

Tan rerran  
 ora Gallagher  
 ul Gillespie  
 lward F. Ginty  
 -retta Brennan Glucksman  
 hn Larkin, M.D.  
 obard Mac Góráin

Kingsley H. Murphy, Jr.  
 Peggy O'Brien, Ph.D.  
 Paula McCanhy Panczenko  
 Carl Shanahan  
 Edward Walsh, Ph.D.  
 John P. Walsh (*Chairman*)

BENEFACTORS AND CORPORATE BENEFACTORS

r Lingus, NY  
 merican Irish Legislators Society  
 f New York, NY  
 merican Irish Association of  
 Westchester County, NY  
 .cient Order of Hibernians  
 -[ational Board  
 tornotive Week Publishing CS, NJ  
 ik of Ireland  
 rd Failre/The Irish Tourist Board  
 -orne County, New York, Ancient  
 rder of Hibernians, NY  
 .E. Tours Int'l., NJ  
 nnecticut State Board, Ancient  
 >rd of Hibernians, CT  
 : Patrick and Aimée Butler  
 amity Foundation, MN  
 eodora Davitt-Cornyn, CA  
 James Patrick Devere, CA  
 te Doyle Productions, MN  
 n Corporation, GA  
 nk and Kathryn Fegan, NJ  
 it of the Loom, KY  
 and Mrs. John G. Foerst, NY  
 es F. Frenzel, NY  
 Friendly Sons of St. Patrick,  
 hiladelphia, PA  
 raltar Securities Co., NJ  
 tha M. Hanley, CT  
 Gerard E. Harper, NY  
 P. Hogan, NJ  
 American Association of  
 orthwest Jersey, NJ  
 American Club, Naples, Florida

The Irish American Teachers  
 -Association, NY  
 The Irish American Society  
 of Will County, PA  
 The Irish Cultural Society  
 of Erie County, NY  
 Irish Festival Foundation, NJ  
 The Irish Institute of New York  
 John A. and Mary Ann Kelly, PA  
 LeMoyne College, NY  
 Catherine T. Maas, NY  
 McGraw-Hill, Inc., NY  
 Frank and Patricia Mullaney, MN  
 Denise Mulvihill, M.D., SC  
 Mr. and Mrs. Henry T. O'Hara, NY  
 The Family of Ernie O'Malley, NY  
 Mr. and Mrs. John F. O'Shaughnessy, MN  
 The Lawrence arrd Elizabeth O'Shaughnessy  
 Charitable Trust, MN  
 St. John Fisher College  
 St. Patrick's Parade Committee,  
 Morristown, New Jersey  
 The Sandy Hill Foundation, NJ  
 Shamrock Club of Columbus, OH  
 Mr. and Mrs. Michael J. Slattery, NJ  
 Neal and Mary Sullivan, NJ  
 Margaret J. Sullivan, MN  
 Mr. Thomas Tracy, CA  
 Trenton St. Patrick's Day  
 Parade Committee, NJ  
 John P. Walsh jr., Chemical Bank, NY  
 The Wild Geese, CT

also wish to acknowledge the many generous contributions of the chapters of the American Cultural Institute, as well as the extraordinary benevolence of our friends who prefer anonymity.

A journal of Irish Studies published quarterly by  
 THE IRISH AMERICAN CULTURAL INSTITUTE  
 Table of Contents XXX: 3

Editors' Notes..... 3  
 Distilling Spirits and Regulating Subjects:  
 Whiskey and Beer in Romantic Britain  
 by Hewitt S. Thayer ..... 7  
 Ireland and Greenland: The Irish in the Writings of Graham Greene  
 by Charles F. Duffy ..... 14  
 Oral and Literate Constructs of "Authentic" Irish Music  
 by Mary Trachsel ..... 27  
*Dndt« Ura: New Poems*  
 by Paddy Bushe. .... 47  
 The Memphis Riots of 1866  
 by DeeGee Lester. .... 59  
 Ireland) The Cuban Missile Crisis, and Civil Aviation:  
 A Study in Applied Neutrality  
 by Joseph P. O'Grady ..... 67  
 "The Curse of Larkinism": Patrick McIntyre, *The Toiler*,  
 and the Dublin Lockout of 1913  
 by John Newsinger ..... 90  
 Yeats's Poems *Written in Discouragement*, 1912-1913:  
 The Politics of Culture  
 by Anthony Bradley ..... 103  
 Women in Ireland's Information Industry: Voices from the Inside  
 by Eileen M. Trauth ..... 133  
 "Gloom without Sunshine": The Reception of T. Co Murray  
 in America, 1911-1938  
 by Albert J. DeGiacomo ..... 151  
 "The Rest Should Be Silence": The Second Self in the Works of  
 John O'Donovan  
 by Bernard McKenna ..... 165  
 Current Themes  
 Defining Irish Women: Dominant Discourses and Sites of Resistance  
 by Pat O'Connor. .... 177  
 Book Reviews ..... 188  
 Notes and Queries ..... 192  
 Cover ..... 132

