



Women and Higher Education in the Commonwealth Caribbean: UWI, A Progressive Institution for Women?

CGDS, The UWI, Cave Hill Campus
Working Paper No. 2, February 1999

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ISSN: 0799-0480

ISBN: 976-621-037-3

Centre for Gender and Development Studies (CGDS)
The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus
Working Paper Series

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Keywords: The UWI, women and higher education, women in academia, gender difference in academia, education

How to cite

Hamilton, Marlene. 2015. "Women and Higher Education in the Commonwealth Caribbean: UWI: A Progressive Institution for Women?" *Caribbean Review of Gender Studies* issue 9, 245–286

Editor's Note

Violet Eudine Barriteau

Working Paper no. 2 is the text of the fourth lecture in the series *Caribbean Women Catalysts For Change* organised by the Centre for Gender and Development Studies, Cave Hill. The series, dedicated to honouring the memory of Dame Nita Barrow, late Governor General of Barbados, is part of a research project dedicated to analyzing and documenting the contributions of outstanding Caribbean women in the fields of: regional and international development; trade; politics and political participation; trade unionism and agricultural development.

Author's Note

Marlene Hamilton

Chair, I thank you for those very kind words of introduction. I also thank most sincerely Dr. Barriteau and members of the organising committee, for the tremendous honour afforded me in inviting me to give this lecture. To sing Dame Nita's praises is very much like gilding the lily. Nonetheless, those of us who knew her, no matter how slightly, seem to have some special memory which we like to share. Mine is of (perhaps) the last time I saw her close at hand (I had recently been appointed a Pro Vice Chancellor), when she turned to the Vice Chancellor and said, "Well, Alister, at last the University is growing up! You finally put a woman 'up there'" (or something to that effect).

I have strong memories of Mona's Graduation Ceremony in 1990, too, when Dame Nita gave the address to the graduating class, and commented at some length on the growing numbers of women being presented each year. She had

obviously reflected hard and long on this issue, and used the occasion of graduation to comment in the following manner:

Something very important, even dangerous, is happening to our societies. Women are outnumbering men in many areas of educational performance and productive enterprise. Yet at the same time, at the other end of the spectrum, illiteracy among women is increasing It is they (the women) who bear the brunt of structural adjustment programmes.

She continued:

As we stand here, on the threshold of the twenty-first century, in the regional institution of higher (learning), let us understand that THIS IS NOT A CHALLENGE FOR WOMEN. It is a challenge for the entire society; not the least of all the university community, which must turn its mind to real problems in our societies.¹

I would like to suggest, Chair, that this series of lectures, dedicated to the memory of a giant among Caribbean women and named in her honour, does in fact take up Dame Nita's challenge. My personal challenge at this time is to do full justice to the task presented me.

I express sincere appreciation to three of my colleagues and friends - Elsa Leo-Rhynie, Woodville Marshall and Peter Whiteley, for their insightful critique of the draft, and for their willingness to debate (explosively, at times) many of the issues raised.

Introduction

I have entitled my presentation, *UWI - A Progressive University for Women?* and I wish to recognise that this was suggested to me by someone with whom I worked closely for years, particularly during the period when I had responsibility for the Board for Undergraduate Studies. This person is Dr. Peter Whiteley. However, I have added a question mark, to indicate that there are some doubts - in certain quarters, serious doubts - as to whether The UWI is, indeed, a progressive university for women. It is my understanding that *progressivism* has been the subject of debate among feminist educators (a la Foucault) and in that context, has been used to embrace a consideration of shifts in power relationships - in the classroom (or lecture room) represented by the emergence of a more person-centred approach to teaching; in the instructional curriculum employed, through the design of one which deviates significantly from the male oriented, phallogocentric model; and in the general structure of the institution, whereby the male dominated, authoritarian and bureaucratic structures are discarded in favour of female oriented, more flexible and democratic models.

I should let you know that I do not support indiscriminately any position which concentrates on power relationships to the exclusion of other factors; rather, I choose to use the term, *progressive* to refer to opportunities within the institutional context that provide for the advancement of women achieved as a result of demonstrable merit that is recognised and rewarded in an appropriate manner. Basic to this is the issue of women's access to university education and the encouragement offered them to pursue a degree. Having offered you a disclaimer and suggested an alternative definition, I will get on with the business at hand. Last summer, I was in the United Kingdom when Cambridge University celebrated the 50th Anniversary marking the granting of degrees to women. Before 1948 - as early as 1869 - women were permitted to study for degree examinations (although they were not allowed to attend lectures) but, at the end of the day, they received no formal recognition of their efforts through the conferment of a degree. There had been numerous attempts to have the

University's Senate do away with this restriction from about 1896, but the all-male Senate, confident of the broad support of the all-male undergraduate body, held firm - and this was in spite of the growing numbers of British universities which, from 1878, were granting women the right to take an academic degree. The records indicate that, at a celebratory dinner held at Girton College in July 1948, Helen Cam, one of the first female lecturers appointed: ²

... evoked the battle between St. George and the Dragon to describe the battle for women's admission, in which the women themselves had been forced to stand by while St. George did his bit on their behalf - and which, in the end, the dragon had died of old age.³

The fact that UWI is, in 1998, also celebrating a Golden Jubilee (in this case, of the institution's 'birth') was, as you can imagine, not lost on me. UWI (as University College of the West Indies - UCWI) a 'new' university founded in 1948 very much in the British tradition - after all, we were originally a university college in 'special relationship' to the University of London - actively sought to admit female scholars right from the start. The 1945 *Report of the West Indies Committee of the Commission on Higher Education* (popularly known as the *Irvine Report*), charged with providing directionality for the new entity proposed, makes this abundantly clear when it speaks to the issue as follows:

In this context there is another important consideration. The women of the West Indies, though some of them are already showing their quality, do not yet make their full contribution to professional life or to public affairs.... With greater access to higher education, the influence of women, valuable in itself and perhaps especially requisite for the solution of the difficult social problems of the West Indies, would make itself felt. It is probable that if University education could be provided in

the West Indies at a lesser cost than overseas and with residential accommodation, a gradually increasing number of daughters would be able to obtain higher education and play their part fully in the life of their communities.⁴

Given the very positive early start, when roughly one-third of the first group of thirty three students entering the new university were female, it is indeed timely, 50 years down the line, to pause to consider whether UWI has, indeed, proved to be a progressive university for women - hence my title. As my focal point, I want to consider the question of women's access to UWI as students and as academic and/or administrative staff over the years and to attempt to gauge the impact they have had, or are having, particularly within the university setting.

There have been numerous studies done, particularly over the past ten years or so, which have teased out various aspects of this theme, but the present effort is intended to offer a broader sweep. I propose to bring an inter-disciplinary approach to my paper - one informed by the disciplines of history, gender studies and education, although I can claim some authority in but one of these areas.

