to be a major cause of the termination of schooling among females.

17. Approximately 70 per cent of females between 15 and 24 years reported that their last pregnancy was unplanned and another seven per cent reported it was totally unwanted. However, females 15-17 were most likely to report that the last pregnancy was planned and less likely to report that it was totally unwanted.

18. The vast majority of 15-19 years old youths receive sex education in school. The content most thoroughly covered are human reproduction, menstrual cycle, pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. Topics not covered as thoroughly are birth control and services to adolescents.

19. When the ages of females are analyzed with respect to when they first had sex compared to when they received sex education, it is found that the majority of females having sex before age 13 received sex education after they had had sex, while the vast majority having sex for the first time between the ages of 15 and 17 had already received sex education.

20. The level of sex education among females has remained virtually unchanged between 1987 and 1993 while that among males has shown modest improvement.

When the findings of Boxill (1993) and the 1993 Contraceptive Use Survey are taken together, it would appear that the sharp rise in fertility rates recorded by females under 20 years old is not primarily due to a lack of knowledge about sex, contraceptives or the consequences of having sex without the use of contraceptives. Indeed this sharp rise in fertility rate is restricted to adolescent females between the ages of 15 and 19 years who belong to the *lower socio-economic strata* and who have the least education.

The most likely explanation of these findings is that not having done well in school and faced with high unemployment or low wages even when employed, the stringent and deteriorating economic circumstances in which their families are, force girls in mid to late adolescence to rely on males for their sustenance. To secure or cement these relationships these young females feel constrained to have children for the men on whom they depend. The decision to have the children is facilitated by the revered status of motherhood, the traditional value placed on child bearing among this social strata and the future security children could bring. The men involved are invariably older men, who are employed in jobs which suggest that they could support mother and baby. However, experience shows that -according to general perception- these mothers who have babies out of wedlock, especially when they are not in a steady relationship with the "baby father", run the risk of instability in terms of raising a family, acquire income, reduced job opportunities and less chances to meet someone likely to marry them and form a stable family life.

The practice of becoming "baby mothers" in adolescence has a history of well over 100 years in Jamaica and the Caribbean. Its risks in young women utilizing their sexuality in this way are well known to all who are concerned about the practice. However, to the relevant females, it is about the best chance they have in life when all factors are considered.

Any intervention that targets this age group and aims to reduce fertility, cannot simply provide family planning services to these adolescent females. The critical issue to be addressed is that of decreasing their dependence on men for financial support. Fundamental to this is an independent source of income, through employment at reasonable wage levels. Education and training that would secure employment and reasonable income could be the long term solution.

Another important finding is that boys and men of the higher socio-economic groups, the dominant group, are the ones in most need of interventions targeting such behaviours as early sexual activity, involvement with many partners, the disregard for the use of contraceptives and fathering large numbers of children. The oft maligned lower class male actually starts having sex later than middle and upper class boys and is more likely to practise safe sex and more disposed to limit the number of children than the other baby-fathers. These findings almost contradict the prevailing stereotypes.

It is worth noting though that for both men and women, socio-economic position and gender interact to produce widely different sexual behaviour, leading to interactions that are not readily anticipated from standard social theory. The uptown boy and the downtown girl seem to share more common sexual values than the uptown boy and the uptown girl. The reverse is also true about the

uptown girl and the downtown boy. Gender and its relations to sex and class are far more complex than would first meet the eye.

Concluding comments

This author is of the view that the phenomena of the mediocre participation of boys in school and male underachievement are not caused by pedagogical approaches of female teachers in schools or by the socialisation practices applied by single mothers in the homes. Rather, the feminization of teaching, the matrifocal forms of an increasing number of households, the poor participation of boys in schools, the underachievement of men at the workplace are all symptoms of the intense conflict and competition between the various groups that comprise Caribbean society. The conflict and competition is about material advantage, which has raged in Caribbean countries over the course of the twentieth century. The issues being contested relate to power, resources, status, belief and culture.

The point of this analysis is that the observed gender patterns are not the result of the presence or absence of male role models but the changing definition and apportionment of the roles themselves. The issues involved are at the core of definition and destiny of Caribbean society. They are not superficial but substantial. This is not to say that they are beyond the reach of ordinary people but rather to say that ordinary people have to reach the point of tackling the fundamental issues of these times. The issues of the times are not simply about scarce benefits but about the nature of society itself as it seeks to develop criteria to deal with scarce benefits, against the background of its history of injustice accounting for the inequalities that exist.

