Flexible Work and Disciplined Selves:

Telework, Gender and Discourses of Subjectivity

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"I just say to myself 'well darn it, you've set something up that is still going after six years and that isn't in an overdraft situation, so even if you haven't drawn a heap out of it, it's still kept its head above water'. And I provide jobs for three-and-a-half people. Have quite a lot of fun. And probably in terms in my feeling of self-worth. And the kids even, they're probably quite chuffed"

"I always had visions of rock-crushing convicts, where there was nobody after you but a rock wall and the rocks that had to be crushed ... I had a good client who worked for himself and he used to say "we're on the pit-face Nora". There is just nobody else after you, is there?"

Nora Jolly, teleworker.

"I'd go and tell her, the kids are in bed (and) they want a kiss tonight, but I'd quite often go back out to the (garage) office a half-an-hour later to tell her that they had gone to sleep already, and then she would then come inside the house to kiss them while they slept, because she felt guilty. I used to feel cross about it, I used to think 'gosh, it doesn't take two minutes to go in there and give them a kiss goodnight', and I used to know she'd be cross with herself five minutes later because she hadn't done it when they were awake. It's just this damned intrusion of all the bloody work. Do we need this work? What's it for?"

Nathan Jolly, Nora's partner.

Abstract

Home-based work employing information and communications technologies (telework) is held up in contemporary academic literatures, policy formulations and the popular media as the cure to a panoply of contemporary problems, particularly the difficulties of combining caring responsibilities and careers. This thesis takes up the question of how teleworkers talk about and practise home-based business. It pivots on the exploration of the simultaneity of parenting, partnering and paid work for home-based business people. The 'teleworking tales' of eleven home-based entrepreneurs form the heart of the thesis, as they discuss their negotiation of 'home' and 'work' where the usual temporal and spatial boundaries between these arenas are removed. While previous studies assume that telework is 'family-friendly', most do not investigate the perspectives of other family members on the effect of home-based business on their households and relationships. This thesis speaks into this silence in the literature by contextualising telework within family relations, including as participants the partners, children and child care workers of the eleven home-based businesswomen and men, interviewing thirty people in all.

Three strands of analysis regarding discourses of the organisation, domesticity and entrepreneurship were pursued in relation to these 'teleworking tales'. It was found that these 'tales' were told differently by teleworking women and men, the women focusing on the untenable nature of continued organisational employment as women and mothers, while the men established home-based businesses because of declining employment security and redundancy. In the midst of these constituting relations, the discursive injunction to be a 'fit worker' and a 'good parent' had different implications for the women and men; where as the women negotiated home-based entrepreneurship *through* domesticity, the men navigated their way *around* domesticity in order to maintain a singular focus on their businesses.

The effect of the cross-cutting axes of domesticity and entrepreneurship significantly curtailed the opportunity for teleworking to represent a new crafting of the relationship between 'home' and 'work' as teleworkers negotiated the simultaneous demands their families and businesses made upon them. It was also the case that home-based businesses were a source of pleasure and of productive forms of power which encouraged home-based entrepreneurs to watch over and discipline themselves. The research unfolds as both a warning and a promise with regard to the 'choice' to telework, in terms of what is 'chosen' and how that is 'controlled'. It is particularly a contribution to current debates regarding the complex patterning of gendered and familial practices which continually fragment the freedoms promised by the discourse of entrepreneurship.

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Chapter 1

The Setting and the Problem: From Personal Challenges to Sociological Curiosities

This thesis concerns the lives of eleven families, specifically the home-based businesses of eleven women and men within these families who are *teleworkers*, that is, people who perform paid work from home at a distance from clients, and who employ information and communications technologies in their businesses (Huws, 1993). These eleven people are self-employed, are parents of children under fifteen, are heterosexually partnered and work predominantly with electronic text rather than in businesses which involve a high degree of face-to-face contact with other adults.

Their accounts, and the accounts of their partners and children, provide detailed narratives of the motivations compelling these teleworkers to establish home-based businesses, and the effects of doing so on themselves and their families. The study thus pivots around *two* key issues. Firstly and most significantly, this thesis is enlivened by the question:

> *how do women and men negotiate the discourses of paid work, parenting and domestic labour when these occur in the same place and at the same time in the site of domestic dwellings?*

More specifically, how do teleworkers negotiate entrepreneurship and domesticity when these both occur within their homes, and what are the congruences or dissimilarities between these negotiations on the part of women and men?

Secondly, the thesis looks back to the teleworkers' work histories within organisations to ask:

what motivates women and men to leave relatively secure organisational employment to become self-employed, home-based entrepreneurs?

This question is two-fold in character, that is, how are teleworkers both *pushed out* and *pulled into* home-based work and to what extent does this reflect the (gendered) practices and hierarchies within organisations *and/or* the demands of domestic arrangements as they are experienced by women and men?

This chapter discusses the circuitous journey toward this research topic. This 'storying' of my research process moves from a discussion of the ways in which the questions raised in the research resonate with personal dilemmas and desires of my own; the political allegiances and agendas that influenced the shape of the original project, and the sociological curiosities that were piqued by the prospect of investigating the relationship between 'home' and 'work' as they were configured in the specific practice of telework.

The interplay between personal, political and sociological concerns in this chapter in turn reflects categories of my own interest and positioning which are themselves subject to interconnection as I inquired into the nature of 'home' and 'work' at the end of a century that has seen extraordinary changes in both. As I story the movement toward the questions which lie at the heart of this thesis, I seek to narrate my entry into the literature and 'empirical field' as a discontinuous journey over uneven ground rather than a linear pathway toward the 'truth'; a journey marked by false starts and blind alleyways, as well as by higher ground and the occasional clear view.

Why Telework? Personal Challenges and Dilemmas

What drew me, slowly, into this research area was a series of personal concerns which related to the core issues which were to be addressed in the thesis, namely those of work and family, subjectivity and power. I was at the beginning of the research, employed as a feminist academic teaching Sociology and Women's Studies while simultaneously administrating the latter, and my research focus began to clarify as an interest in the possibility of maintaining a 'personal life' and my home as some kind of 'sanctuary' from work, when increasingly the work encroached upon what I might have defined as 'non-work' time and space. Simultaneously, the research was also invigorated by my awareness that I had a contradictory desire to shed my responsibilities at home and in the community in order to focus in a less interrupted way on my academic work, and especially my thesis; to stop the encroachment of these other tasks on precious time for writing and reflection.

As I embarked on my PhD studies I began to be more self-reflexively aware of the multiplicity of demands on my time and energy engendered by my paid work, my responsibilities in my home and community and, moreover, by my own genuinely conflicted desires to do a multiplicity of things and to do only one thing. I became more conscious of *boundary-crossings* between 'home' and 'work' in ways that had not struck me as problematic before this: the interruptions of meals and leisure by phone calls and meetings at night and in the weekend; the excited preoccupation with 'work' in my conversation with non-work friends and in my dreams; my sense of constantly thinking abut my work and finding it difficult to make space for other things and other modes of being; the frantic and exhausting pace at which I lived.

Despite my desire to maintain *multiplicity* in my identifications and commitments, I became intrigued and then increasingly alarmed by the *flattening* of my subjectivity into one dominant form, that of my 'work' self. Despite my attempts to do other things and maintain networks with other people, it became my major source of self, and the one that others most frequently responded to me in terms of. My alarm became more acute when I contemplated living full-time with my partner and his child and having further child/ren. How could I fit in other relationships and responsibilities when I had such an engaging working life? I flipped between periods of almost monastic devotion to my various academic endeavours which so easily absorbed any waking (and non-waking) hour I chose to spend on them, and the desire to give it all away, by which I meant resigning from my tenured lectureship and a) getting pregnant and becoming economically dependent and/or b) retreating to some scenic bushland idyll to reinvent myself as an 'artiste'.

