# National College of Ireland

# Career progression of women, 1973 to 2002: Colliding with the 'glass ceiling' or breaking through?

Volume I of II

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**Declaration:**

No portion of this work has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification in the National College of Ireland or in any other University or Institute of learning.

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I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the Doctor of Philosophy, is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed: _Maeve A. O Riordan_

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Date: _4th Oct. 2002_

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My thanks go to all the women who helped me with the pilot survey. The women and men who responded to my survey and spoke to me in person or on the telephone have been promised anonymity but I owe them my gratitude for sparing their valuable time to assist this study.

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Final thanks go to my parents who paid the bill for my internet access as well as supplying emotional, practical and financial support on a daily basis and to my sister Dr Ruth O'Riordan and her partner, Dr Neil F. Ramsay, who badgered me to start writing up.

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis was to examine the career progression of women with respect to the financial services sector in Ireland from 1973 to 2002. Little literature is available in the Irish context but the American and British literature is reviewed. This research examined three dichotomies around the two dimensions of gender and power: femininity / masculinity; the public / the private (paid or unpaid work) and motherhood / fatherhood.

The problem was identified as the gendered nature of family and career which hinder women's career progression as well as gendered selection for promotion in the financial services sector. A preliminary survey identified the main questions to be asked as a prerequisite to the caselets and the in-depth organisational case study (Eirebank).

The glass ceiling is a power divide. The main findings of the caselets indicate that the women who break through the glass ceiling will be highly organised, energetic individuals who have chosen a gender identity which prioritises paid work over family life.

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1  Executive Summary

Chapter 1: Executive Summary

1.1    Introduction

"If I believe I can do something, the fact that I'm a woman won't stop me doing it.

I don't expect people to be nicer, or gentler, to me because I am a woman."

(Kate Bleasdale quoted in Parkhouse, 2001, p. 187).[1]

Chapter one provides an overview of the research. The particular focus of the dissertation is on the choices that female employees in the Irish financial services sector make in regard to family and career.

Chapter two examined the relevant literature on women and work. The literature review clearly shows that the problems of female employees are based on the gendered nature of family and career. The review reveals that women are socialised to care. This chapter also provides an overview of the paid and unpaid work that is undertaken by women. Increasing research attention is focused on women in management world wide. When the extant research is reviewed, we find that women exhibit careers as secondary earners and that progression, within management and the professions, is slow.

Chapter three outlined the approach taken to social science research. The empirical research was based on in-depth interviews and the case study method and the emphasis throughout was on the qualitative method over the quantitative. The women interviewed were peers and social equals (middle class bankers) and, in most cases, rapport was easily established.

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to examine the changing careers of male employees in the Irish financial services sector. Further research could examine, if and, how the careers of men have changed as Irish society changes. Research could also address the issue of involved fathers and employment in the Irish context. However, the cases presented here throw some light on the strategies that Irish families implement to provide parenting while continuing in employment. They show that each family copes in their own unique way with the various challenges that it encounters.

The cases also indicate that a deeper knowledge of the 'new' female life cycle is needed. As this dissertation did not interview male employees in the financial services sector, it is not possible to say how issues such as fatherhood, widowhood, divorce and the empty nest impact on the careers of men. The women who were interviewed appeared to be in the process of becoming conscious of the family and career choices that they had made and we discussed them together. The empirical research presented here appears to be consistent with the findings of other research.

Historically, women in Ireland in the past were confined to the private sphere. They lacked experience of membership, and the associated accumulated skills, of public decision-making bodies and to some extent this is still the case. Social, economic and political factors impact on the choices that women (men and children) were able to make in previous decades in Ireland.

Chapter three mentioned the relative lack of research on the career progression of

women in the Irish financial services sector since the 1970s and the removal of the marriage bar. The limitations of a small scale study are mentioned. The career progression of female employees from working class backgrounds or who are lesbian are beyond the scope of this dissertation and there will always be questions that are left unanswered such as those associated with progression and social capital.

Chapter four introduces the concept of the glass ceiling (within the Irish context) which is found to be still in place. The small but growing literature in the Irish context was examined and some important issues were highlighted which were taken up in the empirical work (the preliminary survey and the organisational case study). The areas of recruitment, (assessment of) performance and promotion / career advancement were discussed. Career development is often dependent on gender specific factors such as the male attributes associated with management. International research shows that networking and mentoring may be valuable resources for women to develop. Women often have limited, formal and informal, networks and this needs to be addressed.

The literature, and related findings, indicates that gender related problems are still at play. These include sexual discrimination and sexual harassment. The organisation needs to ensure that appropriate skills training is in place for all employees. The findings in this chapter illustrate that unequal access to career opportunities starts at the selection process.

Chapter five contained the empirical research report. A follow up study of the twenty individual caselets would be instructive to see what ultimate life and career patterns

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the women followed. A changing society has widened the number of lifestyle choices available to women at the beginning of the twenty-first century. For the women in this research, spousal support was deemed important as were stamina, organisational skills and competency in a range of social areas such as the ability to fit in, to network and to find a mentor or sponsor. The chapter discussed the diverse life histories and life chances that these women experienced both in the non-work and work areas.

The examination of the caselets indicated that the women responded differently to similar circumstances and were classified into six categories which included the High Achievers, the New Mums, the Mobile Career Women, the Junior Management Women and the Thirty Something Women. Each of the women was given a title which described them in terms of the response that they demonstrated in relation to happenstance. The High Achievers included women who had been able to prioritise career over family because of the assistance of a housekeeper (Laura), a house husband (Sarah), a childminder (Emily) and childlessness (Emma).

The New Mums adopted different strategies for coping with the advent of motherhood. These included setting up a purpose built home office (Sheila), participating in the company trial of job sharing (Gillian) and organising, after a frantic search, a place in a crèche (Aoife).

Five of the women had coped with marriage and caring responsibilities in a number of ways. One of the Family Carers became a trailing spouse to an executive husband

(Lucy) while another (younger woman) took a career break (Katie). Two of the women were surprised by life circumstances which left one of the women a divorcee (Rachel) and the other married late and became a widow early (Jennifer). One of the younger Family Carers had the responsibility for eldercare, of a sick live-in mother-in-law, as soon as she married (Sophie).

Two of the participants in the study were agentic, in career terms, and ambitious and chose to move abroad as part of a career progression strategy. The political mover was highly visible within the case study organisation (Isobel) while the youngest participant in the study and the relatively new recruit was also eager to prove her worth in a new country (Ellen).

The Junior Management Women were experiencing different rates of career development. The stalled manager appeared to have done everything right in career terms but was clearly on a career plateau (Fiona). She had undertaken high profile assignments which involved travel and temporary relocation. She gained expertise in a new and valued technological area. She was fairly visible within the organisation and was respected by colleagues and superiors for her fairness in dealing with staff management issues.

The graduate manager demonstrated that attaining a degree before entering employment allowed one to avoid many rungs of the ladder which those who join straight from school have to climb (Rebecca). The final woman in this category showed that working consistently hard at a routine job in a support function could pay off in the end.

She had eventually become unstuck in career terms and was powering ahead (Alison).

The three women who were placed in the category of the Thirty Something Women had experienced very different careers. Nicola had a new assignment and, like Alison, was now progressing rapidly. Nicola, like Alison, had put in long hours, achieved in educational terms and was a conscious and enthusiastic employee. Elizabeth is interesting in that she has achieved more than she had expected to and she claimed that she only works for the money. No one else stated that their reasons for working were purely instrumental. What is interesting, and may require further study, is that she is one of the two women (Katie is the other) from a lower middle class family.

The saddest career history is that of the regressive worker (Hannah). A psychological perspective might be valuable in studying someone like Hannah. Her emotional state may be a product of her childhood and the feelings of conflict which she mentioned in regard to her relationship with her father may have been the cause of later actions in adulthood. Research of this nature is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Her employer did provide her with counselling after one particularly unpleasant incident which left her traumatised and they were also quite generous in allowing her leave to recover.

The research findings (from the participant observation) in the case study organisation, which was given the name Eirebank, concentrated on three departmental areas which were known as the Support Function, the International Banking Division and

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the Dealing Room. The topics that are contained in the area of research termed human resource(s) management were outlined here. Eirebank was found to be a fairly typical large employer.

The presentation of the twenty selected caselets provided an opportunity to note certain longitudinal changes in the lives of the women. Some of these life changes were gender specific such as motherhood while others may impact on women more than men such as widowhood, divorce and the empty nest. Each of the women had been exposed to the impact of socialisation (Irish culture) but they exhibited differences in terms of education, employment (career options) and domestic experiences. Societal attitudes towards women have changed considerably and behaviour which was unthinkable fifty years ago is now considered relatively normal such as deliberate lone motherhood.

The review of the literature (chapter two) points to a general lack of Irish research on the impact of normal reproductive crises of female employees on the organisations that employ them. Historically, once women became mothers (or at an earlier stage became wives) they retired from the workforce. This is no longer feasible nor for most women desirable. In line with other research, the majority of the women wished to continue to work after a short or longer break. The research appears to indicate that a short break, if any break at all, is best.

Particular attention is paid to career breaks and the career impact of part-time working. The caselets demonstrate, for women at least, that heterogeneity is the career norm for women. They also demonstrate that women would find it hard to plan for many

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of the factors that alter their career paths. For these women, they reacted as best they could to changing circumstances. A pervasive theme is the lack of power to determine a career path. The analysis of the empirical research clearly shows that women now remain continuously in the workforce.

Chapter six contained a discussion of the main analysis and findings. It began by reiterating the aims and objectives. The analysis of the empirical research in this thesis examined the key issue for working women of the priority that they assign to career and family. The analysis and findings in this chapter showed (as with the review of the literature) that patterns appeared. Themes emerged from the case histories of the women which allowed for categorisation. The research results from the organisational case study (Eirebank) indicate that stress and sexual harassment were problem areas and that promotion was gendered. It was evident that some of the women had chosen short career ladders (secretarial work and permanent part-time employment) which did not allow for progression.

Two suggestions which might aid the career progression of women were put forward -- gender audits (to see year-on-year what the per centage of women at all levels in the organisation were) and cafeteria style benefits (which allowed non-mothers access to the same number of benefits, just different ones, because it is unfair to favour mothers over non-mothers).

The points listed below illustrate the areas seen as most important and emphasised by the women:

- sexist attitudes, expectations and perceptions;
- organisational barriers (or roadblocks);
- individual characteristics, experiences, priorities and values;
- caring responsibilities and
- societal obstacles.

Chapter seven discussed the recommendations as well as the suggestions for future research and the conclusions. The findings of this dissertation indicate that the women get to a point in life (which appears to be different for each) when they seek balance. Faced with many possibilities, they make tough decisions. Some of the women indicated that happenstance had left them temporarily with no choice(s) but that they had survived and / or thrived despite the hand they had been dealt (widowhood). The thesis shows that the most of the women exhibited energy, creativity and talent. They can all make a unique contribution to the organisations that they work for and could be even more valuable if they are nurtured more.

In the film Titanic, the leading female character is seen in conversation with her mother and the choices that she has to make are discussed -- an arranged marriage to a wealthy man or impoverishment for herself and her mother. Rose mentions that it is a hard choice. Her mother says that "Of course, it isn't easy. We're women. Our choices are never easy."[2] Women make multiple choices and have multiple responsibilities. Some of

those choices will involve prioritising unpaid work over paid work, family over career.

The Great Famine, in the mid-nineteenth century, was a watershed in Irish history. In previous centuries, Irish women had to emigrate in order to achieve adulthood (financial independence, marriage and motherhood). The economic contribution of these female emigrants kept whole families, in rural and urban Ireland, alive. The lives of Irish women were understudied, until 1979, especially the roles that they played as co-producers in the family economy (Nolan in Crawford (ed.), 1997).[3]

In 1990, the election of one of a new breed of Irish women to the position of first citizen of Ireland has been described as another watershed. That year was seen as a turning point in the status of Irish women. From the 1990s onwards, women were willing to launch an attack on the existing order. Women started to challenge the traditional gender roles (as wives and mothers) and the ideologies of domesticity (Beaumont in Brewster, Crossman, Becket and Alderson (eds), 1999).[4]

The contributions made by women to the public sphere have become more visible.[5] The voices of, previously silenced, women are now being heard. One oral history project describes the sheer volume of work that Irish wives and mothers performed. Catriona Clear identifies the mid-1940s as the period when the power relations (male authority) began to shift in Irish families and a new model of marriage began to emerge (Clear in Clancy, Clear and Nic Giolla Choille (eds), 2000).[6]

The perceived (social) role of men in the family has changed especially in regard to the emotional and caring aspects of the fathering role (Kiely in Cleary, Nic Ghiolla Phadraig and Quin (eds), 2001).[7] Even unmarried (biological) fathers are seeking to play a more active role in the parenting of the children that they fathered outside marriage.[8]

Family Formation in Ireland is the title of a report by the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI). It highlights the dramatic changes in Irish society at the turn of the century. The co-author of the report, Dr Tony Fahey (mentioned later) noticed three main areas of change: (1) changes in fertility (with a halt in the decline in fertility rates); (2) changes in the growth and pattern of lone parenthood (with a move into marriage) and (3) changes in household composition and family size (with smaller families but still the highest number of larger families in Europe).[9]

Garret FitzGerald (also mentioned later) believes that marriage leads to social stability so as a society we need to prevent relationship breakdown. Unmarried motherhood is linked to early school leaving. By keeping girls in education we might lower the rate of non-marital pregnancies (one-third of all) although many of these are born to cohabitants.[10]

The gender order which, is established by primary school, leads to the gendered family and career (the nature of the problem identified in this dissertation) and to gender segregation in the workplace. Gender identity and gender awareness are evident at an early age. Lodge and Flynn studied childhood play and found that play spaces are "gendered

turf" and that the children played (different games and activities) in same-sex groups effectively excluding the opposite sex (Flynn and Lodge in Cleary, Nic Ghiolla and Quin (eds), 2001, pp. 180-181).[11]

It hard to know, at this stage, if the problems associated with growing up (bullying, eating disorders, binge drinking, substance abuse, depression and suicide) have worsened as society (with separation and divorce) and the roles (and working patterns) of women and men have changed.[12] Terri Apter (mentioned again later), writing in the U.S. context in her book on The Myth of Maturity: What Teenagers need from Parents to become Adults, believes that teenagers (a group called "thresholders" (18-24 years)) need more support from parents for longer.[13]

This extra time for children could come from fathers rather than mothers. Parental leave in Ireland consists of fourteen weeks unpaid leave. There is no statutory entitlement to paid paternity leave (yet). Ireland should follow the example of the countries of northern Europe and implement paid paternity leave as well as target FFWA (such as job sharing) at men and especially fathers. The ESB and the Irish civil service have both introduced paid paternity leave.[14] In the novel man and boy, the leading character, Harry, at age thirty, becomes a single parent to his son and a son to his father. He develops an emotional life which had been largely missing.[15] The lives of men could be enriched by taking on more of the caring and emotional tasks.

Professor James Wickham divided Europe into the 'Nice North' and the 'Wild West'

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along the lines of child care provision or lack thereof and, speaking at the same seminar on the careers of women working in financial services call centres, Dr Juliet Webster and Dr Juliet Grainne Collins found that organisations were more interested in accommodating senior female employees.[16] A review of two books on attaining the rank of motherhood, concludes that " ... : society should restructure itself to accommodate babies but parents need to restructure themselves also."[17]

In A Life's Work: On becoming a mother, Rachel Cusk describes the shock of pregnancy and motherhood.[18] Journalist Suzanne Moore reviewed the book and concluded that: "Motherhood, as it is lived is still individual, personal, private and therefore deeply undervalued, sometimes even by those of us (and nowadays that is most of us) who move between the "real" world of work and the shadow world of family life."[19]

The journalist Victoria White, while on maternity leave, sparked a debate on the role of stay-at-home mothers. She attacked feminists who devalue the status of women who choose to stay-at-home to care for children.[20] She also wrote about the time consuming process of husband servicing and the work of a "mummy" (scheduling, planning, organising responsibilities) which are skills which would appear to be transferable to the workplace.[21]

Three economists from University College Dublin, in a new text aimed at undergraduate economics students, state that the Irish economy is entering a new phase as a maturing economy. They discuss the need to make the right choices in regard to such

issues as the labour force, population, immigration, spatial planning, traffic and housing. All of which have been discussed in this dissertation (chapter six).[22]

One organisation which has incorporated one of the changes, (annual gender audits), which are recommended in this thesis, is BP. They monitor and publish (year-on-year) figures for female representation in management. In 2001, the female representation increased from the year 2000. They state, in the "Environmental and Social Performance Review" that "It is BP's policy to ensure equal opportunity in recruitment, selection, promotion, employee development, training and reward policies and procedures in compliance with legal requirements."[23] Another strategy, which may lessen the gender pay gap, is for female employees to join a trade union. A Survey from the European Industrial Relations Observatory (EIRO) demonstrates that women's earning power and trade union membership in Europe are connected.[24]

The companies which are considered to be excellent places to work value their employees and assist them in leading balanced lives. They provide cafeteria style benefits to parents and non-parents. The architectural environment is like a campus and perks may include holiday homes, restaurants, health and fitness centres, medical clinics, hairdressers, dry cleaners, subsidised parking as well as on-site child care and back-up child care. The organisation may value communication and invest in people development, extensive training opportunities, a participatory management style (such as management by walking around and an open door policy) as well as team working.[25]

Specific assistance might be aimed at new mothers. For instance, one company supplies mothers and mothers-to-be with a maternity clothes allowance and a health spa voucher while another gives new mothers a 25% salary raise (after five years service) to cover the cost of child care. These are creative ideas aimed at attracting and retaining female staff.[26]

A survey of the companies that help employees to balance work and personal life, called The Great Place to Work Trust Index, showed that women valued enhanced maternity benefits, child care assistance and a visible effort to appoint and promote women to senior positions. The organisational culture must promote good internal communication(s) and have recognition schemes for excellent work as well as fair policies and programmes.[27]

Research from the Cranfield School of Management ("Women are not on top."), comparing female director representation (FTSE 100 companies) in 2000 and 2001, indicates that the glass ceiling is being reinforced rather than smashed. The co-author of the report, Val Singh, says that there have been some signs of progress but that it has been minimal.[28]

The glass ceiling in Ireland is still firmly in place. It is unlikely that Ireland will have a female Garda (the Garda Siochana are the Irish police force) commissioner in this decade. Out of 42 chief superintendents only one (Chief Superintendent Catherine Clancy – mentioned in this dissertation) is a woman. There are four female

superintendents out of 169 and ten female inspectors out of 292. There are no female assistant or deputy commissioners and in the management ranks there are 113 women out of a total number of 2,357. There are no 24 hour crèche facilities which are needed as the detective / drug units are always on call.[29]

The barriers (structural, institutional and attitudinal) that make up the glass ceiling are firmly in place in management and business according to an IBEC report titled Women in Management and Irish Business.[30] They found that women make up 8% of Irish CEOs, 21% of senior managers and 30% of middle managers. Another report (Women, the Economy and the Stock Market (by NCB Stockbrokers)), issued in the same week found that 80% of women will have primary financial responsibility for a household at some point.[31]

In September 2001, a journal produced a special issue on "Careers in the 21st century."[32] One article introduced the notion of the "boundaryless career" as a way for women to break through the glass ceiling. Metz and Tharenou studied the connection between human and social capital and the career progression of women in Australian banks. They found that women identified gender discrimination as the most frequent barrier to advancement that they encountered. These authors provide a justification for the research undertaken here when they point out that the topic of women in financial services has been under researched and that few of the studies investigate more than one level or grade; many do not examine the comprehensive range of factors and few have samples from more than one institution.[33]

Many of the issues discussed in this dissertation have been dealt with by Jane Nolan around the themes of flexibility and insecurity under the heading of "the intensification of everyday life" (Nolan in Burchell, Ladipo and Wilkinson (eds), 2002, p. 112).[34] She believes that employers are going to have to address the issues highlighted in this thesis, and in her work, because the spillover will begin to seriously impact on the workplace.[35] Another author found that the spillover from careers has impacted on the family and that women are facing "a creeping non-choice" in regard to motherhood (Hewlett, 2002).[36]

The empirical research, found in this dissertation, has demonstrated that firms in the financial services sector in Ireland could do more to recruit, retain and promote female employees and that the whole concept of career has changed at the beginning of the third millennium but that women have a tendency to let life get in the way of career progression. The majority of working women believe that there is more to life than work (Clinch, Convery and Walsh, 2002).[37]

## 1.2    The Key Concept

The glass ceiling is a power divide. It operates as an exclusionary device which keeps women out of leadership positions. The main findings of the caselets indicate that women who break through the glass ceiling will be highly organised, energetic individuals who have chosen a gender identity which prioritises paid work over family life. It is questionable whether or not the term "the glass ceiling" is as useful as it once was because the very notion of career has changed. The term is used widely by both feminist and mainstream academics.

### 1.3     The Career and Family Priority Continuum

The research began as an attempt to locate women in the organisational hierarchy of the case study company. The focus deepened to that of a study of the power and politics of career and family. At any particular time all the women can be placed on a career/family priority continuum which has three points over the life course (see below).

The Career and Family Priority Continuum.

| Career Priority Women | Career and Family Priority Women | Family Priority Women |
|---|---|---|
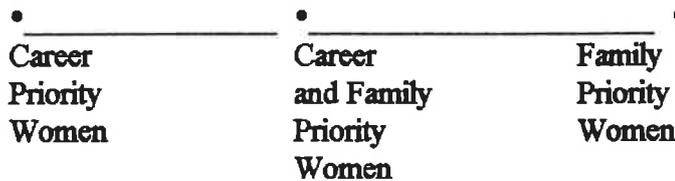
(O'Riordan, 2001).

### 1.4     Key Research Themes

Two main themes are present throughout this research. They are gender and power.

### 1.5     The Research Questions

The author identified three research questions which were:

(1)     What do the career paths of women in the Irish financial services sector look like?

(2)     Has there been any change in the career patterns of women in the Irish financial services sector over a thirty year period?

(3)     What factors, if any, aid the career progression of women in the Irish financial services sector?


The realities of the ("new") economy, the demands of the labour market and the increased cost of house purchase has meant that more married women with children have to consider a full-time career in order to survive as a dual-earner couple. This leads us to examine the topic of women and career progression in modern Ireland at the beginning of the new millennium. No piece of social science research is free of context. This work is set in the Irish context where the most striking feature is the dramatic change that Irish society has undergone in the last thirty years.


## 1.6    Breakdown of chapters

The first two parts of the research programme were a review of the extant American and European literature in the field (Chapter 2) and a postal survey questionnaire (Chapter 5) in order to identify the main questions and issues to be addressed in the caselets (Chapter 5 and 6) and the organisational case study (Chapter 5 and 6).


Chapter two consists of two parts. The first part deals with the relations of power in the private sphere – that of the home. It includes a discussion of the literature in relation to motherhood and family responsibilities such as child care and eldercare. The second part of this chapter covers the relations of power in the public sphere of work. The two

areas, that of private and public, are dealt with separately but they overlap in real life as well as here and this separation is the major cause of many of the problems that women, as well as men, experience in attempting to piece together a reasonably balanced and happy life.

Chapter three is the research methodology section. The chapter touches on conceptions of knowledge, what is understood by the scientific method, and a discussion of the merits of qualitative versus quantitative methods. The merits of methodological triangulation are discussed. Chapter four opens with a discussion of the social, economic and political changes that have occurred in Ireland over the last thirty years. This includes a brief discussion of the second wave of the Irish Women's Movement, which led in the late 1980s and early 1990s, to the establishment of women's studies departments in Irish universities and the publication of research by Irish feminist academics.

The changes that have impacted on women and work include those relating to fertility, marriage and divorce. Women used to leave the workforce upon marriage or childbearing but this is no longer the case. The number of married women with young children in the labour force is one of the most dramatic changes of recent years. The main research problem is identified as the gendered nature of family and career.

Chapter five contains the details of the organisational case study, outlines the individual case studies as well as the findings of the survey. Results and analysis can be

found in Chapter six. The final chapter has the conclusions, a discussion of how the aims and objectives outlined in Chapter one have been met, as well as suggesting an agenda for future research which is needed as a continuation of the small scale study outlined here.

## 1.7    Concluding remarks

Unprecedented economic success, in the recent past, has left women in Ireland confused about the choices, sometimes forced, available to them. Women appear to be active subjects in the maintenance of the glass ceiling. The author hopes that this research will help to clarify some of the options and outline possible strategies for coping with family and career in the future.

Notes to Executive Summary.

1.  Parkhouse, Sam. Powerful Women. Dancing on the Glass Ceiling. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., 2001, p. 187. Kate Bleasdale is a British entrepreneur who pioneered the idea of walk-in (no appointment but paid) medical centres as well as internet recruitment cafes.

2.  The romantic drama Titanic (1997) was directed by James Cameron.

3.  Nolan, Janet. "The Great Famine and Women's Emigration from Ireland" in Crawford, E. Margaret. (ed.) The Hungry Stream. Essays on Emigration and Famine. Belfast: The Queen's University of Belfast and the Centre for Emigration Studies, 1997, pp. 61-70.

4.  Beaumont, Caitriona. "Gender, citizenship and the state in Ireland, 1922-1990." Chapter 8 in Brewster, Scott, Crossman, Virginia, Becket, Fiona and Alderson, David. (eds) Ireland in Proximity. History, Gender, Space. London and New York: Routledge, 1999, pp. 94-108 (Part II – Gender).

5.  A short summary on the position of women in Irish society is found in McCormack, W.J. (ed.) assisted by Gillan, Patrick. The Blackwell Companion to Modern Irish Culture. Oxford, U.K: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1999, pp. 615-620. First published in paperback in 2001.

6.  Clear, Catriona. "Oral History and Women's Household Work in Ireland, 1922-1961: Some reflections" in Clancy, Mary, Clear, Catriona and Nic Giolla Choille, Triona. (eds) Women's Studies Review. Volume Seven. Oral History and Biography. Galway: Women's Studies Centre, National University of Ireland,

2000, pp. 53-63.

7.    Kiely, Gabriel. "The changing role of fathers." Chapter 1 in Cleary, Anne, Nic Ghiolla Phadraig, Maire and Quin, Suzanne. (eds) <u>Understanding Children. Volume 2: Changing Experiences and Family Forms.</u> Cork, Ireland: Oak Tree Press, 2001, pp. 3-17 (Part L New Family Forms).

8.    Coulter, Carol. "The father of all battles," <u>The Irish Times</u>, Wednesday, February 20, 2002, p. 13.

Coulter, Carol. "When families fall apart," <u>The Irish Times</u>, Friday, November 16, 2001, p. 17.

9.    Humphreys, Joe. "Economic boom coincided with upsurge in birth rates," <u>The Irish Times</u>, Thursday, February 7, 2002, p. 7.

10.    FitzGerald, Garret. "Rise in non-marital pregnancies keeping birth rate down," <u>The Irish Times</u>, Saturday, February 16, 2002, p. 14.

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2    The Literature Review

Chapter 2: The Literature Review

2.1     Women, Power and the Private Sphere:  Unpaid Work

Fiction can be relied upon to portray the lives of contemporary women.  Two female authors have carved out rewarding careers writing about trends in society.  The first, Maeve Haran, has made her name by writing about women who wanted the cliché life attached to having it all.  These women want to have careers and families.  In Having It All (1991)[1] Liz is a highly ambitious television executive who should be content, but is actually very unhappy, while in Scenes from the Sex War (1993)[2] the main character Allegra decides it is time that husband Matt looked after their two daughters for a change.

The book to follow these two picked up on the trend that Helen Fielding, mentioned below, also used as material.  Francesca Tyler, the lead female in All That She Wants (1998),[3] is a thirty-four year old editor of a local newspaper who wants a baby by any means.  Needless to say, she gets what she wants.  The trend, that Haran is commenting on, is that of thirty-something career women who have single-mindedly worked at their careers only to wake up one day to find that their biological clock is ticking very, very loudly.