In addressing matters such as attitudes, self image, responsible behaviour and parenting etc. among Caribbean males, it is important to maintain a distinction between males of the groups dominant in the various societies as they are defined by combinations of race, class, region and generation, and males of subordinate groups as they are defined by these same categories. The point is that males of the dominant groups are beneficiaries of the inequalities and injustices of Caribbean history. In large measure, despite the changes in the ethnic composition of these groups, they have continued to behave in a manner not far removed from those they succeeded. Those who struggled and defeated the oppressors, now act in a manner not easily distinguished from those that they succeeded and replaced. As such, they are perpetrators of structural violence against the rest of society including women and marginalized males.

For example, it is men of the dominant groups that have access to the sexuality of large numbers of women by virtue of income, status, education and social desirability. In this regard they do not need to engage in predatory behaviour in the context of the growing number of young middle class women in some Caribbean societies who are unable to find men of comparable social status. It is these men of high social status, adequate income and professional rank who can continue the tradition of the "Grandee" of eighteenth century plantation fame: the man who rides hard, drinks hard, gambles hard and has a whole lot of brown-skin progeny.

On the other hand, young males of the subordinate groups are increasingly resorting to physical violence, directed at self and others, as their response to their precarious position in society. Saddled with the negative stereotypes that have traditionally surrounded their groups in the society, they are indeed the males that have begun to effect substantial changes in their social orientation. While much attention may be focused on their violent and destructive acts, sight must not be lost of their creative endeavours in music, sports and entertainment generally. Also, some have even begun to make fundamental changes in relation to family responsibility, including parenthood.

It is this framework that must constitute the macro view within which attitudes, values, self image, and behaviour at the micro level must be understood. For those groups planning interventions directed at the male population the most fundamental factor to face is that males of the dominant groups must be included within the scope of any intervention planned. Their omission from any intervention would constitute the most glaring oversight and even folly. While the ethos of the time highlights the marginalized, the powerful constitute a critical factor in any equation for fundamental change.

Finally, it is recognized that it is not unusual to hear pessimist forecast about the future of the Caribbean. Such a perspective is not shared by this author. One of the myths of the twentieth century is that perfect conditions are the midwife of progress. To be the best you must have the best situation. Sufficiency is prized and deficiency despised. Yet one of the mysteries of history is that it is often war not peace, poverty not prosperity, marginality not centrality, colonial dependence not imperial power, adversity not sufficiency, pain not pleasure, suffering not well-being, sacrifice and not self indulgence that were the attendants at the birth of great advances in human civilization.

This is not to suggest that there is any sadistic element in progress. Rather, it is to observe that it is circumstances of manifest mortality, weakness and tragedy that are often the settings in which humans tend to see beyond self and listen to other than reason. In these situations people are more likely to embrace the common good, envision a better society and exercise the faith necessary to achieve it. Fundamental change begins in the margin. History is the study of the rise of the marginalized. The commencement of their rise is generally not auspicious, but the realization of their dreams is glorious.

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MALE AND FEMALE STAFF AND STUDENTS AT THE FACULTY OF ENGINEERING, THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES

by
Stephanie Pile

Introduction

This text discusses some perceptions of men and women in the Faculty of Engineering as it pertains to staff and students, in light of changing social structures. It will present a picture of what transpired in the Faculty, traditionally a male dominated sphere, over the early years of its existence and traces the graduation trends of female graduates. It will also discuss some perceptions of female members of academic staff with regard to gender issues and the powerlessness of non-academic staff, particularly males.

Historical note

The University of the West Indies was founded in 1948 at Mona Jamaica, the location of the first campus. A second campus at St Augustine was established in 1960 when the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture (ICTA) in Trinidad was incorporated into the University College.

The Faculty of Engineering, housed on the St Augustine campus, commenced classes in 1961 in temporary accommodation provided by the conversion of the former Sugar Technology Buildings.

The first intake of 28 students was in the 1961/1962 academic year. The first female student to register in the faculty was Iruma Blanchfield, in 1965, in the Department of Chemical Engineering. She graduated in 1970. However, the first female to graduate was Hope Dilworth in 1969, while another ground-breaking event was that Brenda London became the first female to be awarded a first class honours degree in Electrical Engineering in 1971.