EDITOR: *Thomas Dillon Redshaw, University of St. Thomas.*

ADVISORY EDITORS: *Arts, James MacKillop, Onondaga Community College; Ascendancy Ireland, John Greene, The University of Southwestern Louisiana; Bibliography, John B. Davenport, University of St. Thomas; Classics, Marianne McDonald, University of California-San Diego; Drama, Christopher Murray, University College Dublin; Gaelic Language, James J. Blake, Nassau Community College; Gaelic Literature, Ruairi Ó hUiginn, Coldiste Pbdraig, Má Nuad; Irish America, Charles Fanning, University of Southern Illinois; Literature, Adrian Frazier, Union College; Nineteenth-Century History, Irene Whelan, Manhattativi/le College; Twentieth-Century History, Lawrence W. McBride, Illinois State University; Women's Studies, Patricia Haberstroh, La Salle University.*

EDITORS EMERITI: *E6inMcKiernan (1965-86); James J. Blake (1987-89).*

:the venality and utilitarianism of the middle classes, if it were more  
.ntasy, might have been realized in 1913, when the aristocrats and artists  
.ublin's proletariat had the common enemy of Murphy and the other  
yers. Instead, the struggle of the people is repressed in Yeats's writ-  
.dhe celebrates an oppressive aesthetic that depends on privilege. Yet,  
:pressed history is always, if cryptically, present in the title of "Sep-  
r 1913" and in the context of its first publication, which remind us  
other struggle taking place in Dublin besides the one to establish  
galley. They remind us, too, of Walter Benjamin's astringent asser-  
lat "There has never been a document of culture which is not at one  
le same time a document of barbarism," and of the paradox that  
iffection for Yeats's poems frequently proves to be at odds with what  
arns about their genesis.<sup>f</sup>

- *The University of Vermont*

Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," vii, cited in Jameson, p.

IR  
.anuscript collections of the National Library of Ireland-compris-  
me 65,000 catalogued items-are now housed at the former Kildare  
Club. Two works by Giraldus Cambrensis, alias Giraldus de Barri,  
nto the manuscript collection in 1945: *Topographia Hiberniae* and *Ex-  
tio Hibernica*, both completed by Cambrensis in 1189. The National  
y's transcription on vellum of these works was completed in 1200.  
ssue's cover reproduces the portrait of Diarmait Mac Murchada  
(D), king of Leinster, found in margin of *Expugnatio Hibernica*. Mac  
iada is best known, of course, for bringing the Normans into Ire-  
While Mac Murchada founded three abbeys, he was also embroiled  
rape of the Abbess of Kildare and the abduction of Derbforgaill. We  
his sample of the riches of the National Library's manuscript col-  
is with the help of the library's staff and the kind permission of its  
ir, Dr. Patricia Donlon.

*SPOEMS WRITTEN IN DISCOURAGEMENT, 1912-1913*

## WOMEN IN IRELAND'S INFORMATION INDUSTRY: VOICES FROM INSIDE

EILEEN M. TRAUTH

DURING the past three decades Ireland has been undergoing significant  
change. In the economic realm, makers of industrial policy have attempted  
to move the economy away from dependence upon agriculture and to-  
ward the development of new, growth industries identified as chemicals,  
pharmaceuticals, and information technology.<sup>1</sup> The information technol-  
ogy industry-the focus of this article-consists of firms engaged in the man-  
ufacture of computer and telecommunications equipment, the development  
of computer software and information systems, and the provision of com-  
puter-related services. Because such highly industrialized countries as the  
United States were far ahead of Ireland in this industry, Irish policy-mak-  
ers adopted an outward-looking strategy to help the country catch up. Be-  
ginning in the early 1970s the Industrial Development Authority began to  
invite multinational information technology companies to Ireland. Gen-  
erous financial incentives were offered to attract these companies, espe-  
cially to regions in the West. Two types of benefits were expected to result  
from this strategy. The first expected benefit would be immediate. The  
Irish economy would improve as the unemployment and emigration rates  
declined through this infusion of new jobs. The second benefit would be  
longer term. By working in these foreign firms, it was believed that Irish  
information technology workers would develop the business knowledge  
and technical expertise needed to establish their own Irish firms.

<sup>1</sup> Earlier versions of this article were presented at the Boston Irish Colloquium (No-  
vember 1993) and at the annual meeting of the American Conference for Irish Studies in  
Omaha, Nebraska (April, 1994), and the research was supported, in part, by a Fulbright Fel-  
lowship. It should be noted that the information technology industry in Ireland was origi-  
nally referred to as the electronics industry. In this paper the two terms are synonymous.