The second, best-selling, author is the former newspaper columnist, Helen Fielding, who brought to life the character Bridget Jones.  In Bridget Jones's Diary (1996),[4] Bridget suffers panic attacks because she is about to hit thirty and is still single, childless and living alone.  The question that these women seem to be asking is whether career women in their

thirties are obsessed with finding the right man, settling down and having babies? The women in these novels seem to be more like Jane Austen's Emma[5] than Charlotte Bronte's Shirley.[6]

In Different For Girls. How culture creates women (1997),[7] Joan Smith describes the publication of Charlotte Bronte's novel Shirley, in 1849, as an event of cultural significance. Smith says that Bronte's ideas about the role of women, like the heiress Shirley Keelder, were "... nothing short of revolutionary" (Smith, 1997, p. 64).[8] A short review of the Smith book in The Guardian newspaper thinks that this overview of the gender differences should have been called something else because "The title, you may think, is completely wrong, since Smith's cheering conclusion is that it doesn't have to be different for girls".[9] All of the authors discussed above seem to imply that women no longer know what they want.

2.1.1 Males and Masculinity

Another question we need to ask is "What do men want?" (Kimmel, 1993).[10] The type of work that men believed to be masculine has gone for good. These jobs, such as mining, shipbuilding, steel working, required brawn rather than brains (O'Connell, 1996).[11]

Men are in trouble (Clare, 2000;[12] Faludi, 1999).[13] Women, and especially mothers, can be blamed, in part, for the boys and men they help to create and they can also be part of the solution in that they can change the way that they raise boys to be men (Arcana, 1983).[14] Feminism challenged the established gender roles and left masculinity in

need of redefinition. The problem lies in the redistribution of power. Women are no longer regarded as male property -- as the possession of a father or a husband. They have gained financial independence, although not equal pay (Jacobs, 1992),[15] and choose to question the existing roles that confined women to a subordinate place in society.

At first, men reacted by feeling threatened and they lashed out. These authors portrayed women as demanding viragos sucking the very life out of the poor men who worked all hours on "the insanity track" just to support women. These men felt disposable and betrayed because all they knew how to be was a provider and a breadwinner and now the government (the patriarchal state) would support their female dependants if they walked out. These men were very bitter (Farrell, 1994).[16]

The new reality demands that men learn how to care for their families in ways other than through their wallets. A number of portraits of fatherhood showed just how much the relationships of fathers with children needed to change (Morrison, 1993;[17] Parton, 1994).[18]

One author has made a start by analysing the life histories of a group of men, from different social backgrounds as well as different sexual orientations, in order to see how anti-sexist men develop. He found eight men who had responded positively to feminism (Christian, 1994).[19] A number of feminists have looked at the issue of men and masculinity and asked the question: "Can men change?" The answer may lie in reconstructing fatherhood and promoting shared parenting but the pace of change is slow

and the issue of male violence against women is something that still needs to be addressed. Violence is used to assert male domination, in the home, as a way of taking back power (Segal, 1990).[20]

Two examples of feminists seeking to advance the position of women by helping men out of a perceived crisis include veteran feminists Susan Faludi, author of Backlash. The Undeclared War Against Women (1991, 1992),[21] and Rosalind Coward, better known for Our Treacherous Hearts. Why Women Let Men Get Their Way (1993).[22] Faludi documents the growth of the men's movements in the United States as a response to the loss of role and a need to reassert control and regain power. The "crisis of masculinity" has resulted in depression, suicides, domestic violence and criminal activity as well as the rise of groups like the Promise Keepers and events such as the Million Man March (Faludi, 1999).[23]

Coward came to reassess her views on feminism and post-feminism when she experienced the pain and confusion that her son, husband and father-in-law were going through. She came to believe that feminism was no longer a struggle that was relevant in the new millennium and that we should turn instead to an examination of human rights and the crisis in masculinity (Coward, 1999).[24]

2.1.2   Men, Women, Families and Change

The nuclear family is a thing of the past. It has been replaced by the 'unclear' family (Simpson, 1998).[25] The term describes the 'mix and match' nature of the new

family structures. The social reality, of differing family types, preceded the legal reality in Ireland. Marriages were breaking down and new ones being formed long before the government chose to act (Duncan, 1982;[26] O'Higgins, 1974).[27] The complications that ensue after parents separate or divorce are only beginning to impact on Irish society (Family Studies Unit, 1985;[28] Kiely and Richardson (eds), 1991).[29]

In Ireland, we appear to operate under the illusion that if we ignore a problem long enough it will go away. This was the tack taken in regard to contraception, divorce and abortion. High rates of non marital births, increasing numbers of cohabiting couples combined with a high rate of Irish pregnancies ending in termination, in private clinics outside the jurisdiction, are the realities which we are beginning to realise cannot be ignored.

Women live in families as daughters, wives and mothers and attached to each of these roles is a set of expectations. Susan Moller Okin argues that feminists look to a new form of family as the way forward but that a great deal of change is needed in the power dynamics of the family to make it better for women. Power in its extremist and ugliest form has resulted in spousal battery, generally but not exclusively of women by men, and sexual abuse of children (Okin in Nelson (ed.) 1997).[30]

Midgeley and Hughes pose the question: "Are Families Out of Date?" They think that what is needed within families is role reform rather role reversal because

men will hardly want to adopt a role that women have, already in large numbers, rejected (Midgeley and Hughes in Nelson (ed.), 1997).[31]

One author has looked at this area from the perspective of women (Gerson, 1985)[32] and then of men (Gerson, 1993)[33] in an attempt to explain the behaviours and decisions made by both these groups in relation to family responsibilities. This discussion of "the politics of parenthood" is dominated by the dynamics of balance and change. She talks about turning away as well as veering towards either family (domesticity / motherhood) or work (breadwinning / autonomy). She writes from an American perspective so social science trends that she refers to will have a slight lag as they cross the Atlantic to, the United Kingdom and, Ireland.

She notes the two orientations, that women now have to choose between, neither of which can be explained by mother-daughter dynamics in childhood or childhood socialisation (Gerson, 1985).[34] Having a mother in a traditional role does not mean that the daughter will follow her choice (Gerson, 1985).[35] The orientations either to homemaking versus childlessness or that of combining work and motherhood roles — these are developed in adulthood and are triggered by adult changes (Gerson, 1985).[36] The triggers might involve unstable relationships with the opposite sex, the two-salary mortgage or perceived expansion regarding career opportunities. Limited or blocked career progression or immobility can lead to the opposite effect. All these operate as push and pull factors — to or from home or work (Gerson, 1985).[37]

She points out that there is now more than one developmental path for women in adulthood whereas our mothers and grandmothers had one typical route to follow -- leave school or university, work up until marriage, have children and stay at home to look after them and possibly, once they are at school then take up part-time paid or voluntary work (Gerson, 1985).[38] The changes that have impacted on the family, such as divorce, lone parenthood, as well as the changing world of work, have led to a phenomenon which she refers to as "reluctant motherhood" (Gerson, 1985).[39] These women decided to have a child, as a compromise, and only one, because the relationship that they were in would have been put at risk if they remained childless (Gerson, 1985).[40]

Her theory is that domesticity was a by product of a stable marriage and that greater marital instability in the younger generations has undermined domesticity (Gerson, 1985).[41] In her later work, she turned her attention to the other side of the equation, to men, and drew up a typology of men's commitment to work which she based on their financial contribution and participation in childrearing and home life (Gerson, 1993).[42] This resulted in three types of orientation: (1) Breadwinning (high on first, low on second); (2) Autonomous (low on both); and (3) Involved (high on second).

The rise in the economic independence and earning capacity of women has corresponded with a decline in the male breadwinner role and the rise of the nurturing father which she terms "Men's Quiet Revolution" (Gerson, 1993).[43] The instability in heterosexual relationships has led to a changed role for men in relation to their children but one thing that has not changed is the "housework gap". The nurturing father will

participate in child care but still prefers to leave the housework to the women.

Men, like many women, have turned toward domesticity when they discovered the workplace to be less than satisfactory, when they found themselves marooned on a career plateau, or subject to blocked opportunities. These men may look to the domestic arena especially if their wives have the better earning capacity (Gerson, 1993).[44] A range of factors have to be taken into account when we consider dual-career couples including the economic inequality in the workplace and the myths surrounding masculinity as well as the relative work commitment and satisfaction felt by each one. Studies, quoted by Gerson, show that even when the mother dies or becomes the main family breadwinner the nurturing father role may be a "last resort".

She found that the level of participation was different in each case of involved fatherhood but they included shared parenting and flexibility in regard to the management of the household. One fact that she noticed was that involved fathers had fewer children than breadwinning fathers. This may have been a limitation strategy, a way of controlling the demands of childrearing, for the involved fathers (Gerson, 1993).[45]

She also identified a group of men who regarded themselves as "Mother's Helpers". These men expended their time and energy on the pleasant child care activities, such as reading stories and taking the children to the park, but attempted to avoid the dirty tasks associated with the care of children such as doing the laundry (Gerson, 1993).[46] This was

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a widespread pattern and was seen as a resistance strategy to avoid full equality in regard to parenting and household responsibility. Another feature of mothers' helpers was that the ultimate responsibility for overseeing the smooth running of the household, including the organisation of the care of the child or children, remained with the women (Gerson, 1993).[47]

## 2.1.3   Men, Women and Differences

A number of authors have made a career out of highlighting the differences between men and women. One of this number believes that the sexes are so different that men must be from the planet Mars and women from Venus. Gray uses interesting metaphors such as comparing men to rubber bands and women to waves while arguing that we speak different languages, have differing emotional needs and fail to communicate our feelings to each other. When a woman comes home from work and complains about her day, all she wants is for her partner to listen, but it seems that a man thinks that she wants him to solve her problems (Gray, 1992).[48]

Other writers have studied the physical characteristics and differences in aggression, power needs and leadership ability (Nicholson, 1993);[49] as well as arguing that there can never be fair play between the sexes because we want different things from each other and can never meet these needs (Roberts, 1992);[50] and finally, being complicit in letting men get their own way (Coward, 1992).[51]

### 2.1.4 Marriage, Power and Romantic Love

Marriage at the beginning of the 21st century is based on notions of romantic love, intimacy and emotional attachment. Books on marriage concentrate on the culture of romance as a trap (Grymes, 1996);[52] on advice on cohabitation, pregnancy, childbirth, parenthood, infidelity (Sonntag, 1994);[53] on the topics of monogamy, adultery and divorce (Fisher, 1992)[54] and the power relationship within marriage. They all have one thing in common in that they deal with love and then "love's untwisting." It seems much as we may think that we want one heart tied to one heart forever that this is a form of delusion and it will wear off, sooner rather than later (Langford, 1999).[55]

One Irish study showed how a sample of couples, who went before a religious board to seek to nullify their marriages, should never have married in the first place. They had no idea how to communicate with each other and were, for one reason or another, far from ready to settle down. The title of the work, When Strangers Marry, said it all. It was a depressing tale of marriages contracted because of a pregnancy and it included the issues of alcoholism, drug addiction, infidelity, domestic violence and young people trying to escape an unhappy childhood by entering into a marriage based on the illusion of some kind of intimacy. Irish pub culture and rural isolation also had a part to play (McDonnell, 1999).[56]

One sociologist refers to the development of 'plastic sexuality' which occurs when sexuality is separated from reproduction (Giddens, 1992).[57] Another academic links the "Revolutions of the Heart" with an attempt by the woman to lose herself in the intimate relationship with a man which involves a handing over of the power and responsibility for

her life to the one she loves or is deluded into thinking she is in love with (Langford, 1999).[58] This subsequent "merging", or the process of falling in love, is described as finding the other half that makes you whole and, of course implies, that you were not whole before (Langford, 1999).[59] It is like being under a spell which is eventually broken (Langford, 1999).[60]

Gender relationships in marriage are based on power and the power relationship shifts over the duration of the marriage. We fall in love thinking that this will be it but statistics show that we are more likely to marry, divorce and re-marry or to indulge in serial cohabitation. The lucky, or unlucky, few will enter into a lifelong commitment but this is becoming rarer and rarer (Dryden, 1999).[61] Caroline Dryden, in Being Married, Doing Gender. A Critical Analysis of Gender Relationships in Marriage, takes issue with post-feminism. The problem lies in the fact that marriage is based on gender inequality in a society which values equality and democracy. She found, from all the couples that she spoke to, that the reality did not meet up with expectations about what the marriage would be like (Dryden, 1999).[62]

2.1.5   Housework / Domestic Labour

The dual burden of paid and unpaid work that women carry out has been studied extensively in the United Kingdom, the United States and even comparatively, for example comparing China, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States (Stockman, Bonney and Xuewen, 1995).[63]

### 2.1.6 Childlessness or childfree

The novelist Erica Jong, in her autobiographical work Fear of Fifty: A Midlife Memoir, came out with the statement that "A woman's ability to achieve depends on her childlessness or childcare" (Jong, 1994, p. 231).[64] Increasing numbers of women are choosing to remain childless or child free while others are leaving it too long before starting a family and finding that they are infertile and either unwilling or unable to conceive without the aid of the new human reproductive techniques. The future may see women having eggs extracted and frozen when they are in their early twenties for implantation and fertilisation in their late thirties and early forties.

Relatively little has been written about the decision by increasing numbers of women to forego motherhood. One author, who explored the subject, asked women what it is like not to become a mother by administering a seventy page questionnaire. The term child free is preferable to that of childless. These women talked about the pressures exerted on them to have children as well as the way that they came to the decision to remain child free (Bartlett, 1994).[65]

What we are seeing is a "Babystrike!" Purdy thinks that the reason that women are disinclined to have children, and if they do have children to only have one, is because their roles have not changed sufficiently. They are expected to work and look after the children. She points out that those women without children have twelve weeks more discretionary time per year than mothers (Purdy in Nelson (ed.) 1997).[66]

### 2.1.6.1       Motherhood and Mothering

Chodorow has looked at the sociology of gender from a psychoanalytic perspective and she sums up the whole parenthood debate when she says that "Women mother daughters who, when they become women, mother" (Chodorow, 1978).[67] She argues ".... that the contemporary reproduction of mothering occurs through social structurally induced psychological processes. It is neither a product of biology or intentional role-training" (Chodorow, 1978).[68]

Women's over investment in the psychological role of mothering leads to the sexual division of labour between the public and private worlds where the under availability of men in one and the over availability of women in the other re-enforces the psychological capacities of girls and boys. Masculinity is defined in negative terms as what is not feminine (Chodorow, 1978).[69] The forms that paid and unpaid work take are very different. A mother at home all day with children can work from dawn until dusk and still have nothing to show for it. The food will be eaten, the clothes will get dirty and the floor will need hoovering again. Whereas in the office, the in-tray is empty and a certain number of tasks have been achieved. The roles that women perform in the home are often the same roles that they undertake in the workplace (Chodorow, 1978).[70]

Women partly contribute to their own situation and help to perpetuate the existing social system because they receive gratification from the mothering role (Chodorow, 1978).[71] The solution to the current problems regarding the rearing of children would seem to lie in nurturing the parenting skills of men. At the moment, only women can bear

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children but both parents can be taught to rear them. Women have to cede part of the role of mothering to men.

Men are not entirely blameless. Chodorow states that:

Fathers are supposed to help children to individuate and break dependence on their mothers. But this dependence on her, and this primary identification would not be created in the first place if men took primary parenting responsibilities.
(Chodorow, 1978)[72]

The process of becoming a mother is both an exhilarating and scary time in any woman's life. The joys and fears associated with conception, pregnancy and new motherhood are beautifully captured in The Blue Jay's Dance. A Birth Year. This novel by Louise Erdrich (1995),[73] which tells the tale of a mother with a new baby, was actually based on a collection of memories about her three youngest children, all daughters.

Erdrich and her husband also adopted three older children, prior to the birth of their own, so parenting was something that they were practised in at this stage. Erdrich states that "For me, as for many women, work means necessary income" (Erdrich, 1995)[74] but that "Gender correctness aside, historically and most often these days it is the woman who takes on the tender and gruelling task of rearing a newborn" (Erdrich, 1995).[75] Erdrich describes childbirth as "Women's Work". Looking after a small baby she refers to as "The Newborn Dance" (Erdrich, 1995).[76] Mothering takes a woman over completely for the first few months after birth (Erdrich, 1995).[77] Once the baby is older and the

maternity leave entitlements exhausted, the mother may need to resume work and she feels for them (Erdrich, 1995).[78]

After going through a life altering, and possibly life enhancing experience, such as the one described above the woman returns to a workplace where she is encouraged by the organisational culture to try to pretend that she does not have a tiny helpless baby waiting for her to return home. The workplace is not a good place to be if one is pregnant, a nursing mother or an anxious parent of a needy toddler, because of the need to carry on this pretence of work being the number one priority in one's life.

Take for instance one frequent side-effect of pregnancy that of morning sickness. Many women experience morning sickness all day every day for the first three to four months of the pregnancy. Getting sick is often the first daily task of a pregnant woman and the nausea continues unabated. It is often increased by a hot, noisy workplace, the smell of food from the staff canteen and by smoke from those failing to heed the 'No Smoking' rule.

Later in the pregnancy the woman may experience swollen ankles, varicose veins in her legs making them throb, dizziness due to low blood sugar, lack of concentration and forgetfulness, backache associated with carrying extra body weight and a frequent need to urinate caused by the extra pressure on the kidneys. Her increased size might make driving impossible. The period in between these two may be fine, because the woman may feel full of energy, but her mind may very well have turned from monthly financial targets to baby wear and nursery wallpaper.

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The pregnant woman is living through a life-changing experience, emotional and physical as well as psychological changes, in her self-identity and her role, which Kitzinger reminds us is a normal life crisis for a woman not an illness (Kitzinger, 1984).[79] The expectant woman has nightmares, about miscarriage, foetal abnormalities, stillborn babies, as well as fear about the pain of childbirth (Kitzinger, 1984).[80]

In her book on The Experience of Childbirth, which was first published in 1962 and updated on a regular basis up to 1984, Kitzinger dedicates only two pages to the issue of returning to work after the birth but then she also advocates a home birth with a midwife rather than a hospital birth. She decided to omit bottle feeding as an option and concentrates on discussing breast-feeding at length. Caesarean births, which are becoming increasingly common, are dealt with in an appendix of less than two pages at the end of the book (Kitzinger, 1984).[81] A woman who opts for a hospital birth, along with bottle feeding, who has to return to work after basic maternity leave is going to be left feeling wholly inadequate after reading this work.

In fact, the book by Kate Figes (1998),[82] Life After Birth. What Even Your Friends Won't Tell You About Motherhood, is enough to put any woman off having children. She interviewed over a hundred women and recounts their experiences as well as her own. She talks about the pain of childbirth, the total exhaustion of new motherhood, and has an appendix on the common health problems after childbirth (Figes, 1998).[83]

She points out that one in eight women in Britain and one in three women in

America require a Caesarean section which, is major surgery and, may take months to recover from (Figes, 1998).[84] Figes herself had two emergency Caesareans. The other possible health problems include risk of anaemia, backache, haemorrhage, incontinence, infections, thrombosis and postnatal depression. The last of these is the most worrying (Figes, 1998).[85]

Similar statistics are reported by a study of women and healthcare in Ireland (Wiley and Merriman, 1996).[86] If you were to ask a group of working mothers how they felt about leaving their children during the day you would find that they all used one word -- guilt (Jeffers, 1999).[87] Motherhood is a cultural invention and is thus subject to reinvention (Thurer, 1994).[88] Mothers cannot win. The cultural myth portrays the good mother as someone who stays at home full-time and work, if it has to be undertaken, is "a necessary evil" (Thurer, 1994).[89]

Benn says that we need a new politics of motherhood (Benn, 1998).[90] She recounts her experience of becoming a mother, at thirty-seven, when she was regarded by the doctors attending her as an elderly primagravida. She realises that she is part of the new wave of later pregnancies, one of the women who postpone pregnancy (Benn, 1998).[91]

Now the pace of life is set by her children and she says that: "Looking after two children under three is perhaps comparable in its slowness, its lack of mobility, to carrying a lead weight around each ankle. Or swimming under water" (Benn, 1998, p. 5).[92] What

she hoped to gain was an understanding of the real lives of men and women and she said that she was able to achieve this by interviewing which she refers to as "benign stalking" (Benn, 1998).[93]

The facts that she presents are firstly, the mass entry of women into the workforce with half of mothers in the lowest paid, part-time positions and secondly, the growth of the professional woman, determined to cope on equal terms with men, whom when she gets pregnant will engage in premature returnism in order to show her colleagues that motherhood has not changed her (Benn, 1998).[94]

The media have hyped up this stereotype by profiling women who host conference calls while experiencing the onset of labour, who issue instructions to their personal assistants from a phone in the maternity ward, and who are back in the office a couple of days later acting as if nothing much has happened. One example is the story by Carol Hymowitz in The Wall Street Journal (1999) about Marlene Krauss titled "Here's a Career Path: M.B.A., Eye Surgeon and Twins at Age 53."[95]

The solution does not lie in providing women with career breaks either because it assumes that the major share of parenting is done by women. According to her, the crunch point for egalitarian couples comes with the arrival of the stork when they revert to traditional roles (Benn, 1998).[96] She tells women to make a list of all the items done in a week or a month and you will find that the majority are done by the woman (Benn, 1998).[97] Motherhood is the most difficult task that anyone will set you and interviews with

mothers and daughters show that there is no one way to go about it (McFerran, 1998).[98] Combining motherhood and work is all about survival and putting in place reliable social support networks is the most important step (Brannen and Moss, 1991).[99]

## 2.1.6.2    Fatherhood

There is a growing literature on the rise of the "new dad" or the modern father. The image of fatherhood has changed possibly due to the fragmentation of the family caused by separation and divorce. Fatherhood is not something that can be taken for granted (Hardiman, 2000).[100] Unmarried fathers are realising that they might lose their children for ever if the relationship with the mother of the children breaks down. Fatherhood is more fragile than ever before. Burgess writes about fatherhood as being about "lessons in exclusion" (Burgess, 1997).[101]

A group of Irish male sociologists, Kieran McKeown, Harry Ferguson and Dermot Rooney, have brought the Irish literature on fatherhood up to date in their book, Changing Fathers? Fatherhood and Family Life in Modern Ireland (1998).[102] The tale of modern family life and fatherhood is easily read in table form when you look at employment and parental status, the sharing of caring and domestic responsibilities, hours worked as well as marital status. Psychiatrist Anthony Clare received condemnation in the newspapers when he tried to continue the debate on the difficulties that Irish men are being confronted with in contemporary Irish society.[103]

## 2.1.7　　　　Breadwinning, Caring and Human Capital Accumulation

The exercise of decision-making power and authority in the home is related to earning power. It involves identifying, in couples, the primary breadwinner and the secondary earner. Both partners may earn an equal share of the money coming in or one partner may engage in paid work while the other concentrates on the unpaid work that is necessary to the smooth functioning of the family unit. The feminist economists, discussed here below, are assuming the existence of a family unit, which generally is taken to mean a mother, a father and children, and have chosen to study this type of family at the expense of other types of family formation.

What do feminist economists believe? One such economist has adapted the feminist slogan of the personal is political to include the statement that the political is economic (Pujol in Kuiper and Sap (eds), 1995)[104] while another, Hopkins, reminds us that the institutions that provide care for our children are economic institutions (Hopkins in Kuiper and Sap (eds), 1995).[105]

Why is it that children are assumed to be the sole responsibility of the mother, in a two-parent family, and thus the costs of child care have to come out of the woman's income? Surely it would make sense to take the costs of child care out of the income of the highest earner which, considering that equal pay is nowhere a fact of life, would be the father in two-parent families. Hochschild talks about the development of global care chains which involve " ... - a series of personal links between people across the globe based on the

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paid or unpaid work of caring" (in Hutton and Giddens (eds), 2000).[106]

Ott sees family decisions as bargaining problems where specialisation in market work increases the earning power while specialisation in work at home decreases earning power leading to an asymmetrical division of human capital. Ott thinks that the "intra-family specialisation" would be more symmetrical if child care services and flexible working hours were widely available (Ott in Kuiper and Sap (eds), 1995).[107] Perrons disagrees, with Ott, as she believes that flexible working patterns, if offered to and taken up by women only, will serve to further strengthen the division of labour. So that flexible working may be more of an advantage to the employer than to the employee (Perrons in Kuiper and Sap (eds), 1995).[108]

Polachek says that the gender wage gap is a result of a number of factors influencing the lifetime labour force participation of women and men. For women, these include marital status and duration of marriage as well as the number and spacing of children (Polachek in Kuiper and Sap (eds), 1995).[109] He further believes that it is discrimination, on the part of society and in the labour market, that keeps women in the home, concentrating on home duties, and which prevents women from acquiring the human capital that they need for their empowerment (Polachek in Kuiper and Sap (eds), 1995).[110]

One feminist economist undertook a study of breadwinning as a gender boundary, using the theoretical framework of gender as a social construct, and she came up with a

series of categories in which men and women could be placed. In this study, it was the men who were considered, and regarded themselves, as the primary breadwinner. This is defined thus:

> Breadwinning involves not only paid employment, but also the day-to-day obligation to earn money for the financial support of the family. The breadwinner has a duty to work, and leaving the labor force (even temporarily) is not an option.
> (Potuchek, 1997, p. 4)[111]

The book that resulted, Who Supports the Family? Gender and Breadwinning in Dual-Earner Marriages, was based on interviews with men and women living in Lewiston-Auburn, Maine who were married, employed and willing to be interviewed on tape. The couples were questioned about the number of hours they spent at work, the organisation of the family finances and who was the main provider in the family as well who should ideally be taking responsibility for breadwinning. She also asked questions concerning earnings, occupational group, whether careers were continuous or interrupted, marital background and number of children (Potuchek, 1997).[112]

She came to the conclusion that women's orientations to breadwinning were a result of experiences and situations encountered as an adult and not as a response to childhood socialisation (Potuchek, 1997).[113] The eight approaches of the women in dual-earner couples are as follows (Potuchek, 1997).[114]

1.  Sally – An Employed Homemaker.
2.  Terry – A Co-Breadwinner.

3.    Charlene – A Helper.

4.    Barbara – A Supplementary Provider.

5.    Marie – A Reluctant Provider.

6.    Kate – A Reluctant Traditional.

7.    Elise – A Family Centred Worker.

8.    Diane – A Committed Worker.


Almost all of the men held full-time jobs and worked longer hours than the women, bringing in sixty-three per cent of the family income while eighty-four per cent said that being a good provider was important to them (Potuchek, 1997).[115] The four approaches of the men in the dual-earner couples are:


1.    Roger – A Traditional Breadwinner.

2.    David – A Role Sharer.

3.    Brad – A Reluctant Co-Provider.

4.    Rod – A Committed Provider.


Potuchek concluded that the breadwinning boundary is dynamic and subject to challenge, negotiation and change (Potuchek, 1997).[116]


Another feminist economist concentrated more on the political economy of care (Gardiner 1997).[117] She sought to investigate the various social relationships that operate within the household economy (Gardiner, 1997).[118] For her "The acceptance that

economic analysis can and should take account of the social division of labour, is an essential aspect of a feminist economics" (Gardiner, 1997).[119] We need to define our terms. She says that "Domestic labour is therefore defined as those unpaid activities which could be done by someone other than the person who actually carries them out or could be purchased if a market for those activities existed" (Gardiner, 1997).[120]

Why concentrate on domestic labour? This is because it is the internal workings of the household that interest her and she looks at heterosexual couples both with and without children. The position of women as care providers in the non-market economy, the domestic sphere, leaves them at a disadvantage when they attempt to operate in the market economy (Gardiner, 1997).[121]

Relationships, with members of the family at home, can influence the way we perceive things to be or how they should be at work and consequently how we relate to colleagues in the workplace. This can cause problems (Gardiner, 1997).[122] She acknowledges that child care, as currently defined, is highly gendered work and that the lack of good quality, affordable public child care encourages a polarisation of female participation in the labour market where well paid women, the minority, pay for formal, private child care while low paid women, the majority, have to rely on informal child care (Gardiner, 1997).[123] Child care work is time consuming and she lists the "baby skills" that can be developed (Gardiner, 1997).[124]

She sees men's involvement in domestic child care as a response to women's

employment rather than as a way to develop a closer bond with their children or to share more parental activities. Women collude with men in this regard. She also points to the numbers of women who are remaining childless or child free by choice (Gardiner, 1997).[125]

Feminist economics has developed over the last few decades. Gardiner acknowledges the work of others on the allocation of time, the new economics, human capital theory, the domestic labour debate and also the work on housewifization (Gardiner, 1997).[126] She believes that time budget studies, with the use of diaries, has proved effective as a tool for monitoring trends on domestic labour allocation (Gardiner, 1997).[127] The findings seem to suggest that men have increased the time spent on domestic labour marginally. Women still have less leisure time and a trend has emerged which sees couples shopping together as a leisure activity. She quotes the results of a 1991 survey where couples both held down full-time jobs and the domestic responsibilities were shared in almost a quarter of cases (Gardiner, 1997).[128]

It is not fully understood whether domestic technology decreases women's domestic work or increases it. There has been a slight increase in the employment, in the home, of cleaners within married couple households but these are a small proportion of the total. The purchase of ready made meals has also multiplied in recent years (Gardiner, 1997).[129] Other work which is undervalued is that which involves the care and maintenance of the social fabric of family life such as remembering birthdays, anniversaries and organising special occasions and family get-togethers such as Christmas and Easter. This work is also

done by women.