Historical Links: Women and Higher Education in Britain

In light of UWI's links with the University of London, particularly in the early days, it seems useful to comment on what Ann Brooks has termed the 'historical position of academic women in the (British) academy'⁵ before looking at the Caribbean. Margharita Rendel has indicated that by the end of the nineteenth century in England:

... the relevance of higher education to the professions and occupations other than the Church had become apparent, (and that) ... changes in the form of patriarchy (in the 20th century) were reinforced by changes in legislation, opening up the possibilities for women's employment.⁶

However, despite early gains by the group which was to become known as 'first wave feminists', 'significant closure remained in terms of access to academic institutions, subject areas and to academic appointments.'⁷ Indeed, the position articulated in the late eighteenth century by the French philosopher, Rousseau, was, it seems, not too far buried beneath the surface, particularly during the post- world war periods. To quote:

The whole education of women ought to be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honoured by them, to educate them when young, to care for them when grown, to counsel them, to console them and to make life sweet and agreeable to them - these are the duties of women at all times, and should be taught them from infancy.⁸

Basic to this concept which sought to define women's position 'relative to men' was that of an over-arching assumption that the feminine sex possessed inferior intellectual ability. Indeed, Edward Clarke argued in 1873 that, since the use of the brain for intellectual pursuits required excessive blood, women could ill-afford to engage in strenuous pursuits, for fear that blood would be 'drawn away from the nervous system and reproductive organs.'⁹

Lest you dismiss Clarke's treatise as a nineteenth century aberration, let me remind you that, as late as 1994, several articles appeared in the U.K. educational press which proposed, among other theories, that 'men have

larger and/or better brains than women, and women, because of their lack of testosterone, are incapable of competing with men at work.¹⁰

But let us return to more serious matters. During the 1920s, 'attitudes toward female (undergraduate) university students (in the U.K.) were initially enthusiastic, but this interest declined between the wars.'¹¹ Further, even when the number of male undergraduates declined during the war years, this was not offset by any significant increase in the number of females.

More recent access patterns in Britain have demonstrated a greatly improved situation in respect of university enrolment figures for women. This, Rosemarie Deem maintains, is as a result of changes in state ideology reflecting provisions which enable women to participate more fully in the labour market, albeit in segregated sectors.¹² Indeed, these policies resulted in a global expansion of higher education in the U.K. in the 1960s, and, as such, saw increasing numbers of males, as well as females, entering university. By 1996, roughly half of these were women, although the proportion pursuing postgraduate studies was only about one-third. They were represented within most subject groups in nearly all British universities.

The position of women academics in the U.K., on the other hand, has been more difficult to assess due to a paucity of statistical data. Despite this limitation, Rendell, writing in 1980, has claimed that:

The proportion of women academics now is virtually the same as in the 1920s and the proportion holding senior posts virtually the same as in the 1930s.... Individual women have learnt it is not enough to be better than men they are (just) not perceived as scholars.¹³

The UWI Experience

We move on now to the UWI experience, and I begin by offering certain hard data on several issues - total enrolment patterns, distribution of the top academic awards, subject orientation - to provide a contextual setting. I need to point out that the disaggregation of these data by gender is, to be kind, incomplete and inconsistent in presentation. Indeed, figures for the first ten years provide much more useful information than is the case for later periods, particularly the 1970s and 1980s. Even the official UWI *Statistics* publications unfortunately do not at all times seek to provide gender-specific data, although there has been some improvement over the last five years or so.

TABLE 1
TOTAL ENROLMENT FIGURES

Year	Total Enrolment		Women (%)
	Overall	Female	
1948/49	33	10	30
1958/59	622	231	37
1968/69	4216	1559	37
1978/79	8531	4046	47
1988/89	11896	6560	55
1997/98*	20997	13442	64

Source: UWI Statistics for Relevant Years

* Provisional

Having made this point, I will now examine Table 1, which shows the total enrolment figures over ten-year intervals commencing in 1948. What emerges is an increase in the average percentage of women enrolled, from 30% through 37% (during the decades of the 1950s and 1960s) to 47% in the 1970s, 55% in the 1980s and 64% in 1997/98. This is against enrolment figures for both men and women increasing from 33 to 20,997 over the 50-year period.

The swing of the pendulum in the direction of women in 1988/89 calls for a more detailed look at the years immediately preceding this time. This pin-points 1982/83 as the period at which the shift actually commenced, there being 51% females registered in the institution out of a total of 9,573 students.

I should say something about the distribution of the top academic awards, the University (College) of the West Indies (U(C)WI) Open Scholarships and national Exhibitions. The Open Scholarships are embarrassingly small in number (there are only ten new awards, occasionally eleven, currently given annually, and, up to the 1980s this number stood at six). For the 1950s, the representation of women among the Open Scholars stood at 21%, for the 1960s, 22%; for the 1970s and 1980s, 30% and for the 1990s, 34%.

Women have fared better with the Exhibitions, gaining 34% in the 1950s, 38% in the 1960s, and 46% in the 1970s and early 1980s. (No data seems to exist centrally after this time). As an aside, what struck me in collecting these data was the almost complete absence of women gaining Barbados Exhibitions during the first ten years following the inauguration of these awards - only three of a total of twenty-two awardees (14%). This was marginally better for the Trinidad Exhibitioners (five women - 17% - of a total of thirty) although for Jamaica the position was much stronger, women having won thirty-six out of a total of eighty-four Exhibitions (43%). I would not venture an explanation for the differential at the present time, as this suggests the need for detailed study in its

own right and quite likely involves a range of variables, including policy issues and societal expectations.

TABLE 2

TOTAL ENROLMENT OF UWI STUDENTS BY ARTS/SCIENCE OPTIONS*

YEAR	OPTION	TOTAL Ss	MALES	FEMALES
1948 (N=33)	Sciences	33	23 (70%)	10 (30%)
(Only Medicine offered - males predominate).				
1958 (N=622)	Sciences	373	273 (73%)	100 (27%)
	Arts	249	118 (47%)	131 (53%)
(More males in Medicine and the Natural Sciences, but not in Arts; Faculties of Social Sciences, Engineering, Agriculture and Law not yet on stream).				
1968 (N=4216)	Sciences	2199	1593 (72%)	606 (28%)
	Arts	2017	1064 (53%)	953 (47%)
(More males in every faculty except the humanities - Law still not yet on stream).				
1978 (N=8542)	Sciences	3512	NOT AVAILABLE	
	Arts	5030		
1988 (N=11,896)	Sciences	4533	2705 (60%)	1828 (40%)
	Arts	7363	2628 (36%)	4735 (64%)
(More females in all Arts faculties, more males in all science faculties).				
1997 (N=18,380)	Sciences	6350	3405 (54%)	2945 (46%)
	Arts	12030	3362 (28%)	8668 (72%)
(More females in all faculties except Engineering).				