WOMEN IN IRELAND'S INFORMATION INDUSTRY

The efficacy of this plan is not the focus of this article. This has been the subject of numerous critiques of Ireland's industrial policy.<sup>1</sup> Rather, the purpose of this article is to consider the fit between this industrial policy and aspects of Irish society. In particular, this article is concerned with the position of women within this new industry—in terms of both present reality and of future opportunity. The method used to explore the position of women was to solicit the thoughts and feelings of those women actually working in the information technology industry. During in-depth interviews they talked about this new type of employment, about how it fits in with the Irish culture, and about the effect of doing this type of work on their personal and family lives. Those who work at multinational firms also discussed foreign influences on Irish culture and on their lives. This research offers, thus, an inside look at the effect of Ireland's emerging information technology industry on Irish women today.

A total of twenty-five women were interviewed. During interviews lasting a minimum of one and one-half hours, each woman provided information about her family, education, social class, and employment background in order to provide some context for interpreting her comments. Permission to tape the discussion was granted in sixty percent of the cases. The discussion about the position of women in Ireland centered around ways in which women are being affected by working in the information sector and ways in which Irish culture enhances or inhibits a woman's opportunities in this field. The topics discussed in the interviews are the following: the position of women in Ireland in general; comparison between the position of women at multinational versus Irish firms; comparison between the position of women in the information sector versus other employment sectors; the effect of multinational firms on the position of women in Ireland in general; the effect of multinational firms on attitudes about women in the labor force; changes in females' career options because of the presence of the information technology industry; and differences between America and Ireland with respect to attitudes about and the

2 See, for example, Industrial Policy Review Group, *A Time for Change: Industrial Policy for the 1990s* (Dublin: Ministry for Industry and Commerce, 1992) and Telesis Consultancy Group, *A Review of Industrial Policy* (Dublin: The National Economic and Social Council, 1982).

3 In order to preserve anonymity, a non identifying code is used to label the respondents' comments. However, since I am also a source of data by virtue of participant observation in companies and in the culture as a whole, my questions and journal entries are utilized as well. The label assigned to these comments and questions is ET.

position of women. Further details on the research methodology are published elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

Half of the women who were interviewed work at one of seven multinational information technology firms, and a quarter of them work at one of seven Irish information technology firms. The majority of the work carried out in the American firms is the assembly of electronic components for computers and related equipment. A minority of these American firms also engage in developing computer software. In contrast, the majority of the Irish firms are in the software development business and only one of the firms is primarily involved with computer hardware. Most of the women had worked at their companies between four and ten years at the time of the interviews. The next most common length of employment was one to three years. The remaining twenty-five percent of the women do not work in the industry. They are spouses of American expatriate information technology executives, government officials or their spouses, and women working in other industries in Ireland. This latter group of women represents a different perspective on the issues, and sheds light on the extent to which the comments made by women who work in the information technology firms are representative of all Irish women. All but four of the women interviewed are Irish, and of these four women all are American. Three of them had been in Ireland two years or less at the time of the interviews. The fourth lives permanently in Ireland.

The women with whom I spoke are well educated. All but three had achieved at least the Leaving Certificate and fifteen have achieved a third-level qualification, the majority of which are university degrees,<sup>2</sup> more than double the percentage—twenty-four percent—who entered higher education in the 1980s.<sup>3</sup> These women represent all geographic regions of Ireland. In equal percentages they are from Dublin, other cities, and the country. Some indication of social class may be gleaned from the employment of their parents and from their own employment levels. One fifth of the women

4 See E. M. Trauth and B. O'Connor, "A Study of the Interaction between Information Technology and Society: An Illustration of Combined Qualitative Research Methods," in *Information Systems Research: Contemporary Approaches and Emergent Traditions*, eds. H.E. Nissen, H.K. Klein and R. Hirschheim (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1991), pp. 131-44.

5 An example of a third-level institution other than a university would be a technical school. It should be noted that these percentages do not include the four women (1600) who declined to respond to this question.

6 P. Clancy, *Who Goes to College: A Second National Survey of Participation in Higher Education* (Dublin: Higher Education Authority, 1988), p. 53.

are from agricultural families. One fourth are from families whose parents worked in business or traditional industries. Twenty-eight percent have parents in the professions. Eight percent of the women have parents who worked in the civil service. These women are employed in equal proportion at management, middle management, and worker levels. These data suggest that the majority of these women are in the middle class.

Detailed analysis of these women's comments produced four key findings about women and information technology work in Ireland. The first is that the women believe there are definite opportunities associated with employment in the information technology. However, two other findings suggest that the women believe they are not equal participants in Ireland's information technology industry. They hold the view that, despite better career opportunities, the tension between career and family holds most women back in one way or another from commitment to career. The other finding is that the women believe there are barriers to their advancement in the field. These barriers are embedded in attitudes about women and their place in Irish society and exist in the institutions of Irish culture.

EM: I was at a conference . . . recently and was the only woman in a group of thirty fairly senior attendees. One man who was there said there were not enough women represented. There are lots of women programmers [but not that many women managers in this field]. This is a very traditional society. People are shocked that I am thirty-four and unmarried. I think the barrier to women's progress is inside women themselves. It is still frowned upon for a mother to work.

The last finding is that the nationality of the employing information technology firm accounted for differences in responses on many occasions. That is, women who worked at American multinational firms often had viewpoints which were different from those of women who worked at Irish firms.