### 2.1.7.1       Women in mid-life – moving on

A number of authors have noticed a growing trend among women. These women are reassessing their priorities in mid-life and effectively moving on to something new (Apter, 1995;[130] Marshall, 1997).[131] They have got as far as they believe they can with their current careers and are deciding to look to other life areas for their satisfaction and, dare to say it, pleasure. Life for many working women can come to resemble one hard slog which leaves one with one overriding sensation which is the feeling of constant exhaustion.

What has not yet been studied is if the women who exhibit hardier personality types are the ones who stay on track and reach the very top of the organisational pyramid. Studies have tried to identify the factors which distinguish the highly successful women, from the less successful, to see if certain characteristics come into play like family background, education, exposure to events such as the death of a parent, or some such equally dramatic incident, or opportunities at work.

The women that Marshall studied were tired of struggling in male-dominated organisational cultures, of being "Travellers in a Male World" (Marshall, 1984),[132] and yearned for a more balanced life so they left their organisations in search of different lifestyles. Promotions that they sought had been denied or actively blocked, some had made enemies in positions of influence or they felt isolated especially from the other

women in the organisation. Desired feedback on performance had not been forthcoming and one woman experienced difficulties when she came out as a lesbian. The sexuality of women in the workplace, especially those who are homosexual, is something that needs further study in the Irish context. Like the topic of abortion, lesbianism is not something people will confirm or deny as being applicable to them.

Other women had been appointed as change agents and their positions had become increasingly untenable. Marshall's method was to interview sixteen women in detail and to tell their stories. She wanted to base her theories about women, moving on, in grounded data. Some of the women did not like the people that they had become because the workplace had made them hard. This tough new woman was not someone that they recognised as their authentic self. Some were not necessarily opting out for good but they were pressing the pause button for the time being.

2.1.7.2        Apter (1997)

Apter (1997)[133] found that the eighty women she shadowed and interviewed had no idea that their lives would be so hard nor that they would have so many conflicting demands placed on them in the roles of wives, mothers and workers. She works inductively from life histories. She says that she has not reached saturation point because she is always hearing something new.

The mid-life, between 40 and 55, is a period of psychological growth for women when they come into their own. They exhibit a new confidence, a sense of control and are

brimming with energy. She points to the fact that women's lives are far more diverse than men's due to the fact that men are allowed to concentrate on one role at a time whereas the lives of women are far more fragmented (Apter, 1997).[134]

Apter identified four types of mid-life women: (1) Traditional (18 of 80); (2) Innovative (24 of 80); (3) Expansive (25 of 80) and (4) Protesters (13 of 80). Her types were

> ... linked to past decisions, to definitions and assessments of power, and to female ideology - ideas about what a woman is, what a woman should be, and how being female affects each woman's life. (Apter, 1997, p. 40)[135]

These types need further elaboration.

## 2.1.7.3        (1) Traditional Women

These women had remained within the prescribed roles of daughters, wives or mothers. They were stunned by the changes. Of this group she said that:

> In previous generations, developing one's looks, finding a boyfriend, getting engaged, then married, then becoming a mother - of one, two or three children - marked the rightness of women's path. Whatever else a woman did - whether she went to college, took a job, travelled - these other markers showed whether she has passed or failed her test for normal femininity. Now women have no normal life pattern. (Apter, 1997, p. 81)[136]

This lack of one right path to follow can lead to anxiety. The pattern might have

been restrictive but there is something to be said for a predictable path. For Apter, traditional women are subject to the superwoman syndrome, just as much as those trying to juggle work and home, because they are constantly at the beck and call of families who expect or demand to be serviced.

In the past, the children would grow up and leave the family home -- the empty nest syndrome. Except now with the cost of living, many children acquire educational debts at third level and find themselves priced out of the housing market so that they find themselves either not leaving the family home (the cluttered nest) or leaving and having to return, either alone or with a partner or child in tow which is known as the revolving door syndrome.

### 2.1.7.4 (2) Innovative Women

These women set out to have a successful career along the lines of the male pattern but as outsiders. They found that at mid-life, having reached middle or senior management, the competition was too intense and the costs were too high. Apter (1997)[137] points to the pressures attached to this kind of life.

To use a predominantly male sporting metaphor as soon as women had figured out the rules of the game someone moved the goal posts. Women's adult development, itself undergoing change, is not accommodated by an inflexible career structure that does not allow for considerations such as caring responsibilities. These caring demands on women have increased rather than decreased.

Twelve of her twenty-four expansive women embarked on career changes in their forties. She thinks that women in their twenties search for a career to suit them; in their thirties they work to develop their chosen career while in their forties many of them exit at senior levels which results in a zigzag pattern in their fifties. She believes that the women in her sample experienced one of five interconnected types of crises such as:

> ... the stress of overwork; a new awareness of imbalance between professional and personal needs; the pain of prejudice; frustrations with ambitions that have been muted or disguised; or the increasingly tense conditions at work. (Apter, 1997, p. 121)[138]

The changing nature of careers has made the workplace a place of uncertainty for men as well as for women with increased competition, constant technological advancement and delayering requiring 'the survivors' to put in longer and longer hours in the office or connected to it by mobile phone, laptop and modem, or by fax machine. Technology means that there is nowhere you can hide for a few hours peace. It is only the toughest, the group that she calls 'the willing sacrificers', who are willing to stay on if for nothing else than to prove that they can perform as well as anyone else in this new corporate environment.

## 2.1.7.5      (3) Expansive Women

The expansive women were constrained in the past, by a lack of education or skill, but they now wish to make up for lost time. These women may re-enter education or re-skill for a new career. They are the late developers and they use their new found zest

and confidence to build a new life for themselves.

### 2.1.7.6        (4) Protesters

Her final category are women who were protesting at the injustice of early circumstances that had acted as constraints such as an unplanned pregnancy or parental disapproval of their life choices. Some of these women may have been stuck in poverty.

Some of the women, thirty-five of the eighty, were going through the menopause but this was not identified as the cause of their mid-life changes of direction. Many of these women were part of the 'sandwich generation' insofar as they were still caring for children but had the added burden of elderly parents to look after as well. This situation is set to get worse rather than better for the baby boom generation because there are fewer of them to care for dependants.

Another area that she came across during her study was the impact of family relationships and non-family friendships on mental health. She reports on research that showed that mothers and daughters who had sustained relationships suffered fewer somatic symptoms. She also warns women to make and keep their friends. It seems that when she was analysing her interview material, she noticed that the women made few mentions of their friends. She speculates that the reason women today have fewer friends is that there is no notional time line such as those that the previous generations experienced – engagement, marriage, motherhood, promotion, etc. (Apter, 1997).[139] She concludes that: "Time in scarce, but so is friendship" (Apter, 1997).[140] Research has been

undertaken on female friendship in the Irish context (O'Connor, 1992).[141]

### 2.1.8 Female adult development

Sheehy (1995)[142] advocates that the old model of adult development no longer applies. Adulthood stretched from twenty-one years to sixty-five. An examination of trends, in America and Europe, shows that people are getting married later, postponing children and having fewer children as well as living longer (Sheehy, 1995).[143]

She proposes three stages of adult development: (1) Provisional adulthood (18-30); (2) First adulthood (30-45) and (3) Second adulthood (45-85+). She noted that, in the years between 1985 and 1995, there was a thirty-three per cent increase in women having babies in their forties. The title of her fifth chapter is "The Fantasy of Fertility Forever" and she tells the story of Alex, a thirty-seven year old woman, who was without direction in her twenties but started to concentrate on her career in her thirties then at age thirty-four she met a man and got married within three months. She waited a couple of years before trying for a baby and had one late miscarriage. The choices for the future look stark:

> Her [Alex] expectations now vacillate between seeing herself as a late mother,
> tired in her forties but happy, or facing the dismay of watching her fertility dwindle
> away and devoting herself to further career success. (Sheehy, 1995, p. 68)[144]

Many women are now earning more than, or at least the same as, their partner. Men used to reach age forty-five and wonder when they would receive the next promotion

but now they may have to prepare to start all over again. Technology is changing at an accelerated pace which makes it harder for older men to stay on top of it.

Men in their fifties are the primary targets when it comes to downsizing an organisation so that the young blood in their forties can take over the corporate reins. Sheehy also comments on the changes associated with fatherhood which impacts on new fathers in their twenties and thirties and what she calls startover dads who are trying to make a better go of it with new families.

### 2.1.9   Emotional work

The reason that women undertake more of the caring work in society is because they become more attuned to the needs of other people as children. They are taught to mother by their own mothers and this ability is imprinted at a psychoanalytic level (Chodorow, 1978). The types of paid work that utilise the "managed heart" (Hochschild, 1983) include the professional areas such as nursing and teaching as well as even less valued labour such as catering and cleaning. The women who do these types of work experience the commercialisation of their feelings.

The first part of chapter two, on the review of the literature, has examined the power relations evident in the private sphere (domestic or caring, unpaid work) between men and women. The research demonstrates that women are still over identified with the nurturing aspects of the mothering role and men are under identified with the nurturing aspects of the fathering role.

## 2.2    Women, Power and the Public Sphere:  Paid Work

The American and British literature on the subject of women and work has been growing over the last thirty years while in Ireland it is still in the infancy stage.  The literature covers gender and organisational culture (Maddock, 1999);[145] the gendered labour market and recruitment and training policies to alter it (Game and Pringle, 1984;[146] Kremer and Montgomery, 1993;[147] Rees, 1992);[148] women returning to work (Bamford and McCarthy (eds), 1991;[149] Korvig, 1991;[150] Steel and Thornton, 1988;[151] The Women Returners Network, 1987);[152] women in corporate management and gendered management style (Fagenson (ed.) 1993;[153] Powell, 1993;[154] Scase and Goffee, 1989;[155] Tanton (ed.), 1994;[156] Wajcman, 1998);[157] occupational discrimination (Peitchinis, 1989);[158] sex (in)equality in organisations including the gender gap in earnings and occupational sex segregation and resegregation (Adkins, 1995;[159] Evetts (ed.), 1994;[160] Jacobs (ed.), 1995;[161] Rosen, 1989;[162] Spencer and Podmore, 1987).[163]

Some of the literature examines change and the future of work (Buxton, 1998;[164] Franks, 1999;[165] Innes, 1995)[166] and some looks at, the recent past such as, the process known as the feminization of administrative / clerical work (Lowe, 1987;[167] Sturdy, Knights and Willmott (eds), 1992)[168] as well as at newer sectors such as electronics (Mitter, 1986).[169]

The issue of women, work and identity has been studied by Elizabeth Perle McKenna (1997)[170] and she has concluded that, for many women, work doesn't work any more.

She says that there is a set of unwritten rules which require that work comes first, long hours are essential and that one needs to be single-minded to get to the top. She calls this the hero system. Women have to try to fit in without becoming one of the boys and they have to compartmentalise their lives and put on a public face (McKenna, 1997).[171]

Many women, that she encountered, woke up one day and exclaimed: "Oh, My God! I Forgot to Get Married". What happens is that: "We wait to have families until we feel our accomplishments are beyond question. And women who wait sometimes find it isn't so easy after a certain point" (McKenna, 1997).[172]

Women who partake of sequencing try at their peril to re-enter a career path. On this subject, she says that:

> One of the most potent resistances that keep women from leaving a career path, even for a year or two, is the fear of not being able to get back on it. Re-entry is a most effective structural resistance. Because work is structured linearly, careers are conducted by getting on a ladder and climbing up the levels of assistant, associate, manager, director, vice president. Miss a rung and a younger (usually male) person quickly scrambles into your place closing the gap, extinguishing even the traces of your absence. (McKenna, 1997, p. 122)[173]

When we are young we attempt to be everything to everyone and we don't challenge the system. Women may be leaving organisations that drain them but they are still working.

She discovered that when she

... did an alumni survey [for a major financial institution that had lost eighty percent of their female talent when they were at their most productive] and it showed that more than ninety percent of the women who left were still working. It shocked them. (McKenna, 1997, p. 164)[174]

A study which set out to discover the extent of factors involved in occupational segregation looked at the gendered experiences of employment relations and parenting and found that the majority of those, men and women, who had dependent children said that family life was a first priority (Siltanen, 1994).[175] Her research entailed examining what is traditionally considered "a woman's job" (telephonist) and "a man's job" (postmen / mail sorters).

Both of these occupations could be found in the same workplace, were classified as the same grade, and were represented by the same union. The aim was to explain the continuing imbalance in relation to gender in the job of telephonist. Unsurprisingly, the group that were most vocal in promoting the women's claims for employment were the single, childless women over the age of thirty years (Siltanen, 1997).[176]

2.2.1   The Career Development of Women in Management

One academic in particular has written extensively on the issue of management careers and the inherent stresses. His name is Cary Cooper, an American who has been working in British universities for a number of years, currently based at the University of

Manchester Institute of Science and Technology (UMIST) (Cartwright and Cooper, 1992;[178] Davidson and Cooper (eds), 1993;[179] White, Cox and Cooper, 1992).[180] He popularised the term presenteeism which is applied to the long hours culture in the United States and the United Kingdom where one has to give the impression that one is working all hours.

One of his co-authors, Marilyn J. Davidson, has also become an expert in the area of women and the barriers that they face on the way up the management ladder (Davidson and Bourke, 1994;[180] Davidson, 1997).[181] These books all tackle the results of the "res" which include "...: reorganisation, relocation of personnel, redesign of jobs and reallocation of roles and responsibilities" (Cartwright and Cooper, 1994).[182] These events are all stress producing.

O'Driscoll and Cooper (1996)[183] say that there is agreement that stress is caused by the interaction of the environment with the person and that strain can be divided into three types which are (1) job-specific sources; (2) organisational sources; and (3) personal sources (O'Driscoll and Cooper in Warr (ed.), 1996).[184] An extreme reaction to the stress of work can be burnout and this is most likely in some female occupations where the individual has direct contact with, or care of, others. A later study found that computer technology and computer related monitoring caused stress (Sutherland and Cooper, 2000).[185]

A personal source of stress might include personality type and people who exhibit a Type A personality, who suffer from hurry sickness, may be more prone to stress than Type B personality types. About 10% of the population are Type As (Makin, Cooper and Cox, 1989).[186] Davidson mentions that women managers suffer more symptoms of psychosomatic ill-health than male managers and thinks that this is caused by the strains at work such as being a "token" female and the isolation that this role carries with it as well as dealing with discrimination and prejudice. Women also bear the burdens associated with running a home. They still do the majority of the cooking, cleaning, washing and shopping. She thinks that women will have to master computer technology to the same degree as men as well as learn to function in the new macho competitive work world of the future (Davidson in Warr (ed.), 1996).[187]

2.2.2   Achievement Motivation

Davidson reports on studies which showed that half of the women in the age group sixteen to thirty-five were planning to give priority to family while the other fifty per cent wanted to concentrate on career (Davidson in Warr (eds), 1996).[188] She also refers to research which found that women managers were just as geographically mobile, had the same achievement motivation and career aspirations as men (Davidson in Warr (ed.), 1996).[189] Negative attitudes and the sex-stereotyping of women had an impact on career advancement.

Work organisations need to change to take account of the existence of dual-earner

and dual-career couples (Cooper and Lewis, 1993).[190] They recommend that both partners in such a couple establish what the other feels about traditional gender roles early on in the relationship, prior to marriage and childbearing, because it is important to take these feelings into account when career planning. They report on a study of 400 scientists at an early stage in their job-seeking and their marriages. The husbands accepted a job first with the wife following him as has traditionally been the case.

Women who are well-educated, ambitious and married to men in professional or managerial positions tend to remain voluntarily childless. But for the rest the move toward parenthood is seen as a rite of passage for women. Those couples who had children said that their lifestyle, despite the hectic pace, was rewarding as long as child care arrangements were in place and running smoothly. One problem that they reported was that although the division of domestic labour was perceived to be fairly egalitarian before maternity leave afterwards it was arranged along traditional lines.

In all the cases, the women retained ultimate responsibility for the children (Cooper and Lewis, 1993).[191] They list five reasons, why despite lip service to non-traditional ideology, they slip back to the older gender roles. These are (1) social expectations; (2) traditional gender expectations; (3) the lack of role models; (4) the impact of maternity leave and (5) organisational constraints which may permit some flexibility for women but not as yet for men (Cooper and Lewis, 1993).[192]

It was during maternity leave that the women took over the majority of the routine

household tasks such as cooking, cleaning, shopping and laundry while the men continued to do the non-routine, infrequent tasks such as gardening and household repairs. They found that the division of labour was directly related to the amount of income brought into the household.

Women who exhibit other differences experience even more difficulties. Black women do not just encounter a glass ceiling they meet a concrete roof which is at a lower level than the glass ceiling which white women come up against. This concrete roof needs a sledgehammer to crack it. These women have to deal with sexism and racism, which Davidson refers to as the double bind. This is despite the fact that a black woman is more likely to have a continuous work pattern than her white counterpart. She points to the lack of research on working women who are lesbian, disabled or from an ethnic minority background (Davidson, 1997).[193]

2.2.3   Performance and Efficiency

Do women managers perform as well as male managers when they move into top jobs? Davidson and Cooper (1992)[194] report that studies have shown that there are more similarities than differences when comparing male and female managers but that the women need to jump through more hoops than the men (Davidson and Cooper, 1992).[195] Changes are needed in recruitment and retention policies as well as recognition of caring responsibilities.

Women need to acquire the skills necessary to manage and these may include the need to develop assertiveness and self-belief. Some of the recommended actions can prove to be problematic such as in the case of mentoring where the male mentor blocked the promotion of a female mentee (Davidson and Cooper, 1992).[196] Other women may fail to provide the necessary encouragement. They refer to the queen bee syndrome. The queen bee may fear the competition and is used to being unique in the organisation where she has 'token' status with high visibility.

There is a need for women to plan their careers and to be geographically mobile. There are advantages and disadvantages to being single. The main disadvantage seems to be the lack of support (Davidson and Cooper, 1992).[197] They suggest that there has not been sufficient research done on the attitude of co-workers to pregnant women.

Davidson co-edited a book on Women in Management. Career Research Issues with Ronald J. Burke. It covers the topics of the glass ceiling, as well as organisational culture, sex-typing, job turnover, career development, sexual harassment, masculinity, work-family conflict, women's career patterns and organisational initiatives on equal opportunities and affirmative action. The authors believe that the glass ceiling is still in place (Davidson and Burke (eds), 1994).[198] As well as the glass ceiling, women may encounter a 'glass wall' which prevents them from moving laterally into line management positions (Parker and Fagenson in Davidson and Burke (eds), 1994).[199]

The review of the literature (examined so far in this second part of chapter two dealing with paid work) shows that women are still constrained by attitudes and expectations attached to traditional gender roles as well as the organisational barriers such as the glass ceiling and the glass walls which seem to have them boxed in.

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## 2.2.4   Emotional Intelligence (EI)

Women are seen to be more emotionally literate, a skill, which is valued in a rapidly changing workplace where emotional intelligence is valued equally as much as IQ (Goleman, 1996).[200] Men have been encouraged to develop their emotional radar which is something that secretaries, who are predominantly women, have done all along.  Emotional Intelligence (EI) is now a trait required for leadership because feelings are contagious and confidence, like panic, can spread.  The cornerstones of emotional literacy are honesty, energy, feedback as well as connection and trust (Cooper and Sawaf, 1997).[201]

## 2.2.5   Training

One of the questions that human resources departments face when setting up courses is whether women and men should be accommodated separately or whether all training courses should be gender-blind.  Women communicate (Cameron (ed.), 1998;[202] Spender, 1980;[203] Tannen, 1990,[204] 1992,[205] 1994,[206] 1995)[207] and even argue differently (Mapstone, 1998;[208] Tannen, 1998).[209]  Therefore, courses on communication might be more valuable for women if they concentrated on the differences that need addressing.  Women are perceived to be less assertive and also less self-confident in the workplace, than their male colleagues, therefore courses on assertiveness training and self-confidence building might be better received in an all female environment.

In management self-development, the two main activities for male and female managers or aspiring managers is that of setting and meeting goals (Pedler, Burgoyne and Boydel, 1994).[210]  Women have to decide how best to combine work goals with life goals.

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This may entail further study to built up confidence and self-esteem.

Many women seem to believe that it is enough to work hard at their current job and that this hard work will be recognised by their superiors who will see fit to promote them. This is a naive belief. It is not enough to work diligently and hope that recognition will ensue. One needs to ensure that one is seen to work hard and that it is stated explicitly that career progression is, desired if not, expected.

## 2.2.6   Networking and Mentoring

Most authors of management books, and specifically those that refer to women in business, highlight the importance of mentoring and networking. Mentoring and networking should be used by human resource departments in recruitment, induction, career development as well as retainer schemes (Segerman-Peck, 1991).[211] In Networking and Mentoring, Segerman-Peck defines the latter thus:

> Mentoring is a powerful system for making progress. It depends on the positive partnership of two people: a 'junior' partner, the mentee or protégé(e), who wants to get ahead and a 'senior' partner, the mentor, someone who is already ahead, who wants to help the junior learn the ropes. (Segerman-Peck, 1991, p. 13)[212]

She reminds us that "Mentoring is a personal, relationship involving real people, begins with emotions as well as work needs. That means that chemistry is involved" (Segerman-Peck, 1991).[213] This means that personality clashes can result in relationships breaking down especially when the mentee outgrows the mentor.

She says that "There are several ways mentors help their mentees: they provide

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support, protection, opportunities for growth and learning, facilities, feedback, information, knowledge of organisational politics, and they can act as role models" (Segerman-Peck, 1991).[214]

Who can mentor? She continues that:

A mentoring role can be taken by a number of people, a teacher, a neighbour, a senior colleague, even a parent, anyone who finds the talent in you and will help you develop it. Your mentor is your guardian angel. Someone who is knowledgeable, helpful, wise, prepared to help you along the path of your career, take you by the hand, to help you over puddles in the road, catch you when you fall, and eventually give you wings to fly alone. (Segerman-Peck, 1991, p. 23)[215]

She lists the benefits of being mentored as improving performance, people / technical skills along with aiding personal growth and home / work balance (Segerman-Peck, 1991).[216] A mentor performs a compensatory role for women whereas networks are "... collections of people, linked by a common interest or experience, a group of contacts" (Segerman-Peck, 1991, p. 36).[217] She recommends keeping a constant eye out for useful people and when you find them to make a note in a journal or in table form.

Lahtinen (1994)[218] did some work on mentoring and started with the question: Why do women need mentoring? She found that women may be less likely to obtain mentors. She wanted to establish the importance of mentoring and see if there were gender differences. The study, commissioned by the University of St. Andrews, concluded that mentoring is beneficial, especially in the early stages of a career regardless of gender, the majority of mentors were men and the average number of mentor relationships was three (Lahtinen, 1994).[219] Networking has been seen by other authors as a form of

empowerment and as a means of building powerful relationships at work (Warren and Gielnik, 1995).[220]

### 2.2.7   Sex Discrimination in Employment

The definition of sexism which will be used here is that of Benokraitis. He says that "Sexism, or discrimination against people based on their biological sex, usually refers to the economic and social domination of women by men" (Benkraitis, 1997).[221] The difference between earlier sex discrimination and sexism in the 21st century is that it takes a more subtle form of social control. Discrimination, whether actual or perceived, may be harmful to the career advancement of women (Gutek, Groff Cohn and Tsui, 1996).[222]

Sites of sexist practice against women include the military training camp, the university campus, the legal, penal and political systems and the school classroom. Men are subject to sexism in the child care system, where if they express an interest in the role of child care worker, they may be accused of being a paedophile. Pervasive sexist practices deny women equal pay for jobs of comparable worth.

### 2.2.8   Sexual Harassment and Bullying in the Workplace

The case study of sexual harassment in one insurance company stands out because the descriptions of the characters are so vivid that they come alive on the page (Collinson and Collinson, 1996).[223] The harasser is a male chauvinist aptly named, in real life and well as in the study, Dick. Dick, who has a drink problem which does not excuse his behaviour, harassed the majority of the women that he came into contact with during his

working day.

The authors of the study show how each woman, who was subject to Dick's harassment, dealt with it in their own way. The point being that each woman had to deal with the problem alone because of a lack of solidarity between the women as well as the lack of support from above. Dick won in the end because all the women removed themselves from his sphere of influence by either leaving the firm or moving out of the sales area to a more traditional field for women such as personnel. The female co-author, Margaret Collinson, had been the target of a harasser like Dick although not to the same degree.

Sexual harassment, like bullying, is all about power. The issue of sexuality at work is now a legal minefield (Laabs, 1995).[224] Women have to be constantly on the alert because careless talk may cost jobs (James, 1998).[225] Intimacy between colleagues, whether friendships or romances, is part of a delicate balancing act. Even communication on the internet is monitored. Many companies have had to restrict their workers from spending time visiting non-work sites during office hours. Banking organisations routinely tape telephone conversations, read intranet communications and have cameras in lifts, corridors and carparks.

### 2.2.9   Empowerment

Women need to start taking responsibility for their own careers at an early stage and to plan their progression. They must be taught to understand that the workplace is a

scene of power and politics and accordingly develop their personal power and communicate it to others. Power in the workplace can be formal and / or informal and women should learn how to recognise both forms and how to participate fully in the organisational politics and consequent power games (Warren and Gielnik, 1995).[226]

Career planning for women must take account of both work and home life. A substantial amount of research has been done on the issue of balance and the work/life interface (Chi-Ching, 1995;[227] Michaels, 1995;[228] Regan, 1994;[229] Rodgers and Rodgers, 1989;[230] Solomon, 1994,[231] 1995).[232] Employee Assistance Programmes (EAPs) should be able to help employees balance the two areas of life -- work and family. This will become more of a priority as the numbers of dual-career / dual-earner families increase and the spillover begins to interfere with workplace productivity (Lundy and Younger, 1994).[233] One author has pointed out that the financial costs of providing family-friendly benefits can outweigh the benefits to employers (Flynn, 1995).[234]

Banking firms in Wall Street have introduced a 'concierge' system whereby a staff member is employed full-time to undertake time consuming errands that would eat into the workday. The type of request might be as minor as sourcing, purchasing, wrapping and sending a birthday card and gift or less minor such as investigating the homes for the elderly in a particular location. Many large employers now offer facilities such as dry cleaning, photographic processing, automated banking and bill paying, all of which would take their employees off the premises and thus eat into their time at work.

## 2.3 Competition and Aggression

Women are socialised to believe that competition is not a feminine trait and thus competing with women is difficult enough but competing with men is even harder (Miner and Longino, 1987).[235] The workplace environment is by definition competitive and performance appraisals and performance related pay encourage people to compete with their colleagues rather than work as a team. Men are possibly better equipped to deal with this highly competitive environment because it is something they learn about as toddlers in the playground and as young men on the playing field.

Linked to competition is aggression which again is something that is given daily encouragement for boys and men when they are told to stand up for themselves. The opposite is true for women. An expert on female gangs says that:

> Women see aggression as a temporary loss of control caused by overwhelming pressure and resulting in guilt. Men see aggression as a means of exerting control over other people when they feel the need to reclaim power and self-esteem.
> (Campbell, 1993, p. viii)[236]

### 2.3.1 Organisational Culture and Organisational Change

Some writers, both academic and non-academic, have chosen to concentrate on deficiencies found at the individual level of the woman while others look to the work organisation as the source of the problem. There is no denying that there is a problem, that women are hitting a glass ceiling, although there is disagreement as to the root of this impediment. Are women lacking in the necessary skills for leadership? Do women lack ambition or the self-confidence to succeed in the world of paid work which is still a man's

world?  Does the fault lie in the structures of the organisations where like promote like, men, on the grounds of homosociability and risk aversion?