Graduation patterns

As mentioned before, the engineering profession has traditionally been dominated by men and in the Caribbean there seems to be no difference. In the first decade of the Faculty's existence, less than one per cent of the 353 graduates was female. In the 10 years that followed, from 1971 to 1980, the figures for females improved slightly to 2.6 per cent. The third decade showed a significant increase, with female graduates reaching 13.8 per cent of total graduates. So far, as we head towards the next century, this figure seems to have settled around 15 per cent. The following table was compiled from data presented each year at the Faculty Board meeting at the beginning of each academic year.

Table 1
Graduates of the Faculty of Engineering
UWI, St Augustine, 1969-1990 ⁽¹⁾ by Sex

Years	Male	Female	Total	% Male Female	
1964* - 1970	268	2	270	99.2	0.7
1971 - 1980	1016	28	1044	97.3	2.6
1981 - 1990	1200	193	1393	86.1	13.8

*The first graduates were in 1964

These figures clearly show the disparity between male and female graduates. However, between the 1970s and the 1980s there was an interesting growth pattern. The number of graduates grew by 33.6 per cent while the growth of the female graduates was 589.3 per cent.

Analysis of some admission figures

Figures for the 1992/93 academic year show that of a total of 268 new undergraduate admissions, 223 were males (83.2 per cent). This pattern is consistent even with data from individual territories. For Jamaica, the largest contributor after Trinidad and Tobago, of the 57 new students 47 were male (82.4 per cent). The postgraduate situation is as skewed for men. Again for the 1992/93 academic year, of a total of 60 new students 48 were males (80 per cent). ⁽²⁾

Of consequence is the fact that female graduates have been excelling in terms of performance. At a prize award ceremony in 1993 it was noted that although women occupy only 15 per cent of places, their outstanding performances have begun to threaten their male counterparts, as is the case in other Faculties. In 1992/93 women students carried off one-third of the prizes offered for outstanding subject performance, projects and overall performances in the departments of Chemical, Mechanical, Civil Engineering and Land Surveying.

It is quite clear then, that the issue of competence is not the crucial variable affecting women's entry into the Faculty of Engineering.

Decision makers

The structure in the University is such that the Faculty Board has the power to make all decisions on behalf of the Faculty. The 61 academic staff (teaching staff) of which five are women (8.2 per cent) along with a representation from the student body comprises the Faculty Board. The support staff of approximately 150 members is not represented on the Board. It is fair to say that the decision makers are male and academic staff.

Table 2
Academic Staff UWI Faculty of Engineering, St Augustine
by Rank and Sex in 1995 ⁽³⁾

Rank	Male	Female	Total
Professor	9	0	9
Reader	2	0	2
Senior Lecturer	22	0	22
Lecturer	23	5	28
Total	56	5	61
Percentage	91.8	8.2	100

Female members of the academic staff are young and are in junior positions (lecturer range). Their minuscule representation in both numbers and rank has served to render them almost invisible in the decision-making process. Together with this their operation as individuals, rather than as a conscious group has further served to reduce their potential impact. This situation does not give them the vantage point from which to exercise leadership. Nevertheless they should be much more assertive and appreciate their peculiar circumstances. They should see themselves as important role models and consequently should position themselves to fulfil the role expected of them by other female members of staff and students, for example, in the area of decision-making and encouragement to female graduates to pursue postgraduate work. Given their exclusion from the "boys club" and lack of networking among themselves, one may ask what is the likelihood of seeing a female professor in the next 15 to 20 years? Failure to achieve this could lead to disillusionment and apathy on the part of other aspiring females.

Support/non-academic staff

The female members of the support/non-academic staff are mainly secretaries and administrative staff, who are located near the seats of power. The administrative officers in this group have a fair amount of responsibility without authority and are precariously placed close to transient Heads of Departments, mainly male, where all the power resides. They are the keepers of the gate as it were, but never allowed to enter.

Table 3
Support/Non-Academic Staff by Category and Sex 1996

Category	Male	Female	Total
<u>Technical</u>			
Cleaners	0	10	10
Messengers	3	0	3
Storekeepers	6	0	6
Printing Room Personnel	2	1	3
Laboratory Assistants	30	0	30
<u>Clerical Administrative</u>			
Administrative Assistant	1	1	2
Secretary & Clerical Assistants	0	21	21
Technicians	40	6	46
	82	39	121

The technical non-academic staff is predominantly male, though in recent years some women have been employed in this area. However, these men as a group, are far removed from the seat of power, both in terms of location (as they are located in the laboratories) and have access to certain kinds of information. The alienation is further compounded as they do not have a recognized forum in which decisions could be made regarding their own areas of expertise and field of competence. In a sense the female support staff, by virtue of their role in administration, are strategically placed in the premises, with regard to some influence or decision-making and access to information.