Source: Culled from various official UWI documents for the respective years.

* (Arts: Education, Humanities, Law, Social Sciences

Science: Agriculture, Engineering, Medicine and Natural Sciences)

The academic options pursued by the UWI students (Arts as against the Sciences) provide an insight into the shifts of emphasis over the years (See Table 2). Initially (that is, in 1948) there was only the Faculty of Medicine on stream - and it has already been noted that the enrolment of women stood at 30%. Ten years later (in 1958) when there were two other faculties in operation at Mona (Arts and the Natural Sciences) along with the Department of Education, males demonstrated their numerical dominance in the Sciences (73% to 27%) although, even at this relatively early stage, the differential in the Arts favoured females (53% women to 47% men).

In 1968, with the birth of the St. Augustine and Cave Hill campuses having taken place in 1960 and 1963, respectively, and the addition of Engineering, Agriculture and the Social Sciences, the representation of males in the Sciences remained virtually unchanged from 1958. Males' figures also indicated a 'recovery' of sorts in the Arts-based options due to their sizeable enrolment in the new Faculty of Social Sciences (53% males to 47% females).

The year 1978 reflected for the first time the presence of the Faculty of Law which had been inaugurated in 1970, along with a larger total enrolment in the Arts than the Sciences. (Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain disaggregated data for this year). The next decade (1988) pointed to the 'traditional' pattern of more men in the Sciences and more women in the Arts (accompanied, however, by an overall enrolment of 55% females). The final set of available data (for 1997) shows a similar outcome, although the differential for the Sciences had by now become much less (54% males, 46% females). In fact, it is only in Engineering that men significantly outnumbered women, by some 52 percentage points (76% to 24%). The overall enrolment of females stood at 63% at that time.

The next issue that presents itself here, particularly in light of UWI staffing patterns which will shortly be examined, is that of the post-graduate data, since one

would reasonably posit that this is the group from which academic staff are likely to be recruited. Unfortunately, it has proved even more difficult to verify enrolment figures here, especially where one seeks to concentrate on higher degrees - PhD, MSc, MA. Although it seems that the first postgraduate degree was awarded in 1953/54, no credible enrolment figures could be located prior to 1968. By that time, women's enrolment stood at 26%. By 1970/71, it had risen to 31%, and by 1980/81, it was 50%. Ten years later (1990/91) the percentage of women registered for higher degrees was still 50%, although the actual numbers had increased to the point where the Vice Chancellor, in his *Report to Council* in 1988, claimed that:

(The) growth in higher degree registration is noteworthy and is a clear response by the University to the needs of the community, as well as a recognition of its own need for future members of staff.

By the mid-90s there was an increase to 55%, and the most recent data (for 1997) give a registration of 58% women out of a total of 3,079, the majority being located in taught Master's programmes.

What of the actual graduates? While not unexpected, it must be also noted that first degree graduation patterns have followed a similar trajectory to that of enrolment from 1952 when U(C)WI presented its first graduating class. I was able to unearth data for the period, 1951/52 to 1961/62, showing a graduation rate of 36% females out of a total of 859, and for the period extended to 1971/72, an increase in the percentage of female graduates to 42%, out of a total of 6,051. However, apart from these early figures, the information available has many gaps as shown in Table 3. Nonetheless, indications are that the graduation rate for 12 women in the 1950s was in the region of 34%; in the 1960s, 38%; the 1970s, 44%; the 1980s, 54%, and the 1990s, 63%. In all instances, percentages calculated on women's graduation rates were higher than for their enrolment figures. I should add that the graduation figures presented for **all** programmes

(not just first degrees) based on the 1977/78 data provided an overall percentage of 66.3% women - 66% from Cave Hill, 73% from Mona, and 60% from St. Augustine .

TABLE 3
FIRST DEGREES AWARDED BY UWI

Year	Total	Females	Year	Total	Females
1951/52	11		1975	1160	
1953	35		1976	1275	
1954	42		1977	1281	
1955	47		1978	1285	
1956	51		1979	1361	684 (50.3%)
1957	75	308 (36%)	1979/80	1457	
1958	84		1981	1465	744 (51%)
1959	107		1982	1583	812 (51%)
1959/60	114		1983	1540	811 (53%)
1961	120		1984	1570	812 (52%)
1962	173		1985	1650	927 (56%)
1963	235	2521 (42%)	1985/1986	1687	943 (56%)
1964	333	117 (35%)	1987	1822	1058 (58%)
1965	332		1988	1756	989 (56%)
1966	384		1989	1800	1032 (57%)
1967	534	223 (42%)	1989/1990	1883	1110 (59%)
1968	570	220 (39%)	1991		
1969	588		1992	2319	1405 (61%)
1969/70	639	265 (41%)	1993	2190	1321 (60%)
1971	814		1994		
1972	835		1995	2905	1852 (64%)
1973	1003		1996	3017	1965 (65%)
1974	1078		1997	2979	

Source: UWI Calendars and Statistics covering these years.

1979 can be regarded as a bench-mark year, when slightly over 50% females graduated from UWI with first degrees; and this is against the larger registration of males up to 1982 already mentioned. This leads to the natural conclusion, therefore, that women were out-performing their male counterparts, during this period at least (1979 to 1982).

In 1996/97, for the first time the St. Augustine campus reported a larger percentage of women in the graduating class, thus at last joining Cave Hill and Mona in this regard, and contributing to the highest percentage of female graduates to that date (65%). Nonetheless, Engineering at St. Augustine still remains a predominantly 'male' discipline, having an enrolment of approximately 22% women at the present time.

Unearthing patterns among those awarded higher degrees proved equally challenging. What is clear is that all eleven graduates of the 1950s (the first were presented in 1953/54) were men while, for the decade of the 1960s only ten (9%) of the 110 awardees were women (all receiving the MSc award). Subsequent decades show a growing number of women gaining higher degrees, equalling men around 1993, and surpassing them the year following.

The most recent data (1997) show 62% (337) of the total awardees (542) being women - certainly a better record than the one-third reported earlier in this presentation for the UK. Special mention must be made of the year 1972, when the PhD degree was awarded to a woman (actually, *four* women) for the first time. The first doctorates were gained by men one decade before, and this has to be taken into account when we look at staffing patterns which, as you may be aware, are strongly skewed in the direction of males.

But before I grasp that particular nettle, I should like to address an important concern - where do our female graduates go upon receiving their degrees? To trace their professional lives from 1952 to the present would be a formidable

challenge, outside the scope of the present paper. Nonetheless, it was important to get a sense of this important feature, even if in very general terms. I limited my search in the first instance, to a sub-set of the women - those who had gained Open Scholarships or Exhibitions under the UCWI dispensation. In order to secure the information needed, I relied on feed-back from individuals who knew these women, where I could not locate them personally.