My awareness of my own difficulty in putting boundaries around my work and the merging of *all* time and space into 'work' time and space, drew me at an emotional level to the prospect of studying women whose professional employment occurred in the site of their homes. I was most interested in homes also occupied by partners and children, and within which the women's multiple positionings as mothers, entrepreneurs and partners were experienced simultaneously and (potentially) in contradiction to one another. I wanted to 'eavesdrop' on practices such women used to cope with these multiple demands, how they created boundaries to engage with and limit their work, and how they felt and talked about these issues and themselves.

Did they, as I did, make their home-offices business-like, stripping them of other activities and tokens of subjectivity? Did they experience their working life as drawing on the best parts of themselves, as extending them emotionally and intellectually? Did they worry about taking holidays from paid work and thus being out of contact by phone and fax? Did they

have extended periods of wanting to do nothing but get back to their work, resenting other activities and responsibilities that took them away from these tasks? Did their families support their work and did their partners share the care of the children and the house? Did their work represent a part of their autonomous subjectivity and self-defined practice where they effectively resisted the demands of their families, and/or was it a source of unremitting demand and stress?

The focus of this thesis was thus in part provoked by a sense of my own and potentially others, shifting, complex subjectivities and practices as they were *contested* in the two important arenas of paid work and the family. The way *competing* subjectivities and practices were asserted in these contestations, and their articulation with what we might call the 'macro' relations of society and the economy, gradually took shape into the study at hand.

Political Allegiances and Shifting Agendas

A parallel but different narrative of the development of this research begins much earlier than my enrolment in doctoral studies in 1991, where the original project was strongly influenced by my political affiliations. Politically the journey of this study had its beginnings in long-term interests I, my partner and the socialist feminist movement in Aotearoa/New Zealand had in worker organisations, low paid work and 'industrial homework', that is, home-based manufacturing employment performed on a piece-rate basis (Allen and Wolkowitz, 1987:1). Although my personal motivations were focused on the kind of professional work academics who work at home perform, my political allegiances made this a problematic research site and one I was suspicious of as elitist, statistically insignificant (approximately 10,089 workers in 1991, Loveridge et al 1996: 21), and unlikely to contribute to movements for social change. This PhD was thus initially framed as an investigation of industrial homework following masterate work I completed at Canterbury University in 1984-5, where I became interested in the growing internationalisation of labour and the globalization of manufacturing production. Through this work, I became increasingly intrigued by the creation of so called 'third world' enclaves within Aotearoa/New Zealand, constituted of those who worked from home or in 'sweatshop'-style workplaces. These workers laboured under conditions typified by long hours and low pay with many of the costs of production, such as electricity, storage facilities, transportation and equipment, off-loaded onto the workers themselves (Swainson and Andrews, 1985; Gallagher, 1986; Andrews, 1986).

What also intrigued me about this home-based work was the link between the processes which facilitated the re-emergence of industrial homework and the simultaneous changes in capitalist accumulation processes which promoted the relocation of industry 'off-shore'. That is, the movement of manufacturing production to the low-cost labour nations of Asia and the Pacific was parallelled in Aotearoa/New Zealand by the relocation of some displaced factory workers into home-based work. In the clothing industry, for example, where 86.5% of the labour force in 1987 were women (Textile Overview Committee, 1988), homeworking was one response to the numerical flexibility required by the 'rag trade': namely the short-runs and customised manufacture which encouraged 'non-standard' subcontracting agreements including home-based work.

For quite a long period my interest in this area focused on industrial homeworkers because of my political commitment and concern with low-paid employment and my interest in how women homeworkers in particular 'chose' to work at home in order to combine caring for their children with paid work. What drew me to industrial homework was the implications of the feminist literature concerning the ways in which the position of women in the 'public' sphere of paid work both "moulds and is moulded" by the 'private' sphere of the home (Novitz, 1987:48). As a sociologist and feminist scholar influenced by the domestic labour debates of the seventies and eighties, I was drawn to the question: what happens to women when the spatial and temporal boundaries between work for 'love' (domestic and caring labour) and work for money are removed and both are potentially experienced in the same place and at the same time?

Home-based work was attractive as a research area because it traversed in a very interesting way a series of boundaries: between 'home' and 'work'; between paid employment and unpaid domestic labour and child care; between the 'private' space of the home and the 'public' world of business. In this sense home-based work appeared to be one example of wider concerns about juggling 'public' and 'private' worlds which confounded sociological assumptions about the 'separate spheres' as distinct and discrete. What the feminist literature so convincingly showed (eg Habgood, 1992; Hochschild, 1989), and what my own experience suggested, was that home is also a work site, particularly for women and especially so for those with dependent children. Rather than a 'sanctuary' from the world, the home emerges in the feminist literature as the social nucleus for interactions with family, for domestic and caring labour; a locus of activity, rather than a 'retreat' from the world.

However if home was already constituted as a work site for women, what were the implications of paid work *also* entering this arena? The industrial homework literature suggested that for women homeworkers the lack of a spatial separation between paid and

unpaid work meant that both forms of work were always present, where women were unable to leave either behind them (Allen and Wolkowitz, 1987:39). However, 'choosing' to work from home did appear to reconcile the *ideological* contradiction at the heart of working mothers' lives, between being a 'good' available mother and competing as a 'good' rational worker in the marketplace; and the *material* contradiction between the need to give care to one's children and the need to earn a wage. Home-based work appeared to be a solution to the dilemma many women face of juggling the competing demands of 'home' and 'work', while at the same time it was part of the *problem* of the unequal sexual division of labour within the home which continues to define child care and domestic labour as women's responsibility.

In mid-1991 when I enrolled in my doctorate, I began by exploring these questions through a preliminary investigation of the research in Australia, and specifically the attempts by worker organisations to unionise industrial homeworkers. This involved me in interviews with research agencies and government and trade union officials in and around Sydney and Melbourne, including site visits with trade union officials of some homeworkers' premises/homes.

However, at the end of this fieldwork and in response to Foggo's (1992) qualitative research with clothing homeworkers in Aotearoa/New Zealand, I decided that to continue the project on industrial homeworking was problematic both theoretically and methodologically. Theoretically industrial home working appeared to be a low wage trap for (predominantly) women where socialist feminist analysis of the most structuralist kind could be employed. Systems of production and reproduction *did appear to be* interdependent in this site (à la Heidi Hartmann, 1981) and did combine to 'oppress' women in ways that they found difficult to resist, perhaps explaining its popularity as a site of socialist feminist scholarship in the 1980s. It was difficult at the time to see how I could 'write against' the dominant socialist feminist analyses by key writers in the field (eg Allen and Wolkowitz, 1986 and 1987; Pennington and Westover, 1989; Phizacklea 1990), and indeed what else there was to be said, in that I could not think beyond the paradigm they offered. Additionally, further qualitative work such as Foggo's (1992) detailing individual women's case studies as industrial home-based workers appeared methodologically unnecessary, while the possibility of achieving the empirical reach required to complete a significant quantitative study that would 'expose' the informal economy, beyond the scope of the PhD. In light of both these considerations I filed away my extensive industrial homework materials and Australian 'fieldwork', dusted off the two meagre file boxes containing the materials I had collected on telework, and began again.