From the point of view of the respondents, the presence of multinational information technology firms in Ireland has had a positive effect on women in the Irish labor force. This positive attitude about multinationals concurs with a similar study of women in County Mayo by Harris.<sup>7</sup>

7 L. Harris, "Women's Response to Multinationals in County Mayo," in *Women's Employment in Multinationals in Europe*, eds. D. Elson and R. Pearson (London: Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1989), pp. 144-64.

It conflicts with the findings of Jackson and Barry about women in multinationals in Ireland." The women who spoke with me believe that this industry is much better than traditional industries, for there is less discrimination than in the banks, and that this industry is less male-oriented than the civil service. They perceive the field to be less discriminatory even as they acknowledge that some people consider programming to be a male activity. If women find it easier to 'get on' in the industry, the question is, "Why?" Through my investigation, I learned that part of the answer lies in the nature of information technology work, itself, and part lies with the way in which the sector is developing in Ireland.

The respondents feel that women have more employment options today because of the presence of information technology firms in Ireland which offer a good work setting for women. They think that, because it is a new industry, there has not been the time for old, traditional, and sexist patterns to emerge. There has been less time for traditions regarding gender-typed work to establish themselves. On numerous occasions respondents drew contrasts between information technology companies and banks, which they view as male domains. Because the field is wide open, they believe women have more of a chance, that there are fewer prejudices. They also observed that because this industry depends upon intellectual, not physical, strength they can compete equally with men.

The other reasons women see more opportunity in information technology is the way in which it is developing in Ireland. Because this sector is dominated by American multinational firms, these women believe the values about gender that exist in the United States are being transmitted to Ireland through the medium of corporate culture. Since a firm's corporate culture reflects the national culture of the individuals shaping it, one would naturally expect American norms regarding gender to be reflected in management practices. Therefore, as the industry develops through the presence of American multinational firms, one would expect American values to pervade the Irish information technology industry and influence both men and women in respect to gender roles in the workplace. Because American management is used to seeing women in important positions, there is more gender diversity in the United States, and American multinationals are more liberal regarding gender. One woman described the difference

8 P. Jackson and U. Barry, "Women's Employment in the Republic of Ireland: The Creation of a new Female Labour Force," in *Women's Employment in Multinationals in Europe*, pp. 38-59.

between multinational firms in this industry and those in other industries in Ireland:

PGW: The first multinationals had been in Ireland longer than [the information technology firms]. It was a chemicals company. Some strong, capable women who worked there were bypassed. The electronics businesses are more advanced with respect to women. The view is that if you are capable, and improve yourself, and a job is open you may get it.

Another woman talked about the growing awareness of the concept of diversity. She said that, at first, the emphasis on valuing differences seemed alien in such an ethnically homogeneous society as Ireland, but she went on to say that, through attendance at company workshops, she realized that difference can also apply to age, gender, and work styles as well. This new appreciation is what made the concept of diversity much more relevant to her. To underscore the influence of American culture on the corporate cultures of the multinational firms, it is noteworthy that all those women who believe that it is easier for women to "get on" in information technology because of the American influence also work at American firms.

ET: Do you think that it's easier for a woman to get on in the electronics than in traditional industry?

AEO: Relatively speaking, yes. Definitely. Because there is a culture of equality, equal benefits, equal opportunities....

ET: Do you think any of that has to do with the fact that it's an American-based multinational?

AEO: Yes, I do. Definitely. It has a lot to do with it. I think the whole equality thrust in the group, the same benefits for people is very much American initiated. And a single status [for everyone], I mean, in --, for example, they will tell you the stories, in -- in Cork, they had about four different dining rooms. They had the executive dining room, senior management dining room, middle management dining room. You know, they had car park spaces for ... You know, this was one of the status symbols of how you got on. How well you were doing. All those are thrown out by companies such as [ours]. I think that actually has ... You should probably look at that in terms of the impact on other industries of high tech. When -- started, a lot of the things that they did, single status, and similar benefits, one canteen, treating people on the floor, equal contribution, was unique and it was radical in Ireland at the time. Now it's practically

the norm. And you're out of date if you talk any different kind of language. It's a huge change if it continues. It's worth looking at.

Therefore, because of the characteristics of the industry and the way in which it is developing, the women believe there is less gender discrimination at multinationals. One woman noted she was never conscious of being a female at her current high-tech job where both the financial controller and the manager are women. At the bank where she worked previously, however, she said there was discrimination against women.

A fundamental issue with regard to women and careers that arose during the interviews is whether Irish women want to have careers. Two points of view were expressed by the women with whom I spoke. One group thought that Irish women do not see themselves having a career outside the home. They do not think there are that many women who really want to rise up through the ranks to become managers. One of these respondents commented that at many women who think they will these comments were equally divided among the women who work at American and Irish firms. The other group of women believe that Irish women do want to have a career. Those who expressed this point of view all work at American firms. In their view, the attitude has changed so that currently there are many more women looking for careers or wanting to work than in the past.