To add to the scenario of a very rigid and complex system, based on class and academic qualifications, is the element of national and cultural diversity, with its implications on reduced feelings of ownership. A fair percentage of academic staff is non-West Indian and in some cases can only be described as transient, if we are guided by their refusal to become involved and preoccupied with the issues pertaining to the University and the wider West Indian society.

Further, the Faculty of Engineering is but one component of an institution that is very resistant to change. Given these circumstances, it is unlikely that any significant changes will occur in the social structure of the University in the foreseeable future.

Conclusion

The questions which could be raised regarding the entry of more females into the field of engineering could be the subject of another paper. However, given that a high percentage of females with science-based qualifications (similar in some cases to those required for engineering) enter the Faculty of Natural Sciences, the question arises "Why are they not interested in engineering?"

Some perceived explanations include:

- * Secondary school students' uniformed ideas of what an engineer is;
- * Parents and society as a whole who still believe that engineering is difficult, strenuous and involves dirty work. Therefore, not the place for a woman;
- * The absence of career guidance programmes in some schools;
- * The tendency which seems to persist for teachers to channel their students in traditional gender-oriented careers;
- * Obstacles such as the "Night Work Act" and lack of facilities, as these are sometimes used by employers to deny employment to female engineers.⁽⁵⁾
- * The lack of role models.

The paper also looked at the power base in the Faculty and concluded that it was clear that power will remain in the hands of academic males in the Faculty for some time to come. In fact, formidable barriers to female solidarity in the Faculty is the academic/non-academic divide, which allows the female academic staff to perceive themselves more in terms of class and academic qualifications rather than in terms of gender solidarity.

Change or a sharing of that power would only occur if and when the structure of the university itself changes. Where it permits or hires managers to do the work for which they are trained, academics would be relieved of some of the burden of administration and devote more time to teaching and research. This will not only make for equality in the management of the organization, but will make room for enhancement of the research capability of the institution. Teaching and, more so research, are the main attributes for which a university earns a reputation.

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PERCEIVED MARGINALIZATION OF MEN IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

By

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Introduction

For some three decades women have been struggling for equal justice under the law, equal opportunities for education, training, employment, salary and recognition by the society in which they live. The issue of women's rights has been raised at many international meetings in the world. The World Population Conferences, Budapest 1974 and Mexico 1984, have highlighted women's or gender issues in an ascending fashion which culminated in a gender issue dominated International Conference on Population and Development, held 5-13 September 1994 in Cairo. Agencies like the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), some sections of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Secretariat Commissions and departments and several committees, have been created specially to encourage, promote and monitor the status of women in the world.

There has been some progress internationally and women's issues are more widely represented in some countries. Nevertheless, in other countries, women have a long way to go and their movement has to continue until they have achieved equal justice, acceptability by society for their contribution in all spheres, their femininity notwithstanding.

While women have been continuing their "struggles" the world has not been paying much attention to any reactions, subtle or overt experiences by the male in a mostly male dominated society. Not enough consideration and pondering has been given to the fact that the same women "in struggle" are the mothers of the male population with responsibilities for rearing, nurturing and loving till adulthood. These same women "in struggle" are the wives of adult males regardless of their traditional nurturing and rearing patterns.

How much consciousness have societies put into the changing roles of women especially over the last three decades, and the need for a review of male rearing, nurturing, and education to fit the concomitant changes in women and their added responsibilities? No one is pointing fingers. That is not what life is about. But if necessary adjustments, adaptation and reorientations are not made by society in redefining subtly or overtly the traditional practices and acceptances as far as the roles of the two sexes and gender typecasting are concerned, pressurized outpourings will be everywhere and in unlikely places. It is not as easy as drilling for oil where the expected pressurized outpourings

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can be anticipated and planned for. In this case, plans by way of training, nurturing, etc. have to be done in advance if a predictable outcome, for example, male behaviour with regards to the condition and status of women is to be anticipated. The impact of changing world economies, politics, international hegemonies does not leave the Caribbean untouched, and necessitates monitoring of the situation by Caribbean thinkers to avoid degradation of society's reactions (especially of the male) into hysteria.