Although I think this was and continues to be a good decision for me, it was a painful one in terms of my politics, union affiliations and sense of wasted time and effort. On reflection, near the end of the thesis research in 1995, I came to reconsider the position I took in relation to industrial homework. This reconsideration was engendered by discussion with sociologist Terry Austrin (31/3/95), himself the child of an industrial homeworker, about the ways industrial homework may offer women opportunities for resistance and negotiation within their families in ways that the current feminist literature occludes. This idea interested me as I began to notice something akin to a socialist feminist 'hegemony' in the industrial homework literature emanating from the United Kingdom (see Allen and Wolkowitz, 1987; Pennington and Westover, 1989; Phizacklea, 1990; Phizacklea and Wolkowitz, 1995).

Resisting the temptation to close down the debate, I then searched for *alternative* accounts which explored the theme of industrial homework as a site of *resistance* and *negotiation,* and found a study of clothing homeworkers and family dynamics in Mexico City by Lourdes Benería and Martha Roldán (1987). This study took seriously the prospect of industrial homework as one of the few opportunities that some Mexican women had to pursue paid employment, and thus to wrest for themselves a measure of economic independence and power within their families. For example, one participant said:

> Now that I get my own money, I feel better, less short of money, because now I know how much money I have for a week. Before I used to ask him for everything he used to shout at me if he thought I was spending too much on the children ... Now I tell him "with the small salary you earn and you go and spend it drinking with your friends. Look at me, I am also earning and I do not buy anything for myself, but all I get I put into the house". It's not fair. Once or twice he slapped me in the face ... I felt I was right (ibid: 148).

Studies such as Benería and Roldán's suggest the 'agency' of women who work as industrial homeworkers and the significance of even a small measure of economic independence to such women's lives. In the narratives generated in Benería and Roldán's (1987) research I also found unexpected resonances with what had become themes in this thesis, such as the importance of independent income as a lever to change the existing balance of power within families, the tendency for women to spend their incomes on their households rather than themselves as individuals, and the importance of paid work as a source of subjectivity, self-esteem and control.

That is, even though the culture and class of the women in the two contexts of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Mexico were significantly different, the themes of control,

resistance and negotiation as partners, parents and workers are present in both accounts. This is not to elide the insoluble differences between the two research sites or to minimise their specificity, but rather to acknowledge the complexity and dynamism alive in Benería and Roldán's account of industrial homework, and the glimpse it allows of a different kind of research from that which currently dominates the Anglo-British industrial homework literature. It may also be the case that a generation of researchers in the United Kingdom who are the daughters of industrial homeworkers will yet write accounts which give voice to a different experience of homework from that currently recorded in the British literature. I would note for example the cautiously optimistic nature of some of the articles that appear in the multilingual newsletter of the West Yorkshire Homeworking Unit and the Homeworkers' Association, *Outworker News* (1996). Articles published in English, Bengali, Urdu, Punjabi and Gujarati have titles such "Fortune and Fulfilment" (concerning child minding homework) and reports on how to participate in a "Pamper Yourself Day", alongside articles about occupational health and safety and employment rights (ibid). Such different voices are suggestive of the multiplicity of accounts of industrial homework that are emerging within the context of the United Kingdom and which will doubtless affect the next wave of research in this field.

Defining Telework

In response to a variety of factors, I reorientated the research toward so-called 'new' technology home-based work, or telework. Telework itself is a slippery term that could equally validly be used to describe a number of different possible collective and individual experiences: in the former category, neighbourhood work centres and satellite offices linked to a mother organisation; in the latter, work at home, and forms of mobile work (Monod, 1985; ILO, 1990). The word 'telework' itself is relatively unknown and I found I needed to provide a definition of it when describing my research in Aotearoa/New Zealand, even in academic and research circles.

Further complicating the issue is the fact that two *different* words dominate the literature on each shore of the Atlantic, that is, *telework* and *telecommuting*, although a number of other words also enjoy currency, such as 'home-based work', 'remote work', 'distance work', and 'information and communication technology (ICT) homework'. The genesis of the term *telework*, according to Huws (1984), was originally associated with remote work which used information and communication technologies connected via acoustic couplers or modems to the British Telecom grid and then to a distant, parent terminal. In contrast the United States literature typically employed the term *telecommuting*, first coined by Nilles (1976) to signify the use of conventional mail and teleconferencing to substitute for physical

commuting to or from work. This term usually referred to people who worked from home and focused on the facilitation of work outside of the usual organisational confines of time and space, through office automation and the employment of cheaper, more user-friendly and more advanced technology (Olson, 1983). In Aotearoa/New Zealand and Australia the term 'telework' is commonly used, and I will use it in the body of this work. In making this decision I recognise the postcolonial nature of the intellectual community's relationship to the United Kingdom, and yet wish to distance myself from the American term 'telecommuting' as inappropriately underscoring transportation and technological factors over employment relations suggested by the word tele*work*. When I use this word in this thesis I am referring to a form of work organisation which uses information and communications technologies and is carried out at a distance from clients or employers (Elling, 1985; Kraut, 1987; Lie, 1985; Olson, 1983; Soares, 1992).

The Polarised Debate Concerning 'New' and 'Old' Home-based Work

What I found initially repellent and then increasingly intriguing about the literature concerning telework was its *celebratory* nature, which envisioned highly skilled entrepreneurs pursuing lucrative work and leisure lifestyles within attractive middle-class homes. This research site retained my interest in the removal of the boundaries between work for pay and work for 'love', but located this within a context where the home-based workers concerned were more likely to be men and to have many more resources and opportunities as white, middle-class, educated business people than most industrial homeworkers (Allen and Wolkowitz, 1987; Pennington and Westover, 1989).

Gone were the satanic mills revisited in the living rooms of Northern England that the industrial homework literature invoked. In the telework literature the images of work were clean, green and elegantly leisured; the 'electronic cottage' of the future would, futurists confidently argued (eg Toffler, 1970 and 1980; Robertson, 1983 and 1985), use the 'magic' of information and communications technologies to enhance workers' autonomy and facilitate an egalitarian division of labour within the home as men became integrated back into the household.

But what I also noticed in the literature concerning these 'information society' knowledge workers, was that more often than not they were curiously free of any dependents, any concerns about having an unstable income, and weren't pushed for space, time or anyone to clean the loo. Pruitt and Barrett (1991), for example, visualised a working day in a virtual workplace of the not-too-distant future where the worker/protagonist was at his computer in his pyjamas within minutes of waking, enrobed himself in a computerised body suit,

'walked' into his 'virtual' work space, interacted with clients and colleagues from around the world, upgraded his software skills, then logged out of his machine to find only the dog patiently waiting to be fed. Most people, and particularly most mothers, don't begin their working day this way.

What I reacted to in much of the telework literature was its technological fixation and its entrepreneurial emphasis, particularly its neglect of relations and exchanges outside of the 'public' world of the market. In this sense my critique of the telework literature drew on wider feminist critiques of the neglect of the 'private' sphere and the weak analysis within some non-feminist accounts of power and inequality within the household (Waring, 1988). The telework literature emphasised the employment and technological aspects of this work practice at the expense of thorough-going analyses of the social, political and economic context in which it occurred, the very analyses which are so clearly articulated in the industrial homework literature.

Initially I tended to take a very negative view of telework and to resist constructions of it as a work practice with any appeal to women. I felt uneasy in response to the 'celebratory' telework literature because of my awareness that few, if any, teleworking women with children had been asked in a detailed way to reflect on their employment and family lives. In these initial stages, my writing demonstrated a strong allegiance with the socialist feminist school of thought. This suggested that home-based business was a practice through which patriarchal and capitalist relations structured women into a position where they worked doubly hard to be available for both their families and clients, in a context which provided no spatial or temporal boundaries between the two forms of work.