The main profession which UCWIs female graduates adopted was, overwhelmingly, some aspect of education, typically teaching at the secondary level (after securing a Diploma in Education) but also, in instances, at university (not necessarily the regional institution) or a tertiary-level institution after completing a higher degree. One became Deputy Vice Chancellor at the University of Guyana, and another is currently principal of one of the largest and most dynamic community colleges in the region (sited in Barbados). Two were at UNESCO, one in Paris, the other in the regional office.

I located three who had been civil servants, one, at the Government Chemist's laboratory in Jamaica where she rose, after some years, to the position of Deputy Government Chemist. It was reported that at least two of the eight medical doctors never did work after being awarded the MBBS. A ninth did not complete, while two others attempted to get into Medicine after graduating with the Bachelor of Science degree. One was successful, the other was not, and resorted to teaching like so many of her peers. One of the first medical graduates currently holds the title of professor (having returned to UWI about seven years ago after a distinguished career in academia overseas) and, although she is past the retirement age, is held in very high esteem by her colleagues and still demonstrates a level of research productivity which is not easily equalled by her male counterparts or her more junior colleagues.

I know of two other female graduates of this era who secured employment at UCWI after the award of their first degree. One remained in her initial post as

Administrative Assistant for several years, after which time she went into journalism. The other became an Assistant Registrar, and later, Campus Registrar at the Cave Hill Campus. Two of the group became librarians, one at UWI, where she rose to the position of Deputy Campus Librarian at Mona. She resigned over a decade ago to migrate along with her family to the United Kingdom. Three are professional writers, one on a part-time basis. Another is quite well known for her contribution to children's literature.

Whereas three of the sample became well known in other creative spheres, one as a floral arranger and two as pianists, I did not get a sense that there was any marked recognition of the women's contribution to the business community, except in one case, whom I shall name. Mrs. Gloria Knight, one of UWI's honorary graduands, certainly became recognised in Jamaica as a significant player in the private sector. At the same time, and up to her death in 1997, she ensured that her company proved itself to be a 'good corporate citizen' as the saying goes, through its efforts to improve the teaching of physics at A-levels and mathematics in the primary schools by way of a series of special videos, among other things.

Roughly one-third of these early female graduates went on to post-graduate studies, mainly the Diploma in Education as mentioned previously, but several of the rest gained scholarships tenable overseas (bearing in mind that UWI did not have a full graduate programme until the 1960s). It is not unexpected, therefore, that some did not return to the region, or else, as in the case of the distinguished medical practitioner cited above, relocated on the eve of their retirement.

Jumping forward in time to the present decade, I also tried to get a sense of where our recent graduates have been placed. I was very pleased to find that two of our three campuses, through their placements offices, carry out annual tracer studies of recent graduates' fields of employment. From the impressive data set provided by St Augustine and Mona, I was able to determine the number of women employed in each of the three main categories reported -

the Public Sector, Private Sector and Teaching. For Trinidad and Tobago, their greatest representation has been in the Private Sector, followed by Teaching, then the Public Sector. Less than 25 women each year have sought to enter a post-graduate programme.

In the case of Jamaica, strongest representation has been shown within the Public Sector, and here a breakdown has been provided, which points to the health services as by far the largest employer of UWI female graduates. The Private Sector ranks second, and banking and accounting/auditing are the fields best represented. Teaching is third, with virtually twice as many women as men entering the classroom. Graduate studies, as in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, has received few students each year, the number of women returning to UWI being under thirty. Details of these findings are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4
GRADUATE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN FOR THE 1990s
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO (St. Augustine)

CATEGORY	YEAR (%)						Av. % 1990s
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	
Public Sector	30	41	15	20	13	21	23
Private Sector	35	33	49	57	59	57	48
Teaching	35	26	36	24	28	22	29
	N= 92	121	129	102	192	209	N= 845

JAMAICA (Mona)

CATEGORY	YEAR						Av. % 1990s
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	
Public Sector	37	33	31	38	42	40	37
Private Sector	38	35	41	34	31	28	35
Teaching	25	32	28	29	27	32	29
	N= 377	374	378	355	361	347	N= 2192

OECS SUB-SET

CATEGORY	1996-98 (%)
Public Sector	53
Private Sector	20
Teaching	23

N= 75

While not focusing on UWI graduates specifically (although one can deduce that most persons would, indeed, have graduated from this institution) a study commissioned by the Jamaica Employers' Federation in 1995¹⁴ showed that of a sample of 3,714 persons employed at eight local companies (2,004 men and 1,710 women), 481 had earned university degrees, 68 at the master's or doctoral level. However, their distribution across the various employment categories applicable to these companies (executive, senior and middle management, supervisory, and clerk/secretary) was, at the highest levels, skewed in the direction of males. Indeed, it was only for the Supervisory and Clerk/Secretary categories that women with degrees outnumbered the men.

I also had the opportunity of using some of the results of a study conducted in the non-campus countries intended to probe completely different issues, and was able to ascertain, from a small sample of 75 female graduates of the past three years, that most (53%) had secured employment in the Public Sector, followed by Teaching (23%) and the Private Sector (20%). Only a few (under five) had any plans for graduate studies but none to that point in time had managed to concretize such plans.

The last set of data which I secured (and was elated to obtain) relates to the medical doctors, specifically. The Medical Alumni have established a well-run secretariat at Mona, the Executive Officer of which keeps excellent records. She made the information (shown in Table 5) available to me from her data-base, which, while not complete, provides a reasonably accurate record of UWI's medical graduates over the 50-year period. What is immediately apparent is that, of the 1,273 female doctors traced, most are practicing in the 'feminine' side of the profession - in Family Practice, Obstetrics and Gynaecology, and Paediatrics. This seems to support findings reported a decade ago by my colleague, Professor Elsa Leo-Rhynie and myself, that although there are more women entering traditional 'male' professions, they are, nonetheless, practicing the 'feminine' side of the profession.¹⁵

TABLE 5

**FIELDS OF SPECIALIZATION FOR FEMALE
MEDICAL DOCTORS WHO ARE UWI GRADUATES**

SPECIALITY	NUMBER OF WOMEN	SPECIALITY	NUMBER OF WOMEN
Anaesthetics	46	Rheumatology	4
Radiology	35	Gastroentology	10
Haematology/Oncology	12	Internal Medicine	66
Pathology	65	Obstetrics & Gynaecology	129
Primary Health Care	73	Psychiatry	35
Pediatrics	118	Ophthalmology	38
Nephrology	9	Urology	3
Neurology	6	Microbiology	3
Endocrinology	3		
		Ear, Nose & Throat	6
Cardiology	5	Family Practice	366