The tension that Irish women feel between career and family may be better appreciated when one considers the significant role that family plays in Irish society. Family is viewed as central to Irish society. It is important to have a family. One American respondent was studying in Ireland and, therefore, had an opportunity to interact with many women graduate students. She told me that, from listening to her classmates, it appears that there simply is no lifestyle for unmarried people. She noted her classmates' willingness to move from Dublin to other parts of the country in order to improve their chances of finding a suitable husband. Her observations about marriage and family are consistent with an experience which I had soon after arriving in Ireland. I was invited to the home of one of the professors at the university where I had my visiting appointment. I arrived with another American professor, his wife and two children. Our host, along with his wife and children greeted us at the door. Later I learned that one of the host's children inquired of my colleague's children, "Do you have two mothers?" I wondered whether the little girl had difficulty finding a mental category in which to place me.

The women consistently noted that the wife dominates the domestic arena, especially, they said, when she does not work outside the home. They noted that even when they work outside the home, women bear the bulk of the child-care responsibilities and willingly take on this dual responsibility of children and job. The extent of the husband's role in the home seems to depend upon whether the wife works outside the home. Once again, only those women who work at American companies believe that husbands share domestic responsibilities when their wives work outside the home. The more typical situation is that the mother has primary child-care responsibility, as the following account by a woman who works at an American firm shows:

AEO: He takes time off if I can't get time off, to go see the teacher, for example. I'll give you an interesting. . . . You know, once a year you get invited down to meet the teacher. We've had three years now of this. It's her [our daughter's] third year of primary school. Every single year my husband has come with me, and every single year he's been the only male. When we go in the teacher invariably has one chair. She expects the mother and she has to scramble around to find a second chair because there's two of us. So, I do not think that we're necessarily typical, to be honest with you.

Despite the tensions between work and family, women with families do work outside the home. Only thirty-six percent of the women in this study are single. Fifty-two percent have children and twelve percent are married without children. This number of married women working is much higher than in the population as a whole. The number of married women in the Irish work force has risen sharply from five percent of women in 1961 to twenty-three percent in 1989. The overall percentage of women who work has remained constant since 1961 at thirty percent of all women. With the birth of each additional child, however, women's participation levels are halved.<sup>9</sup> Wickham's 1978 study of women in the Irish electronics industry revealed that over fifty percent of the workers in this industry are women.<sup>10</sup>

But it appears to be economics rather than feminism which motivates these women. As long as economic necessity is the reason, they say, it is socially acceptable for a mother to work outside the home. This notion

<sup>9</sup> T. Callan and B. Farrell, *Women's Participation in the Irish Labour Market* (Dublin: National Economic and Social Council, December 1991), pp. 31, 34.

<sup>10</sup> J. Wickham and P. Murray, *Women in the Irish Electronics Industry* (Dublin: Employment Equality Agency, August 1987), p. 9.

was expressed in several different discussions. One woman commented that it is economic constraints, not women's rights, that make it necessary for a woman to work. If a woman has to work for economic reasons it is acceptable; but if she works because she chooses to work, that is not quite as easily approved. People recognize that an improved standard of living—and the mortgages and bills that accompany it—often require the wife's financial input. As might be expected, most of the women who believe that it is now socially acceptable for mothers to work are either American or work in American firms.

Yet, more negative than positive comments were made during discussions of mothers working outside the home. The following sampling of their comments gives some hint about societal approval and the difficulties encountered by a mother with a job outside the home: "If she leaves the workforce for a time it is difficult for her to get back into her field." or: "It is too difficult to have two full time jobs." or: "The societal infrastructure operating in our area stores data care are not set up to accommodate women working outside the home." Perhaps underlying all these views about married women working is the economic reality of scarce jobs. They noted the sentiment that a married woman who works outside the home is taking a job away from some other family.

ET: What is the general societal attitude toward women working?

NEK: It is that if jobs are scarce why have two partners working? "Isn't she married and her husband working?" If a married woman returns to work it's even worse. It's viewed as taking a job from a young, single girl. I think the underlying view is women should be kept with the menial jobs because they will be leaving them anyway.

This attitude is reinforced by the companion belief that a child should be at home with its mother, not in some day care facility. This was made apparent to me by some of the respondents who acknowledged feeling guilty about having jobs outside the home. The major complaint was the amount of time spent away from home. They complained that it was extremely difficult—if not impossible—to give the hours expected at work in order to get ahead and still have time for some meaningful family life. As a result, the working mothers believe that those women who stay home are looked on by Irish society as better mothers. The irony was noted by one woman from a farming background. The issue is not a mother working, for in an agrarian society mothers work. The difference is that they work at home. She went on to say that, by leaving the home to work, she

feels torn, and experiences a sense of **guilt** about leaving the children or not being there when they return from school.