As I suggest above, I moved on from socialist feminist 'oppression' analyses in the 1990s, in part because I felt they privileged accounts of homework as exclusively exploitative without *also* appreciating the ways in which it acted as a source of negotiation for women within households. However, I was attracted to some of the themes of the industrial homework literature because of the ways it drew critical attention to the assumption of 'choice', emphasising that telework was a choice made within constraints, and to embodiment, were women's bodies remain constantly and corporeally present in the industrial homework literature as they laboured for pay and for 'love'.

Although this literature could be said to err too much on the side of structural determinacy and deny 'agency', it was also an important rejoinder to the pernicious individualism apparent in some of the celebratory literature (Edwards and Edwards, 1987; Gordon and Kelly, 1986; Kinsman, 1987). What these 'optimistic' perspectives within the telework

literature suggested were that there were *no continuities* between the insights gained from the investigation of industrial homework and the research on telework. The former was constructed as a project informed by 'left' politics in their application to a site of 'sweated' labour, whilst the latter concerned the entrepreneurial behaviour of self-made business people making the most of the good life within the technologically-advanced free market.

In contrast, my reading of these literatures began to suggest that there were some interesting *continuities and discontinuities* between these two areas. Although the literatures concerning industrial homework and telework were discursively constructed as opposite ends of a polarised debate, I became aware of common themes regarding, for example, heightened work orientation, struggles over time and space, and even (surprisingly) relatively low levels of pay. The distinctions between the 'old' and 'new' stories, I found, were not so clear cut as some of the literature suggested, an issue which had serious implications for the analysis of both.

What this alternative 'reading' suggested was that unless I as a researcher took seriously the *continuities* between the industrial homework and telework literatures, I would miss important implications for wages and conditions this work practice held. To ignore the continuities between the industrial homework and telework literatures reinforced a binary categorisation of telework as *either* another dreary example of women's victimisation within capitalist patriarchy *or* a cause for celebration as the outcome of entrepreneurship and technological wizardry. Rather I wanted to fully appreciate the ways in which industrial homework and telework emerged out of the *same* social and economic relations that were reshaping the worlds of 'home' and 'work'.

In this research, I thought I had literally and figuratively put the industrial homework literature behind me, only to find it was thematically still at play (or rather *at work*) in my reorientated project. Galvanised by this insight and the thought of working in the spaces and cracks between the literatures, I began in earnest to engage with the issue of the construction of 'home' and 'work' selves for teleworking women.

Telework and Women's Desires

Within the telework literature, I was struck by the muffling of *gendered analyses* of telework and the *invisibility* of women in the visualisations of utopian electronic futures imagined by telework enthusiasts. Indeed the lack of feminist analyses of telework and the sense of its capture by technocratic, male dominated, highly funded research groups was the subject of overt discussion in 1994 in an electronic discussion list emanating from The

Netherlands called 'GRANITE', which discusses feminist analyses of information and communications technologies. I became suspicious that the literature and media representations of telework in Aotearoa/New Zealand were similarly *marked as masculine* despite the clear over-representation of women in the home workforce (70% in 1991) compared to their representation in the overall workforce of 41% (Loveridge et al, 1996: 23).

I began collecting a multitude of media representations of telework from Aotearoa/New Zealand and elsewhere in order to 'read' the gendered discourses they contained. One important example was the Telecom New Zealand's video *Tomorrow's Workplace* (1991) promoting the designer lifestyles awaiting would-be homeworking entrepreneurs. One of the few images of a woman this video contained struck me as particularly interesting, an image that could be described in the following way:

> A woman teleworker is sitting on the verandah of an attractive middle-class home with a small baby on her knee, her fingers poised above a lap-top computer resting on a wooden picnic table. The baby turns to the woman and reaches its arms up to touch her face and mouth, while she reaches around the baby to the keyboard with her eyes fixed on the screen, a taut smile on her face (ibid).

It struck me that this image held in tension two deeply held desires on the part of some women. It was an image which encompassed the competing seductions for women of maintaining paid work, their independence and access to the abstract, intellectual realm at the same time as fulfilling a classic desire of motherhood, to 'be there' for one's child without surrendering oneself completely to the bodily practices of birthing and lactation. The video image held these competing demands in suspension; it seductively portrayed a woman teleworker *having it all*.

My friend Rosemary Du Plessis's response to this image was to suggest it articulated the 'seductions of choice and agency'. Interestingly, the exercise of such 'agency' is also clearly constrained in this image by the ways in which it parallels dominant constructions of motherhood. That is, 'having it all' occurs within a context where all that can be had is already inscribed by the gendered social relations of appropriate femininity. Telework is represented for this woman in the video as the crafting of a new 'work' and 'home' arrangement from *what is already there;* as the interplay between *individual* choice and the *context* within which such women find themselves, such as the structure of jobs available to them and the domestic arrangements they both inherit and maintain.

Images such as this video representation and the responses I received to such images in seminars, suggested to me that indeed women's deep desires and frustrations around the juggling of 'work' and 'home' were at play in the prospect and reality of telework and that the desires of women did interlock (as well as conflict with) this particular structuring of the relationship between 'home' and 'work'. It is this tension, between 'choice' and 'constraint', and the richly textured interstices between these two poles which this research sought to explore. That is, how did teleworking interconnect with women's desires for a different organisation of 'home' and 'work' and how much were these desires satiated or thwarted when they did so?

Telework and the Desires of Men

It was also interesting to reflect on the images of male teleworkers reflected in media representations and indeed in the same video, images which emphasised leisure, wealth and self-employment and the linked valuing of control and autonomy, rather than connectedness and interdependence which mark the image of the woman teleworker and her baby. These images show 'career' men establishing successful businesses in designer homes located somewhere in scenic Aotearoa/New Zealand. Indeed the media have pounced on the colour copy they could generate covering these 'lifestyle' entrepreneurs, who were typically interviewed on the balconies of homes which possess stunning views of golden beaches, pristine bush and the accoutrement of middle-class leisure lifestyles (Frontline, 1992; Henderson, 1997; Meade, 1991).

As I began to notice men figuring more predominantly as subjects in media representations of telework, and became aware of their greater statistical representation in this form of home-based entrepreneurship, I felt challenged and then increasingly enthusiastic about the inclusion of men in the study. I realised I had an opportunity to enhance the *gendered* analysis of the juggling of paid and unpaid work by including the experiences of men positioned in a similar way to women, that is, as 'confined' within the privatised, domestic sphere (Finch, 1984). I wanted to ask, how might the location of men within the 'private' sphere of home open up new configurations of male subjectivity focused on parenting as well as entrepreneurship?

In thinking through this issue I found an interesting variety of opinion in the literature. In Fothergill's study (1994: 344), 50% of the men (n = 46) claimed they had increased the number of hours they spent on domestic tasks and on child care, and some had taken up primary caring roles in relation to their children. The Olson and Primps study (1984:108) recorded that male professionals perceived that their relationships with their children had

improved since they worked at home, although this was in a context where their partners were also at home and able to prevent the children from 'bothering Daddy while he was working'.

Conversely, other studies suggested that men experienced *more difficulty* in engaging in domesticity because of the lack of temporal and spatial separation between 'home' and 'work'. That is, *overload* became a real issue for workers who were contactable throughout the day and night by e-mail, voice mail, fax, cellular phone, on-line computer links and conventional mail. For example, at the 1991 Telework Conference in Auckland, Mobil Oil spoke of their home-based regional service managers (all of whom were men) who acted as liaison people between mobile personnel and Head Office throughout the week and at night. When asked about the 'burn-out' rate (about 18 months) for these male workers, receiving messages and information transmitted at all hours, the company representative noted with a remarkable clarity that "Mobil Oil is a multi-national company, reducing stress for our employees was not one of our objectives". In contrast to the feminist literature which assumes that the boundary between 'work' and 'home' is "clear cut" for men, and that they are able to cross it "if and when they choose" (Pringle, 1988: 214), such testimonies were suggestive of the ways that some teleworking men found making and crossing these boundaries between the 'public' and 'private' problematic.