Source: Information drawn from Medical Alumni data base

Given the title of this paper *UWI – A Progressive University for Women?* we have also to consider those women who joined the male-dominated ranks of UWI as staff. In this regard we recognise that women were not included in the initial cadre of academic staff in 1948, but, by the next year (with the establishment of the Natural Sciences faculty and Extra-Mural Department) they had made an appearance (five, including two research assistants and a resident tutor, out of a total complement of 43 – after all the *Irvine Report* had spoken to the need to attract “men and women of the first quality”). A sketch of the situation over the ensuing years shows that in the decade of the fifties the number of women academics held fairly constant (between seven and eight) equally spread across the Arts and Sciences and including Extra-Mural. In 1954, Medicine received its first female lecturer (in the ‘feminine’ field of Obstetrics and Gynaecology) and 1956 saw the first to be promoted to Senior Lecturer. (Contrary to popular belief, the noted historian, Elsa Goveia, was the second female Senior Lecturer at U(C)WI although she achieved the distinction of becoming the first female Professor in 1964.

The proportion of women on the teaching staff grew very slowly during the 1960s and 1970s, reaching an average of 28% in the 1980s, and 31% in the 1990s (and here we include both Academic and Senior Administrative staff). But an important consideration is that, coupled with these low numbers, is women’s very weak representation at the more senior levels - Senior Lecturer, Reader, Professor (or their equivalents).

The official *Yearbooks* and *Calendars* give us the relevant data: at the end of the 1950s there was a total of some 260 persons employed in teaching and research. The end of the 1960s saw an increase in the total teaching/research staff complement to approximately 475 (and another 90 classified as Senior Administrative) while the 1970s showed an expansion to 796.

The decade of the 1980s brought with it a further increase in the staff complement (Academic and Administrative) to an average of about 875 overall, and the 1990s raised numbers beyond the 1000 mark (1,247 for 96/97). However, consistently there have been more males in all categories of staff than females, except in the case of Assistant Lecturer where women have at times, been in greater numbers. But in any event, this last category does not, by its very nature, carry a large complement, rarely more than fifty.

At the other end of the spectrum, at the Professorial and Senior Lecturer levels, there has been a particularly notable under-representation of women. To cite some figures as shown in Table 6, the number of male professors has increased marginally during the eighties up to 1989/90 from 1980 to 1989, and over the hundred mark during the ensuing years. Female professors, however, ranged between six and eight during the 1980s, only reaching double figures in the 1990s (between ten and thirteen). The same holds for the Senior Lecturer category, where, during the 1980s, men have numbered between 200 and 235, and women, between 51 and 71. It seems, in fact, that female academics at UWI remain, in the words of Slater and Glazer (1989) "locked in the contract mill of the junior ghetto."¹⁶

TABLE 6

NUMBER OF STAFF (MALES AND FEMALES) AT THE PROFESSORIAL AND SENIOR LECTURER LEVELS

YEAR	PROFESSORIAL		SENIOR LECTURER	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
1984/85	84	6	213	51
1986/87	83	7	216	58
1988/89	80	8	219	64
1990	89	7 (+2)	219	71
1992	104	13 (+2)	217	68
1994	106 (+21)*	10	235	52
1996	103 (+18)*	10 (+4)	200	69

Source: From UWI Statistics for these years

* Indicates number of Readers

I checked the numbers of full-time female academic/administrative staff holding PhDs, DMs or an equivalent qualification, and ascertained that in 1996/97 there were only 121 to be found (less than half the number of women employed). Of these, 64 had been awarded by UWI, and they, together with the other 57 (the non-UWI PhDs) were mainly at the Lecturer level. In terms of the principal officers at UWI, women (attached to the Centre) hold the post of Pro-Vice Chancellor, University Registrar, Deputy University Registrar, one Deputy Campus Principal and University Librarian. The University Librarian (who also doubles as Campus Librarian) is not counted as senior management, so in effect

there are four women in this category. Across the three campuses, of a complement of 15 senior staff there are only four females (one Deputy Principal, already counted above in the Centre category, a Bursar and two Librarians, one of whom is also University Librarian).

Women Professors at UWI

I fear I may be accused of repeating myself, but the point has to be made in no uncertain terms. Currently (for 1998/99) there are no female deans (there have been only five in the history of the university) and, of the 68 Heads of Department, only seven are women. There are twelve women at professorial level - six holding the title (one is now operating in an administrative capacity) five in senior management and a sixth who does not hold the title, who is the Director of a research unit shortly to be merged with another similar entity, currently headed by a man. With the exception of two at St. Augustine, all are attached to the Mona campus.

All of these women except for two, read at least one of their degrees at UWI, and in all but three cases, have been employed at the institution for fifteen and upward years. I sought their comments on several issues which embraced their personal history and experiences (academic background, career path, source/s of encouragement, barriers along the way, assumption of leadership roles, level of job satisfaction) as well as their perception of what I would call institutional concerns (UWI's responsiveness to the region's developmental needs, specifically with respect to women in higher education; the institution's employment and promotion policies, again, with regard to women; evidence of any 'glass ceiling'; the respect accorded the scholarship and leadership qualities of female academics by their male counterparts, etc.) I also probed respondents' personal efforts at mentoring female students and/or young female academics and, for those who had done their undergraduate studies at

UWI, any observable differences reported between female students of yesteryear and today.

The information has been insightful and informative to me, and should be able to support a full case study which I hope to tackle in the not too distant future. For the purposes of this discussion, I will instead attempt to distill certain patterns, at times presented as commonalities across the group, yet recognising, however, the small number of respondents involved. This obviously presents a limitation to the extent to which the information provided can be taken to be representative of university-wide positions relative to female staff members.

The first pattern points to a distinction between those women who entered UWI straight after school (the A-level route) as against the few who chose to work before attempting their first degree (one actually secured a position at UWI, and then did her degree some twenty years later). The high school group presented as having been strongly influenced by their parents' expectations that they should receive a university degree. For some, they were the first of their respective families to go to university and thus accepted the importance of achieving success which this brought. For a few, there was parental pressure to study Medicine - what more prestigious profession could one hope for? However, two had successfully lobbied for the Natural Sciences as an acceptable alternative, although for one this was the antithesis of her humanities bent. All but one had attended a girls' high school, and as one put it, "You simply did not recognise at that time that there could possibly be any inferiority in girls' intellect compared to boys. You knew you were competent, that you could succeed at your studies, and you proceeded to get the job done."

The working group - those who, for largely economic reasons entered the work force after school - were strongly self-directed, in that the decision to secure a university degree at a later stage was of their own making, and not that of their

parents. In one instance, her exposure through work to a certain field shaped a respondent's decision to do a first degree, then graduate studies, in the area. This particular woman pointed out that there were no external sources of encouragement operating for her - professionally, she saw the need to have a degree and acted to attain the target she had set herself.