Does your face fit?  Do you dress in the same style and conduct yourself in the same manner as those in the positions of authority that you aspire to?  This can be hard to do if there is one fundamental and quite obvious difference which is that they are all male and you are female.  You are going to stand out however much you try to blend in with all the grey suits.

The review of the studies, discussed above, demonstrates that organisations are sites of sexual harassment and sexual discrimination.  This behaviour is more subtle than in previous decades but nevertheless it is still pervasive.  The research indicates that women need to develop networks and mentoring relationships and to begin to appreciate the nature of the power relationships that exist in the new competitive workplace.

### 2.3.2 Think Manager, Think Male

Schein has done a considerable amount of research on managerial sex-typing. It was Schein who told us that when most people think of a manager they think of a male. The instrument that she devised is known as the Schein Descriptive Index and three forms of the SDI were developed. Schein's study was replicated with a sample of 420 male middle-line managers and 173 female middle-line managers from nine companies, both manufacturing and services. The same methods were followed as Schein and it was found that there had been a change among the women over time. The men, however, held the same attitudes as earlier. Schein then decided to replicate her own work but this time she used management students. The 145 males and 85 females were students at a small private liberal arts college in America and the hypothesis was not confirmed among the women (Schein, 1994).[237]

### 2.3.3 Job Turnover

Brett and Stroh tackled the subject of the turnover of women managers (in Davidson and Burke (eds), 1994).[238] Their research, between 1989 and 1990, showed a 12% difference in turnover rates between female and male managers. They report that approximately 10% of women quit their jobs because of sexual harassment. Brett and Stroh believe that the findings are consistent with the glass ceiling perspective, that women are unhappy with the career opportunities and leave, and that the single women vote with their feet (Brett and Stroh in Davidson and Burke (eds), 1994).[239]

Women managers do leave at a higher rate than their male counterparts. These women experienced more stress than the men and they were less positive that they could further their career within the organisation. One finding which is surprising is that family obligations do not increase turnover. In fact, it reduces the rate (Brett and Stroh in Davidson and Burke (eds), 1994).[240]

They identify three patterns for female managers which they term career mobility, career stability and career and family mix. They say that: "Career-mobile women would be identified by uninterrupted workforce participation and a relatively high number of employers" and "Career-stable women are characterised by uninterrupted workforce participation and longer tenure in fewer companies" while "the career-family-mix pattern characterises those whose workforce entries and exits have coincided with family events" (Brett and Stroh in Davidson and Burke (eds), 1994, p. 62).[241]

Organisations are losing women to better opportunities and they criticise the existing attempts by employers as being too superficial (Brett and Stroh in Davidson and Burke (eds), 1994).[242] Burke and McKean propose that one of the reasons that the glass ceiling is still in place is because women are afforded different, read lesser, opportunities for career development (Burke and McKean in Davidson and Burke (eds), 1994).[243]

Goffee and Nicholson (in Davidson and Burke (eds), 1994)[244] note that women have distinctive mobility patterns and recommend that future research concentrate on the differences rather than the similarities between the career aspirations of men and women.

### 2.3.4   Career patterns of women

Mary Dean Lee[245] has identified seven models which describe women's career patterns over three dimensions which include: (1) timing of children; (2) level of involvement with career over time; and (3) level of involvement with family over time (in Davidson and Burke (eds), 1994).[246] Dean Lee states that:

> The timing of children was considered early (first child born before age 30) or late (first child born age 30 or later). Level of involvement with children and family and level of involvement in career were categorised as high, moderate or low at different points in time. (Dean Lee in Davidson and Burke (eds), 1994, p. 244)[247]

The seven models are: (1) Early career orientation sustained; (2) Early career orientation modified; (3) Early career and family orientation; (4) Early marriage and parenthood; (5) Sequencing: Career-family-career; (6) Sequencing: Family-career and (7) Early family orientation sustained.

The seven patterns show that women have differing needs for independence and intimacy and that these may change over the life course and either strengthen or in many cases destabilise a marriage. The women placed different levels of emphasis on the importance of the role of parent but she says that men should invest more in their parental role (Dean Lee in Davidson and Burke (eds), 1994).[248]

She poses one very important question: "What is the critical level of parental involvement with children in order that they develop well, thrive well, and grow up to be responsible, productive citizens, and parents to the next generation?" (Dean Lee in

Davidson and Burke (eds), 1994, p. 257).[249] One way that career oriented women coped, with having a family, was by having only one child.

Other authors have looked at the performance of women who aspire to leadership and the perception of the performance (Harriman, 1996);[250] the career tapestries of ambitious women who have achieved management positions (Gerver and Hart, 1991);[251] the motivation of women and the exercise of power and powerlessness (Kakabadse, Ludlow and Vinnicombe, 1988)[252] as well as at the professional socialisation of women from a psychological perspective (Nicholson, 1996).[253]

## 2.4 Leadership

The issue of whether men and women possess varying leadership styles has been debated. It has been suggested by those who believe that women have a distinctive way of leading that this will be adopted by men as being more appropriate to changing organisational cultures (Alvesson and Due Billing, 1997).[254]

### 2.4.1 Power and Powerlessness

Women need to gain an understanding of personal and impersonal power as well as organisational power. They need to grasp the importance of having an insight into their physical abilities as well as their cognitive and leadership styles. Training, mentoring, networking, career development schemes, performance appraisal and assessment as well as change management initiatives can all impact on the career progression of women (Vinnicombe and Colwill, 1995).[255]

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If men hold organisational power is it reasonable to expect them to hand it over to women? Why should they? (French in Itzin and Newman (eds), 1995).[256] If women were the ones in the positions of organisational power would they cede control to men?

Women who have reached positions of power, or broken through the glass ceiling, can tell the rest of us how they got there and what it takes (Abrams, 1993;[257] Griffiths (ed.), 1996;[258] Wall, 1991).[259] Entrepreneurial women have come to appreciate the competitive nature of business; the power games that are played and the ruthless culture of success (Allen and Truman (eds), 1993;[260] Dix, 1991;[261] Jones, 1992;[262] McLoughlin, 1992).[263]

Powerlessness or frustration at the failure to make professional progress may lead to dis-engagement or depression in women. The main reason that women do not succeed is that they do not have wives at home (Apter, 1993)[264] or they experience different career mobility patterns that lead to segregation into different jobs and functions (Nicholson and West, 1988).[265]

Occupational psychologists and sociologists have looked at the areas of job satisfaction and motivation as well as power needs to see if there are differences that can be accounted for by gender (Porteous, 1997).[266] Psychological testing as well as job evaluation methods have come under criticism for being gender biased.

## 2.4.2 Human Resource Management

Human resources departments will have to understand the delicate balance between success, fairness and effective management. This can be achieved for a workforce that balances work and home life and where long hours are considered an ineffective way to run a business. Diversity and equality should be treated as core business values. The organisations that succeed will have to be healthy organisations which operate with a sense of ethics and fairness towards staff, customers, shareholders as well as the environment (Newell, 1995).[267]

Another tool which employers and employees will need to incorporate into the human resources strategy will be impression management. It is seen as a way to improve effectiveness and fairness, as tough corporate environments make it even more essential, because prejudicial attitudes come to the fore when people are under pressure (Rosenfeld, Giacalone and Riordan, 1995).[268]

Impression management and how it can impact on issues and processes in human resources management has been examined in relation to Performance Appraisal (PA), leadership, training, organisational development as well as Employee Assistance Programmes (EAPs). The last three are areas that need further empirical and theoretical work (Rosenfeld, Giacalone and Riordan, 1995).[269]

The human resources departments need to start by examining individual psychological attributes (Tajfel and Fraser (eds), 1978),[270] interviewing methods,

conditions at work, levels of leadership and participation as well as communication and change management strategies to see if any of these areas may contain gender bias (Graham and Bennett, 1992).[271] The other areas that require attention begin with examining job analysis and specifications to see if a requirement is discriminatory. For example, an age restriction attached to a job specification may be found to exclude women who left the workforce for childrearing or who entered late.

They continue with recruitment (interviewing panels and decision-making processes) and selection methods, contracts of employment, training and performance appraisals, career development, work design, promotion, transfers, demotion, retirement, resignation and termination of contracts and dismissal (Appleby, 1988;[272] Bennett, 1991).[273] The more formalised and controlled the recruitment process becomes the less likely that sex discrimination will occur (Collinson, Knights and Collinson, 1990).[274]

Human resources departments should ensure that job evaluations are free of gender bias as well as all remuneration schemes for weekly and monthly paid staff as well as any incentives, performance payments and fringe benefits such as club membership and car allowances. Staff motivation schemes should be aimed at both male and female employees (Gunnigle and Flood, 1990).[275] Even health and safety issues can have a gender impact where more women work on Video Display Units (VDUs) (leading to eyestrain and Repetitive Strain Injury) as well as the implications of office working throughout all stages of pregnancy i.e. lifting file boxes and exposure to radiation from office machinery.

Grievance and disciplinary procedures must also be gender proofed (Torrington and Hall, 1991).[276] In order for all the above mentioned human resources management areas to be completely fair adequate records should be maintained. Even approaches to new technology should be monitored for signs of unequal access (Grint, 1991).[277] The introduction of new technology can transform an industry and may even lead to resegregation (Baran in Pahl (ed.), 1988).[278]

As illustrated in this section of the review, most of the studies on the career development of women have attempted to classify women in terms of the commitment they exhibit to particular roles (and life and career patterns). These typologies are based around the division of labour – paid work and / or unpaid work. The next part of this dissertation examines the organisational initiatives (policies and practices) that are intended to improve the situation for women. It also addresses the nature of the changing concept of career and the rapidly changing world of work which has left both men and women floundering in a sea of uncertainty.

### 2.4.3   Equality and Diversity

Equal opportunities (EO) should, by now, be established as a function in all human resources departments (Shaw and Perrons (eds), 1995).[279]  Guidebooks have been published which show which organisations have best practice status in relation to EO. Some of the financial institutions which merit honourable mentions include the AIB Group, Bank of Ireland and the Bank of England (MccGwire, 1992).[280]

The argument for implementing EO policies and practices include better staff retention / lower turnover, increased efficiency / higher productivity and improved returns on investment.  One important point to remember is that all EO initiatives should be monitored and the strategies altered if necessary (Brown and Lawton, 1991).[281]  The routine mention of a commitment to EO, as part of a public relations exercise, in annual reports should be expanded to quantified results and measurements year on year (e.g. BP Annual Report).[282]

An organisation committed to organisational learning will examine how organisational socialisation, developing staff competencies, facilitating career development, the practice of assessments and even the management of effective and diverse teams impact on the career advancement of women (Mabey and Iles (eds), 1994).[283]  The organisational culture may place expectations on men and women that can realistically only be met by single, childless individuals or individuals who are not the primary carers of the family.  For instance, if the informal rule is for promotion to take place before age thirty or thirty-five and progression into senior management by age forty then we might expect more men than

women in the organisation will have reached these rungs on the career ladder. This is a form of gendered ageism (Itzin and Phillipson in Itzin and Newman (eds), 1995).[284]

If a woman coasts in career terms for a number of years due to family responsibilities, then wants to change her priorities later to her career, she may find that it is too late. The question is whether organisations should be expected to accommodate women in this way. The business case for retention says that they should because of the investment in training that has been made as well as the firm specific knowledge that these women possess.

Arnold has quite a different idea of what constitutes a career as we start the 21st century. He says that:

> ... careers emcompass a wide range of sequences of occupational experiences, not just conventional ones. They do not necessarily involve promotion, and they may well cross occupational and organisational boundaries, frequently in many cases. Careers are subjective as well as objective - they include people's interpretation of what happens to them as well as observed objectively. (Arnold, 1997, p. 1)[285]

This definition is unusual in that it would normally denote a job rather than a career. The changes, that we will all have to adapt to, include increased workloads, outsourcing, short-term contracts, the disappearance of organisational career structures, changing skill requirements, a diverse labour force, ageing populations, smaller organisations, working from or at home and job insecurity (Arnold, 1997).[286] The delayering and downsizing initiatives have been overdone in some organisations. The new

language of careers involves competencies. He uses a definition which sees competency as "... an observable skill or ability to complete a managerial task successfully" (Arnold, 1997).[287]

The career management interventions for organisations that he lists include internal vacancy notification; career workbooks and career planning workshops for self-development; computer-assisted career management; individual counselling; personal development plans (PDPs); career action centres (CACs) and development centres using a mixture of group discussions, simulations, presentations, interviews as well as psychometric testing; mentoring programmes, succession planning, job rotations and outplacement (Arnold, 1997).[288] Other career interventions that he favours are Developmental Work Assignments (DWAs), performance appraisal (PA) and networking (Arnold, 1997).[289]

### 2.4.4   Organisational Culture Change

What is organisational culture? Watson says that:

> We can define organisational culture as a set of shared meanings to be shared by members of the organisation which will define what is good and bad, right and wrong, and what are the appropriate ways for members of that group to think and behave. (Watson, 1994, pp. 111-112)[290]

There is an official / formal organisational culture as well as an unofficial / informal one. They can change at different speeds. The organisational culture is something that can be hinted at in induction programmes but it is something that you develop an appreciation

of over a period of time in the company. Participation in mentoring and networking activities within the organisation have been seen as ways of speeding up the process.

The organisational culture may place a high value on further / continuing education which is stated as a goal by the human resources department and is something that is stressed continuously by departmental managers. Those who refuse to continue with either professional examinations or other relevant courses may be regarded as lazy by others in the organisation. Watson believes that management should try to bring the official and unofficial organisational cultures into line with each other (Watson, 1994).[291]

Case studies have been used to examine the value of women-only training and personal development initiatives and equal opportunity training for male and female managers in banking (McDougall and Briley, 1994).[292] Some women have been moved into organisational areas as part of a change strategy. They have been placed there as change agents in organisations (Ledwith and Colgan (eds), 1996).[293]

2.4.5   Changing Careers

Careers are changing at as rapid pace as technology. The changes that the internet and e-commerce have brought and will bring in the future can only be imagined at this point. Thirty years ago, many futurologists predicted that we would all be sitting back relaxing while computers did all the work. This proved to be an incorrect prediction. We are working longer hours than ever before and we, especially women, have more roles that we are expected to fill with less free time at our disposal. Career patterns and ways of

working are changing but not nearly as quickly as we perceive.

The demise of the old employer-employee relationship that was based on trust means that a new psychological contract has to be devised (Herriot and Pemberton, 1996;[294] Nicholson, 1996;[295] Pemberton, 1995).[296] The new career contract needs more thought and a greater level of input on the employee side of the relationship (McCauley and Harding, 1996).[297] One author referred to the changes in the 1990s as a "work quake" (Nelson Bolles, 1994).[298]

A woman's career over a lifetime might entail a period of underemployment (Klein, 1996),[299] temporary employment (Mendenhall, 1993),[300] homeworking (Phizacklea and Wolkowitz, 1995;[301] Richards, 1994,[302] and 1997),[303] or teleworking (Jackson and Van der Wielen (eds), 1998),[304] flexible working during childbearing / childrearing years (Gottlieb, Kelloway and Barham, 1998;[305] Soloman, 1996)[306] leading to a desire for simplicity and downshifting possibly at mid-life (Ghazi and Jones, 1997;[307] Laabs, 1996).[308]

The question that we need to ask is whether organisational change has led to the death of the corporate career or is it premature to say that it is gone for good? (Guest and MacKensie Davey, 1996;[309] Morley, Gunnigle and Heraty, 1994).[310] If the ladder is shorter then employees have to reassess what level they think they can achieve or aspire to over a career (Goffee and Scase, 1992).[311]

Where do women fit into the picture? .Women, due to the changes in gender relations, have at last got a chance of making it to the top part of the ladder, or at least higher than ever before, just when the ladder is truncated and starts to wobble. The direction of movement on the ladder for those who were considered management material was upward, and not laterally, but now we can even speak of the ladders being broken (Osterman (ed.), 1996).[312] New forms of organisation rely on new and different skills and competencies in the workforce as well as new understandings and more flexible relationships (Crompton, Gallie and Purcell, 1996).[313] Everyone has to take responsibility for the management of their own career(s) (Useem in Osterman (ed.), 1996).[314]

The trends that have occurred, in non-standard work, will intensify rather than decrease over time and these include changes in the organisation of production with the expansion of the service sector, a sector which employs women workers; the intensification of technological change and development of information communication technologies (ICTs) which are set to revolutionalise the business world (such as e-commerce) and the decline of the male breadwinner model even further (Crompton, Gallie and Purcell (eds), 1996).[315]

### 2.4.6   Progression within the Professions

The increase in the numbers of women entering a profession would surely be an indication of success in progression terms.  Women continue to enter law, accountancy and science because they are finding success in large numbers in those areas.  A number of studies have put paid to these theories.

Women are studying law in larger numbers than ever before but they are not progressing at the pace one would expect (McGlynn and Graham, 1995).[316]  A series of articles by the legal correspondent of The Times sums up the problem with headings such as "Little room at the top for women lawyers" and "Failing to pass the sex test?"[317]

In an article in The Times (1997)[318] entitled "Where men still rule," Clare McGlynn, lecturer in law at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne and, chair of Young Women Lawyers, says that "Sex discrimination is increasingly recognised as a fact of life in the legal profession.  Achieving balance, however, is difficult and slow."  A feature article by Coulter (2000)[319] reported that the average female representation in the legal profession in Ireland is 14% but typically the higher up one goes the fewer women to be found.

In Britain, in recent decades, women lawyers have become more vocal about the way the law treats women especially as victims of rape (Kennedy, 1992).[320]  The law has also paved the way for women with legislative changes in regard to labour law, social welfare law, family law as well as in criminal law (Connelly (ed.), 1993;[321]  Von Prondynski and McCarthy, 1989).[322]

The situation in science is much worse. Women have been working in the field of science for many years and have provided a contribution to scientific knowledge (Benjamin (ed.), 1991).[323] A number of books have depicted a very negative working environment for women (Evetts, 1996;[324] Fox Keller and Longino (eds), 1996;[325] Pattatucci (ed.), 1998).[326] Scientific work is still male-dominated, and considered work for men, as a case study by Kathryn Packer (1996)[327] shows.

Women are portrayed in the management literature as strangers but in science they are considered to be trespassers (Pattatucci (ed.), 1998).[328] The last chapter of this book edited by Pattatucci is titled "A Reason for Optimism"[329] but the contents leave no doubt that there is no room to be optimistic. It contains stories of career derailment and failure to meet career challenges successfully. The tone of the work is bitter in the extreme. It is the most negative book that the author has ever read about women and work.

Another work which sets out to discuss the gendered experience of career for female scientists and engineers opens with a general discussion on the nature of gendered organisational, occupational and subjective careers (Evetts (ed.), 1996).[330] Gender and career identity are seen to be tied up together and four types of career identities are outlined:

(1) The single-focus career: promotion antecedence;

(2) The dual-focus career: promotion accommodation;

(3) The dual-focus career: parenthood accommodation and

(4) The single-focus career: parenthood antecedence (Evetts (ed.), 1996).[331]

Career progression / promotion is linked to gender differences, as identified by occupational sociologists and feminists since the 1980s, whereby women are segregated horizontally and vertically as well as marginalised and ghettoised even within the professions. The life history method is preferred as a way of examining women's career identities. These identities are based around the balance that each woman can achieve in her public and private life which is dependent on the choices that she makes around the issue of parenthood and opting for the double shift. Whether to start a family and become a mother or remain childless is, in this model, tied to the issue of self-identity and career identity for women but not for men.

At lower management levels women can circumnavigate their way around the structural barriers of the organisational cultures but it is at the higher levels where the decisions for promotion to senior management positions become more subjective. The criteria for selection are less clear at this level and who you know as well as who knows of your work and reputation as well as your face may be more important than impressive academic qualifications, work experience and potential. Where women have the title of manager it is instructive to ask just who or what are they managing (Evetts (ed.), 1996).[332]

Technology is also gendered and women find it hard to progress when technological change is introduced because it is seen as being masculine (Hacker, 1990).[333] Cynthia Cockburn says that men's stance at women's attempts to achieve sexual equality in organisations, in what she terms the post-feminist age, is one of resistance (Cockburn, 1991).[334] A study of women and technology in the Greek banking system found that

computerisation made the situation worse, not better, for women (Arvanitaki and Stratigaki in Cockburn and Furst Dilic (eds), 1994).[335]

The internet has not changed this to any great degree. There is even a gender gap on the superhighway (Spender, 1995).[336] The generation of twenty somethings are the digital generation and most in tune with the new developments in information technology and all it means for employment of the future (Coupland, 1991, [337]1995;[338] Negroponte, 1995;[339] Spar and Bussgang, 1996).[340] Gender does matter in this new digital world (McGrath, 1997)[341] but some believe that women are equipped to meet the new challenges ahead (Plant, 1997).[342]

The issue of women and computers was examined, by a lecturer in computer science from the University of Keele, and she found that women are at a disadvantage in the industry which is not helped by the fact that the majority of computer games aimed at children involve blood and guts and keep score of the number of computer "kills" (Grundy, 1996).[343] Girls need to learn that computers can be fun and this goes back to how computers are taught at school.

One woman who has made a career out of her insights into how the internet and associated technologies will change the way we live and work is Esther Dyson (Dyson, 1997).[344] She warns that "One of the major points I want to get across is the profundity of the changes that the Net will bring to human institutions - and its lack of impact on human nature" (Dyson, 1997, p. 4).[345]

Work organisations are trying emulate the success of the software industry in Silicon Valley and this form of work organisation is being used as a model but it has a downside as well as an upside. She states that:

> The good aspects are an openness to change, excitement, teamwork, a willingness to admit and learn from mistakes. The bad aspects are troubling: Obsession with work and neglect of families and human values, impatience, preoccupation with money and stock prices. (Dyson, 1997, p. 66)[346]

## 2.5 Women, Management and Power: A Comparative Perspective

Adler and Izraeli (Adler and Izraeli (eds), 1994)[347] discuss the development of women in management world wide and say that the investigation into the subject started in the United States in the 1970s, reached western Europe in the early 1980s, Asia by the mid 1980s and the communist / post-communist countries by the late 1980s. The financial services sector has opened up lower and middle management positions to women world wide.

They say that they made an important oversight in their earlier works because they failed to differentiate between moving in and moving up within. The women executives face challenges of a different magnitude than the women managers. They state that: "Becoming a manager requires credentials whereas becoming an executive requires, among other things, belonging to the appropriate networks" (Adler and Izraeli (eds), 1994, p. 8).[348]

Adler identifies a breed of female expatriate manager who works across borders.

She is relatively young, at just under thirty, probably has an M.B.A., speaks two or three languages fluently and is more likely to be single than married. She may be employed by a financial institution and has worked abroad for a number of years.

## 2.5.1    Asia

In a discussion of Indonesia, Wright and Crockett-Tellei (in Adler and Izraeli (eds), 1994)[349] say that the growth in financial services, in the late 1980s, along with the belief that women are more careful and reliable with money has opened up the sector to women. Malaysian women are also entering financial services in increasing numbers, according to Norma Mansor, but they hold the lower rather the middle management positions. She says that there are three barriers preventing them from progressing any higher. The first is the conflict between work and family, the second is the stereotypical attitudes held by employers and the third is the lack of career planning by women themselves (in Adler and Izraeli (eds), 1994).[350] Women in Taiwan are getting into management positions in western banks but the drinking subculture and women's family responsibilities hinder career progression (in Adler and Izraeli (eds), 1994).[351]

## 2.5.3    Scandinavia

Women in Finland work full-time and good quality child care is widely available as well as family leave. Occupational segregation has not been eliminated in Finland and women are more likely to work in the public sector, at lower levels in organisations as well as receive lower levels of pay (Hanninen-Salelin and Petajaniemi in Adler and Izraeli (eds), 1994).[352]

### 2.5.3    The Middle East

In Israel, women have made great gains in terms of professional qualifications but have not succeeded in breaking through the glass ceiling.  Two of the barriers to women's progression lie in the political and military networks and a family-centred culture which considers marriage and motherhood the proper roles for women.  Younger women are attempting to tackle the second problem by marrying later and having fewer children.

Two stories that explain the organisational culture of the banks show why women are less likely to succeed.  The first example, of the afternoon culture, was told to Izraeli by a signing officer in one of the largest banks.  The second tale, told to Izraeli, is of a senior woman who felt that she had been passed over for promotion.  She recounts how:

> When the business of the [evening] meeting was over and I felt I had contributed
> my maximum and that staying on was a waste of time, I got itchy, stood up and left
> for home.  The men stayed on and chatted and that's when the cliques formed.  I
> just didn't understand that at the time.
>
> (Izraeli in Adler and Izraeli (eds), 1994, p.  314)[353]

### 2.5.4    The United States

In the case of the United States, Fagenson and Jackson (in Adler and Izraeli (eds), 1994)[354] report that, women have not achieved parity and that they are more likely to be single, divorced or widowed.  Executive women are likely to be childless.  They provide a profile of the typical woman who has broken through the glass ceiling.  She is likely to be single, childless, white, Protestant, college educated with an advanced degree, in her mid forties who had worked for three other companies before joining her present employer ten

years ago. She spends about 55 hours a week at work and has had more than one mentor or sponsor and has acted as a mentor for others. She may have started her career in a finance or general management position before being promoted.

### 2.5.5   The United Kingdom

Hammond and Holton (in Adler and Izraeli (eds), 1994)[355] quote statistics from the Midland Bank which show that 19% of the management ranks consisted of women. The bank set up nurseries for the children of staff on a country wide basis. In 1986, the membership of the Institute of Bankers was 19.2% female, by 1992 this figure had increased to 25%.

They quoted the results of a survey undertaken in the City of London which shows that four out of five of the top jobs are held by a male and that the men receive more pay than women except where young women are making gains such as in investment banking. The pay gap increases with age. They say that some banks have encouraged female staff to develop their potential through women-only training programmes, career counselling and career planning as well as by providing career break schemes.

## 2.6    Kanter, Walby and Hakim

The work of three women academics is considered below. All three are respected in the field of women and work and have published widely. After this section, there is a discussion of the importance of the role of women in the European labour market(s).

Kanter (1977 and 1993)[356] has written and updated the classic case study. In the firm that she studied, she identified three themes which are power, opportunity and numbers. The power and opportunity are in the hands of the men in the firm while the women predominantly perform traditional roles of office wife (secretary), wife or token.

Walby (1990[357] and 1997[358]) posits that men dominate women and that this male domination permeates our entire society. Hakim (1996)[359] points out that women and their changing relationship to work can be properly described by one word which is heterogeneity. Her later work caused some controversy when she suggested that maybe women did not want to work, outside the home, after all.

### 2.6.1   Rosabeth Moss Kanter and Indsco

The case study of the manufacturing firm Industrial Supply Company (Indsco) by Kanter is an essential read for students of organisational behaviour, and women's studies, with a discussion of the three roles of manager, secretary and wife as well as the structures and processes of power, opportunity and numbers. First published in 1977, she wrote a new preface and afterword in 1993 to take account of globalisation, organisational change and the reshaping of careers in the 1990s. One of the main arguments of the book is that "When men and women are in similar situations operating under similar expectations, they tend to behave in similar ways ...." (Kanter, 1977 and 1993).[360]

Kanter describes Men and Women of the Corporation as an ethnography of a corporation. She explains how a "masculine ethic" of management at Indsco operated to keep women from moving up the career ladder (Kanter, 1977 and 1993).[361] This attitude is still prevalent in many organisations. The company was divided into people who had jobs and people who had careers. In Indsco, this division was between exempts (annual paid -- predominantly male) and non exempts (weekly paid -- predominantly female) (Kanter, 1977 and 1993).[362] Management jobs began at grade 9 and the higher the grade the fewer women to be found.

Dress code was another distinction, if another was needed. Kanter notes that managers wore tailored clothing and were often attractive. She believed that the women were kept out of the circle because a form of homosocial reproduction was used as a way

to cut down on risk. The male managers felt comfortable working alongside others like themselves. Women were considered a risk and an unknown quantity.