A rueful tone arose when these women talked about balancing work and family. The women acknowledge the societal views yet nearly all of them are working mothers. Another woman from the agrarian West talked about the tradeoffs between agrarian and information technology work in terms of the quality of life. On the one hand, she noted that she has more money and has the opportunity to get dressed up each day and go into the city. On the other hand, she thought it is definitely easier to be a "working mother" if the work is on the family farm rather than in an information technology firm. She thought it was easier to have a family life in a rural setting, despite the economic hardships. Working in these new industries is hard on families because of the need to leave the home to work and because of the long hours—in some cases exacerbated by a long journey from the country into the city. The general conclusion is that families are not as close-knit as they were when Ireland was a predominantly **agrarian** society.

A minority of women with whom I spoke had the opinion that women with children should stay home, that staying at home can be more rewarding than going out of the house to work:

PGW: I agree with the old idea about a mother's role being a home. About not divided loyalties. I have seen kids some of whose mothers work. Where the mother stays at home, the character of the kids is better. **If** I had a family and didn't need the money. I'd stay at home. I liked that my mother **was** always around when I was young.

and:

GJR: I don't understand the women who say, "I'd be a vegetable if I stayed at home. I would not have any adults to talk to. I would go **crazy** with a child all day long." There is an enormous amount of stuff that they could do. What is intellectually stimulating about sitting at a typewriter all day long? . . . I remember talking to a woman at some point and saying, "How could you choose to spend time in here as against time with your child at home? Time at home with your child? Spending time with it? Seeing its reactions, seeing it taking its first steps?" Very shortly after that she did pack it in and go home. I don't know whether I had anything to do with that but I could not understand . . . the job she **was** doing was not interesting. There was no way in the world she was getting any stimulation from that.

The predominance of marriage and motherhood as the typical life trajectory, coupled with the ambivalence about mothers working outside the home, gives rise to the following question: If women do not see themselves as having a career, how does one reconcile the fact that equal percentages of both female and male students—twenty-five percent—go on to higher education?" There appear to be several answers to this question.

Many career-oriented women today resolve this dilemma by marrying and having children later. In this "early retirement" approach, for about ten years following attainment of their university degrees, many Irish women have careers which they then leave upon marriage and motherhood. One woman in her late twenties noted that only one out of eight school friends is married and that woman does not have children. Interestingly, this is the case for women with such professional qualifications as engineering, medicine and law as well as for those in less skilled occupations. One respondent noted that her mother, who was a physician, stayed at home while raising her family. This point of view was reinforced in interviews with men working in the information technology sector as well." One young man who was contemplating marriage explained how his girlfriend, an electronics engineer, would quit her job when they had children. The economics of parenthood favors this approach. Given the high taxes on wages in Ireland and the cost of child care, an economic case can be made for the **mother** not working outside the home. This reality provides partial explanation for the attitude in the workplace that management should not invest many resources in women because they will not be around "for the long haul." Both women and men seem to hold this view.

MAM: I left secondary school in 1978. The attitude at the school was that you would go to university and get a job, but behind that, the image was "have children." . . . . You were expected to be high achievers, yet fellow students thought it was weird that one of our classmates wanted to go into engineering. The general attitude in my age group is that we will work but deep down, we don't **want** to work until age sixty-five. My father thinks I should be at home. He does not appreciate the independence I have by virtue of my job, that I have a say in [domestic] decision making.

<sup>11</sup> Clancy, p. 53.

<sup>12</sup> The interviews with the twenty-five women are part of a larger ethnographic study of the information technology industry in Ireland. Fifty-nine men were interviewed, as well, on a variety of topics including the industry's influence on women. It is one of these interviews which is referred to here.

A second approach that women take is to attempt to retain their careers while rearing children. Two of the American respondents observed that Irish women resent the idea of being required to stay at home, yet they feel a conflict between career and home. When the topic of balancing career and family was raised, it was always women working at American companies who commented on this topic. Their comments centered around the heavy demands on their time imposed by their positions and the subsequent toll it might be taking on their families. They say the number of hours expected at work militates against women, and that women then back away when they see what is expected of them. In their view, men say that women are not ambitious, but the real reason is that it is difficult to give the hours demanded at work and still have time for family responsibilities. Thus, because the demands of family life are so strong, these women are reluctant to give total commitment to work.

AHO: Of course, there is that women are not putting themselves forward. But the real question is "Why?" That's the answer you always get from men. "They're not putting themselves forward," "They're not ambitious," "They will not do it." But, of course, we know that there is a complex set of reasons why that is the case. Some of it has to do with the amount of hours and commitment that is required in an industry such as ours. On personal choice they do not want to make that decision. I mean a lot of men here—senior guys—get strung up every now and then about how much time they're not spending with their families. If you really talk to them, and if you get them to open up, they are very worried about that. And they get a lot of grief at home about that, right. But they do not change. Ambition, I think, supersedes all that. That is simply not the case for women. I don't think we find it as easy to kind of toss it off. Most of the women that you talk to, mothers that I talk to, it's not about not wanting to work or not wanting to get on. Of course they want to get on, same as anybody else, and realize their potential. But they're very concerned and guilty about what effect that's having on their children, and they will pull back. That'll go on the back burner. . . .