Men's perception of men

Biologically speaking in most living species the male is weaker than the female. Among human beings the history of migrants has supported this biological fact. The ravages of slavery, colonialism and early post-colonialism have not failed to have their influences in the present period. Lifestyles of the ancestors of present Caribbean peoples have certainly left their mark on the attitudes and traditions of these present-day inhabitants. Some profound elucidation and honest soul-searching have to take place to assess the degree to which the effects of the past have been etched on the bodies and souls of the extant generations in a cognitive fashion.

Let us look at some non-arguable facts in the Caribbean, including Trinidad and Tobago and internationally. What is happening to men, the male sex with his inherent biological susceptibility? In-depth careful research will have to tell us **who** are those men who feel marginalized or are perceived as being marginalized. Where do they come from? Where is their father? Where is their mother? Do they have a supportive family? What is their socio-cultural, economic, religious, ethnic background? Research will also have to tell us why the (negative) factors in the society which place men in a marginalized position do not affect **all** men in the same society. In other words, research will have to define for us who the marginalized man is.

The following facts and fallacies pertain:

1. Persistence of a traditional perception regarding the role of men

In spite of fortunate developmental changes experienced by women in several countries over the past three decades, traditional perceptions persist and inform gender relations. Facets of the so-called role of men are etched into the male psyche from babyhood through boyhood adolescence and manhood by those who rear them and socialize them. These are women to a greater extent, but also men, supportive family and community at large. Peer group "boys", men's clubs, associations, etc., play their part as well. Having learned his role the man automatically assumes from what he sees in practice that he knows the woman's role, regardless of what other roles she assumes because of socio-economic changes in the society. There is no automatic change in perception that if her role is changing that his role has to alter, adapt, or adjust to what he knows and perceives as his role. The male expects his mother, sisters, aunts, grandmother, girlfriend, wife (common-law or legal) and visiting women/woman to perform the task he has perceived to be theirs. To help or take care of kitchen and cooking, cleaning house, washing, bathing, dressing and taking care of children is not a man's responsibility. It is obvious in health centres, clinics and hospitals that generally sick children and elderly persons are accompanied by a woman. As noted in an article by Terry-Ann Browne (1),

"Today's men also still have all the expectations with regard to their wives' duties as the men of 40 years ago. They expect all their needs to be met, they want and expect a home-maker, a mother for their children, along with her performance of the required night-shift duty despite the added burdens, responsibilities and changing roles". Elsewhere, Coombs-Montrose goes on to say that "society permits women into the workforce, but it is a hollow victory since they are expected to juggle this added responsibility, while maintaining the role of wife and mother, and are expected to do it all as well, or better than they did it before".

2. *Women's perception of men*

Women have been by-passed in the past, taken for granted and given lesser consideration than men. Since the 1970s there has been a concerted effort to push for recognition at every level. The United States, for example, created offices of Equal Opportunity to give women, classed along with minorities, special consideration. Many of these happenings have not been accepted by the traditional male. In fact in the United States law-suits have been filed by men, charging discrimination against them when attempts were made to give an equal opportunity (employment-wise) to women or minorities.

In a study on the private life of the French, 82 per cent of women consider that a man is not indispensable in their everyday lives; women are taking on more and more of the features that, until now, have been associated with men; they want to be independent and have a job. Quite rightly so, as one-third of the heads of firms in the study are women. By increasingly taking on the attitudes of men, some women have brought about a change of identity. As a result, specialists see men as an endangered species. The source continues: "With their claims to the right to power, to contraception and to pleasure, they have in a quarter of a century contributed to dispossessing men of their territory. Men are now asked to see to household chores, to be attentive to female sexuality and to look after the children". This is not necessarily a bad thing, for 65 per cent of men in the study acknowledge doing more for their children than their own fathers did, 72 per cent attended the birth of their child, while 62 per cent bottle-fed the baby. Question is how the men in the study see themselves. According to the same study 20 per cent identified themselves with the 'he-men', but most of them see themselves in reality as anti-heroes who are nice, funny, and do not take themselves seriously. (Langer, 1993).