Secretaries were jokingly referred to as office wives. Their jobs were dependent on one man and promotion for them meant that their boss had been promoted. They performed many personal services and physical attractiveness and good social skills were as important as administrative ability (Kanter, 1977 and 1993).[363] The corporate wife was promoted in status as her husband moved up the ladder (Kanter, 1977 and 1993).[364]

Those who were considered to be high-flyers were accorded preferential treatment. They were given performance reviews every eighteen months instead of every three years. They were chosen for the plum assignments that would give them cross company experience and exposure to the men at the top allowing them to find sponsors among the powerful. Sponsors were more important for women but harder to find.

Kanter, after an examination of the research on the leadership styles of men and women, says that there appears to be no substantial sex difference and that men who have worked for a female boss are more inclined to want to work for one again. Power is defined by Kanter as "...the ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and to use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet" (Kanter, 1977 and 1993).[365]

In relation to numbers, whether in the formal office environment or informal

groupings outside the confines of the building, male managers found themselves with other male managers while women managers were often the only female present (Kanter, 1977 and 1993).[366] The proportions of women in Indsco at management level were those of the skewed group (Kanter, 1977 and 1993).[367] She argues that:

> Tokenism, like low opportunity and low power, set in motion self-perpetuating cycles that served to reinforce the low numbers of women, and in the absence of external intervention, to keep women in the position of token.
>
> (Kanter, 1977 and 1993, p. 210)[368]

The example that Kanter uses is between X and O. She says if you have one O and nine Xs, the O will stand out -- XXXXXXXOXXX. Tokens get attention, both wanted and unwanted. They are subject to visibility which tends to create pressure to perform while everyone watches to see if they will succeed or fail. Contrast, or the exaggeration of their differences in relation to the men, can lead to isolation. They are stereotyped and expected to fulfil the role expectations of their own gender. The stereotypical roles that Kanter mentions are those of mother, seductress, pet or iron maiden.

The description of four proportional types is what Kanter is best known for. These are:

(1)    Uniform groups (100);

(2)    Skewed groups (85:15);

(3)    Tilted groups (65:35);

(4)    Balanced groups (50:50) (Kanter, 1977 and 1993).[369]

In the earlier edition, she identified three variables which she classed as central explanatory dimensions and she stated that "Opportunity, power and relative numbers (proportional and social composition) have the potential to explain a large number of discrete individual responses to organisations" (Kanter, 1977 and 1993).[370] Affirmative action programmes, diversity as an organisational goal and the changing nature of work and careers can assist in breaking the cycle of disadvantage.

In all organisations, there are a group of workers who are stuck, who have reached the end of what was always a short career ladder. Clerical workers are often numbered among the stuck. Kanter also names two other groups in this category: those who had lost out in the competition for jobs and those who had moved up but had taken the wrong pathway. One way that people cope in this situation is to disengage from the organisation.

She returned to the subject of blocked mobility in 1993 when she referred to the pyramid squeeze "which produced more eligible candidates than openings at the levels above allowing organisations to bypass "controversial" candidates (read different)" (Kanter, 1977 and 1993).[371] The same three structural factors that Kanter wrote about in the first edition still matter -- opportunity, power and numbers -- but a substantial amount of change has taken place in the organisational environment.

The numbers game has changed so that there are quite a few women at middle management levels and token women can be found on most boards. Diversity is to be valued. Kanter points out that women have been allowed to play the game but the game

itself is changing and there is more risk involved. These changes have suited women who seem to thrive under the new entrepreneurism. She says that even in the more traditional firms women have made gains (Kanter, 1977 and 1993).[372] Both men and women "share career chaos" (Kanter, 1977 and 1993).[373]

This "new career logic" changes the loyalty that a person feels towards a company. When you cannot depend on your company then you depend more on outside contacts or membership of other networks as they may be needed to help find a new job. Kanter says that where men tend to have one network women have two -- one for work advice and another for support and friendship. This strategy is divisive.

Even if the work / family issue is now out in the open, not much has changed. Women are still subject to the time crunch, they have little leisure time and do most of the housework. She mentions that the breaching of the boundary between home and work by computer networks is an important development for women which might help to prevent derailment off the fast track. What all workers have to aim for is employability.

### 2.6.2    Sylvia Walby and Patriarchy

In Theorising Patriarchy (1990) and Gender Transformations (1997), Walby sets out to explain what she means by patriarchy. She defines patriarchy "... as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women" (Walby, 1990).[374] Her aim, in both books, is to outline women's subordinate position in society and highlight the changes in gender relations which have taken place in recent decades concerning women's entry to the public domain but in segregated, generally lower, positions.

The two main types of patriarchy are private (domestic) and public (Walby, 1997).[375] The changes that she has noticed in recent years are in regard to gender relations in employment and particularly in vertical segregation and in the education of women and the differences to be found between younger and older generations of women. Girls now do as well as boys in regard to educational qualifications and in some areas excel. The normal tasks associated with femininity such as marriage and motherhood, including childbearing and childrearing, dominate a smaller part of the female life cycle than in the past.

There is segregation in relation to employment between younger and older women. Older women are working in lower level and part-time jobs while the younger women occupy higher positions (Walby, 1997).[376] Horizontal segregation increased for women over the period 1971-81 while it decreased for men. She notes that women exhibit firm levels of attachment to particular occupational and industrial sectors and re-entrants

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typically return to the same occupation or industry and she further points out that women's position in the adult life cycle, with its various domestic responsibilities, is only one factor in regard to their employment patterns (Walby, 1997).[377]

Walby identifies four perspectives that are useful: radical feminism, Marxist feminism, dual-systems theory and liberalism. She states that:

> Radical feminism is distinguished by its analysis of gender inequality in which men as a group dominate women as a group and are the main beneficiaries of the subordination of women. This system of domination called patriarchy does not derive from any other system of social inequality; for instance, it is not a product of capitalism. (Walby, 1990, p. 3)[378]

> Marxist feminism is a result of capital's domination over labour where the reproductive sphere is subordinate to the productive sphere. Dual-systems theory is a synthesis of both radical and Marxist feminisms. In liberalism the subordination of women is, the result of small-scale injustices, not the product of capitalism.

Walby says that in her earlier work (1990) she identified six sites of patriarchy:

> The six structures of patriarchy are household production; patriarchal relations in paid work; patriarchal relations in the state; male violence; patriarchal relations in sexuality and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions. (Walby, 1997, p. 5)[379]

She finds that household time-budget studies involving diary keeping are a useful way to check who spends time in various household activities (Walby, 1990).[380] In paid employment, women are excluded and segregated so that they are forced to occupy jobs

requiring lower skill levels and fewer benefits. She considers the work done by human capital theorists. Their argument is that women suffer horizontal and vertical segregation because their domestic responsibilities permit them to invest less time in building up their human capital. The state, according to Walby, is racist, capitalist and patriarchal.

In regard to sexuality, she finds that compulsory heterosexuality is culturally enforced with a double standard in regard to sexual behaviour. The threat of male violence, of physical attack and rape, keeps women locked in their homes after dark. She notes that this is the case both at a structural as well as an individual level. By culture, she means the institutions such as the media, education and organised religion. Hakim (1996) is critical of Walby's 1990 work. She says that

> In Theorising Patriarchy Sylvia Walby reviews the enormous number of theories that have been offered in the last twenty years to explain women's subordinate position in society and the workforce or, as she puts it, women's exploitation and oppression. However, her review, like so many, discusses theories in terms of their intellectual merits and explanatory adequacy. At the end of the day the key test of theory is against reality. (Hakim, 1996, p. 4)[381]

Hakim (1996) understands Walby to define "... patriarchy as a system of inter-related social structures through which men dominate, oppress and exploit women (1990: 20)" and says that "Our analysis of the evidence on the feminisation of the workforce in Chapter 3 shows that Walby's theory of the historical development of patriarchy is simply not supported by the facts on trends in female employment" (Hakim, 1996, p. 11).[382] Hakim (1996) repeats this later on saying "Walby's theory collapses in the face of the evidence" (Hakim, 1996, p. 82).[383]

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### 2.6.3 Catherine Hakim

The polarisation process that started in the 1980s has produced a sharp divide between those home-centred women and the minority of career-centred women for whom employment is just as central to their lives as it is for men, who do not regard a home and children the primary aims in life; and who see themselves as independent wage earners whether or not they marry. (Hakim, 1996, p. 215).[384]

Hakim introduces her book, Key Issues in Women's Work. Female Heterogeneity and the Polarisation of Women's Employment (1996), as being about the diversity of employment choices that women make and the consequences that ensue. She refers to the sex differences that leave women confined to a job ghetto of low paid, low grade, part-time work with much lower chances of promotion.

Her book is an examination of women's market and non-market work in an attempt to answer two questions: whether women's market work is under-reported and if women's non-market work is both undervalued as well as under-reported. She differentiates between work and employment. The term "inactive" is incorrectly applied to housewives when this terms implies being idle. Women engaged in non-market work such as domestic work or other caring work put in long hours. Women undertake a large proportion of the marginal, domestic and caring work. They are family workers, homeworkers and many women work in the informal economy as well as undertaking seasonal, casual and temporary work on non-standard contracts.

The trend looks set to continue with more women taking up non-standard

employment. Unpaid voluntary work is understood to be mainly undertaken by women. Hakim finds this is not the case and in fact both men and women are equally likely to do voluntary service for others. In regard to domestic work, she quotes research which shows that housewives spend three times as many hours on cleaning as do women with full-time jobs, twice as many hours on meal preparation while their husbands contribute around ten hours a week to domestic work – a statistic that has increased by minutes over the years. The length of time that women have to devote to childbearing and rearing has declined but there has been an increase in the amount of eldercare, by men as well as women, being undertaken. Hakim suggests future research should focus on domestic, reproductive and caring work.

In a discussion of the feminisation of the workforce, Hakim points out that the expansion of the job market in Britain since the Second World War has been in part-time jobs for women but this has not been the case in the United States where the majority of women entering employment go into full-time jobs, while the employment rates for men and women in relation to part-time employment remained stable. She thinks that we need to understand the distinction between primary earners and secondary earners. Part-time workers and women are secondary earners. The decisions regarding household money management are one way to assess how power is divided between the primary and secondary earners in the family.

For her, the feminisation of the workforce has been this growth in part-time work

for secondary earners but she points to the future where the demasculinisation of work, partly the result of accelerating technological change, will see a further feminisation. Not good news for men as jobs requiring physical strength or an element of risk will decrease even further if not disappear entirely. The manual male work culture will be a thing of the past. She thinks that women's work will be defeminised in the sense that it will be more gender-neutral.

In a discussion on the sexual division of labour and paid employment, a myth that Hakim challenges is that the differences are due to women's role in childbearing and childrearing. She finds that an examination of voluntary childless or childfree couples disproves this theory. Only the small group of women working full-time reject the traditional sexual division of labour while women working part-time prove to hold very conservative views indeed. I found that her most interesting observations concern women's and men's work orientations, work plans, work commitment and work attachment. She concludes that despite the large amount of research done in this area none of the results have been conclusive.

She agrees with survey research which shows that women have less interest in being promoted, especially those who work on a part-time basis. On the whole it seems that the sex differential in work commitment has diminished by the 1990s. But work plans do differ. Women work for a variety of reasons and it may be a case of having to service family debt, divorce or widowhood. It seems that both men and women like to work for a male boss although women do not agree that men make better bosses. She points to a fact that has been sidelined by many feminists and feminist academics – women's role in keeping women back.

Women's work attachment has increased in the United States but not in Britain to any significant degree. The increase has been partly due to increasing numbers of women deciding to remain childfree and those who make the decision to have children are having fewer. Another factor is the increasing levels of education leading to the possession of greater human capital.

2.6.3.1    Hakim's three employment profiles:

(1) continuous employment or the male employment profile;

(2) the homemaker career or the stereotypical female employment profile; and

(3) the discontinuous, intermittent or fragmented employment profile.  .

The continuous employment profile consists of an unbroken record of employment over the life course while the homemaker profile usually consists of a period of employment after school which is never repeated. The third profile involves periods of employment broken up by periods of homemaking or other activity. There has been a decline of women exhibiting the first and second profiles and a dramatic increase in the third. Hakim notes that women have three choices while men are generally allowed one. Fragmented employment profiles are typical of secondary earners who work part-time.

Does employment continuity matter? Yes, it does. Promotion decisions are often taken on (job tenure or) length of service with an employer and ten years or more is often considered necessary. Men and women without children have been able to devote more years to building a career with one employer or a number of employers. They have more

years of work experience which are considered when assessing promotion to the next step on the career ladder. Research undertaken by Gregg and Wadsworth (1995)[385] on turnover shows that women have higher levels. This may be associated with the fact that higher level occupations have lower turnover rates and longer tenures and fewer women are to be found in them.

She puts paid to the pipeline theory of women's advancement into management and if the pay gap, which is the hourly difference, can be accounted for in terms of vertical occupational segregation then women will continue to earn less because women following the third employment profile will not gain adequate job tenure or work experience to be promoted to the top jobs and so will continue to be invisible at the top, where the majority of jobs are full-time permanent. The freezing out process, where women are kept out of sex-atypical occupations, will continue. Hakim points out that few people, men or women, reach the top positions. She does not dismiss the existence of discrimination.

Hakim seems to promote the job of housewife because, although it is boring and means dependence on another person, it supposedly involves short hours and status. Men rarely have this choice. The women who make it to the top are a breed apart. Her conclusion is that women's employment is characterised by diversity and difference and that this will continue to be the case.

Donkin reviewed Hakim's book, under the column heading of "Babies who triumph over big business." He says that

> Catherine Hakim, a researcher at the London School of Economics, has earned herself notoriety among fellow academics for holding unfashionable views which challenge certain feminist beliefs about women and employment.[386]

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He says that her research shows that women prefer male bosses, that men and women regard husbands as the main breadwinners and women as the main homemakers, that full-time working women are in a minority and that half the working women who have a baby leave the workforce for a year or sometimes longer.

Hakim was attacked by eleven other feminists in the <u>British Journal of Sociology</u> and the debate she engendered received coverage in <u>The Guardian</u>, <u>The Sunday Times</u>, <u>The Mail on Sunday</u> and <u>The Daily Telegraph</u>. The crux of the debate concerned the following statement that "Another myth is that child care is the main barrier to women's employment: the main issue is women's attitude to career" (Hakim quoted in <u>The Times</u>, 29 March 1996, p. 3).[387]

## 2.7 Women and the European Labour Market(s)

The research in this section is produced predominantly by the Professor of Comparative Employment Systems at the Manchester School of Management at UMIST and the Director of the European Work and Employment Research Centre, Jill Rubery and her associates. This work involved the collation and an analysis of the national reports written in each EU member state by the co-ordinating team for the European Commission's Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market. Rubery was co-ordinator of the team from 1991-5. The team produced a number of books utilising this material -- two of them are reviewed below -- Women and European Employment (Rubery et al., 1998)[388] and Women's Employment in Europe. Trends and Prospects (Rubery et al., 1999).[389] Another book is forthcoming (co-authored with Damian Grimshaw) Employment Policy and Practice (as part of the Management, Work and Organisations series which is edited by Burrell, Marchington and Thompson and due to be published by Palgrave).[390]

This EU research is summarised in a chapter for a book intended for the academic market in the United States. This book (edited by Mariagrazia Rossilli) was an attempt to explain the various issues relating to the (comparative) European employment policies and gender (Rossilli (ed.), 2000).[391]

The title of the chapter of concern to us here says it all "Gender, Flexibility, and New Employment Relations in the European Union". The authors (Francesca Bettio, Jill Rubery and Mark Smith) pose the question of whether a new gender contract is

required.[392] They argue that the most important variable to consider in regard to the employment policies of the European Union is gender.

Bettio, Rubery and Smith (2000)[393] examine how the new flexible employment policies work differently in each of the (15) member-states of the European Union depending on the level of development of the welfare state and the various social and cultural (national) contexts. The main argument that gender is crucial to any discussion of comparative employment policies is the theme of much of the work of this group of researchers.

Flexibility has increased and they argue that it has been of benefit primarily to employers rather than employees (men and women). They point this out when they state that "A basic division in the new employment relations can thus be identified: for employers women provide a source of labor for short, variable casual, or interrupted employment; while men offer a source of labor for long hours of work, admittedly based upon higher levels of remuneration." (Bettio, Rubery and Smith in Rossilli, (ed.), 2000, p. 126).[394]

The problems that European policy-makers sought to solve involved those around (1) competitiveness; (2) the reconciliation of paid work and the family and (3) unemployment (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000).[395] They show how flexibility arrangements are clearly gendered with different types of flexibility offered to women who

are considered to be secondary earners and the remuneration offered reflects this assumption (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000).[396]

They point out that each country differs in regard to the informal economy: the degree of labor marker regulation and regulations relating to working-time; the assumptions of trade unionists and employers; the pattern of participation of women and the size of the service sector in each country. They point to a division between the countries in the north of Europe and to the countries of the south where in general the northern countries are at a more advanced stage of development (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000).[397]

Flexibility can be examined by looking at contractual status and patterns of working-time and scheduling (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000).[398] The employment status of atypical workers can range "..., from homeworkers to entrepreneurs" (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000, p. 128).[399] In general, the more marginal the type of atypical work, the more women than men will be found to undertake it. For example, more women regularly work on Saturdays while more men work on Sundays on an irregular basis (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000).[400]

The authors predict that the predominance of this type of work scheduling will be a feature of the future and that these hours (in the case of women) will be unpaid or at least not paid at the overtime rate. The unpredictability of this type of work schedule means that the already blurred lines between work and non work time will be further muddied (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000).[401]

Some part-time work is due to problems of labour market entry or re-entry and may be disguised unemployment or underemployment as seen by the fact that this work can be undertaken by the young entering the labour market, those re-entering after a break for education or caring and those who are nearing retirement (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000).[402] Therefore, they believe that for some groups, part-time work is "a bridge" (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000, p. 140)[403] to full-time work or "a transitional stage" (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000, p. 143).[404] They summarise this point by stating that: "Women are more likely to be involved in atypical or precarious employment during the core working years, while for men, involvement in precarious employment is often concentrated at the beginning or end of their employment history. Nevertheless, the risk of involvement in atypical or nonstandard work still has a strong country as well as gender dimension" (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000, p. 143).[405]

These trends are predicted to intensify due to the changes in operating hours brought on by increased competitive tendencies. They suggest that what is needed is a new gender contract in the home but they do not hold out any hope rather they believe that the trends towards more women working irregular unsocial hours at short notice will further strengthen segregation and segmentation in the labour market to the disadvantage to women and family life (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000).[406]

They would like to see a redistribution between men and women of the family work over the life cycle whereby either one or the other could devote time to caring or education and combine this with atypical paid work (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000).[407] This

(which they refer to as life-cycle flexibility) would be encouraged in the name of justice or fairness – allowing each equal access to resources (in this case paid work) (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000).[408] Men are more likely to be willing to consider this at the beginning or at the end of their careers because they would worry about the impact in regard to career progression during the core years (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000).[409]

They urge caution in relation to offering breaks for women (out of the labour market) because these may bolster gender stereotypes and the male breadwinner family formation which is on the decline. They are trying to remain optimistic and therefore suggest that as working time is the problem there should be better ways of sharing the available work over the life cycle between the genders. They propose three possible solutions. The first is time banking schemes (time credits); the second involves financial incentives to encourage shorter, more equally shared work weeks (reorganising the taxation, social welfare and labour market regulations); while the third entails co-ordinating the local clock so that all the schedules are synchronised (the state, the schools and the employers all co-ordinate opening hours in order to accommodate workers) (Bettio, Rubery and Smith, 2000).[410]

The work of the co-ordinating team of the European Commission's Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market is described and analysed in Rubery, Smith, Fagan and Grimshaw (1998)[411] and further extended in Rubery, Smith and Fagan (1999).[412] The latter of these is discussed first below.

The developments with regard to gender and the European labour markets can be summarised as: "Women participated more in education, married later or not at all, reduced their fertility and became more continuous participants in the labour market, almost in spite of changes to the economic and social climate, that were reducing employment opportunities and putting pressure on childcare provision and social welfare" (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999, p. 14).[413]

This integration of women will not be reversed easily and the European Union has made repeated commitments to work towards equal opportunities, employability, adaptability and entrepreneurship (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[414] With an ever increasing dependency ratio in most European countries, women will be needed more than ever to boost employment levels and thus increase productivity. Women are a diverse group but their commitment to permanent participation in the labour market is now a reality and future employment policies and strategies have to take account of this fact.

Rubery, Smith and Fagan (1999)[415] point to the fact that employment activity differs for younger and older women and the more educated against the less educated (a point that the author takes up in a later chapter). They claim that they looked at occupational segregation; working time; the relationship between paid work and unpaid work as well as the welfare state system operating in each country (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[416] They identified the key variables as being unemployment, employment, inactivity, part-time and temporary work and define each of these (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[417] They conclude that women have increased their activity / employment

rates in all the countries of the European Union so that they now nearly match those countries where women were already strongly represented in the workforce such as Sweden and Finland (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[418]

Most of the data that Rubery and her team examined came from the European Labour Force Surveys and the national reports which in the case of Ireland were prepared by Ursula Barry. The trends and developments which are examined can be divided into the three environments of:

(1)     the political and economic;

(2)     the organisational and

(3)     the household (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[419]

Changes in any of the three environments will impact on women in the future and they may be negative rather than positive for women. The ending of the job for life and the removal of management layers will not facilitate women in their attempts to break through the glass ceiling and they predict will lead to a power struggle whereby the insiders (men) fight with the outsiders (women) and the result will be further (or at least continued) segmentation and segregation for women (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[420] The main theme that emerges from this research is that of "all change."

These changes will be least cruel for those women who are childless, highly educated and committed to a full-time continuous career. They can opt to avoid any type of flexibility. These women have benefited from generational change, education and

training (although still segregated), feminist ideals and the equal treatment legislation and labour market policies which have been a product of the last thirty years (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[421]

The gendered pattern of the labour market has been organised and developed along the three areas of (1) occupational segregation; (2) pay and (3) working-time and despite the mainstreaming of gender since the late 1990s they state that: "There is little evidence of any systematic rethink of either welfare state or labour market policies in the light of changes in women's employment pattern or in family formation" (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999, p. 117).[422]

They find the research of Lewis (1992)[423] most helpful in explaining the national differences between a strong male breadwinner model (Ireland and Germany), a weak breadwinner model (Scandinavian countries) or a modified breadwinner model (France and the United Kingdom) (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[424] The factors that can indicate which model is present include childcare and leave provision or lack thereof as well as individualisation of taxation (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[425] They found that women did a "double shift" in all of the member-states but in some countries the state attempted to lighten the load (the weak breadwinner systems). They believed that many countries (the state) have been attempting to ignore these changes but that they have to be accommodated and the best way to do this is to write a new gender contract (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[426]

Progress for women is described as "patchy and slow" but they say that there are some grounds to be optimistic for the future especially for younger, better educated, childless women (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[427] They found that mainstreaming and equality were most tested when one considered gender pay gaps (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999);[428] the unequal distribution of working time and contracts (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999);[429] as well the expansion of temporary employment especially for older women returners (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[430]

They predict that women are now too important to ignore as active and permanent participants in European labour markets but are worried that areas that have been growth areas for women such as the services sector (including banking and telephone banking) and the public sector may become less so in the future as governments and organisations are forced to cut back on expenditure (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[431] They tackle the issue of the glass ceiling in the final chapter and ask whether full equality can ever be achieved until we have equal numbers of women making decisions at the top levels of the state and the gender divisions within the family have been equalised (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[432] They point to a lack of political will at the level of the individual member-states. They conclude by stating that: "Perhaps the most difficult problem of all to address within the debate on equal opportunities employment policy is that of ascertaining the actual interests of women and ensuring that the policies to be pursued in the name of equal opportunities in fact further these interests" (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999, p. 314).[433] The research presented here in the form a preliminary survey, an organisational case study and the individual caselets should go some way to assisting in this

process.

The earlier book (Rubery et al., 1998)[434] had a slightly different emphasis from that discussed above (Rubery, Smith and Fagan, 1999).[435] It was co-authored with two researchers from the Manchester School of Management (Smith and Grimshaw) as well as by Colette Fagan, a Lecturer in Sociology. It was in the earlier work that the theoretical framework was agreed upon when they discounted the social systems approach and the comparative welfare perspective (American neo-liberal / German corporatist / Swedish social-democratic) in favour of the classification system of Lewis (1992) which identified strong / modified and weak male breadwinner states (Rubery et al., 1998).[436]

They believe that the dynamics of the labour market in relation to gender were not receiving enough attention in the comparative literature on the changing employment and social systems and that their work is an attempt to rectify this lack of analysis. They choose to analyse three main population groups: (1) the young (16-25); (2) the prime age workers or core age workers (25-49) and (3) the older workers (50-64) (Rubery et al., 1998).[437] Three types of activity is engaged in by these groups and they can be classified as (1) employed, (2) unemployed and (3) inactive.

They pose two questions: Is there continued segregation within the labour market or is there more integration? The answer to this is that there is continued segregation but it is different in each member-state therefore a policy which might be considered to be

family-friendly in one state might not have the desired effect in another (Rubery et al., 1998).[438]

The second question concerns the issue of convergence or divergence. They state that there has been some convergence (evidenced by the continued increased participation by highly educated women in the labour market) and that hopefully this will lead to more but that researchers and policy makers need to remain aware of the country-specific factors (for example, facilitation of parenting) (Rubery et al., 1998).[439]

2.8     Concluding remarks

Chapter two examined the extensive (extant) literature, on women and work which is both American and European, utilising the division between paid and unpaid work, which is problematic in research terms as well as in reality because the two are inextricably linked.  The work of a number of key contributors was outlined as well as research which stresses the importance of gender as an (or the most) important factor to consider when examining the European labour market(s) in order to make policy recommendations for the future.

Chapter four examines the position of women within a specific context that of Irish society (as part of the European Union) at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century.  It identifies the main research problem as being the gendered nature of family and career.

Chapter three explains how the research was undertaken as well pointing to the advantages and disadvantages of the methodology which was chosen. It is to this that we shall now turn.

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3      Social Science Research

Chapter 3:     Social Science Research

(Ontology, Epistemology and Methodology)

The three parts of research involve the ontology (what is knowable); the epistemology (one's approach to knowledge generation) and the methodology (quantitative and / or qualitative methods).  Good social science research should aim to be 'elegant' and 'new' (Shively, 1990).[1]  It should provide a significant contribution to the scholarship in the chosen field.  It must be validated by peer review and it should be capable of independent verification and replication.

One of the most important decisions that a researcher has to make is how to go about gathering data.  This is an individual decision and contingent on a number of factors which may include time, funding and access.  The size of the sample is dependent on the same factors.

This chapter aims to achieve three functions which include:

(1)     To outline the approach to the acquisition of knowledge and social science research;

(2)     To show what methods were used in the present study to collect data and why they were chosen over other instruments;

(3)     To point out the contribution to knowledge of this small scale study and to indicate areas which may need further investigation.

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This research is a preliminary study using a small sample which is exploratory in nature. The aim was one of discovery. The findings are largely consistent with published studies of women's work (Hakim, 1979, 1996)[2] and the glass ceiling phenomenon (Morrison et al., 1992).[3] It is a study of women in paid employment and no housewives were included in the study as were no unemployed women. The one general hypothesis involved the existence and strength of the glass ceiling. It was found to still be in place but it was not the only factor that led to the derailment of women.