Familial responsibilities curtailed advanced studies upon graduating with their first degree for some members of the A-level group which, by this time, were looking to marriage and raising a family. A few, however, found it possible to proceed to a postgraduate diploma or degree but after a couple years break because of the willingness of their mothers to assist with child care. Nonetheless, all spoke of the bi-directional pull upon them - to satisfy a growing desire to pursue further studies, at the same time being conscious of their familial responsibilities, particularly where their children were concerned.

It is of note that one respondent reported being confronted by such familial pressures later in life (and this was beyond the call to care for ageing parents which several others faced). In this case, having teenage children at the present time, when she is at the apex of her professional life, has imposed certain constraints in terms of her time and flexibility to travel on university-related matters. She also pointed out that this situation has brought with it a recognition that UWI (that is, the institution's management) does not demonstrate a concern for working mothers (at whatever level) and acts as if all staff should be at the Vice Chancellor's (or Principal's) beck and call. Is it really necessary to hold meetings after 5.00 pm, she queried? To receive a summons for a Saturday morning meeting at 6.00 pm on a Friday evening? Although this woman is able to afford a housekeeper, she is aware that more junior women might not be in the same position. In any event, she has taken the decision that her children are of greater importance and need her more than does the university after normal working hours. She also recognised that this position may well work against her promotion prospects in the future.

Another pattern observed related to academic staff members who had been in the institution for many years. For them, the offer of a position at UWI typically came after they had obtained their PhD, or at least, had gained a Master's degree and were fairly well advanced with doctoral studies. These women virtually 'grew up' at UWI, to the extent that one expressed the view that at times she felt she was 'part of the walls.' This period of academic maturing, however, has had its down-side in instances where in later years more senior (in age) colleagues (typically men) had difficulty accepting the professional competence demonstrated by these women. Promotion beyond their colleagues' levels was also an issue for some.

While three women had left as staff, then returned, two others had led a professional life elsewhere before joining UWI, one, in a senior management/consultancy capacity, the other in a professional service organisation. The former had been well on the way to obtaining her doctorate and engaging in an academic career when, because of the frequent call to move family occasioned by her husband's career, she took the decision to do an MBA and become a consultant. She opined that she came to UWI at an opportune time, when the institution had undergone an audit which called for a reorientation of certain practices which, she felt, she was well qualified to spearhead. She spoke to her successes in achieving her targets, but at the same time, to the perceived resentment (often subtle) of her as a woman in a senior management position, but more so, as an outsider.

It was noteworthy that one woman spoke to her perception of a position at UWI as carrying the level of status she craved and thus set out to obtain, while another referred to the fact that she had a PhD several times during our conversation, leading me to appreciate that she still placed much store on this accomplishment even after being on staff for some sixteen years. In this vein, one woman, in speaking to the need for university women to be 'super performers' if they hoped to have the ear (or respect) of their male colleagues went on to add that having first-rate qualifications is not enough - women have

to be the best teachers, the best researchers, the best administrators; and even then they are likely to be overlooked at promotion time, and the nod given to a less able man by other men.

As an aside, I am reminded of a statement reported in a Jamaican newspaper recently and made by a female Senior Lecturer of many years standing in the Faculty of Social Sciences at Mona. The staff member commented that her personal experience is of having had her views ignored in meetings, and of being amazed to hear the same views, expressed by a man, taken up some minutes later, and everyone says, what a good idea! Why didn't we think of that before? ¹⁷

Yet, role models for this group of women, where they have been acknowledged, have typically been male, and where a female has featured this has been on a more informal plane - almost behind the scene, so to speak. Only in one case was a strong and dominant female role model mentioned. It was reported that some sectors of the university community seemed to feel that women who advance at UWI owe their success to the patronage of certain influential men in the system. The interviewees, however, made it clear that they felt they had made it on their own merit and according to their own terms, neither of which had anything to do with their gender. This also seems to be the view of the Dean of Social Sciences, Mona, who, in referring to two of these women in the local media said of one, when she speaks, I never think, that's a woman; and of the other, her views are so wise and sound. Neither of them, he said, would have got their positions by way of tokenism.¹⁸

Overt discrimination along gender lines was thought to be absent at UWI, but several gave examples of what they considered covert discriminatory practices evidenced in such areas as contractual terms and conditions and the lower-level committees (often of a service nature) they had been asked to sit on. Three respondents reported attempts made by other women colleagues to

undermine them after they had been promoted, while one spoke to not being taken seriously by her male colleagues since she was not regarded as one of the boys.

It was suggested by three respondents that UWI women need to speak more to the problems they face, or, where they do speak, to do so in a louder voice. This, it was felt, would cause the institution to become more aware of the woman's issue. In one case, the view was expressed that it is only since females have been outnumbering males in enrolment, graduation rates and class of degree, coupled with the ascendancy of a limited number to senior management level, that the men are beginning to sit up and recognise women's existence. If this seems to be a stark statement, it might better be considered against the broader criticism that UWI has not, in the main, actively promoted what has been called by one interviewee, women's enfranchisement. In other words, the perception was that there has been little effort on the part of the university to offer the same treatment to men and women. Taken further, the view was that UWI did not seem to have articulated any specific path enabling women to play their role in the region's development - but then, again, some did not feel that UWI should define any such role for women. Rather, what was called for was a more informed and immediate response to our Governments' needs, whether these be addressed by males or females.

Differences were reported between current female students and those of yesteryear by participants capable of making an informed judgement on the matter. While female undergraduates of the 1950s and 1960s might not necessarily have been overtly aware of gender issues, this is not a matter of debate for today's women. Unfortunately, all too often they have demonstrated their complacency by, for example, being unwilling to assume leadership roles - there are still mainly male leaders in the Students' Guilds - so the women seem, therefore, simply to be riding on the gains made by female activists in the university who are of greater vintage.

By way of summarizing the general issues emerging from the interviews, it can be said that while there was recognition of UWI as a male institution, there was the view that the previous Vice-Chancellor had made commendable strides in opening the door to allow a few women in, thereby cracking the strongly evident glass ceiling. There is also a perception that some UWI women are “waiting in the wings”, being acceptant of male leadership, and demonstrating an unwillingness to step forward into the limelight. This, it is suggested, is probably because of a lack of self-confidence. None of my interviewees spoke to the need for special pleading for women, for it was felt that given the right environment, women scholars’ obvious competence would, over time, be recognised and appreciated fully.