The French study also showed that these changing roles had an influence on sexuality. In 1972, 80 per cent of the French people considered that a successful sex life was a source of happiness. Today only 39 per cent of French people consider that sexuality is indispensable for happiness; men and women together prefer going out to an exceptional show rather than a night of exceptional love making. Happiness is listening to music, taking on responsibilities in one's work and, for men, reading books as well as cuddling one's children, waking up feeling fit and, for women listening to their favourite music.

The study went on to state that this lowering of the libido is linked to a certain inability of man and women to communicate with each other, as a result of the particularly stressed conditions of modern life with its intense work, tiredness and compensating television.

The upsetting of the traditional representations of man and woman has consequences for the way people live their sexuality. The reduction in libido is also found in research in England, for other reasons certainly, but there is an interplay of new lifestyles and expectations. The MORI poll, published in *The Times* March 1993 (4) surveying 802 men between the ages 50 to 70 indicated that one third of British men, many living with a wife or partner, no longer has sex; 35 per cent wants a regular sex life, and only 15 per cent said they had intercourse more than once a week. The survey linked worries and medical problems as one cause of declining sexual activity. The research supported a link between sexual performance, prostate problems and perceptions of growing older.

Marginalization is often perceived in the context of progress in personal development of a wife. The following example which is not an exception, illustrates. "A happily" married couple found the sky falling on them.

Husband: "When you go off to the seminar workshop on Saturday and Sunday, what happens to my callaloo and meals?" Wife: "You can cook for a change, or order something to eat". "I'll be damned", said the husband, getting impatient with his wife's matter-of-fact answer as he pushed her. This was the tenth angry episode since she started doing evening courses three months ago. Once or twice it almost came to violence on the husband's part. He couldn't understand her faithful interest in pursuing these courses, at the expense of even rejecting his sexual advances at some times. She felt that the situation had deteriorated and gone too far. She stopped discussing her progress with her husband who was not at all happy for her. He kept pointing out the things she didn't do around the house since she started the courses. A friend advised her to consult a lawyer when her husband had actually man-handled her and slapped her twice during a heated argument. She had forgiven him, but that did not alter his attitude towards evening courses which she was not going to relinquish. The lawyer warned her husband against being verbally abusive and verging on the violent. "What we coming to?", the husband asked the lawyer. "A man don't have any rights any more, even with his own wife." He was hurt and depressed. The marriage did not last.

A view on family planning services

NGOs, like the Family Planning Association of Trinidad and Tobago, not too long ago have been targeting essentially females. Men used to feel out-of-place collecting their own condoms, or pills for their female partners. This is changing and the number of users visiting the clinics is increasing. While health personnel has always been concerned with the early diagnosis and treatment of cancer in the female (breast, cervix), there has been no serious public recognition of cancer of the prostate or simple benign adenomas and the need for their early diagnosis. In the past and still somewhat in the present, Family Planning Education has targeted hospitals and clinics frequented by women (ante-natal, post-natal, delivery, pre-menopausal). School and youth groups targeted, are gender-integrated. However, it is more often the female teachers and female leaders who demonstrate consistent interest in various aspects of reproductive health education.

Studies on human reproduction and on reproductive health, for example the Demographic and Health Survey, Trinidad and Tobago 1987, the absence of statistical tables about the male is

notorious. Research confirms the traditional bias as human reproduction research pays extensive attention to the female.

A recent research on children in extremely difficult circumstances in Trinidad and Tobago showed that the majority of street children, delinquents, vagrants and adolescent criminals was male. The study demonstrated that male children suffer more physical and emotional abuse and neglect than girl children. It was only in the realm of sexual abuse that female children were ascendant. (See Tables 1, 2 and 3). The incidence of depression and suicide as a result of financial and/or domestic difficulties, occurs mostly among men.

Marginalization and violence

It appears that over the last few years young males 18-35 are disproportionately engaged in risk-taking and self-destructive behaviour without precedent. A Minister was citing reports from the Rape Crisis Society, Families in Action, the Police Juvenile Bureau, the Legal Aid and Advisory Service and from Social Workers and concluded that the male was reported to be preponderant in acts of rape, child abuse, incest, spousal violence, including murder. This statement was made at a Conference on "Violence, Self and the Young Male", held in Trinidad and Tobago, 1993. Men continue to be more at risk and to engage in risk-taking behaviour as far as sexually transmitted diseases (see tables 4 to 7). However, the gap is being narrowed.