The idea for the research came during a two year Diploma in Industrial Relations and Management and the areas of activity that were observed during the case study were those that were to be found in the main text books for that course.[4]

## 3.1    The Acquisition of Knowledge in the Social Sciences

### 3.1.1    The Scientific Method

Science concerns itself with observations which become theories which develop into hypotheses which are confirmed (proven) or refuted (unproven) by repeated experimental tests. This is the basis of the scientific method. In science, one paradigm is replaced by another by means of scientific revolutions which "... are here taken to be those non-cumulative developmental episodes in which an older paradigm is replaced in whole or in part by an incompatible new one" (Kuhn, 1970).[5]  Kuhn compares scientific revolutions to political revolutions where a sense of unease is pervasive prior to any change (Kuhn, 1970)[6] and the new paradigm results in a total transformation such that:

> Led by a new paradigm, scientists adopt new instruments and look in new places. Even more important, during revolutions scientists see new and different things when looking with familiar instruments in places they have looked before.
>
> (Kuhn, 1970)[7]

It would not be possible to prove that a theory was true in every case so Popper developed the test of falsifiability (Popper, 1992).[8]

### 3.1.2   Theory and Knowledge

Knowledge is always situated knowledge. Gill and Johnson point this out when they say that "... there is no independent or neutral point from which an observer might occupy and objectively observe the world and thus all knowledge is knowledge from particular points of view ..." (Gill and Johnson, 1997).[9] Methods are either deductive or inductive (Gill and Johnson, 1997).[10] Positivism and the deductive approach are suited to the study of the natural sciences but less useful in the social sciences (Gill and Johnson, 1997).[11]

Social scientists need to develop "... a sympathetic understanding" or Verstehen which "... entails 'fidelity to the phenomenon under study' ..." (Gill and Johnson, 1997).[12] The approach to the acquisition of knowledge in the social sciences that is favoured by the author is the hermeneutic over the positivistic (Gummesson, 1991),[13] the ideographic over the nomothetic (Gill and Johnson, 1997) (See Table 3.1).[14] It is necessary to evaluate each research method used in the social sciences using the criteria of reliability and validity. It is important that another researcher could replicate the study using the same sample and the same methods.

Table 3.1

Comparison of nomothetic and ideographic methods.

| Nomothetic methods emphasise | | Ideographic methods emphasise |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Deduction | vs. | Induction |
| 2. Explanation via analysis of causal relationships and explanatory covering-laws (etic) | vs. | Explanation of subjective meaning systems and explanation by understanding (emic) |
| 3. Generation of and use of quantitative data | vs. | Generation and use of qualitative data |
| 4. Use of various controls, physical or statistical, so as to allow the testing of hypotheses | vs. | Commitment to research in everyday settings, to allow access to, and minimise reactivity among the subject and research |
| 5. Highly structured research methodology to ensure replicability of 1, 2, 3 and 4. | vs. | Minimum structure to ensure 2, 3, and 4 ( and as a result 1) |

<---------------------------------------------------------------------------->
Laboratory experiments, quasi-experiments, surveys, action research, ethnography

Source: Gill, John and Johnson, Phil. Research Methods for Managers. London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd., 1997 (Second Edition), Table 3.1, p. 37.

### 3.1.3 Ethics

It is important that respondents / participants are treated with respect and with this in mind:

> The principle of informed consent suggests that researchers should inform potential research subjects about the nature and purpose of the study, should obtain their permission to be a subject of the research and ensure them confidentiality.
> (O'Connell Davidson and Layder, 1994, p. 56)[15]

The researcher should act at all times within strict ethical guidelines when dealing with participants. All those who assisted the author have been promised anonymity and confidentiality. Their identities cannot be disclosed and to this end the individuals and the organisations involved have been given pseudonyms. The author had access to internal documents but did not quote any confidential material or anything that could be considered market sensitive.

### 3.2 Methods of Data Collection

### 3.2.1 The Review of the Literature

The issues that were identified as important in a financial services firm employing large numbers of women were garnered from an extensive review of the literature (see Chapter 2).

### 3.2.2 Triangulation

One point made by an Irish academic is that case studies often use multiple methods which allow for triangulation (Roche, 1997).[16] The case survey method is seen as valuable because statistical data can be generated from secondary reviews of case studies

(Roche, 1997)[17] as well as cross-national comparative studies. Triangulation is also known as multimethod research. It is used to improve the validity of the data (O'Connell Davidson and Layder, 1994).[18]

### 3.2.3 The Power of the Case Study Method

Researchers have a tendency to use those methods they already know especially if something has worked well before. Choices made for research projects undertaken at undergraduate and postgraduate level may impact here as well as academic background. The cases presented here, both individual and organisational, are purely descriptive.

One author of a guide to research writing believes that "Case studies are stories and may require you to 'tell it like it's the most exciting story you know'." (Barnes, 1992, 1996).[19] This method needs to be discussed in terms of the classic author on the subject (Yin, 1994),[20] in the Irish context (Roche, 1997 and Leavy, 1994)[21] as well as the contribution to feminist knowledge (Reinharz, 1992).[22]

The author of this thesis had undertaken a historical case study for a postgraduate degree in Irish political communication. The case study has been used as a research tool in Irish business and management studies (e.g. Leavy, 1994; Roche, 1997) as well as by feminists (Mahon (1991)[23] and Drew (1990)).[24]

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Engagement, enticement, and seduction - these are unusual characteristics of case studies. To produce such a case study requires an investigator to be enthusiastic about the investigation and to want to communicate the results widely. In fact the good investigator might even think that the case study contains earth-shattering conclusions. This sort of enthusiasm should pervade the entire investigation and will lead to an exemplary case study. (Yin, 1994)[25]

The man, quoted above, who sought to make the case study acceptable to the scientific community and credible as a way of conducting social science research was, the historian and experimental psychologist, Robert K. Yin (Campbell in Yin, 1994).[26] Before his codification, the method was regarded as 'a weak sibling' in relation to other ways of conducting research and the advantages and disadvantages were misinterpreted (Yin, 1994).[27] The three versions of his book, Case Study Research: Design and Methods (1984, 1989 and 1994), are attempts to rectify this situation.

He sought to make the method more scientific by showing that if one used the case study as a research strategy then there were four stages to be completed: designing, conducting using a protocol, analysing the data contained in the database and composing the report. A case study method is appropriate when there are 'how' and 'why' questions to be asked (Yin, 1994)[28] and if the research is contemporary (Yin, 1994).[29] The areas of political science and management studies, which are familiar to the author, frequently use this method.

The classic type is the single case study. One has to consider the dual issues of completeness (Yin, 1994)[30] and adequate evidence (Yin, 1994).[31] There is the issue of

whether to keep the case identities real or anonymous (Yin, 1994).[32] Disclosure is better but there may be cases when anonymity is necessary. In this present research, it was suggested that no statement or quote would be attributed to any one person.

When writing up, the style has to be engaging so that the reader will be unable to put the piece of work down until it is finished which means that the writer has to aware of the audience that he or she wishes to reach. He suggests that it is essential that the case study report should be reviewed by an informed person who is close to the case under investigation (Yin, 1994).[33] He claims that the case study method, like other 'soft' methods of research, is harder to conduct than many people realise (Yin, 1994).[34] He sought to raise the craft status of the case study method to show how much skill was required to undertake this type of research. Other methods might more easily allow statistical generalisation but that should not detract from the validity of this method.

Yin describes three types of case study: the explanatory, the exploratory and the descriptive. The type of case method utilised is determined by the type of research question which is asked. This type of research makes a detective of any researcher in that the literature might throw up leads which are then pursued into the field and only tied up when an exhaustive search has tracked down all the relevant facts pertinent to the 'chain of evidence' (Yin, 1994).[35]

The final composition may take one of six forms. These structures are: (1) linear-analytic, (2) comparative, (3) chronological, (4) theory-building, (5) "suspense" and (6) unsequenced (Yin, 1994).[36] The cases are told in the order in which they were

studied and then the general organisational background is added. He warns of the danger of spending too much time on the early part of the research and suggests, to avoid falling into this trap, that the chronological case be written up backwards (Yin, 1994).[37]

The case-based qualitative method poses a number of challenges such "..., generating theory from cases, negotiating and maintaining access to case sites, data sources and collection, and the analysis of the data (including the elusive but essential 'creative leap')" (Leavy, 1994).[38] The author approached the issue of access in the same manner as Leavy (1994) in that initial approaches were made informally through personal networks at the highest level of the organisation. A number of individuals who promised assistance in the early stages withdrew this offer later which, according to Leavy, is not uncommon (1994).[39]

He recommends the best way that this may be side-stepped is by drawing up a multi-case design which the author originally considered doing. The original idea was to take five organisational cases. The problem was that individuals, in useful positions, agreed to assist in a number of organisations but formal permission was not forthcoming so this method had to be abandoned. Organisations are being studied by their own staff so that they cannot allow access to non-staff members because of time constraints.

A further problem with this qualitative method is when to stop collecting data (Leavy, 1994).[40] Saturation point is reached when new data starts to resemble old. Leavy suggests keeping a journal where all the ideas that pop into your head can be written down

and for him it is only quite late in the research process that the themes begin to emerge (Leavy, 1994).[41]

The classic case study on the position of women in organisations is that of Kanter (1977 and 1993).[42] As mentioned in Chapter 2, this is a study of one company which she called Indsco. Other authors have used the anonymous case study as being illustrative of the position of women in banking (McDowell and McCourt (1994)[43] on "Merbank" and Halford, Savage and Witz (1997) with the discussion of "Sellbank" in Midcity and Southtown).[44]

The greater the number of cases the easier it is to generalise and, compare as well as, to identify patterns. The discussion of one single organisational case study means that the generalisability is limited. In the present study, the information gathered on the organisation, from documentary research, archival material, newspaper cuttings, annual reports, personnel handbooks, newsletters and customer information, covers a twelve year period from 1990 to 2002. The twenty individual caselets presented each attempt to tell the story of that woman's working life.

### 3.2.4   Feminist Case Studies

The difference between ordinary and feminist case studies is that those undertaken by feminists are efforts to redress the balance where women have been omitted. Most feminist research is an attempt to make women visible, the feminist case method is no exception. It is 'a corrective device' (Reinharz, 1992).[45] There is a need to built up a large

number of case studies so that they may be used in comparative case survey work where existing cases are subjected to secondary statistical analysis (Reinharz, 1992).[46]

### 3.2.5 Interviewing

Interviewing is a frequently used qualitative method which involves listening carefully and reporting faithfully on what was heard. The interviews for the earlier piece of research by the author, on Irish political communication, had been a very pleasant experience which involved meeting a group of men aged between sixty-five and ninety-two. They had all been, or still were, either journalists, politicians or civil servants and were delighted that someone wished to talk about their early work experiences in the 1940s and 1950s. The interviews were all tape recorded and transcribed. The national broadcasting corporation bought the rights to the research and commissioned a radio documentary which was later broadcast on national radio.[47]

On the back of this success, the author decided that interviewing was the right way to proceed. Interviews, both conversational and in-depth unstructured and semi-structured, allowed respondents to account for actions and experiences as best as they could allowing for the problems attached to self-reporting and of recall error. Feminist scholars value this method because it gives women a voice where once they were silenced or had their opinion discounted or marginalised (Oakley, 1981).[48] A feminist sociologist, Evelyn Mahon, chose this method to study the sensitive subject of abortion because the primary objective of the research was the centralising of women's experience (Mahon, Conlon and Dillon, 1998).[49]

### 3.2.5.1 Formal interviews

The earlier interviews were used as a way of identifying, in parallel with a review of the literature, which concepts were relevant to the area under study. These interviews confirmed rather than contradicted the literature and they failed to throw up any radical new ideas on the topic. The surprising finding at this early stage was that women were not as concerned about child care as one might have thought. The first batch of interviews was unstructured and individual and they explored career and family in very broad terms.

The author conducted all the interviews in person. The author was aware of the fact of interviewer effects or interviewer bias in the face-to-face interview and that the autobiographical memory can play tricks which can result in under reporting, telescoping and self-justification as a result of cognitive dissonance and recall error. A number of inconsistencies were detected when the survey answers were analysed along with the post-interview notes for a number of the women.

The interviews conducted later in the research followed a particular format which started with the author explaining that the research was intended to identify women's career and family choices at all stages over the life course. The author asked about the family of origin; education; career development and family formation including any breaks for childbearing and childrearing and concluded with a discussion of the present as well as future expectations in terms of education, career and family. Three specific questions were asked concerning career planning, mentoring and networking.

The interviews generally lasted about an hour but were designed to take about 20-30 minutes. During some of the interviews there was a sense of flow and rapport while others felt, to the author, a bit more awkward or uncomfortable. A number of the women who were interviewed did not want to be taped and the author had to spend the two or three hours after each interview writing up what had been said and snippets of conversation would be remembered days later. This is not ideal but the author did not want to pursue the issue at the important stage of establishing rapport.

Feminists believe that the gender of the interviewer is important and that there is an imbalance of power between the researcher and the researched. Feminist researchers say that a woman interviewing a woman can lead to greater disclosure and more openness on the part of the interviewee but having had the experience of interviewing men previously the author did not find this to be the case. Melrose had the same experience when interviewing men and women begging on the streets of London. She found that gender congruity was not enough and she concluded that rapport was dependent on a mix of factors such as gender, class, age and also sexual dynamics (Melrose, 1999).[50]

The locations for the formal interviews varied. Interviews took place in the study of a woman's house or in the living room or kitchen or in a meeting room or office. They were conducted as social occasions. All the social niceties were taken care of at the start and the conclusion of the interview. A card was posted out a day or two later thanking the woman for her time and hospitality.

### 3.2.5.2      Informal interviewing

Chance conversations can take place at the water dispenser or coffee machine, over lunch, in a lift or in the toilets while reapplying make-up or on a Friday night when the whole office heads for the pub. One could assume that opinions garnered on these occasions are spontaneous and genuine because, although the respondent is fully aware of the status of the researcher, they let their guard down in a way that they would not if the researcher just met them for a one hour pre-arranged interview. One such chance conversation, occurred at 6.30 a.m. in a lift, between the chief executive of the case study organisation and the author.

Coghlan and McDonagh (1997) discuss the importance of 'chance conversations'[51] as does Kanter who says that individual conversations were important and that:

> They occurred in offices, at social gatherings, at lunch, or at people's homes. The 'interviews' I could conduct in this fashion broadened my territory and my view of the organisation considerably (Melville Dalton called this the technique of "conversational interviewing"). (Kanter, 1993)[52]

### 3.2.6   Social Survey Research

The undertaking of a small scale survey is useful but one cannot make any statistical claims to representativeness. Large scale surveys are expensive and time consuming. A survey is a good method of getting hard quantifiable data which can be made into tables, charts and graphs. It is relatively easy to process the returns if it is pre-coded and contains very few open-ended questions.

One of the first tasks of the researcher is to identify the population to be sampled (Williams, 1997).[53] Some patterns emerged even with a small sample. The method of snowball sampling was utilised in order to reach women who had achieved 'firsts' in Ireland in career terms. One of the problems with this method of sampling is self-selection bias on the part of those who chose to respond.

The survey questionnaire was posted out to individuals who had agreed to fill one in and some had already been interviewed while others assisted with the pilot work or were employed by the case study organisation. The author telephoned prior to the posting out which may explain the response rate. Two of the men who had assisted in the case study and pilot work agreed to complete the survey but failed to do so. The questionnaire was developed after a review of the British and American literature. The final form (see Appendix 8.2) was adapted with ideas from two questionnaires -- one from the Brussels Free University[54] and the other from the Universita Commerciale Luigi Bocconi, Milano.[55]

It was pre-tested (n = 9) and found to contain items which were ambiguous or confusing. It was too long (took too much time to complete) and therefore had to be shortened. Researchers underestimate the time taken to undertake a pilot and administer a questionnaire. The author agrees with the guidelines of a former college classmate who knowingly points out that nearly all surveys are altered after the pilot (Murphy, 1997) (See Figure 3.2).[56] The author found that people are sensitive in regard to their salary details and financial affairs. Furthermore, the costs of postage can mount up even in a very

STAGES OF A POSTAL SURVEY

| Stage | Task | | Timescale |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sample and Questionnaire Design | Sample Selection ⇩ | Questionnaire Design ⇩ | Weeks 1-4 |
| Preparations for Fieldwork | Covering Letter ⇩ | Photocopying Questionnaire ⇩ | Weeks 5-6 |
| Fieldwork | | Survey into Field | Week 7 |
| | | ⇩ | |
| Fieldwork | | First Reminder Mark Back Returns<br><br>Start Editing/Coding | Week 10 |
| | | ⇩ | |
| Fieldwork | | Second Reminder Editing/Coding | Week 13 |
| | | ⇩ | |
| Fieldwork/ Begin Analysis | | Follow up Non-Respondents Prepare for Data Analysis | Week 16 |
| | | ⇩ | |
| Data Analysis | | Fieldwork Ends Data Analysis | Week 18 |

Figure 3.2

small postal survey. Research has a tendency to take over one's life. The researcher is like a sponge -- an information gathering device on the alert at all times for relevant items. Newspaper articles, web sites, television and radio documentaries, popular magazines, company newsletters and annual reports all help to complete the picture. The author's home became a fire hazard due to the amount of paper material that was accumulated. "How to" books on research rarely mention these features of a longitudinal piece of research -- the costs, the time factors and the necessity for a suitable working environment and storage space.

### 3.2.7    Doing Fieldwork

Maintaining a credible presence is something that has to be worked at if one wishes to be taken seriously as a researcher. One of the problems lies in the dangers inherent in spending periods of time in any setting -- that of intimacy. The researcher has to be aware of the dangers of developing close friendships in the field. A number of the research participants had experienced trauma in their lives, either recently before or during the fieldwork. They sought to establish close friendships with the author who was aware, at all times, that this workplace was a research site.

### 3.3    The Use of Metaphor(s)

The barriers that prevent women from progressing are seen as glass ceilings and glass walls (Morrison et al., 1987, 1992);[57] maternal walls (Swiss and Walker, 1993)[58] and plastic ceilings (Newman, 1995),[59] concrete roofs (Davidson, 1997)[60] and sticky floors (Booth, Francesconi and Frank, 1998).[61]

Crosby, a psychologist and author of Juggling, imagines life roles to be Indian clubs (Crosby, 1991).[62] She says that some circus jugglers and tightrope walkers use safety nets in their acts and advises women to do the same in regard to life roles. The image that the author finds most compelling is that of a patchwork quilt. This metaphor has been used by Balbo (1987).[63]

### 3.3.1 Self-Reflexivity

A researcher should be conscious of the need for self-reflexivity in the process of knowledge creation because by studying something one may change it.

### 3.4 Contribution to Knowledge and Suggestions for Future Research

Originality is the aim of any piece of research. Whitney (1991) is fascinated by the Hawaiian method of quilting and she says that "You are philosophically drawn to the Hawaiian way, because they believe it is bad luck to appropriate another's design, to tell another's story".[64]

Professor Joyce O'Connor states, in the introduction to a conference paper, that:

In this paper I will be looking at some research findings relating to the progress of women in organisations and in the professions and explanations of the glass ceiling as such research is in its infancy in Ireland, I will unfortunately have to refer to research that has for the most part been undertaken in the US.

(O'Connor, 1997)[65]

It is this lack of research in the Irish context that the author is attempting to go some

small way to address. What is needed is longitudinal mapping of women's careers in the Irish context as well as assessments of the impact, on productivity and career progression, of life changing events such as pregnancy, maternity leave and career breaks. The way to achieve this aim is to track mothers against non-mothers and also against men over a five, ten and fifteen year period. The use of quality of life programmes and cafeteria style benefits needs to be monitored annually to see if they are effective in improving employee retention and motivation. It would help considerably if organisations, small and large, were required to undertake human resource management audits on an annual basis.

Time use, in Ireland, needs to be analysed by gender so that we have a complete picture of who carries out various activities such as working and commuting, further education and work-related training, television watching patterns, domestic work such as food shopping, meal preparation, household cleaning and the purchasing of clothes.

More interdisciplinary research is desirable. Doing research outside of, or on the margins of, your own discipline is challenging. The author spends time each day surfing the internet. It is a useful tool and, in the future, we may see more electronic scholarship (Spender, 1995).[66] Another area, that may require further examination, is the extent to which the gender of the researcher affects the behaviour of respondents in interviews or surveys.

### 3.4.1 Writing up

The philosopher, Gillian Rose, in her autobiography Love's Work, describes writing

as a "... mix of discipline and miracle" (Rose, 1995).[67] The image of the patchwork quilt is useful here in that the completed quilt, like a piece of research, may take years to complete. For Balbo: "Quilt-making entails hard work, long hours, patience and repetition" (Balbo, 1987).[68]

A zoologist, and self-confessed intellectual plagiarist, writing about the evolution of human nature observed in the preface to his book that "My role has been to connect the patches of others research together into a quilt" (Ridley, 1993).[69] He would have appreciated the fact that the author believes that she could not have expressed the process of writing up better herself.

## 3.5     Concluding discussion

The methods used in this research were a preliminary survey, fieldwork in one organisation, in-depth interviews and an extensive review of the literature. Other methods were examined and rejected.

The author considered the idea of using one of three other methods (i) a feminist research methodology (Byrne and Lentin (eds), 2000);[70] (ii) action research (Coghlan and McDonagh in Brannick and Roche (eds), 1997)[71] or (iii) grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998)[72] but decided not to pursue any of these.

## 3.6     Concluding remarks

In this chapter, we examined how the research was undertaken utilising a review of

the literature, a preliminary survey and case studies (individual and organisational). This chapter examined the approach taken to the acquisition of knowledge and to social science research in general.

The methodology was shown to emphasise the qualitative over the quantitative (case studies and in-depth interviewing). A recent book on research within the field of human resource development indicated that the majority of the work presented utilised the qualitative over the quantitative and that the use of the case study method was very dominant (McGoldrick, Stewart and Watson (eds), 2002).[73]

The scope and limitations of this small scale piece of longitudinal research were highlighted. Chapter four places this work in context – that of a rapidly changing Ireland at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century.

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4     The Gendered Nature of Family and Career

4.1     The Gendered Nature of Family and Career

The main area of concern of this research is women with respect to family and career especially in the financial services sector. The background to this is the changing socio-economic and political climate in one small peripheral European country, Ireland. The trends seen in Ireland will be placed in a comparative perspective because many of the changes appear to be a result of living in an increasingly, post-capitalist, patriarchal, post-modern, secular state at the start of the twenty-first century.

4.1.1   The Irish Experience

> Today, where the name of Ireland is spoken,
> the word success is very close behind.
> (McAleese, 1999, p. 10)[1]

Irish society has been undergoing rapid change over the last thirty years (Redmond, 2000).[2] This transformation of Ireland has accelerated since the early 1990s with rapid industrialisation and the rise of the Celtic Tiger (Allen, 2000);[3] the increased workforce participation of women and a consequent child care crisis; the decline in the institutional church following a series of scandals; in-migration; the re-emergence on the political agenda of social exclusion and the feminisation of poverty and the attempts at the inclusion of travellers and refugees (Baker in Dunne, Ingram and Litton (eds), 2000).[4] All these factors pose an unprecedented challenge to Irish society.

### 4.1.2   The Second Wave of the Irish Women's Movement

Connolly (1997)[5] has for a number of years been studying the second wave of the Irish women's movement. She identifies the 1970s with the two issues of contraception and divorce and the 1980s with abortion and the growth of a right wing counter movement inspired by Catholicism.

Connolly (1996)[6] describes the Irish Women's Movement as being a fluid, diverse and organic social movement. The late 1980s saw the emergence of yet another stage of the second wave movement which Connolly sees as the growth in women's studies, feminist publishing and a working-class mobilisation centred around re-dressing educational deficiencies and social problems at a community level.

A decade of women's studies in Irish universities has seen the establishment and consolidation of centres of feminist pedagogy as well as an emerging body of published research. O'Connor's <u>Emerging Voices. Women in Contemporary Irish Society</u> (1998);[7] <u>Women, Work and the Family in Europe</u> (1998) edited by Drew, Emerek and Mahon[8] as well as the sociological reader, <u>Women and Irish Society</u> (1997), edited by Byrne and Leonard are the most obvious products of this new tide of published feminist knowledge.[9]

These books were in the conception stage when the author began this research. The aim of women's studies departments is to generate knowledge about Irish women and to go about this in a new way. The methods of teaching and knowledge generation are consciously different than mainstream pedagogy in terms of the power relations. One

prominent Irish female academic has stated 'on the record' that being a feminist has been detrimental to her career progression.[10] Dr Patricia Barker is among the few to have smashed through the glass ceiling to the position of Dean and later Registrar at Dublin City University and she is best known for her research on women in the accountancy profession in Ireland.[11]

### 4.1.3   Women, Work and Family Life in Contemporary Ireland

Garrett FitzGerald, former prime minister and political party leader, comments on the demographic revolutions that have occurred in Ireland over the last thirty years in a Saturday newspaper column. FitzGerald notes some dramatic changes.[12] These include a halving of marital fertility;  changing marriage patterns involving postponement rather than abandonment of the institution;  a large increase in the number of young single people as well as substantial increases in non-marital births and the number of abortions, with 25% of all non-marital pregnancies ending in terminations by 1995.[13] Irish people returning home, along with non-Irish arriving, has resulted in a population increase which FitzGerald predicts will see Ireland with a population of 4 million by the year 2005.[14]

FitzGerald believes that the government should examine two social trends more closely. The first is the fact of late maternity as more women wait for the biological clock to start slowing down before they embark on motherhood. More women in the age group 29-31 are having their first child. FitzGerald believes that this should be discouraged. A Danish study, published in the British Medical Journal,[15] backs up his fears with statistics on maternal age and foetal loss. This is an area requiring future research because there is a

need to identify which pattern is better for career progression — to concentrate on family then career or to invest in career first and then move onto family formation.

A second change is that fewer people are marrying at a young age and even childbearing is not seen as an adequate reason to enter into a lifelong commitment such as marriage. FitzGerald thinks that the government should undertake an extensive study on cohabitation in Ireland because much needs to be discovered about family formation patterns as they impact on social structures and infrastructural needs.

FitzGerald, commenting on the extraordinary growth of the Irish economy since 1993, pointed to the decline in the number of young people coming onto the labour market since the beginning of 1999. Added to the impending housing shortage likely to restrict the numbers of immigrants, he believes that the most likely source of new entrants to the labour market will be women currently working in the home. He recommends that a reassessment of child care provision is needed. The Irish government can set up working groups and commission reports, which examine different types of provision, various European Union models and the employment statistics, but seem unsure how to implement action plans (Working Group on Childcare Facilities for Working Parents, 1994).[16] Two Irish sociologists detail these societal trends in, the Irish context, A Sociology of Ireland (Tovey and Share, 2000).[17]

The findings of Professor Jerry Sexton and Dr Tony Fahey, of the Economic and Social Research Institute, on the changing nature of the Irish family make interesting

reading.[18]   They discovered that the number of couples where both are working has doubled over the last ten years in Ireland.

Professor Sexton, a demographer, believes that this figure is now between 40 and 45 per cent which is still below the 60 per cent level of some European countries.  He mentions that push and pull factors are at work here with the price of houses as well as increasing employment opportunities.

Dr Fahey points to the increased participation of women with children under the age of five which is approaching the European average.  Older women, who have no children or children over the age of 15 years, have low participation levels.  Fahey thinks that this is because of different levels of educational attainments with the younger women being more educated and armed with university qualifications.

Fahey, like FitzGerald, predicts that the child care crisis is set to continue, if not escalate, as child care workers expect to be paid more.  He thinks that crèche costs will be in the region of IR£150-IR£180 (or Euro equivalent) per week and says, like many others, that the Irish Government has to act.  These trends are discussed further by Smyth (in Nolan, O'Connell and Whelan (eds), 2000).[19]

A female journalist attempted, unsuccessfully, to start a debate about the changing nature of Irish society in a series of articles.[20]  Other debates centred on (young) males and

masculinity and a second level, transition year, course option called "Exploring Masculinities".[21]

### 4.1.4 Women, Work and the European Union

A comparison of demographic trends across Europe indicates that they tend to originate in northern Europe and spread southwards with a time lag of up to ten years (Drew in Drew, Emerek and Mahon (eds), 1998).[22] These changes are seen in increased life expectancy and ageing populations; fertility and later age of maternity as well as births outside marriage; marriage at a later age with more cohabitation, divorce and remarriage. Ireland is exhibiting high levels of lone parent families along with more single person households and smaller households in general (Drew in Drew, Emerek and Mahon (eds), 1998).[23]

The labour market participation of women has changed and so has the nature of employment with atypical patterns such as part-time working, temporary employment, homeworking and shift work (Drew and Emerek in Drew, Emerek and Mahon (eds), 1998).[24] What has not changed is the existence of the gender wage gap. Women in Ireland receive 84.5% (1997 data) of male pay but are also disadvantaged in regard to benefits such as pensions. The authors of How Unequal ? propose the solution of equality (pay) audits which would allow more transparency in regard to payment practices (Barrett, Callan (ed.), O'Neill, Russell, Sweetman and McBride, 2000).[25]

Women who care for dependent relatives (either children or adults) are

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predominantly in the age category 25 to 49. They are termed 'reconcilers' and have increased activity rates and little flexibility. If these 'reconcilers' attempt to combine part-time work with caring responsibilities they are endangering their opportunities for career progression (McRae in Drew, Emerek and Mahon (eds), 1998).[26]

4.1.5   Women and Irish Politics

The 1990s saw the election of two female Presidents of Ireland. The first, the seventh President, Mary Robinson is a remarkable woman who redefined the role of the presidency in Ireland forever (Ward, 1994).[27] She had played a role in prompting various Irish governments to bring the law into line, with the reality of life for people in Ireland, in regard to issues such as contraception, the illegitimacy (status) of children, free legal aid in a matter of family law, as well as divorce.