The issue of child care is closely linked to decisions about working outside the home. A minority of respondents believed that child care is and should be provided by a member of one's family. One noted that she would leave her child only with another family member. While the majority of women noted that using child-care centers represents the most common form of child care, they also observed that there were not enough centers, their cost was high, and that their hours were not coordinated

with work hours. As a result, it is sometimes not economically possible for a mother to hold a job outside the home.

A third option is for Irish women to make a mutually exclusive choice between either career or family:

IFG: I deal with mostly women in senior positions in US — They are all married with children. In contrast, in Ireland, senior position women are usually unmarried or have no children. Or they have their own company.

During some of the interviews with older women who had been obliged to make this difficult choice, a hint of resentment could be detected in discussions about career and family. Perhaps this is because when these women were young they had to make the choice between career and family—lacking the option of delayed marriage, or of having a career as well as a family. Younger women respondents observe that these women are sometimes difficult to work for. Perhaps because they had to make a clear choice between a career and family, they are not always sensitive to the position of younger women attempting to have both family and a career. The women also noted the obvious double standard in evidence. They noted that Irish men can have both a family and career advancement. One woman pointed to her own situation as a case in point: all the other managers at her firm are men and are married as well. She is the only woman who is a manager, and she is the only manager who is unmarried.

In addition to the career-family dilemma, according to the interviewees, there are also barriers to women taking an equal place with men in the information technology field. Based on the comments that were made, some of these barriers seem to be attitudinal: a general feeling of inequality within Irish society; discrimination in obtaining jobs; and discrimination regarding career advancement. Other barriers seem to be embedded in Irish institutions. When asked about the position of women in Ireland today, half of the respondents said women are losing their rights, that they are second-class citizens, and that married women are paid less than men. They also said women are stereotyped in the workplace, and that they must shout louder to be heard. As a result, they say, women who expect equal treatment are categorized as troublemakers or, like the woman at one firm, earn a reputation of always seeming to be fighting to prove something.

While women view themselves as insecure, they see men as having confidence. My own experience in conducting this research bears this out. In more than half of the interviews with women there was some noticeable undercurrent present. They were more reluctant than men to have the

interview recorded. Those respondents who were defensive and less willing to open up tended to be women. One woman respondent required that the interview be conducted after work hours and, away from the work place. When I arrived at the agreed upon location, I was met not only by the respondent but also by her sister and two male colleagues from university. Another woman required me to wait for thirty minutes into our agreed upon time before she would see me. When I entered her office, she looked at her watch and said, "Well, I can spare thirty minutes to talk with you," but she had previously agreed to meet with me for ninety minutes. As a woman researcher, I did not expect this type of response from women. When I raised this issue with my university colleagues, one man quipped: "They're just not able to lie as well as men!" His point is that the men with whom I spoke have more confidence about their public personas and are not intimidated by talking to an American researcher, as some of the women perhaps were.

At the same time that some women were citing examples of discrimination, a minority of them expressed the view that women deserve the treatment they get. One woman observed that women contribute to the lower status attributed to the homemaker role when they make deprecating comments like "Oh, I'm just a housewife," when asked what they do. One older woman expressed her sentiments this way:

ET: Tell me about the position of women in Ireland.

SPT: Well, we have an antidiscrimination law. I am afraid I am 'anti woman.' I think they are too emotional and then there is the problem of pregnancy and guaranteed [four months] maternity leave.

Discrimination in obtaining jobs has historically been quite blatant. Until the early 1970s a "marriage bar" was in effect whereby women in civil service positions were required to leave their jobs after marriage.<sup>13</sup> The marriage bar meant that, in general, women employed in the service industries, banks, local authorities and semi-state bodies were required to resign from their employment upon marriage.<sup>14</sup> The service sector has been the major source of employment for women in Ireland: sixty-two percent of females employed in 1961 and seventy-five in 1981 were in the service sector, with one-third to two-fifths of these in the public sector in

<sup>13</sup> P. Clancy, S. Drudy, K. Lynch, and L. O'Dowd, *Ireland: A Sociological Profile* (Dublin: Institute for Public Administration, 1988), p. 301.

<sup>14</sup> *Commission on the Status of Women* (1972), par. 252.

these respective years; consequently, the marriage bar limited any opportunities to a certain type of worker-unmarried women or males."

One woman related her own personal story about the marriage bar. She was employed at Aer Lingus when she got married in April, 1964. The marriage bar meant that she could not continue working—the state and semi-state bodies such as Aer Lingus did not employ married women unless they were widowed. There was no question of her returning to permanent work, but she did manage to get hired on as a temporary summer employee in passenger handling, her old department. She thinks she was probably one of the first married females to return, even on a temporary basis. She worked from May until October of that year. However, she went back to the minimum of the salary scale, "despite the fact that I was coming back to do exactly the job I had left to change my name!" But she appeared to harbor no resentment. That was just the way things were. When I inquired about the reason for the marriage bar, she suggested economic reasons. During the postwar era of the 1950s when unemployment was very high, she thought perhaps this measure was used as a way of increasing employment opportunities for young people. Once a woman got married, it was assumed that her husband was responsible for her and the children, so she did not need a job.