Battered and abused men

Some end up in a mental hospital, some commit suicide and others take to drinking alcohol. Many men who have deficiencies or difficulties of some sort, for example loss of job, lack of money, impotency, are frequently verbally and emotionally abused by their wives. They often suffer quietly because of the machismo syndrome and out of fear that their male friends would ridicule them.

Men reared in the traditional mould frequently find it difficult to communicate with their female partners with consideration and fair play. They become physical because it is the only way they have learned to express themselves. "Gi she a big lash! Then she would hear and do what you say!"

CONCLUSION

The net result of the persistence of the traditional perception of the role of men and the concomitant behavioural practice by those who rear them from infancy is that men grow up being actually left out of the deeper details of many important life events concerning their partner and the children ensuing from the relationship. Therefore they have not learned to feel certain emotions connected to the life and well-being of partner and offspring. Their knowledge of them and their experiences is often superficial, and not based on facts drawn from discussions between the two life partners or with their children.

Women in Caribbean societies, on the other hand, whether single mothers or not, have actually become more self-reliant, mentally stable and emotionally stronger over the last few decades. As several surveys of single female households, and single mothers have shown, women can do quite well without the male partner if and when they have to. They may not be happy, but they can survive and rear their children to, at times, a remarkably successful adulthood.

Whether men reared in this traditional mould admit it or not, there is often need for psychotherapy or guidance. In a deep partner-relation void, the men frequently become more vulnerable, more fragile, feel more marginalized, especially during episodes of retrenchment, inability to find suitable jobs, severe illness, and side effects of treatment of these same illnesses for example sexual impotency, loss of libido, etc.

Too many men have missed out on the remarkable development stages of their children and female partners maturing over the years. They are like horses with thick wide blinders wrapped in their little narrow selves and their roles. Their interest is cricket, football, the bar, the boys, the other women, the machismo manifestations, money in pocket, car if possible, ability to spend, to go out and buy the boys a drink, etc. A lot of what is to give them comfort and stability with the passing years are ignored as "woman's business" and "child business".

Many men nowadays when faced with the ambitious educated women with whom they have become involved, become insecure and unable to accept their new role where the demand for equality, justice, fair play and mutual interest are part of the actions of the women.

It is time that many countries, organizations and communities recognize the need to change current direction to include men in their programmes. For example, the Family Planning Association of Trinidad and Tobago has recognized the lacunae in their previous programmes, and now begin to involve males in their programmes.

"New" education thrust should be in place for the male to help reduce the messages from the society that support the illusive machoism in the face of the "new" woman post-1970. For the male's own happiness and that of his partner and offspring his definition of his "new" role in the 1990s as we approach the twenty-first century is essential.

Educating the male must include the understanding that the "new" female with a wider changing role, more access to education and training, augurs well for the survival of children and the well-being of the family, and she is to be supported, not to be reacted to with violence.

Men have to accept the fact that their female partners are equal, can be talked to and reasoned with, and that peace, harmony and love can be the outcome. Loud talk, abuse and violence are part of an old vicious circle which has to be discontinued.

Education of boys and girls, men and women, must give rise to mutual respect and to whatever roles that the circumstances may dictate for them at a particular point in time. Living can never be a blue print existence, not in this present era of human development.

Table 1

**ADOLESCENTS BEFORE THE COURT
BY SEX, 1990-1992**

Year	Male	Female
1990	187	84
1991	220	157
1992	222	119
TOTAL	629	360

Source: "Report on Children in Extremely Difficult Circumstances in Trinidad," March, 1993, Ministry of Consumer Affairs and Social Services of Trinidad and Tobago.

Unpublished data from a Port-of-Spain Court, 1990-1992

Table 2

CRIMINAL CASES BY SEX 1990 - 1992

Year	Male	Female
1990	57	8
1991	103	66
1992	99	35
TOTAL	259	109

Source: "Report on Children in Extremely Difficult Circumstances in Trinidad," March, 1993, Ministry of Consumer Affairs and Social Services of Trinidad and Tobago.