After serving one term (1990 to 1997) she announced her intention to take up a position in Geneva as the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (and to serve one term). She showed Irish women that they could aspire to the highest office in the land and served as a shining beacon of inclusion to all sectors of society especially to the less fortunate such as lone mothers, the homeless and members of the travelling community (O'Leary and Burke, 1998;[28] Siggins, 1997).[29] Robinson would prove a hard act to follow. Both Robinson and her successor, Mary McAleese (eighth President), held the position of Reid Professor of Penal Legislation, Constitutional and Criminal Law, and the Law of Evidence at Trinity College, Dublin (McCarthy, 1999).[30]

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The 1990s also saw the rise to positions of power within the political parties of prominent, hard-working and capable women.  Ireland has seen a female party leader of a major political party, a deputy party leader as well as capable female Ministers and Senators (Galligan, Knight and Nic Giolla Choille in McNamara and Mooney, 2000).[31]  Women are becoming accepted in the halls of power much more readily than in previous generations but they still face difficulties (Langdon, 2000;[32] Roulston and Davies (eds), 2000).[33]

Galligan (1998) describes this process in the sub-heading of her book <u>Women and Politics in Contemporary Ireland.  From the Margins to the Mainstream.</u>  It was not until 1979 that a woman served in the cabinet with the promotion of Maire Geoghegan-Quinn from a junior ministry to that of Minister for the Gaeltacht (covering the Irish speaking areas) (Galligan, 1998).[34]  The numbers are still small at cabinet and governmental levels as well in Irish local politics.  The question that all political scientists, interested in women, ask is: "Why so few?" (Marsh and Mitchell (eds), 1999;[35] Peterson and Sisson, 1993).[36]  The same question might be asked in relation to the economic and social structures.  The lack of academic attention to the issue of women, or rather the absence of women from political life, and to the issues of interest to women, was only redressed from the 1980s on (Lovenduski and Norris (eds), 1996;[37] Lovenduski and Randall, 1993;[38] Randall, 1982).[39]

Gender mainstreaming was introduced, at a conference, into Ireland in April 1999

(Department of the Taoiseach in partnership with the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform and the Making Women Seen and Heard Project, 1999).[40] The Irish government are also familiar with the processes of gender mapping (EUROSTEP and Wide, 1995)[41] and equality proofing (NESF, 1996).[42]

### 4.1.6   Women and the Irish Civil Service

The numbers speak for themselves in the civil service. Women are under-represented in the top posts and over-represented in the posts at the bottom of the scale. Women make up 80 per cent of the staff in clerical grades. The glass ceiling in the Irish civil service has been identified as being at the level of assistant principal officer grade which has only seen a one per cent increase in the ten years between 1987 and 1997 from 23 per cent to 24 per cent. In July 1999, the Taoiseach addressed a conference, of senior predominately male civil servants, at Dublin Castle on the issue.[43]

Another study, the first of its kind to be conducted in the public sector, entitled Quality Through Equality in Dublin Corporation, found that women were paid less than men and they were concentrated in the low paid jobs.[44] Equality audits, like this, are needed country wide, in both the private and public sectors. These public sector statistics are mirrored in the private sector where the number of women are few and far between. At the end of every year, a newspaper prints a supplement listing the names of the top Irish public companies as well as their chair(man) and chief executive officer.[45] The year 2000 saw, for the first time, the name of a woman, Anne Heraty, as chief executive officer of the recruitment consultancy, CPL Group, which was listed in 67th place.

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The following year showed an improvement with just under thirty women in the top 921 companies in Ireland.[46] A list of the top positions, in 70 financial services companies in Ireland, contained no women.

### 4.1.7   First woman in Ireland .........

It is not uncommon to see a newspaper article or item (like this "Women selected by goldsmiths")[47] on the first woman to hold a post as either the president of a professional association or to read the details of a first for a career woman. The year 2001 saw the appointment of the first woman as head of an Irish stock brokerage (Geraldine Jones at Dolmen Butler Briscoe ).[48] The first appointment of a woman, Judge Mary O'Halloran, to the Special Criminal Court was in the year 2000.[49]

Only three women in the history of the state have been appointed by the Top Level Appointments Commission to the position of government secretary of a department. There was a gap of 36 years between the two appointments. The first Dr Thekla Beere was appointed in 1959 and the second Margaret Hayes in 1995.[50]

The year 1998 saw three such announcements. In July 1998, a story on the "First Female Revenue Commissioner" appeared.[51] Josephine Feehily, aged 42, spent almost five years as an assistant secretary before joining the triumvirate, the top three, in the Revenue Commissioners. Her route included traditional female appointments such as press officer and personnel officer in the Department of Social, Community and Family Affairs as well as a spell as the head of the human resources department in the

Revenue Commissioners. Her post prior to appointment was as the head of corporate planning which covered strategic planning, organisational development, customer service policy, press and public relations. This news was followed in October 1998 by the appointment of the first female chief superintendent and the first female county manager. A story, by O'Halloran and Cleary, read "Eight new chief superintendents include first women to reach rank."[52] Supt Catherine Clancy was the first woman to be promoted to the rank of chief superintendent in the Garda Siochana [the Irish police force]. The number of chief superintendents was 47 at the time but many of these were approaching retirement age.

Another article that month was headed up "Civil servant becomes first woman to be appointed a county manager".[53] Up until this appointment, the highest ranking woman in local government was Ms Theresa White who is an assistant county manager in Cork. McDonald noted that Ann McGuinness had served seventeen years in the Department of the Environment and that Neil, her husband, is IBEC's health and safety officer.[54] The state's first and only county manager was interviewed in January 2000 and in her opinion there is no glass ceiling in local government and plenty of good women are in the pipeline for promotion. The heading of the article stated that "Westmeath chief finds gender no barrier to top job in county council."[55] Women are also progressing in the trade union movement in Ireland. The position of assistant general secretary, of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, has been filled by a woman.[56]

## 4.2    The Psychological and Moral Development of Women and the Fear of Success

Jean Baker Miller, in Toward a New Psychology of Women, points to the inequality of status and power experienced by women as subordinates to the dominant males.  To be born female is to be born into a socially inferior role (Miller, 1976 and 1986).[57]  The dominants impede the psychological development of the subordinates and aim to suppress any conflict.  Women are encouraged to concentrate on relationship maintenance and the dominants foster these needs for connectedness and affiliation in order to prevent women's growth through psychological change (Miller, 1976 and 1986).[58]

Others who have developed theories about the psychological development of women based on relationship, connection, attachment and inequality include Gilligan (1982)[59] and Horner (1973).[60]  Horner, like Jean Baker Miller, has written about women's fear of power and of what they fear most -- their authentic selves coming out.

Gilligan is criticised for supposedly claiming that women are morally superior to men (Pollitt, 1995)[61] and that women have a right to claim the moral high ground (Faludi, 1991 and 1992).[62]  What Gilligan believes is that women possess a different moral orientation to men but she is not claiming that this is necessarily better (Gilligan and Attanucci in Banyard and Grayson, 1996).[63]  Gilligan (1982) says that the need for attachment, connection and relationship are part of the female gender identity.  She agrees with Horner about women's fear of success.  For Gilligan, what men fear is entrapment while for women the greatest danger lies in isolation.

According to Horner, in competitive situations women not only fear failure but they also fear success because of the social consequences. Women are motivated to avoid success because it might lead to their becoming unpopular or unfeminine. To test her theory she administered a test on achievement motivation to a group of undergraduates at the University of Michigan and she asked them to complete the tale of a medical student (of their own sex) who is top of the class in medical school. Nearly three-quarters of the women used negative imagery to finish the story while only 10% of the men did. This would indicate that a psychological barrier stands between women and success, at least in competition with men. Tresemer (1993)[64] reviewed a wide variety of studies on fear of success, some replicating the work by Horner. He concluded that the whole area is open to debate.

### 4.2.1  Girls, Women and Education

The rising educational levels of girls and women have been adequately dealt with elsewhere under the headings of age, class and gender (Lynch, 1999;[65] Department of Education and Science, 2000).[66]

### 4.3  Gendered Social Roles

Crosby has written extensively on the multiple role combinations that result in women juggling the various aspects of their lives. She has found, through conducting hundreds of interviews with women in dual-career marriages, that this juggling of life roles can result in a number of advantages as well as disadvantages (Crosby, 1991).[67] The main advantages lie in increased psychological health such as greater happiness and satisfaction

with life, higher levels of self-esteem and also better physical well-being (Crosby, 1991).[68] The work role, especially in mid-life, results in fewer incidences of depression (Coleman, Antonucci and Adelmann in Crosby (ed.), 1987).[69]

Both Gove and Zeiss (in Crosby (ed.), 1987)[70] and Coleman, Antonucci and Adelmann (in Crosby (ed.), 1987)[71] studied the relationship of role configuration with both mental and physical health. The latter found that " ... the triple role configuration of employment, marriage and parenthood appeared to be the most consistently and positively related to health and well-being, especially for women" (in Crosby (ed.), 1987).[72]

The quality of the role is important as is the level of commitment to it and successful completion of multiple role combination can confer a sense of exhilaration (Crosby and Jaskar in Oskamp and Costanzo (eds), 1993).[73] Crosby points out that working outside the home results in a gain in resources and that three things can make juggling pleasurable. These are buffering, variety and amplification. The women may benefit but the men can lose out in that:

> First, husbands of jugglers lose helpmates for their professional lives. Second, they lose exclusive rights to their provider role. Third, they lose some of their authority at home. Finally, they lose the assurance of intimacy. (Crosby, 1991)[74]

### 4.3.1   Marriage, Motherhood and Employment

Of the primary roles of women -- spouse, parent, worker -- it is that of parent which is the most onerous. A woman who is married may experience stress and marital

dissatisfaction if there is little role sharing but the biggest strain may come from parenthood, especially high parenting (Verbrugge in Crosby (ed.), 1987).[75]

With each role comes a different life script, a different set of role partners and different rules regarding interaction (Crosby, 1991).[76] Thoits defines roles " ... as relationships between people - patterned (normative) exchanges of behaviour" ( in Crosby (ed.), 1987).[77] The fact that more women are going out to work has resulted in role expansion rather than redefinition for women and "... physical beings, individuals have a finite amount of time and energy available with which to engage in successful role performance" (in Crosby (ed.), 1987).[78] Women are caught in a time crunch and they have no time for themselves or for leisure activities. The mediating influences of role conflict include money, education and social class and the more one possesses of each of these the fewer structural constraints and traditional role expectations will bother a woman (Thoits in Crosby (ed.), 1987).[79]

Epstein found that the most successful women were not only said to have it all but were having to do it all.[80] They were experiencing multiple successes in multiple roles. She made three observations:

> First, problems of overload are not limited to women at the occupational apex. Second, marriage can facilitate as well as impede professional life. Third, research shows that certain types of employment situations are detrimental to mental and physical well-being, no matter what the marital or parental situation of the people who have these jobs. (in Crosby (ed.), 1987)[81]

Her research pointed to the fact that 'like marry like' in occupational terms and that women are able to compartmentalise their lives in order to reduce role strain. Role tensions can be aggravated by the arrival of children, or an ageing or sick parent, because couples who have re-negotiated gender roles often find that they revert back to the traditional mode. Work is being restructured to accommodate these family roles but the potential still remains for those work / family arrangements to leave lasting damage on women's career progress (Lewis in Davidson and Burke (eds), 1994).[82]

The findings of the research, discussed above, indicate that the position of women in Irish society has improved and that they play a more active (and acknowledged) role in the social, economic, political and cultural life of contemporary Ireland. The next section examines the glass ceiling phenomenon.

## 4.4    The Glass Ceiling

Dozens of books are produced world wide every year which advise women how to break, smash through or shatter the glass ceiling (e.g. Bird, 1996;[83] Dixon, 1993;[84] Flaherty and Gilman, 1997;[85] Flanders, 1994;[86] Garrett, 1998;[87] Hauter, 1993;[88] King, 1993;[89] Sadak and Egan, 1995;[90] Scheele, 1994).[91] They begin by defining the glass ceiling and then go on to outline strategies to do with personality, power and politics (Flanders, 1994).

The topics covered include pay, promotion, training, finances, networking, child care, image, sexual harassment, travel (Bird, 1996); ageism, self-discovery, relationship building, competing, avoiding the 'mommy-track trap' (Scheele, 1994); organisational culture, team working (Hauter, 1993); time management, conflict resolution skills, stress management and effective communications (Sadek and Egan, 1995).

Some advocate adopting strategies such as setting career goals and finding role models, coaches or mentors as well as developing networks and friendships (Garrett, 1998). Two high-achieving Americans have written The Savvy Woman's Success Bible (1997) from personal experience. Tina Santi Flaherty was the first woman vice-president of Colgate Palmolive while her co-author was the first woman sportswriter for the New York Daily News. Both these women claim to have discovered a formula for "How to find the right job, the right man, the right life" and all you have to do is work through their self-help book. The first section of the guidebook contains some valuable tips but the

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omission of any mention of pregnancy, motherhood and child care is probably the most telling aspect of the work because children and the people, women, who care for them are not going to survive in the jungle that is corporate America.

A more academic approach, to the glass ceiling, was taken by Morrison, Van Velsor, White and the Center for Creative Leadership (1987, 1992).[92] The research, over three years with a follow up, was undertaken under the auspices of the Center for Creative Leadership and looked at the career progression of 76 women managers in 25 Fortune 100 companies. Additional interviews were conducted with 16 male and 6 female executives. They held different positions (line and staff) and worked in different sectors (manufacturing and services). The aim, of the Executive Women Project, was to ask five questions they believed were crucial. These were:

1.  What does it take for women to enter the executive suite?
2.  What factors propel women?
3.  What derails women?
4.  Are success and derailment factors the same for men and women?
5.  Do women need the same opportunities for development as men?

(Morrison et al., 1987, 1992, p. 9)[93]

They define the glass ceiling as "... a transparent barrier that kept women from rising above a certain level in corporations" and they say that they "... began to perceive more than one barrier that keeps women out of senior positions. Women who break through the glass ceiling often find that they are walled out of more senior management " and

The glass ceiling is not simply a barrier for the individual, based on the person's inability to handle a high-level job. Rather, the glass ceiling applies to women as a group who are kept from advancing higher because they are women.

(Morrison et al., 1987, 1992, p. 13)[94]

and it "... may exist at different levels in different companies or industries ..., we have placed it just short of the general manager position (these jobs represent less than 1% of the workforce)" (Morrison et al., 1987, 1992).[95]

They point out that is difficult but not impossible to break through the glass ceiling and that:

Once women break through this first barrier, however, they unexpectedly encounter another barrier - a wall of tradition and stereotypes that separates them from the top executive level. This wall keeps women out of the inner sanctum of senior management, the core of business leaders who wield the greatest power.

(Morrison et al., 1987, 1992, p. 15)[96]

A profile of the sample showed that they had an average age of 41 (30-60); that one in four was married and that half had at least one child. The fact that the women were married or re-married and had children came as a surprise. They had all (of the 76 only five had never married) tried to combine or balance a personal life with success at work. Male colleagues can be shocked by one event – pregnancy. One of the executives said that "It's the most female thing you can do" (Morrison et al., 1987, 1992).[97]

All the women took great care with their outward appearance and had to operate within a "narrow band of acceptable behaviour" or a "safe zone". A good track record was

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important so that they became known for their competence, professionalism, leadership or problem solving skills. Morrison et al. (1987, 1992) list other factors such as being smart, having good analytical skills, the ability to think on one's feet, getting along with most people and getting the job done smoothly, working with and through other people, being easy company and adapting to changing situations quickly as well as finding sponsors or role models. Women who earn more than their husbands can find that these spouses may leave and that all the successful women have one thing in common -- exhaustion. This may go some way to explain why women leave organisations.

The three extras that the research showed that women need to acquire are credibility, presence and the advocacy of an influential person. One of the easiest ways for women to gain credibility is to get a qualification from one of the prestigious universities. This would explain the increasing numbers of women undertaking a Master of Business Administration at the elite business schools.

They noticed, like Kanter (1977 and 1993),[98] that in terms of personality and behaviour there were few differences between the successful men and women and state that "Mounting evidence indicates that, when careers are matched, women are remarkably similar to men in their characteristics, abilities and motives" (Morrison et al., 1987, 1992).[99] In their follow up study, they question where the women are now? Some have cracked the glass ceiling but more have given up trying. They conclude that:

> Contradictory performance expectations, the inability to get feedback, and the absence of clear developmental jobs for women continue to restrict mobility and help to create and perpetuate the glass ceiling and walls that block women as they

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enter more responsible leadership positions.

(Morrison et al., 1987, 1992, pp. 173-174)[100]

Another writer has a more depressing view in that she states:

In some ways things are going well for women. But in the professional area, especially as women begin to advance up the career ladder, they still encounter a 'glass ceiling'. This is a point at which most women stop in their career and watch younger, often less capable men hop over them. It's not so much that these young men queue-jump, it's that they are in a different queue and this counts both against women and against some sorts of men who just don't understand the rules.

(Coward, 1992, p. 36)[101]

There is obviously a market for these kind of books as well as for those that explain how working life and motherhood can be successfully combined (Dix, 1989;[102] Miller, 1989;[103] Sanger and Kelly, 1990).[104] These works generally devote a chapter on fathers as part of a support strategy along with other child care assistants. Books on how to combine working life and fatherhood are not yet taking up shelf space.

The big question, which is not covered as well as it could be, is when is the best time, in career terms, to have a baby. The trend seems to be that well educated women are waiting longer and longer and the result is that the chances of infertility and birth defects increase while the energy levels of the elderly primagravida (older birth mother) decrease. The only positives appear to be more financial security and career tenure. The question needs to be looked at in more depth. One author acknowledges that having a child involves a revolution in priorities along with the acceptance that the patchwork career is the female norm (Dix, 1989). These authors mention careers in terms of survival and

coping (Miller, 1989).

Some authors write manuals on how to be a <u>Superwoman</u> or how not to be a superwoman (Conran and Sidney, 1979 and 1981; Conran, 1990)[105] which read rather like the early Victorian handbooks on home management except they rarely now have full chapters on how to treat domestic staff (but may have to in the future). One tip, which even high earning women fail to follow, is to employ help in the home. Conran (now a government advisor on work / life balance) later co-founded an organisation, Mothers in Management, to remind employers that women managers may need help to balance their work / home life.[106]

The studies, summarised in the discussion above, examine the psychological make-up of women as well as a number of personal characteristics associated with women. The focus of the international literature concerns career oriented, professional women, employed in organisations, who express a desire for independence and who need improved strategies for exercising power over people and resources. The discussion in the next section of this paper will focus on female employees in financial services.

4.5    Women in the Financial Services Sector

Women in banking are becoming more visible, in organisations, as they move into positions of power.  The majority of women working in banking remain below the level of manager, whether from individual choice, or life choices, but an increasing number of ambitious, well educated and experienced women are rising to the top.

Two articles, on the subject of the careers of women in banking, caught the interest of the author.  One appeared in September 1991 and the other in May 1993.  Of the women working in this conservative industry seven of ten recruits to the main banks were women and one bank manager in twenty was female.  Over twenty years after the removal of the marriage bar and five years after the introduction of equality programmes, women were still predominantly occupying the lower grades.

Bank of Ireland has a crèche and operate an equality programme, since 1986, with a full time equal opportunities officer.  In Bank of Ireland 58% of the staff were female but only 30% of grade officer or up were women (1986—18%) while only 6% of bank managers were women (1986—1.8%).  In AIB 36% of management grades were filled by women and the figure for upper management is unknown.  In 1984, Margaret Downes became the first woman to sit on the board of an Irish bank when she became a director of the Bank of Ireland and that Miriam Hederman O'Brien was later appointed

to the Board of the AIB Group.

Maire Halpin, the equality officer with Bank of Ireland, thinks that women need to improve their networking skills because they have lower levels of self-confidence. Single-sex training and personal development programmes are considered to be important. Bank of Ireland had eleven personal development networks in Ireland and they also ran awareness training and interview practice courses for women. The Personnel department try to understand the need to balance family with career commitments. They allow career breaks of up to five years. Women employees opt for early retirement and voluntary redundancy schemes.[107]

The second article was "The Glass Ceiling".[108] In the Irish banking industry overall, the percentage of women decreased with seniority. The AIB Group had 130 executives but only two of them were women -- one in the US and one in Ireland. Bank of Ireland had 100 executives -- 2 women (later 3). In AIB 19% of management were women. Of the two junior management grades (assistant manager and officer) 47% were women. In Bank of Ireland this figure was 9% of managers (6% in 1986) and 13% of assistant managers (19% in 1986). AIB introduced a voluntary severance package which was completed in December 1992 and 1,000 staff members left -- 95% women.

One point which is relevant to the promotional prospects of women is time served in the bankand that "Two-thirds of AIB's staff are female but women are

underrepresented proportionately among staff with more than 20 years service. Among those long-serving employees only 40 per cent are women." The banker that was profiled was Marian McCarville, a manager in the corporate services division of AIB, who said that "She still finds that women don't apply for promotions and suspects that a lack of confidence is the reason."[109]

A lecture given by Dr Mary Redmond, to the Dublin region of the Institute of Bankers, appeared in shortened form in Banking Ireland (1995). She called her talk "Gender, Equality and Banking" and the resulting article was titled "Reading Signals in the Workplace".[110] Redmond talks about diversity, differences and complementality and calls these differences culture. She says that the culture in banks is male and that this is to be expected due to history and the organisational structures but this can cause difficulties when a woman is appointed to a senior management position because she has to operate in a new culture. Redmond believes that women are different in relation to conflict resolution, management styles, promotional strategies and communication at meetings. Banking needs both men and women because mixed groups function better and commitment to diversity should come from the highest level and be incorporated into all the goals and plans of the senior management team (see Table 4.5.1).

4.5.1   The Glass Ceiling in Financial Services

The glass ceiling does exist and many women are conscious of it and try to work around it, while some who have succeeded choose to ignore it and claim that a mixture of hard work, merit or luck (being in the right place at the right time) paid off in career

Table 4.5.1


Retail Banking Republic of Ireland 1994.

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**Retail Banking (Republic of Ireland 1994)**

|  | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Managers | 94% | 6% |
| Asst. Managers | 79% | 21% |
| Officers | 45% | 55% |
| Scale 1/3 | 34% | 66% |
| Temp/Part-Time | 20% | 80% |

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Source: Redmond, Mary. "Reading Signals in the workplace" in Banking Ireland, Summer 1995, p. 2.

progression terms.

Two City journalists ask whether there are "Cracks in the Glass Ceiling" and they find that there are a few cracks showing in Wall Street but less so in the City of London or elsewhere.[111] They use the example of Bridget Macaskill of Oppenheimer Funds who started in Unigate, the dairy group, as a glorified secretary and ended up as head of the marketing department. When she moved to Oppenheimer in 1983 it was as a marketing specialist with no knowledge of financial markets and she has risen to the top. They point to the success of Abbey Joseph Cohen of Goldman Sachs as a Wall Street analyst.

Another journalist was more positive that "Women crack the City's glass ceiling" and outlined the details of the career progression of Bronwyn Curtis, chief economist with Deutsche Bank in London.[112] Yet another journalist went back to talk to Curtis at the end of 1997. The resulting article, "Women break the mould", indicated that a culture shift had resulted in more opportunities for women. It points to the success of Jeff Jones, senior manager of executive development at NatWest. Between 1990 and 1997, NatWest increased the number of women managers from 15% to 29% and introduced a job-share register.[113]

The business magazine, <u>Management Today</u> (March 1999),[114] compiled a list of "Britain's most powerful women" and they asked the question: "Who is the woman who

makes it to the top?"[115] The Editorial stressed the diversity of qualifications, experiences and backgrounds. At the top of the list of "The Women who move Britain" was Carol Galley, the fund manager with Mercury Asset Management. The main story, by Hamilton (City Editor of The Sunday Times), points to the areas of law, accountancy, fund management and economics where women are making an impact.[116]

She points to the numbers of women in retailing, like the American, Ann Iverson, who was brought in to turn around retailer Laura Ashley and the director of the retail section of W.H. Smith, Beverly Hodson. Even the Opportunity 2000 initiative, in the United Kingdom, has failed to bring in large numbers of women to the boardrooms. In fact, there is a trend known as "home from the boardroom" where women like Penny Hughes (at the age of 33), ex-president of Coca-Cola UK, step down from their top jobs, for family reasons. Hughes has built up a portfolio of non-executive directorships and works from home.

Apart from Galley, at number one in the Management Today list, there are two other women bankers. At number 14 is Amy Fawcett, who at 42, is managing director for Europe of Morgan Stanley and at number 19 we find Nicola Horlick, joint managing director of SG Asset Management at age 37. Two women economists make the list, Deanne Julius, number 5, who is on the Monetary Policy Committee of the Bank of England and Rosemary Ratcliffe, number 21, who is chief economist with PriceWaterhouseCoopers.

### 4.5.2   The Sticky Floor

Whatever occupational grouping and whatever level in the organisation, women are paid less. Even when they receive a promotion, they are caught by what Alison Booth and her colleagues term the "sticky floor" of pay. Booth, Professor of Economics at the University of Essex and the author, with Francesconi and Frank, of "Glass Ceilings or Sticky Floors?" (1998)[117] in a paper, based on data from the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS),[118] found that women who work full-time are more likely to gain promotion than men but even when they do they will stay at the bottom of the pay scale for their new job.

The discussion paper was reported under the heading "Women break glass ceiling but stay stuck to wage floor."[119] The study concludes that the fact that women are now gaining the promotions, but not the same pay increases, as men is due to prejudice and discrimination. Another report on the findings was titled "I'll promote you, my dear - but forget the pay rise".[120] It reported that:

> Forget glass ceilings. Invisible barriers on the career ladder for women do not exist. Instead, there are sticky floors. Women get promoted at the same rate as men, but while men's salaries soar after promotion, women's remain stuck at the bottom of the scale for their new grade.

The accountancy profession track the salaries of members and annually find that

women are paid less. Figures from the Leinster Society of Chartered Accountants, show that starting salaries for female accountants are IR£4,000 less than for men at IR£24,000 per annum. [121]

A body of international research has appeared which examines the existence of the glass ceiling in the financial service sector. The findings of these studies, mentioned above, indicate that women have made some progress and that cracks are beginning to appear in the glass ceiling.

The next two sections examine the gendered nature of employment in banking and accountancy in Ireland.

### 4.5.3    Gendered Employment Practices in Ireland

#### 4.5.3.1    Women in Banking in Ireland

Two business students at Dublin City University undertook a case study on the introduction of part-time workers in a major Irish financial services organisation. Mullen and Troy entitled their dissertation "Part-Time Workers in Ireland". It was completed in April 1995. The organisation in question sought to cut staffing costs and examined the staffing structure.[122]

The recruitment of Permanent Part-Time Officials (PPTs) began in 1990 and by 1995 there were 600. They were able to apply for full-time positions and enjoyed pro rata benefits including membership of the pension scheme as well as the profit sharing scheme. They were employed in routine, clerical and administrative work.

Mullen and Troy mention that a number of problems were encountered by the organisation. A number of issues were referred to an Independent Tribunal which concentrated on the questions of salary, flexibility of working hours and progression. This group of workers could be divided into two groups -- older married women and younger single, mainly, women. The Tribunal discovered that the PPT's were carrying out similar work to their full-time colleagues. Mullen and Troy found that the women they interviewed felt that they were being taken advantage of because of this fact. Those who had school going children worked 20 to 25 hours but the others worked the maximum number of hours.