Thus the literature and other accounts suggested that two different relationships between domesticity and home-based business for men was possible. One concerned the process of stripping away the sociability of the workplace and increasing the intensity of work, the other the possibility of men taking on more centrally the responsibilities of domesticity and care giving. The narratives and practices of male teleworkers and the linked stories of their partners and children would, I thought, provide a fascinating counterpoint to that of the women and their families, assist me to explore the changes and continuities of men's experience of home-based work and domesticity, and provide a rejoinder to the literature which assumed an unproblematic combination of work at home and fatherhood (to such a degree that the issue is barely discussed) while problematising the juggling of domestic duties and telework for women.

Out of the remnants of the former project on industrial homework emerged a different but very compelling research topic which spoke to the spaces between the telework and industrial homework literatures and which encouraged an approach to the issue of home-based work that included both genders. It was, in short, a research project which significantly sparked my sociological imagination.

Sociological Curiosities

The more I read and thought about telework, the more I realised what a rich site for sociological inquiry it could be. Rather than an elitist, statistically insignificant aberration as I had earlier feared, telework increasingly struck me as an important *junction* in a network of sociological concerns. These crosscutting axes included the globalisation of the economy and the spatial dispersal of labour, the increase in non-standard forms of work, the dynamism of information and communications technologies, and feminist sociological accounts of gendered subjectivities as they are enacted in the key sites of employment, parenting and partnering. Telework unfolded as a many-layered site of research where a variety of 'macro' and 'micro' sociological concerns coalesced.

The concerns of the thesis as it re-formed in 1992 moved between a number of different levels of foci at a theoretical and methodological level, where of course the two are never separate and discrete. Theoretically, the thesis in both its timing and its character moves between an interest in poststructuralist analyses of subjectivity and more 'materialist'[1] theory concerning organisations and employment. In terms of the gendered subjectivities and the dynamics of families within which teleworking occurs, a variety of questions about the micro politics of the home emerged. A central question I wanted to address in the thesis then, was:

> *How do women and men negotiate the discourses of paid work, parenting and domestic labour when these occur in the same place and at the same time in the site of domestic dwellings?*

To both shape and address this question I was attracted to the work of feminist poststructuralists in terms of theorising the contradictory positioning of teleworkers within a complex matrix of subject positions as partners, parents and professionals, a number of which might be experienced simultaneously because of the lack of the usual spatial and temporal boundaries between them. To explore *how* women and men negotiate these positionings, I wanted to generate both narrative accounts of 'the self' and family relationships and accounts of the practices surrounding, for example, space and time, in order to enrich my understanding of the making and crossing of boundaries between 'home' and 'work'. I was interested in the ways such subjectivities and practices were experienced as contradictory (as well as complementary), and how the people in this study attempted to

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[1]   I would note the way this language suggests a polarity of the 'material' juxtaposed to the 'cultural' and invoke it not because I align with this polarity but rather to signal my movement within and between literatures that are so labelled.

resolve such contradictions by 'storying' themselves through a unitary narrative; a teleworking 'tale'.

Additionally, the practice of teleworking was also suggestive of more 'materialist' concerns regarding the processes by which employment was being restructured and professional work casualised and externalised. From this perspective, teleworking could be represented as an outcome of the reshaping of organisations into 'flatter', smaller structures, and the concomitant levels of employment insecurity that flow from these processes in what have typically been marked as 'white', 'bourgeois', 'male'[2], managerial and technical work. While this thesis does not take up the issue of organisational restructuring per se, I was interested in *why* women and men left the comparative security of employment within organisations for the more immediate costs and risks of home-based self-employment, and the issues of subjectivity and practice evoked by these movements. This literature concerning organisations thus provided the background to the formulation of the second question that I wanted the thesis to address, namely:

> *what kind of factors lead women and men to leave (relatively) secure employment within organisations to become self-employed, home-based entrepreneurs?*

In addition to employment insecurity engendered by organisational restructuring, I was also drawn to the literature concerning what is theorised as women's 'tenuous hold' on forms of career employment (Cockburn, 1991; Marshall, 1993). That is, I was drawn to feminist analyses of male dominated workplace cultures and the place of gendered hierarchies and practices within them, in so far as they may contribute to women leaving organisational employment. This interest in women's organisational employment as it linked to motivations for taking up self-employment at home, also curled back to the first research question regarding juggling contradictory gendered identities and practices. That is:

> *to what degree does the motivation to engage in home-based work reflect a rejection of gendered practices and hierarchies within organisations?*

Furthermore, what was the effect of the organisation of domesticity on particularly women's ability to *continue* with career employment within organisations in the longer term? That is, what was the effect of the structuring of domestic and caring labour on women's engagement in paid employment and how might these have affected women's movement

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[2]   These adjectives are placed in inverted commas to indicate that not all the subjects that have filled these positions have been marked in these ways.

into home-based work? Secondly, was Toffler (1980) correct that once men were integrated back into the home, they would take up a greater share of responsibility for domestic and caring labour? Thus the third and final research question asks:

> *to what degree does the motivation to engage in home-based work reflect the organisation and responsibility for domestic arrangements as they are experienced by women and men?*

These questions provided the framework through which I approached my exploration of teleworking, and the relationship between domesticity and entrepreneurship for home-based business people. The research also sought to contextualise these practices within the organisational employment that teleworkers left behind, in order to think through what factors 'pushed' and 'pulled' these people into recrafting their working lives at home.

Inquiring in Practice

It was this background and these curiosities that brought me to the study I then designed, which investigated, through a multi-method approach over a three year period, the working lives of eleven (originally twelve) Pakeha families, that is, six female and five male teleworkers, their heterosexual partners, their children and their personal assistants and/or child care workers (n=31). All of the teleworkers were self-employed and had professional, predominantly home-based work involving electronic text, rather than face-to-face contact with other adults. Partly because of the media 'hype' around teleworking in Aotearoa/New Zealand, I avoided participants who had contact with the media about telework and I approached each of the families to participate on an individual basis, rather than advertising the study and including self-selected respondents.

In order to refine the focus of the work methodologically on the questions asked above, I designed the study to specifically investigate the *gendered* dynamics of teleworking, dividing the focus of the research between families where the teleworking parent and partner was a woman *and* those where they were men, including one case where the teleworking father was the most significant carer for his baby son. Additionally, the research sought to heighten the understanding of the *contextual* location of teleworking within both domestic dwellings and family relationships. Although its location in the home is seen as a key innovation of teleworking, much of the research fails to include as participants other family members, including children, regarding *their* perspectives of the impact of home-based business. By designing the research to include other family members, the multiplicity of 'voices' affected by the telework had an opportunity to 'speak' within the research. Locating the families'

narratives *with* those of the teleworkers', enriched the complexity of the analysis and suggested the perspectual nature of different family members' accounts.

Additionally, this emphasis on different narratives within families allowed the telework to be contextualised vis-à-vis domestic and caring labour, and partners' and children's reflections on the organisation of this. The study focused on families where the children were under fifteen years old in order to investigate how teleworkers negotiated their children's needs when they were still young enough to be significantly dependent. The research is further divided between those families with older children who could themselves be included in the study as individuals, and families where the children were infants under two years old, allowing a further set of questions to be posed regarding juggling the demands of older children and meeting the needs of infants whose demands are not easily deferred. The details of this research practice and the process of its development will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

The Form of the Thesis

This thesis takes the form of an eight chapter discussion, four of which are devoted to the specifics of the narrative material generated in the course of the research. While all of the thesis contains theoretical analysis, Chapter Two is a dedicated discussion of theorising teleworkers' subjectivities, exploring liberal humanist, structuralist and poststructuralist analyses and the different theoretical accounts they offer of the (teleworking) 'self'. It particularly focuses on the utility of poststructuralist feminist and/or Foucauldian accounts of 'choice', agency and the 'disciplined self'. Chapter Three then constructs a narrative of the research process and myself as a 'researcher-traveller', exploring methodological aspects of this study run against current debates within feminist research. This discussion pays particular attention to the centrality and changing analysis of 'experience' within feminist epistemology, and the complexities of interviewing multiple family members.