Unpublished data from a Port-of-Spain Court, 1990-1992

Table 3

**Nature of Abuses % by Type of Abuse and Sex
1990 - 1992**

Type of Abuse	% Male	% Female
Physical	30.0	11.1
Sexual	10.0	22.2
Neglect	30.0	11.1
Emotional	40.0	22.2

Source: "Report on Children in Extremely Difficult Circumstances in Trinidad," March, 1993, Ministry of Consumer Affairs and Social Services of Trinidad and Tobago.
Unpublished data from a Port-of-Spain Court, 1990-1992

TABLE 4

**GONORRHEA RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION
(Total) 1981 - 1990**

Year	Population	Male	Female	Total	Rate
1981	1,112,200	2961	499	3460	311.0
1982	1,128,597	2626	409	3035	268.9
1983	1,149,204	2786	190	2976	258.9
1984	1,108,227	2255	210	2465	211.0
1985	1,181,183	2828	831	3659	309.7
1986	1,196,401	3331	1005	4335	361.6
1987	1,211,753	3530	1021	4551	373.9
1988	1,211,539	3310	1007	4317	349.4
1989	1,213,182	2913	894	3807	313.8
1990	1,234,388	2116	757	2873	233.0

Source: Demographic and Health Survey of Trinidad and Tobago, 1987 Central Statistical Office, Trinidad and Tobago, 1992.

Since AIDS is predominantly a sexually transmitted disease in Trinidad and Tobago, it is strongly felt that efforts to reduce the incidence of the traditional STDs will also help to reduce the spread of HIV and vice versa. Since 1987 a marked decline has been seen in the incidence of new cases of syphilis and gonorrhea in public STD clinics (see Tables 5 and 6).

Table 5

INCIDENCE OF REPORTED SYPHILIS BY SEX and selected age groups			
AGE GROUPS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
9 and under	6	4	10
10 - 14		9	9
15 - 19	34	62	96
20 - 24	75	96	171
25 - 29	105	90	195
30 - 34	96	60	156
35 - 39	59	29	88
40 - 44	58	20	78
45 - 64	62	15	77
65+	14	2	16
TOTAL	509	387	896

Source: Central Statistical Office, Trinidad and Tobago, 1992.

Table 6

Trinidad and Tobago
Distribution of reported cases of AIDS
by age and gender
1983 - 1991

AGE (YEARS)	MALE	FEMALE	UNKNOWN	TOTAL
Under 1	20	24	03	47
1 - 4	09	11	01	21
5 - 9	04	01	0	05
10 - 14	0	0	0	0
15 - 19	28	15	0	43
20 - 24	104	40	0	144
25 - 29	127	44	0	171
30 - 34	136	39	02	177
35 - 39	82	37	0	119
40 - 44	55	16	0	71
45 - 49	50	13	0	63
50 - 54	29	06	0	35
55 - 59	20	05	0	25
60+	19	03	0	22
UNKNOWN	21	06	0	27
TOTAL	704	260	06	970

Source: National Surveillance Unit, Ministry of Health, 1992.

Table 7

Trinidad and Tobago
Distribution of AIDS deaths
by age and gender

1983-1991

AGE	MALE	FEMALE	UNKNOWN	TOTAL
UNDER 1	09	14	02	25
1 - 4	04	05	02	11
5 - 9	02	04	0	06
10-14	0	0	0	0
15-19	07	03	0	10
20-24	67	16	0	83
25-29	90	33	0	123
30-34	92	20	02	114
35-39	55	17	0	72
40-44	45	13	0	58
45-49	31	07	0	38
50-54	31	03	0	34
55-59	13	02	0	15
60 +	12	01	0	13
UNKNOWN	14	04	0	18
TOTAL	472	142	06	620

Source: National Surveillance Unit, Ministry of Health, 1992.

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MY BROTHER²

Esther Phillips

A little boy ran down
the road with a roller
his magic metal wand
striking mirrored memories
of you
my brother

How often did your bare feet
hammer your frustration
into this hot tar
Insistent hands striking
and every lash
an echo
of your own pain
willing
with furrowed brow
and glinting tears
the roller to go straight
for so might your own
fettered dreams
one day run straight and true.

What gadgets
do you play with now, Brother?
Time Machines?
Computers?
Do you drive now
with any surer aim
your high-powered car
down well-paved highways?
Your eyes glinting
iron blood and steel
so that I
I hardly know you? ...

For a moment now
you're pushing your roller
back down the road,
but as it swerves off course
I rescue it for you
I right it for you
I hand it back
to you
and you smile
at me ...

² *Ascent la Subid, La Montée*, Poetry Chap - Bookseries No.2. Editor: Bruce St. John, 1983.