Mullen and Troy reported that the majority of part-time workers believed that their full-time colleagues treated them with respect but they said that the attitude of management towards them was less than favourable in some cases. The PPT's were happy with the fact that the Study Scheme had been extended to include them. A main point of contention was the issue of uniforms. The full-time staff received two suits, blouses and a cardigan while the PPT's who, in some cases, worked only eight hours less were only given one. They had the option to buy a second but they felt that it should have been supplied.

Mullen and Troy point out that the older married workers were happier than the younger workers because they did not want to progress further and felt that the twenty to thirty-six hours they worked were appropriate for working mothers.

### 4.5.3.2 Bank Assistant Grade

Regan undertook a study of the IBOA in light of the introduction of the new Bank Assistant Grade.[123] She reports that:

> In 1987 one of the Associated Banks (Bank of Ireland) negotiated with the union to introduce a new lower grade of worker to effectively replace 35% of their existing higher paid Bank Officials who were willing to take voluntary redundancy. These recruits are to remain at Bank Assistant Grade (BAG) with no opportunities for promotion upwards within the organisation. (Regan, 1992, p. 7)[124]

Regan conducted her research in branches of the Bank of Ireland in the Dublin area. She says that "According to actual figures compiled by Bank of Ireland on its staffing structures prior to the introduction of the new lower grade in 1989, 56.98% of its staff

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were female and 43.0% were male" (Regan, 1992, p. 59).[125]

She also found that more women now attain the grade of officer than previously but that males point to this grade as a stepping stone and quickly move on to Assistant Manager but she says that a similar pattern is not found for the women (Regan, 1992).[126]

The majority of bank officials work in the retail end of the business. The banks used to operate a no poaching agreement. The original recruitment policy was one stream and these individuals were considered to be management material. The new grade is intended to attract people who are content to remain as a clerical worker and not progress upwards. The overall majority recruited to this new grade were female.

The findings indicate that recruitment, selection and career development may be gendered. Increasing research attention is being paid to women in accountancy.

### 4.5.4   Women in Accountancy in Ireland.

In <u>Career Progression of Chartered Accountants.  A comparison of the career progress of male and female Chartered Accountants</u> (1994),[127] Barker and Monks state that is it childbearing which hinders women's earning capacity.  They recount the story of a woman who was assigned to work away from home even though her employers knew that she was still breast feeding.  Both men and women mentioned that they would like to achieve a better work-life balance.

Only 6% of the men had the option of formal paternity leave and 36% took none.  They found little evidence of flexible working arrangements or organisational child care facilities.  They believe that women are deferring this aspect of their home life until they are established in their careers.  They found that the men who were married, to women who were stay-at-home partners, earned more than those who had working partners or no partners.

Barker and Monks opened their study with a review of the literature on women in accountancy which showed that women are entering the profession in equal numbers, are as well educated and similar to men in terms of commitment, orientation, expectations and satisfaction with their careers and remuneration but that after five years men exceed women in terms of pay, promotions and job satisfaction.  Lack of mentoring and networking may be a problem as well as the expected long hours socialising and travel at home and abroad.  The big accountancy firms have made limited attempts to accommodate women.

Barker and Monks studied women and men at age thirty-five years. This was the age by which they would have been made a partner. There were, as you might expect, differences in who took responsibility for household chores. The majority of both men and women did not have caring responsibilities for the elderly but 65% of men and 44% of women had children. Almost 50% of the men were able to leave child care to their partner while the women used a variety of different arrangements.

Barker and Monks also found that men and women perceived that men were more aware of the politics at work and also appeared to be more self-confident. Women had experienced discrimination and harassment but did not want to make an issue of it because they did not want the label of being difficult. These women are well paid but those few who have reached the top of their organisations have chosen to fit in rather than challenge the working practices.

Barker and Monks reported their findings to the members of the Institute of Chartered Accountants in Ireland through the journal Accountancy Ireland ("Women in the Accountancy Profession -- the sleeping partners?" (1994)).[128] The second article, "Women in Accountancy -- the way forward" appeared in the December 1994 issue of Accountancy Ireland.[129] Barker notes that the study identified two worrying trends. She says the first is that women and men are segregated into different specialisms within accountancy. The second problem lies with the second shift (paid and unpaid work) and in the reluctance to pay for domestic help other than child care (see Table(s) 4.5.2 and 4.5.3).

Table 4.5.2

Responsibility for Household Chores.

|  | Men | Women |  |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | % | % |  |
| Self | 13 | 45 |  |
| Partner/spouse | 50 | 2 |  |
| Employed help | 3 | 2 |  |
| Self and employed help | 1 | 25 |  |
| Self and partner | 27 | 24 |  |
| Other arrangements | 6 | 2 |  |

Source: Barker, Patricia C. and Monks, Kathy. Career Progression of Chartered Accountants. A comparison of the career progress of male and female Chartered Accountants. Dublin City University Business School, October 1994, Table 20, p. 29.

Table 4.5.3

Existence of flexible work arrangements.

|  | Men | Women |
|  | % | % |
| Career break scheme | 8 | 18 |
| Flexible working hours | 25 | 24 |
| Crèche | 3 | 6 |
| Part time work | 26 | 34 |
| Job sharing | 9 | 10 |
| Working from home | 5 | 14 |
| Return to work scheme | 4 | 4 |
| Positive action | 4 | 4 |
| Mentoring | 4 | 10 |
| Other measures | 2 | 2 |

Source: Barker, Patricia C. and Monks, Kathy. Career Progression of Chartered Accountants. A comparison of the career progress of male and female Chartered Accountants. Dublin City University Business School, October 1994, Table 24, p. 33.

In December 1995, Accountancy Ireland featured an article by McCourt and McDowell of Queen's University, Belfast. They wanted to find out to what extent women had experienced the glass ceiling and to establish what barriers lay in their way to the top. A significant finding is that women accountants without children fall into the category of highest paid. Those earning the least are women with children who work part-time. They found that women in industry perceive fewer barriers to progression than women in practice.[130]

The majority said that they were unaware of organisational barriers which were gender-related but when asked to name barriers they listed lack of career breaks and child care as well as male-dominated networks and inflexible working practices. They said that sexist behaviour from clients was not really a problem although a few said that they had needed to prove their capabilities. Like Barker and Monks (1994), McCourt and McDowell also found that the women were clustered within accountancy. The women were conscious of the long hours culture in the profession.

In 1997, an article reported the fact that the Institute of Chartered Accountants had just registered the 10,000th member -- a woman -- Fiona Traynor, a 25 year old assistant accountant with the Bank of Ireland. This is in line with the statistic that just under 50% of the new members are women. She points out that more women are getting into middle management positions but that progress is slow. It stated that:

KPMG recently appointed its first female partner - Niamh Marshall is the only woman among the firm's 44 partners. At the next level, directors, 11 out of the 59 are women, while at manager level 37 out of 125 are female. However, among the staff in the professional category (they are all qualified accountants) 81 out of the 190 staff are women. What this illustrates is that women are well represented on the junior rungs of the managerial ladder and are becoming more common in the senior ranks.[131]

A second article by was entitled "Gender equality - the figures don't balance" and asked the question: "Are female accountants afforded the same opportunities as their male colleagues?"[132] In one respect they are if you consider the numbers gaining management positions both in practice and in industry but not if you consider salary rates or the number of female partners in the main accountancy firms. The annual salary survey, conducted by the Leinster Society of Chartered Accountants, shows that at every level the average salary for qualified female accountants is below that of men.

The experience of Marie O'Connor, the first woman to make it to partner, in 1987, in Craig Gardner / Price Waterhouse was reported. She was also one of the first certified accountants to make it to partner in a chartered accountancy practice. She does not identify with anything that Barker reports from her studies.

Another journalist reported that "Women accountants find it tough to reach the top."[133] On the day that she received a press release from accountants O'Sullivan Keogh announcing three new partners — one of whom, Paula Oliver was a woman, a copy of the Women in Accountancy survey landed on her desk. At O'Sullivan Keogh, one-fifth of the partners are women whereas in many of the big firms the figure is around 10 per cent.

Women in Accountancy, studied accountants aged around 40 years and, found high levels of job interest and satisfaction. Women and men see women's careers as less important than men's even when they were the main breadwinner. Women found that the old boy network helped men progress and they also agreed that working part-time resulted in reduced career opportunities. Barrington reports that the survey found that both men and women rated highly the balance between work and family while 66 per cent of women considered it important to have control over the hours that they work.

An article titled "Gender roles deny women equal opportunities" reported that women are more likely to be found at the bottom of the managerial hierarchy than near the top. The lack of militancy on the part of the organisation Women in Accountancy has meant that it has achieved little. It recommended that in order to attempt to join the informal networks one should develop a passion for rugby and in order to advance one should specialise in taxation because women progress in taxation.[134]

Ciaran O hOgartaigh (2000) followed the Dublin City University (School of Business) tradition of interest in the growth of women in the profession with an article "Accounting for Feminisation and the Feminisation of Accounting in Ireland: Gender and Self-Evaluation in the context of uncertain Accounting Information."[135] He examined the data on the number of women entering accountancy (a societal trend). He discovered that women and men did accounting differently and his main finding concerned gender differences in relation to confidence regarding financial information.

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"How women make it in management" is an article on the work of Kara McGann.[136] McGann interviewed, in-depth, 15 highly successful women. She identified these women after a trawl through the list of Ireland's top 1000 companies and, other than women related to the owner, there were only eight women represented.

McGann says these women were highly motivated and had played the men at their own game. They came from middle class backgrounds where their father was the breadwinner and their mother was a housewife, at least while the children were young. The women thought that they were more focused and goal oriented than less successful women and they had unstructured career patterns. These women believed they were treated first as a manager and then as a woman but eight per cent felt that they had to work harder than a man.

Single women had the problem that they were considered odd. Women identified the problems of being politically naïve, lacking female role models and access to networks as well as sexual stereotyping. They believed that they missed out on the social life of their family and that top management operated like a club where they could exclude you on the grounds that they wanted to.

The studies, reviewed above, suggest that women alter themselves in order to fit the organisations rather than expecting the organisations to change for them. Despite this fact the female accountants expressed high levels of job satisfaction.

### 4.5.5    Women in the City of London

In 1995, Lisa Buckingham, the editor of the City Column of The Guardian newspaper, undertook a survey on working women in the City of London. She asked readers who worked in the City -- male and female -- to fill in her questionnaire. She posed the question "Are women making great strides in the square mile?"[137] She also made appeals, in The Guardian, on three other occasions: "Equality investigated,"[138] "Read the City gender index,"[139] and "Clearing the path to equality."[140] An article to announce the forthcoming three features was entitled "Why having it all still begs the question" and in this she points to the fact that most senior women in the City are childless.[141]

Prior to the articles on the survey results, she wrote about the suggestion that Opportunity 2000 had made that all boards should consider having one female member. She states that this "... is likely to scare the pants off most directors."[142]

She says, in a personal communication (October 1997),[143] that the sample was smaller than she had hoped for at about 100 people and a quarter of those were men. In terms of age, 67 per cent of those respondents were aged between 25 and 35 while 21 per cent were in the 35 to 45 age bracket. The pay of the respondents was in the range of Stg£35,000 (54 per cent) and Stg£35,000 to Stg£50,000 (28 per cent). She concluded her letter by saying that "From these statistics you will see that the survey gives an impression of the views of more 'ordinary' women in the City rather than the extremely higher ranked people whose views are more usually canvassed".

The results of the survey were reported, in a City Column Special (1997), under the heading "Still the same old boys' club."[144] The survey shows that less than one fifth of the executives in the firms of the respondents were women and 55 per cent said that they worked for a female boss and were happy with this fact. In regard to discrimination, four out of ten women were not experiencing discrimination while 14 per cent of men felt that they were. One third of the women knew that the men who worked with them were receiving more money and a quarter of the women believed that they had been passed over for a promotion. One of the respondents said that pregnancy resulted in people treating you as if your IQ had taken a sudden drop. Four out of five said that, as they aged, their career prospects would decline.

The second article that the City Column ran, of the three, was entitled "A working mum is just the job say children"[145] and featured quotes from children who were happy that their mother worked because this made them, the mothers, happy. The final article was called "Room at the top for hard choices." It told the tale of a 32 year old City worker called Miranda Lawson, not her real name, who worked for an American Bank in the City. Buckingham points to the fact that Miranda was finding it increasingly difficult to have it all.

She notes that "She does have the top City job together with the large six figure salary. She has an executive wardrobe (recently refreshed with a £7,000 designer shopping spree in Paris) a central London apartment and a company Mercedes". Miranda was head hunted, just over a year ago, by her current firm and this is her fourth financial services

company. The recruitment process of this American bank included over twenty interviews in London, New York, Boston and Chicago.

The working day starts at 8 a.m. Since joining she now includes three visits per week to a hairdresser as well as regular manicures. The American banks insist on an immaculate appearance which meant that Miranda has had to revamp her wardrobe after she found that her juniors were outdressing her. The chair of the Women in Banking and Finance group believes that women like Miranda might opt for lone parenthood.

Buckingham concluded her article with a number of options and a quote from Miranda. She says that

> Unlike men of her age and status, Miranda will have to make some cruel decisions - scale down her current job, give it up or abandon the idea of children. I know that I could not do this job and have a family. I can't have it all, it would be completely impossible . But it would be possible for a man to do my job and have a family. Is that really equality?"[146]

An article in The Guardian (2001), continues in the same vein discussing "Sexism and the City"[147] (a reference to the television series "Sex and the City") and concludes that "It's a man's world" where women are subject to daily harassment and eventually leave, worn down by the sexist behaviour of male colleagues, bosses and clients alike. There is nothing subtle about the requests for sexual intercourse or massages, where men think nothing of exposing themselves or (man)handling the women. This needs to be grounded in academic research.

Only 3% of the executives are female and they make up the minority who can cope with the 'dehumanising' and damaging environment. Others stick it out as long as they can and leave (hopefully) with financial settlements.

Ros McCool, a civil servant, was asked by the NatWest Bank in the United Kingdom to undertake a six month study of their employment policies to ensure that they were not discriminatory in relation to women or ethnic minorities. This fact is reported in an item marked "City women say the men are still sexist."[148] It also reported the results of a survey by Reuters that shows that four out of five female workers in the City of London say that they are subject to sexual discrimination and a majority also believe that it is impossible to combine motherhood with a career.

Those surveyed think that the City is still dominated by the old boys' network and that women are more vulnerable to redundancies and downsizing. The results of the survey in NatWest will be available only to executives within the company. The report states that "NatWest says some 40 per cent of its managers in its mortgage business and 1 in 10 of its most senior executives are women. The bank plans to achieve greater representation and is concerned to remove any invisible barriers."

### 4.5.6    Gendered Employment Practices

Women, especially those who are mothers and returners, are seen as suitable for part-time employment in banking. They may be offered permanent part-time contracts which mean that they work three or four days a week including the traditional lunch time hours. Increased competition in banking, the need for cost reductions, restructuring, mergers and acquisitions as well as the development of new points of delivery (automated cash dispensers, cash back cards, supermarket banks, the internet and telephone (and mobile) banking), mean that banks need to operate longer opening hours even if it is manning call centres rather than traditional branches. This demands a responsive workforce with a good knowledge of the products, which themselves have become more specialised and segmented, as well as the ability to handle customers / clients in a friendly and efficient manner (Gregory and O'Reilly in Crompton, Gallie and Purcell (eds), 1996).[149] These women may be willing, because of family commitments, to take time off work when an employer experiences a fluctuation in demand such as during summer holidays.

### 4.5.7    Career Development in Financial Services.

A number of academics have used the case study method to show how recruitment in banking was, and to some degree still is, gendered with women being recruited for clerical jobs and men for management careers (e.g. Crompton and Sanderson in MacEwen Scott (ed.), 1994;[150] Halford, Savage and Witz, 1997;[151] Storey, Edwards and Sissons, 1997).[152] The early 1990s were years of retrenchment, restructuring and reorganisation

with redundancies due to branch closures and staff reductions in banking.

In the United Kingdom, the NatWest Bank, like many others, was undergoing a change in organisational culture from being a lending organisation to a new marketing culture which involved increased specialisation. Storey, Edwards and Sissons (1997) quote the work of Smith (1990) who studied middle managers in a Californian bank. She found that restructuring had a dramatic effect on staff morale.[153]

They compared the NatWest Bank in the United Kingdom with the Mitsui Trust and Banking Company Limited in Japan. Mitsui, with headquarters in Tokyo, employed 6,500 people in just under 60 branches. They had a multi-portal recruitment system with two streams: management and clerical. The clerical recruitment was made up of graduates and two-year college students who were all women. The management recruits were all graduates and up until 1989 had been 100% male but in that year women were admitted so that there were 161 male and 3 female graduate recruits.

Things were a little better at NatWest, who employed 105,000 world-wide with 66,000 staff in 500 locations, in the United Kingdom. In the core division, UK Financial Services, of the 4,391 managers, 83 (1.89%) were women. The NatWest recruited prospective managers from school rather than university and only 7% of managers had a degree or postgraduate qualification. Most of the recruits were 0 level or A level standard but those who were graduate level were placed on a fast-track. An internal labour market was found to exist and nearly 90% of the managers at NatWest had worked for one

company. The first appointment to a management job came after the age of 30 (Storey, Edwards and Sissons, 1997).[154]

NatWest operated a system of career planning that they called tiering which meant that individuals were streamed. Personnel did this by attempting to calculate which level a staff member might attain. The highest grade was MX and this included the chief executive. Executives at this level were not included in the job evaluation scheme. Career development measures involved training, education, sponsorship, mentoring and developmental job assignments (Storey, Edwards and Sissons, 1997).[155]

At the time of the study, NatWest spent over Stg£55 million on training every year. Computer based training, using 100 interactive video display units, was used for teaching purposes. Equal opportunities, languages, banking and legal practice were taught by over three hundred trainers. The management training budget had been increased from 10% to 35%. NatWest also had a career developmental unit with a staff of forty who undertook graduate recruitment which cost about Stg£1 million a year – 250 graduates at Stg£4,000 each. They also ran the assessment centre. The NatWest Bank operated a formal appraisal system as a method of evaluation and pay at executive levels was related to performance.

The gendered nature of the financial services sector was also examined by Crompton and Sanderson (1994).[156] They examined the employment policies of the clearing banks and found that, until the 1980s, they had operated an informal no-poaching

policy between themselves as well as preferring in-house staff associations rather than trade union membership. They kept a tight hold on the career banking staff. The branch network was considered a suitable training ground for future managers.

### 4.5.7.1    Building Societies

The employment policies of the building societies are different and the position of women is better. The recruitment is multi-portal rather than uni-portal, based on formal academic qualifications, and there is movement of staff between the various building societies. The equal opportunity legislation had a role to play in speeding up the process of change and in outlawing "..., direct male exclusionary practices at the point of recruitment .... " (Crompton and Sanderson, 1994).[157]

### 4.5.7.2    Sellbank (case study)

The case study of one high street clearing bank in England is useful to compare with the organisational case study (Chapter 5) in this thesis (Halford, Savage and Witz, 1994).[158] It started as a piece of research on career trajectories but was broadened to include organisational culture change. The authors of the aforementioned work chose banking because big service sector organisations employ large numbers of women in routine white collar occupations and they have women occupying management positions.

The major British clearing bank they examine is given the name "Sellbank" and they describe the operations of this bank in Midcity, a large urban area, as well as in Southtown. Both place names are fictitious. They interviewed nine women, of whom

seven were married but only two had children. These women were aged in their twenties (4), thirties (4) and forties (1). They also interviewed twelve men, of whom seven were married and six had children. The men were in their twenties (2), thirties (4), forties (4) and fifties (1). The age of one man is not reported.

At the time of the research, the bank was undergoing radical restructuring world wide in response to globalisation and increased competition. Since the 1960s women have formed the bulk of the staff but were channelled into particular tasks, which they identified as book keeping, typing and cashiering, and denied access to promotion into management. They were expected to resign on marriage.

The 1980s saw women start to trickle through to management and 1% of the management posts were occupied by women. The 1990s were a time of branch closures and job cutting even of management levels. The staff who were over fifty years of age were given early retirement. This left the bank with a younger workforce.

### 4.5.7.3        Midcity

Sellbank had an equal opportunities unit at head office. Although there was graduate recruitment, the majority of employees start as clerical staff and progress upwards towards management. Midcity was a former manufacturing area which had developed a large service sector in recent decades. In Midcity, there were over 70 branches employing over 1,000 staff. Ninety per cent of the staff worked in branches rather than specialist units, such as securities and lending. Senior staff made up 13% of the workforce. They

mention that two of the things that struck them was, firstly, how much the junior grades were feminised and secondly, that everyone felt that they were living through a period of major organisational upheaval (Halford, Savage and Witz, 1994).[159] Nearly 90% of the management posts were held by men while women remained clustered in junior and senior clerical posts.

Midcity had a workplace nursery (which was under-utilised), women-only career development seminars and a women's support network as well as a widely used maternity leave scheme. Women were allowed to take up to five years leave and to come back to a job at the same level. This scheme was so popular that 10% of the staff were on it at the time of the research. Those who had availed of the scheme, in the past, mentioned that they had experienced problems on return when trying to re-engage with the bank.

### 4.5.7.4 Southtown

Southtown was a much smaller area with only one branch in the town itself so the researchers also looked at the branches within a twenty mile radius. There was no crèche or women's network at this location. In Southtown, there were more men at all grade levels. Most of the individuals that they spoke to said that they felt a strong sense of belongingness in relation to the bank. Halford, Savage and Witz (1994) point to a new division that had emerged in banking between full-time and part-time employees and this division ran along the lines of gender. The full-time employees had a career while the part-time workers felt that their employment was more casual. They state that:

In short, it would appear that a new semi-permeable division between part-time and full-time workers has allowed the continuation of good promotion prospects for full-time male workers, even in the midst of restructuring. (Halford, Savage and Witz, 1994, p. 117)[160]

The new sales culture in the bank had resulted in a new style of architecture resulting in the removal of the dark mahogany panelling and the introduction of white walls and lots of glass with colourful posters and leaflets and chairs in the company colours. The introduction of a uniform was intended to make staff more recognisable to the customers. A new set of managerial qualities were promoted in line with the new competitive culture. The changes meant annual targets to be met, pay based on performance and open advertising of jobs internally whereby individuals did not have to wait for a manager to put them forward for promotion. Secretarial work was seen as a dead end in terms of promotion.

They identified two types of women in management. Those who had twenty years or more of service and were promoted in their forties to a senior position in a branch and a younger management trainee who was in a more specialist area and had been identified, at the recruitment stage, as a high-flyer to be fast-tracked (Halford, Savage and Witz, 1994).[161] When the researchers asked the women about their careers, most felt that they had little control but mentioned that it was necessary to become visible to management and to put oneself forward. Social background and personality were perceived to be important. Women needed to be more agentic (active rather than passive) than men in career terms.

A chasm also seemed to be opening between mothers and the childless. The women were hampered in banking, but not the men, by one transitional event – motherhood. The female managers, that they interviewed, were predominantly childless and they expressed the belief that motherhood was incompatible with their career aspirations (Halford, Savage and Witz, 1994).[162]

Working hours was another area of difference for men and women. Almost all of the men that they interviewed worked overtime while only 50% of the women did overtime and even then they did less. Of course, this may be explained partly by the fact that the overtime was necessary at senior levels and these were occupied by men. In terms of job satisfaction, they found that the junior staff were the happiest with their jobs and women managers the most unhappy possibly because of the isolation that they had experienced (Halford, Savage and Witz, 1994).[163]

## 4.5.8  Merbank (case study)

McDowell and Court discuss the continuation of occupational sex segregation in merchant banking in the City of London. The two articles of interest to us here were supplied by Dr McDowell in final draft form at the beginning of December 1993. They are titled "Missing Subjects: Gender, Power and Sexuality in merchant banking"[164] and "Gender divisions of labour in the post-Fordist economy: the maintenance of occupational sex segregation in the financial services sector".[165]

They found that of a group of fifty professionals, whom they interviewed in-depth, nearly half had attended the elite colleges (Oxford or Cambridge) or at least the right universities of which they list five – Bristol, Durham, Exeter, London and Trinity College, Dublin. At the oldest bank (by which they mean the bank with the most blue-blood) this figure rose to 63 per cent. McDowell and Court refer to the dual masculinities in merchant banking. The two types of masculinity were macho and traditional.

McDowell and Court draw on the term macho masculinity from the American institutions as described by Lewis (1989) in his book Liar's Poker.[166] The men and women, interviewed by McDowell and Court, reported that the atmosphere in the dealing rooms / trading floors was a masculine one. They also found that some of the small number of women interviewed said that their male colleagues regarded them as one of the boys. Another feature of this culture was that it was completely heterosexual. The second type of masculinity they describe is traditional masculinity and the importance of

the right (organisational) fit.

In terms of femininity, McDowell and Court report that the majority of women they interviewed were attractive, tall, white women. Only one was a Londoner of Asian origin. They did, however, notice a few women who had double outsider status -- being a woman and a foreigner such as an American woman. McDowell and Court seem to believe that the women have to play a game of masquerade at work in that they exhibit a type of femininity which is expected of them by the men. They found that no allowances were made for parental responsibilities in terms of the long hours worked.

McDowell and Court saw three employment trends evident since 1975 which they identify as globalisation, casualisation and feminisation. A small number of cities, among them London, New York and Tokyo, are now considered to be global cities. They are international financial services and business centres. McDowell and Court say that casualisation and polarisation can be seen in the City of London. Even the professional workers in this sector might expect to be on short-term contracts and pay would be supplemented by bonuses and incentives.

The third trend is toward feminisation. Service sector jobs are associated with women and as these occupations expand so do the number of jobs for women. The majority of part-time workers are women but men are increasingly coming to accept terms and conditions of employment that would have been previously reserved for women. Back-office jobs, such as in insurance, which have been decentralised are going to women,

who are cheaper to employ, rather than to men. They refer to the fact that in financial services, in the Greater London area, only one per cent of men and five per cent of women are employed part-time.

They describe the background to their study as a city which provides a growing proportion of the national income. Part-time working increased but not as significantly as in other areas. The part-time bankers are in retail banking and in the building societies rather than in the merchant banking sector. London houses the headquarters of most of the British clearing banks so the City plays an important role in domestic banking as well as international banking. Case study work is needed to examine the distribution of women and men within the sector. They point to the fact that women are still paid less.

They found that these banks contracted out cleaning, security and catering. They also noted that the entrance of women into higher status positions was a relatively recent development. The domination of the City by elite universities and schools has changed to some degree and the dominant work ethic is American. The men and women that they interviewed expected the long hours and older women were aware that this would be a problem if they took on extra domestic commitments i.e. children.

They discuss the case of Merbank, which is the merchant banking arm of a major British retail bank, employing 1,400 people. They divide their employees into (1) executive (professional) level grades and (2) clerical grades. This division is gendered in that there are more men in the first and more women in the second. Merbank consists of four divisions:

Investment Banking, Equities, Investment Management and Central Services. The fourth area is basically a support to the others and as you might expect more women are found here.

The professional staff are relatively young in all sections with an average age of 33 and forty three percent have a degree or equivalent and a further fifteen percent have postgraduate degrees or professional qualifications. Men hold the majority of top grade jobs in all areas. They looked at age profiles and found that women in professional grades were about a year and a half younger at 32.4 against 33.8 (mean age). Grade differences still exist after age is taken into account. This would indicate that career progression is different for women even before the age of 25. They provide the details regarding the occupational distribution in each grade by gender and age.

They used the detailed interviews to try to find out why women are still at a disadvantage in terms of career progression. The first place to look is recruitment and selection where personnel and human resources people looked for masculine attributes such as competitiveness, aggressiveness, toughness and leadership which McDowell and Court believe are not gender neutral. The City of London is a male dominated working environment. Even the clients are assumed to be male. They also found that some of the female clerical staff mentioned that they preferred to work for a man. McDowell and Court think that one of the reasons that women dominate the lower grades of these organisations is due to the long working hours. The gender differentials are not being seriously challenged.

### 4.6    Concluding remarks

Chapter four examined the social context of this research, Irish society at the end of the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century. Social, economic, political and cultural life was seen to be gendered. The glass ceiling phenomenon was identified as being in existence within the Irish financial services sector.

Chapter five introduces the empirical research report of this dissertation in the form of the organisational case study, the individual caselets and the preliminary survey.

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