Chapter Three backgrounds the movement into the first of four chapters where the material generated in the course of the research is introduced. These begin with Chapter Four which details the six women teleworkers' and their families' narratives of home-based work. This chapter is organised into a number of recurring themes between the different women's 'teleworking tales' including work histories, work identities, time, space, child care and housework; and presents these as 'stories' constructed by the researcher but not interrupted by my analytical commentary. That is, this chapter and its companion chapter concerning the men's 'teleworking tales' (Chapter Six) are an attempt to group the narrative material

into themes and to contextualise them within families, but does not include analytical commentary upon them beyond this.

This analytical commentary is separated and dedicated to Chapters Five and Seven. Chapter Five reflects on the women's narratives as discourses of organisational employment, domesticity and entrepreneurship. It begins by reviewing why the women in the study left employment within organisations or did not return to them, and pays particular attention to the issue of gendered hierarchies and practices within organisations and the women's resistance, negotiation and/or collusion with them, as a background to their motivations for taking up home-based work. It then goes on to look at the organisation of domesticity and entrepreneurship for the women, and the way in which these two crosscutting discursive axes both impinge upon, and are available to, women who engage in home-based business.

Chapter Seven reviews the same issues in relation to the men's narratives, but the emphasis of the discussion of organisational employment focuses less on gendered practices and hierarchies within organisations and more on the insecurity of work and the problem of redundancy. The discussion then examines domesticity and entrepreneurship for the men including the narratives of the family where a male teleworker took up primary responsibility for caring for his baby son in addition to running the home-based business. While both chapters focus on issues of subjectivity, Chapter Seven concludes by examining the implications of the crossing of the 'public' world of paid work into 'private' time and space of the home. This discussion curls back to the issues raised in the theoretical chapter concerning discipline and self-surveillance and the constituting and constitutive discourse of the 'available' home-based entrepreneur.

Chapter Eight concludes the thesis by critically reviewing the contribution the research makes to the telework literature and more generally to the theorisation of gendered subjectivity. It reviews methodological issues this thesis raises for telework and/or feminist researchers and the importance of family-based research. Finally it looks forward to the implications of telework for policy makers in terms of the residual issues of the reconfiguration of 'home' and 'work' and the potential, problems and ambiguities of telework as an employment practice.

I hope this thesis is as intriguing to read as it was to complete and that my interest in it, which has to my surprise and delight been maintained for more than thirteen years since the seed of these ideas first germinated, is reflected in its pages.

Chapter 2

Theorising 'Home' and 'Work' Selves

This chapter explores the theorisation of teleworkers as 'selves' positioned within a complex matrix of practice and subjectivities, such as being a parent and being an entrepreneur which may be experienced with a heightened degree of simultaneity when they occur in the same place at the same time in the site of domestic dwellings. Additionally this chapter seeks to theorise the making and crossing of boundaries between the 'public' and 'private' represented by home-based work, and how these boundaries are shaped by the constitution and reconstitution of the *gendered* relations and subjectivities of the family, heterosexual coupledom and entrepreneurship.

In the literature and media representation regarding telework discussed in the introductory chapter, a number of ways of thinking about the teleworking subject began to emerge: from the individualistic vision of the 'lifestyle' entrepreneur to the spectre of the exploited 'new' technology homeworker. The following chapter will briefly canvas these two positions, which are for the purposes of this debate identified as 'liberal humanist' and 'structuralist' respectively. It then counterposes them to a third account influenced by poststructuralist conceptualisations of *subjectivity*, that is, the conscious and unconscious thoughts of the individual, their sense of themselves and their ways of understanding their relation to the world (Weedon, 1987: 32).

Specifically, the body of this chapter outlines the liberal humanist conception of the self as an autonomous, competitive individual present in the constructionof the 'lifestyle' entrepreneur; the labouring, 'subjected' self of structuralist (including socialist feminist) analyses, and the decentred, non-unitary subject of poststructuralism. The telework literature is largely dominated by liberal humanist accounts of self-maximising, self-determining entrepreneurs, only occasionally interrupted by structuralist analyses which draw attention to the employment insecurity associated with the 'portfolio' worker of the flexible firm. In contrast to these two positions this chapter will speak to a largely unarticulated position (with the exception of Mackinnon, 1991) influenced by

poststructuralist readings of subjectivity, employing a specifically feminist and Foucauldian conception of the self as constituted in and through discourse. Such poststructuralist analyses have much to offer in a research project such as this one, preoccupied with the *intersection* of multiple subjectivities and practices and the *interstices between* the discursive injunctions to be a 'good' entrepreneur and a 'good' parent and partner. In pursuing these ideas, the discussion will reflect on poststructuralist conceptions of the multiplicity of subjectivity, the utility of Foucault's notion of the 'disciplined' self, and conclude with the problematic of 'choice' and 'agency', examining different responses to Butler's (1990; 1993; 1995) deconstruction of 'agency' and her analysis of the 'performativity' of the subject.

In outlining these three different theoretical threads my purpose is not to construct a spurious genesis of a linear or progressive nature from humanism, through structuralism to poststructuralism, but rather to suggest that all three are *circulating simultaneously* within the literature and have different *consequences*. While the relative paucity of space to flesh out the contradictions and disagreements *within* these forms of theorising leads to some discomforting 'smoothing over' of particularly liberal humanist and structuralist accounts in order to construct this argument (see also Gibson-Graham, 1995: 214 on this point), I want to nevertheless suggest some of the theoretical implications of arguing *for* and *from* certain positions. In this theoretical discussion, I am attracted to Ferguson's (1991: 326) description of her theoretical praxis when she said:

> in reading feminist theory ... I am seeking not a taxonomy of positions but a tracing of impulses that weave and chafe around one another, not a complete account of a stable field but rather an unravelling of persistent threads ...

The following discussion is offered in the spirit of such explorations and as such remains open to the development of further theoretical conversations and their interruptions.

I. Liberal Humanism and the 'Lifestyle' Entrepreneur

When the literature regarding teleworking conceives of a self that chooses to leave the organisation, that rationally plans and operationalises a home-based business, and that is focused on expanding that business and the pursuit of profit, it evokes a recognisably 'liberal humanist' individual. That is, the individual figured in the literature regarding the teleworking 'lifestyle' entrepreneur is constituted as a rational, unified, conscious subject who is conceived of as quintessentially self-maximising and competitive.

This conception of the self in turn draws upon the classic liberal analysis of human nature founded upon an individual's capacity for reason, where the individual is able to grasp, through the transparency of language, the "fixed intrinsic meanings" of 'reality' (Weedon, 1987: 22). This capacity to reason is expressed in various terms by liberal theorists (Jaggar, 1988), but one particular conception is of utility in this discussion, that is, the emphasis on the instrumental aspects of reason, as it is linked to individual self-fulfilment and the prioritisation of the pursuit of individually defined self-interest.