One respondent, very knowledgeable about gender issues, pointed out that male and female staff at UWI should not be thought of as engaging in a race model, with the intention of one outstripping the other. (In any event, it has to be recognised that men and women have different starting points, hence the inappropriateness of the race model). Rather, what should be sought in her opinion, is the ladder model, calling for men and women to attain the goals set at their own pace. This it seems, is a realistic approach to take as I move on to my final set of concerns.

Conclusion

And here, I return to my theme: *UWI - a Progressive University for Women?* Well, based on the data spanning the first 50 years of the university’s life, what do you think? Is UWI a progressive university for women? What would Dame Nita say? After 50 years existence the institution has something to say for itself too; but I wonder whether this is very much different from what it ‘said’ on its 40th anniversary, ten years ago. Reviewing the numerical data available in 1988, an article, co-authored by Elsa Leo-Rhynie and myself, spoke to the greater

involvement of women in higher education during the 'eighties, but at the same time indicated that their *placement* was still in sex-stereotyped areas. Thus:

Women who pursue Engineering, Agriculture, Pre-clinical Medicine or the Natural Sciences (particularly the physical sciences), not only find themselves outnumbered by male students in class, but they encounter few, if any, women among their teachers.¹⁹

Reference made to the paucity of female teachers still holds today. However, enrolment data one decade later show larger numbers of women students than men in most subject areas - Engineering being the only 'male' faculty left. In addition, mention in the 1988 study to "the power, leadership, decision-making and control (being) completely in male hands" has to be modified within the present context in light of the promotion of several women to senior management positions. These women, along with their academic counterparts at professorial level must confront several unique issues - of helping educate new generations to a broader understanding of women's roles, and of assisting in shaping women's roles in organisations that have a very traditional masculine ethos.²⁰ A serious concern is whether these few women at the apex carry sufficient sway to achieve the level of success called for. Where their more junior colleagues remain silent, the task assumes Herculean proportions.

The level of participation of female staff members in such matters, as well as wider concerns pertaining to the university's governance have been criticised by several sources. Various explanations have been advanced (for UWI as well as other universities) some of which are credible, others, dubious. While we recognise that all do not necessarily demonstrate the same degree of validity, it can be accepted that they represent issues which women, more so than men, face, and, indeed, add support to the proposition reported in contemporary feminist literature of the '*difference*' between the two sexes. Barrett (1987) for example, explains this in two ways:

(The first draws) on the idea of difference between women and men (whether seen in timeless, essential terms or in a more socially constructed approach) and the other a more deconstructive model that emphasizes the specific social existences of women.²¹

In other words, this definition not only speaks of registering diversity of situation and experience between men and women, but also of an understanding of the positional rather than the absolute character of meaning between women. So, while recognising the importance of these issues to academic women, it is evident that each will not impact equally on every one of them. This, in itself can become problematic where certain women (particularly those in more senior positions) fail to recognise the extent to which others (typically their juniors) might be affected. The lack of support which this occasions is likely to further weaken the position of women in the institution and must be constantly guarded against by all concerned.

Let me offer brief comments about three clusters I consider most important within the UWI context.

Role Modelling/Mentorship/Networking

Role modelling, as a concept, and mentorship and networking, as strategies, have largely been discounted by feminist theorists as effective means for effecting change. Nonetheless, their importance to the careers of men has to be acknowledged, and, more and more it seems, women are seeking the guidance of their more senior female colleagues, and looking to chart a career path on their advice. Indeed, my 'professorial' interviews suggested that most of the group sees this as an important task for them to devote considerable time to (one even drew my attention to the fact that a few years ago she had worked

hard and long on another member of this group, to go after one of the 'top jobs' in the institution). However, we must bear in mind the limited number of women in this category: those who make themselves available are likely to carry considerably more than their male colleagues in this regard. Also, there are the others who *do not* make themselves available and whom, according to Weston (1990) must be reminded 'not to pull the ladder up after them.'²²

Institutional Responsibilities

For some, this issue is thought to address *Equal Opportunities*, and one observes that many universities have introduced an equal opportunities policy as a result of pressure from women academics. Even in the UK, which is generally thought of as ultra-conservative, the 1990 *Report of the Hansard Society Commission on Women at the Top* offered a liberal feminist approach to the issue, speaking to it as follows:

We recommend that all universities should appoint equal opportunities officers and that they should monitor and publish information about women's progress.²³

It is my understanding that in the U.K., while the response to this recommendation is by no means uniform, considerable advances have been reported for some universities. I do not know how such action would be received at UWI - in fact, I really would want to learn whether the Gender and Development Studies units on our three campuses, led by their regional Centre, would welcome the institution demonstrating in so-called tangible ways, its willingness to put in place processes designed to enhance the opportunities of academic women. I ask this in light of reports in feminist literature which suggest that the liberal feminist approach - basically, to create space for women at all

levels - can be counter-productive; for all too often the women then become marginalised within the very context they seek to make a difference.

That space is now being provided for more women does not mean that it is accompanied by any yielding of male power or privilege. What is particularly disconcerting is a point made to me on several occasions by the Professor of Gender and Development Studies at UWI, that men, having given women more space, are now trying to use that space for their own concerns, in her words, "to divert women's energies into men's anxieties." She feels that the research on male underachievement is a case in point. Although this is legitimately sited in the Centre for Gender and Development, is it not further evidence of the research agenda being directed to a male, rather than female, concern?

I would hope, however, that should UWI ever take steps in the direction of equal opportunities legislation (or, if you prefer, affirmative action), provision for such opportunities would not be based on a deficit model of women's careers, but rather, on the setting of targets for the promotion of suitably qualified female staff, at the same time putting in place (or, if you like, setting the stage by providing) the institutional support required. It would be equally important to take into account the need to ensure that women have a call in determining priority areas for research, for the allocation of research funds, for what is taught in terms of curriculum content and reading materials; at the same time making their voice heard on matters such as appointments and promotion.

Attention would have to be paid to various other matters, for example, the issue of child care and of sexual harassment and discrimination; so concern must be with the need for timely action on the part of UWI to accept its responsibility as an employer and to act to establish real equality of opportunities in an expeditious manner, reflective of the notion of 'access and success' that Kenway and Modra (1992) talk about.²⁴

Attitudinal Barriers

Legislation of university policy, such as is called for when addressing Equal Opportunities, does not necessarily mean that the policy will be internalised by members of the institution. Legislation cannot ensure that there will not be a negative response of male (and even female) colleagues to women on the staff, including the few in senior positions within the university. Indeed, it has often been said in academic (and other) circles that 'A man is preferred because he is a man.' It has also been said that women who have made it to the top are thought of as 'honorary men'!