In 1977 all employers were prohibited from discriminating against married women by an antidiscrimination act.<sup>15</sup> Even though the marriage bar no longer exists, the respondents observed that the rationale underlying it still does. Because there is still a high unemployment rate in Ireland, in some quarters jobs continue to be viewed as something to be rationed and shared. Therefore, they say, if jobs are scarce there is a negative attitude toward married women working. Some of the women I interviewed said they sometimes think that married women should not work in order that single people could be employed. Interestingly, the antidiscrimination legislation, which was enacted largely in response to European Community requirements on gender equality, has, in certain respects, had an opposite effect. Because employers in Ireland are now required to provide women with four months unpaid maternity leave, some employers are reluctant to hire women in the first place. During an interview, an Irish woman working at an American firm commented

<sup>15</sup> J. L. Pyle, *The State and Women in the Economy: Lessons from Sex Discrimination in the Republic of Ireland* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), p. 87.

<sup>16</sup> *Ireland; A Sociological Profile*, p. 301.

about this. When we were discussing the existence of discrimination against women in Irish information technology firms, despite the existence of an anti-discrimination law, she said:

SPT: Well, if I were in charge of Human Resources I'd probably discriminate against women too. You know, if I've got two candidates and one of them was always going to go off getting pregnant . . .

The women believe that the barriers to women advancing in their careers arise not so much from overt discrimination as from perceptions about the role of women in Irish society. Because of the "early retirement" phenomenon, there is an unconscious discrimination born of the assumption that a woman is not interested in a job for the long haul. Further, it is difficult for a woman in information technology because of the long hours and the dual roles that a working mother must play in Ireland. Simply by extension, unmarried women or those without children are treated as not serious about work as well. They emphasized that fact that, because women are not viewed as working for the long term, they are kept at low-level positions and, it is expected that women will eventually leave. As a result, it is uncommon for women to hold senior positions in a company. But the respondents were very clear that the reason that women were not in high places was not because there are qualified women who are interested in advancing. Rather, women simply move up through the ranks very slowly. One woman who had been at a firm for quite a few years noted that several men who entered the company after her are now at levels above her.

One institution which influences women's position in the information technology industry is education. The success of Ireland's current industrial policy depends heavily upon its educational system. Unlike agricultural or traditional industrial work, the information technology industry requires employees with extensive, specialized skills and knowledge. And despite some traditionally held views about a woman's role, the tradition that "girls don't go to university" appears to be gone. Today, parents want their daughter to be educated. All children are now encouraged to go to university. If women can avail themselves of education and resolve the career-family dilemma, they can get on in the information technology industry. In another sense, however, to the extent that female students are unable to obtain the skills and knowledge needed in this industry, education represents a barrier to women.

Some of the respondents gave examples of these barriers from their own experience, and these represent the issues regarding educational preparation

for a career in information technology. They said that when computer applications are introduced in the secondary schools—the vast majority of which are segregated by gender—girls are told about it in a stereotyped context, such as how to create a home budget. Another issue is the historical view of mathematics as a "male" subject. For example, one of the women noted that, when her father taught in the 1930s, girls were sent off to cooking classes while boys were studying math. However, her father used that time to teach the boys classics so that girls could learn math as well when they returned! She credits her father's enlightened view—which also caused him to send his daughters to a school which offered the best math curriculum at the time—for her ability to enter the computer work. Another woman recalled being told in the convent school, back in 1976, "Now girls, this is very difficult," as the introduction to every math instruction. She suggested that this statement was perhaps more a reflection of the fact that many teachers had no real qualifications to teach math. The reason that mathematics is an issue is that attaining a certain level of math in secondary school is a prerequisite to entrance into computer programs at the university level. Therefore, to the extent that secondary schools provide unequal mathematics backgrounds to boys and girls, they create a barrier to women's gaining work in the information technology industry. These same respondents went on to comment on barriers to women at the university level. They said that even when girls overcome the math hurdle and are able to study computers at the university level, the barriers continue. One woman told a compelling story about an experience in a group term project.

LNC: I couldn't make eye contact with boys in my group working on our third year project. The lecturer asked who had done what. I started out talking first, but the lecturer didn't seem to be paying any attention to me. They weren't looking at me. They wouldn't make eye contact. It was going so bad that A—'— jumped in and finished my statement to save our grade. Because of that, I almost didn't pass. I was told by the other students that S— and T— were "carrying, me." And everyone believed these guys were doing all the work.

These anecdotes appear to be quite consistent with actual data about higher education. In 1986, forty percent of male entrants to higher education took up the study of technology while less than eight percent of female entrants did.<sup>17</sup> This makes technology currently the most gender-typed field of study in Ireland.

17 Clancy, p. 68.