These conceptions of the liberal humanist individual are indivisible from the glossy media representations of entrepreneurs setting up business at home in order to heighten their control, maximise their profits, and dictate the terms of their own 'lifestyles', discussed in Chapter One. Elements of the literature could be said to construct an archetypal liberal 'self', in the sense that they depict the entrepreneur escaping the confines of the 'big brother' organisation and retreating into the 'private sanctuary' of the home, beyond the constraining eyes of supervisors, the strictures of the time-clock and the shackles of the master/slave employment relation. There, as 'sovereign subjects', they construct 'free' contracts within the 'level playing field' of the market, its parameters set by the state's legal framework delineating the criteria for legitimate business practice.

One of the most publicised examples of this discursive construction of telework is exemplified by the extensive media coverage given to Rank Xerox's 'networking scheme'. In 1982, the company sent fifty-five of their senior executive staff home to set up their own businesses with the guarantee of a minimum amount of work (Kinsman, 1987: 33). This allowed the company to shed direct and indirect employment expenses which they calculated as 70% of the organisation's cost in employing an executive in central London, where salaries accounted for the remaining 30% of this total. The company simultaneously maximised their public profile as an enterprise who supported the 'latent' entrepreneurial talent of their staff, such as the first of these professionals, Roger Walker, who had "always wished to establish his own business" (ibid: 35).

Walker left a personnel manager's job with the company having signed a 'network' contract which linked him electronically to Xerox's headquarters in London, where they agreed to buy part of his expertise during the first year of his business. Walker's enterprise began with his wife's (unpaid) contributions, and an annual turnover of less than his salary within the organisation, no perks, and high risks. However in five years Walker's business had grown into an organisation employing 65 people with a gross annual turnover in 1987 of £4 million (ibid: 33). In this case desires of the 'lean, mean' organisation were mapped onto the

construction of the self-maximising individual entrepreneur, where Walker's extraordinary success was a perfect means of demonstrating this point.

The Delineation of the 'Public' and 'Private' Domains

It flows from such liberal humanist constructions of the teleworking entrepreneur that the good society is the society that protects the dignity of such individuals and allows them maximum freedom from interference (Cheyne et al, 1997). But the unfettered pursuit of self-maximisation by individuals freed from the constraints of unwieldy hierarchies is also a fundamental *dilemma* for liberal theorists, that is, how to devise forms of social organisation that protect the individual's right to freedom of opportunity and self-determination, while simultaneously ensuring them their equal access to a share of society's resources.

This dilemma is focused upon delineating the power of the state, which has the dual role of maintaining law, order and protecting property *and* ensuring the individual's right to maximise their freedom of choice. In determining the limits of appropriate state intervention, liberal theorists distinguish between the *public* arena of legitimate state regulation and that of the *private* realm of home and family. The 'private' arena is assumed to be realm of life and activity deemed beyond the scope of the state, and hence the currency of Trudeau's quip that 'the state has no business in the bedrooms of the nation'. Although this boundary between the 'public' and 'private' has been drawn and redrawn by liberal theorists since the seventeenth century, its relevance to this field of study as a *social construction,* and indeed its central role within the foundational narrative of sociology itself, is profound. That is, if, during the Industrial Revolution, 'work' is presumed to move out of the realm of household production and into the 'public' sphere, then the presence of teleworking in the so called 'private' realm of the home is a significant conflation of the *metaphysics of inside and outside* that the 'public/private' division evokes. For this reason the words 'public' and 'private' and 'home' and 'work' will appear in inverted commas throughout this thesis when they are linked within this dualistic formulation. This is to indicate the shifting nature of these constructions and their lack of 'grip' in an arena where the 'private' realm is host to the activities of the 'public', and where women especially experience the 'private' as another work site where they labour for 'love' rather than for pay.

My task here is not to interrogate the historical question of how and on what terms work for income moved out of the home, and the gradual linking of masculinity and femininity with opposing sides of the dualism 'public/private', although these questions are pursued elsewhere (see Brocklehurst, 1996; Calabrese, 1994; Foggo, 1992). For the purposes of this discussion it is sufficient to note that contemporary women are encouraged by the current

logic of liberalism to transcend the division 'public/private' by fully participating in the 'public' realm of work, while leaving intact the unequal sexual division of labour in the 'private' world of home. For example, the assumption that home-based work is 'flexible' for mothers, plays upon the notion that by remaining at home, teleworking women take up their 'proper' roles in the 'private' sphere while retaining their participation in the 'public' realm of work.

Telework both disturbs the construction of the 'separate spheres' and it reinforces it; it invites the world of work into the haven of the home, but it also leaves intact the assumption that women's participation in paid work is conditional upon (and compromised by) their primary responsibility for domesticity. For example, Allen and Wolkowitz (1987) argue that although women in paid work *outside* the home frequently continue to carry the major responsibility for domesticity *inside* the home, their paid work may result in some *adjustments* to the household routine, such as meals being prepared earlier or later, or housework occurring in the weekends. However, home-based workers' families may still expect the services of a fulltime housewife, including, for instance, the provision of a cooked lunch in the middle of the day. The authors suggest that women homeworkers' days are so dominated by simultaneous demands on their time that a "break of one kind of work is frequently used to get on with another" (ibid: 40). The intensity of *juggling time* and *creating space* between paid and unpaid work is a major issue for working mothers, then for mothers who perform paid work at home it may be doubly so because they may not receive breaks from paid work in the way that workers within organisations do.

How women and men 'patrol' the temporal and spatial demarcation line between 'home' and 'work' will be taken up again in the analysis offered in the latter part of the thesis, where I read the strength or porosity of the separation between the 'public/private' as suggestive of the construction of gendered subjectivity and practice.

Neo-liberalism and Entrepreneurship

In contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand the neo-liberal and the 'new right' make a further contribution to the 'liberal humanist' construction of teleworking. Neo-liberal conceptions of the free market, the resistance to the 'big brother' welfare state, and the 'marketisation of society' resonate with and have accompanied the rise of an 'entrepreneurial culture' (Phillips, 1996). This 'entrepreneurial culture', populated by individuals who act and change their world through private initiatives and which is organised around the central motif of buying and selling (Cheyne et al, 1997: 81), reverberates with aspects of the construction of the teleworking subject as the ultimate expression of the autonomous entrepreneur. It

also speaks to the realities of the parred-down welfare state where home-based work is one means of earning an income and providing the care once offered through the auspices of publicly-funded welfare services (Armstrong, 1990).

Neo-liberalism argues that 'free-choosing' individuals, like teleworkers, typify the entrepreneurial spirit at work in the marketplace, such as Hayek's (1960) suggestion that the expression of individual self-interest through the market leads to the advancement of social well-being. The neo-liberal position thus relies on the market for the best coordination of society's resources (Cheyne et al, 1997: 83). For example, if the goods and services provided by home-based entrepreneurs are 'wanted', then consumer choice will ensure that they are produced, the level of demand determining their price and ultimately the success or failure of the business itself. For some neo-liberals, a degree of inequality in terms of the operation of markets is both inevitable and desirable, motivating individuals to both further develop their resources, talents and modify their business practices and products in order to ensure that they succeed in business.

The role of the state for neo-liberals is to provide a minimalist welfare 'safety net' and to ensure that the efficient operation of the market is secured through procedural justice and identical treatment within the law (Hayek, 1976). State restrictions, for example on the timing of work, the number of hours that may be worked consecutively, or the observation of statutory holidays, unnecessary fetter the smooth functioning of the market. From a neo-liberal perspective the desirability of around-the-clock goods and services suggests that home-based workers' proximity to their businesses provides them with a competitive advantage and an opportunity to enhance their profits. Neo-liberal accounts thus mesh with the state policies of the late eighties and nineties in Aotearoa/New Zealand, where the deregulation of 'protectionist' trade barriers and the revision of employment law have significantly changed the timing and payment of work. These policies in turn have interacted with economic change, in aeconomy increasingly characterised by 'non-standard' working relationships such as the one in every four workers who are self-employed, including those people who participated in this research (Else, 1997).