The position which is widely held is that many academic women see their profession as secondary to their family responsibilities, for they have internalised the culturally prescribed role of women in the society. Some also acknowledge that this duality leads to a level of internal conflict and of self-guilt which, if not resolved, can become counter-productive and even, in the extreme, a cause of serious illness. Halsey (1992)²⁵, writing of the UK, claims that university women's lack of recognition is the fault of the women themselves, for they allow their domestic responsibilities to impinge upon their professional performance. Considerations such as a husband's attitude toward her career impact positively or negatively on the female academic's career, depending on whether he is supportive or otherwise. Career interruption for child-bearing and child-rearing also retard progress for the woman. But there are others who put a different slant on the matter, suggesting that far too many female academics are lacking in career motivation, that they are often simply 'drifting' career-wise, or else are plagued by the view that they are not as competent as the men. Indeed, some women have opined that their confidence and achievement levels are undermined by male values and that they are helpless to do anything about it. In the university, legitimacy is granted to persons possessing what is called 'cultural capital', that is, having recognised resources and values (Bourdieu, 1988)²⁶ and, I think we must add, power (although you may remember that at a

personal level, I interjected a disclaimer earlier in my presentation against power relationships). Nonetheless, we must accept that greater value is placed on those qualities traditionally identified as male, so women either have to choose to assimilate male attitudes and values or attempt the difficult task of changing them. The emergence of formal and informal women's groups and networks have done much to sensitize both men and women about the issue, and the fact that international agencies such as UNESCO and the Commonwealth Secretariat have, certainly within the past eight years or so, become quite vocal is to be considered a positive development.

Special mention should be made of ComSec's *Women in Higher Educational Management Programme*, initiated as part of the Commonwealth's response to the demonstrable under-representation of women at middle and senior management levels. This had as its genesis, the *Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development* which was presented to the World Conference on Women in Beijing and was more recently endorsed by Commonwealth Heads of Government at their meeting in Auckland. While the *Plan* represents, it is claimed, a new Commonwealth vision for women towards the year 2000 and requires that all Commonwealth activities are gender-sensitive, the specific higher education programme addresses leadership training for women academics and administrators through a series of management and staff development activities. Also included in the design is the development of a Commonwealth-wide electronic network which is to be used to encourage participants to provide one another with professional and moral support.²⁷ I understand that the network is up and running, and is operated out of Malaysia. While I appreciate fully, as I am sure you all do, the importance of the home environment and, particularly, formal education in ensuring that our girls are afforded access to university, I have concentrated my discussion on female staff, although the earlier sections of my presentation also addressed UWI's student body. I believe that what women academics are able to do is important to them as individuals, but also to female students in the university whose own notions of identity and autonomy are partly framed in response to

this. In this regard, the **visibility** of women scholars and administrators at UWI is of paramount importance, particularly in terms of the leadership they offer.

The literature is replete with examples of differences of style between male and female leaders and has generally presented the 'masculine' leadership behaviours in a more positive light. Yet, the 'feminine' behaviours need to be appreciated for the contribution they can make by way of creating an appropriate working climate and setting inspirational goals. The main abilities which women as leaders can offer are, as Middlehurst (1997)²⁸ puts it:

...flexibility and adaptability, ability to handle multiple demands, sensitivity to different perspectives, an approach to life and work which involves a longer-term view of how to make a difference for 'the greater good' of the family, group, organization or society.

One would therefore look for a change in the concept of leadership within the institution, a change that is accompanied by parallel shifts in the environment and operating context of UWI. I look forward to the day when our female leaders' styles become less exceptional and ultimately, more valued, at the same time maintaining a strong commitment to UWI's regional character and a clear sense of its institutional goals.

¹ The Graduation Address given by Dame Nita Barrow at Mona's graduation ceremony held on October 20, 1990, was entitled, *A Caribbean response to the challenge of change*.

² It should be noted that female lecturers were appointed at Cambridge University prior to the time when women were granted degrees from this university.

³ This statement, attributed to Helen Cam, appeared in the special 1998 edition of Cambridge University's *Focus*, in recognition of the 50th anniversary of the granting of this university's degrees to women.

⁴ This appears at Minute 45 of the *Irvine Report*.

⁵ See Ann Brooks' interesting review, *Academic women*, published by The Society for Research into Higher Education/Open University Press, 1997.

⁶ *Ibid.* p.8

⁷ *Ibid.* p.9

⁸ This quote is reported in *Storming the tower - Women in the academic world*, edited by Suzanne Stiver Lie and Virginia O'Leary and published by Kogan-Page, (1990).

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ See p. 13 of the Association for Commonwealth Universities' *Bulletin*, ABCD #18, (April, 1997).

¹¹ In Brooks, *op. cit.* p. 9.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Rendel's position on the issue of low numbers of women academics in the U.K. is reported on p. 11 of Brooks' *Academic women* cited above.

¹⁴ Information was obtained from the data gathered from a pilot survey conducted by the Centre for Gender and Development Studies, UWI, and presented at a seminar on *Gender at the workplace* sponsored by The Jamaica Employers' Federation, December 7, 1995.

¹⁵ See E. Leo-Rhynie and M. Hamilton's article on Women in higher education - a Caribbean perspective, in *Education in the West Indies: Developments and perspectives, 1948-1988*; edited by D.R. Craig and published by UWIs Institute for Social and Economic Studies, 1996 (pp. 75-86).

¹⁶ See M. Slater and P.M. Glazer's Prescriptions for Professional Survival in J. Conway et al. (eds.) 1989. *Learning about women: Gender, politics and power*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

¹⁷ This was reported in Margaret Bishop's four-part article entitled, *Why so few women at the top in UWI?* which ran in *The Daily Observer* (Jamaica) during October, 1998. The immediate quote appeared in the October 12 section.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ This quote appears at p. 84 of Note #15, above.

²⁰ See Foreword (p. xi) by Elaine El-Khawas to the book on *Women as Leaders and Managers* edited by Heather Eggins and published by The Society for Research into Higher Education and the Open University Press (1997).

²¹ For the full discussion on this topic, see M. Barrett's article, The Concept of 'Difference in *Feminist Review* 26, Summer (1987) pp. 29-42

²² See Note #8

²³ This is reported in Ann Brooks' review (see Note #5 above).

²⁴ See J. Kenway and H. Modra's Feminist pedagogy and emancipatory possibilities, in C. Luke and J. Gore (eds.) *Feminisms and critical pedagogy* (pp. 138-166) New York: Routledge (1992).

²⁵ See A.H. Halsey's *Decline of donnish dominion: The British academic professions in the twentieth century*. Oxford: Clarendon (1992).

²⁶ See P. Bourdieu's *Homo Academicus*. Oxford: Polity (1988).

²⁷ An excellent overview is provided by Dr. Jasbir Singh in *Women and management in higher education: a Commonwealth project*; which appeared in the *ACU Bulletin, ABCD* #133 of April 1998

²⁸ Reported in Heather Eggins' *Women as leaders and managers* - see Note #20 above



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