Critiquing Liberalism

While the above offers a thumb-nail sketch of liberal theory, its presence in the telework literature and its centrality to the construction of the 'entrepreneurial self' also underscores the significance of addressing this theoretical framework. While the presence of these ideas about the entrepreneurial individual, the operation of the market and the separation of the 'public' and 'private' spheres will be taken up again in relation to the analysis of the

narrative material generated in the course of this research, three critical comments are worth making in relation to the theoretical discussion so far.

The first relates to the assumption of the *universal* individual that lies at the heart of the liberal conception. It is a universal and abstract concept that according to Pateman (1986: 8) must be "disembodied", in order to appear universal. If it were not abstracted from bodily attributes it would be clear that this supposedly 'universal' individual is in fact "constructed from a male body so that his identity is always masculine" (Pateman, 1988: 223). The "political fiction" of the disembodied 'universal' individual is fundamental to the concept of the employment contract and democracy, according to Acker (1990: 150), where women stand in an ambiguous relationship to the qualities of the abstract, bodiless self who has no emotions, no sexuality and does not procreate. This concept of the individual is of particular consequence to women's engagement with employment, where women are more "fixed" to their corporeality than men according to Grosz (1987: 4), such that their ability to emulate this 'ideal' is significantly mediated by the gendered subjectivities and practices of heterosexuality and mothering. The absence of sexuality, emotionality and procreation from the conceptualisation of this 'disembodied ideal' both obscures and reproduces underlying gender relations within organisations and employment. In this thesis, this critique will be re-examined in light of the implications of the disembodied 'ideal' for mothers with imputed responsibility for domesticity, and the relationship between it and *why* women give up employment within organisations.

A second and related critique concerns women's provision of the physical, emotional and ancillary business support required to facilitate the 'ideal' of the disembodied worker. If women have been confined to the "bodily realm", and their entry into the "abstract conceptual mode" of work limited by their embodiment (Smith, 1979: 163), then, conversely, being absorbed by the abstract and conceptual mode is conditional upon attention to the "local and bodily" in terms of women's domestic and caring labour (ibid: 167). For example, Mulholland (1996: 141) suggests that the success of 'self-made men' critically relies upon their women partners' support, in terms of both unreciprocated domestic and emotional labour and the shaping of domestic life to facilitate the pursuit of business.

The liberal model of the self-maximising individual single-mindedly pursuing the development of their entrepreneurial endeavours assumes the dichotomy of the 'separate spheres' and that the domestic is beyond the view of the enterprise. A question this thesis raises concerns how the contributions of women partners and paid domestic workers facilitate the achievements of the 'entrepreneurial' self, and the implications of this for those

who give these services as well as to those who receive them. The role of domesticity in supporting the entrepreneurial self, and men's and women's negotiation of domesticity as *home-based* business people, are questions which cut to the heart of this thesis's focus on the negotiation of the simultaneity of entrepreneurship, parenting and partnering.

A third and final critical comment regards the ways in which liberal theory draws attention away from issues of employment security through its reference to the parameters set by procedural justice, identical treatment within the law and the aversion to the setting of minimum standards which constrain what individuals may agree to within contracts. If the termination of a contract is understood as an opportunity to maximise 'latent' potential with other clients according to liberalism, rather than primarily or necessarily a threat to income or business solvency, then this thesis reviews this assumption in light of the narratives of home-based owner-operators. Additionally, this thesis attends to the question of whether the movement out of organisations into home-based work is the outcome of voluntary decisions and/or is generated by the termination of employment contracts and the systemic insecurity of employment in some occupations. The media images of telework may be glossy and seductive, but this research investigates whether such images reflect entrepreneurial 'drive', or the experience of eroded employment security. It is this final critique that structuralism especially speaks to, in terms of the determining nature of structural relations of inequality, a theoretical intervention which provides a rejoinder to the celebration of individualism and entrepreneurship of the liberal humanist account.

II. Structuralism and the 'Subjected' Teleworking Self

A second and alternative way of theorising the subjectivity of teleworkers that is offered in the literature (eg Allen and Wolkowitz, 1986 and 1987; Phizacklea and Wolkowitz, 1995) is one I would label as *structuralist,* a theoretical development which marks a crucial break with the foundational assumptions of liberal humanism. According to Hebdige (1989), structuralism's most significant thinkers include Levi-Strauss, Freud, Saussure and Marx and although a diverse group, each of these theorists are united by their belief that there are sets of invisible or unobservable social structures that determine social life and that these structures are to be studied "explicitly as *wholes*" (Sturrock, 1993: xiii, original emphasis). Structures are assumed by these theorists to be ubiquitous, constituted of "mappable relations" both tangible (as in the human body) or abstract (as in the global economy), and studied as though they were static although they are known to be mobile: the "statics of dynamic systems" (ibid).

In a refusal of the liberal model of sovereign, rational subject, structuralism argues that consciousness is "not the origin of social relations but their effect" (Weedon, 1987: 27). For example, in terms of Marxist structuralism, the 'science' of historical materialism asserts that consciousness is always socially and historically specific because all class societies produce a range of competing forms of consciousness which represent class interests. In this theoretical model:

> Work is the social process of shaping and transforming the material and social worlds, creating people as social beings as they create value. It is that activity by which people become who they are. Class is its structure, production is its consequence, capital is its congealed form, and control its issue (MacKinnon, 1982:1).

Class consciousness and class relationships are thus fundamentally *social* relationships; they do not spring automatically from the forces and technologies of production. Rather, the conscious self is formed inside the social, shaped by the structures of class society and, at moments of revolutionary rupture, able to perceive its positioning within class relations.

Importantly, Marxism, and structuralism more generally, decentre the liberal humanist notion of a conscious, rational subject who *makes* meaning, in favour of the argument that individuals only *think* they make meaning, which in reality is determined by *structures beyond* the intentionality of the subject. For example, the emphasis within liberal theory of employment relations as the negotiation of 'free' contracts between rational, sovereign individuals is critiqued by Marxism as a false representation of a fundamentally exploitive and oppressive relationship. From the perspective of how teleworkers may *experience* their lives, the liberal interpretation may have all the force of lived reality, and yet such experiences are, according to Marxism, linguistic constructs which fundamentally misrepresent the real (Weedon, 1987: 28). Liberalism masks, for example, the unenviable employment insecurity that exists in the 'marketplace' and the inevitable inequalities that emerge within it, such as the forfeiting of employment-related benefits when employees leave organisations to become self-employed.

In this structuralist model a Saussurian understanding of the constitution of language is fundamental, and marks another critical break from liberal humanism's conception of language as the transparent vehicle for the transmission of meaning. Saussure (1974) argues that meaning is produced *within* language rather than *by* it, and is structuralist in so far as he asserts that language was an abstract system constituted of chains of *signs* which had a stable, fixed structure prior to their use by individuals in acts of speech or writing (Weedon,

1987: 23). Each linguistic sign takes its meaning from the difference between it and all the other signs in the language chain, such that the meaning of the word 'home', for example, is not intrinsic to the signifier ('home'), but is constituted by its difference from other signifiers such as 'work'. It is this view of language which provides a point of departure for Derrida's poststructuralist linguistics, but it is Althusser (1971) who provides a critical bridge between structuralist and poststructuralist analyses of language.

Althusser and the 'Interpellation' of the Subject

Althusser (1971) foregrounds such a view of language, in the shape of 'ideology in general', as the means by which individuals are governed by the ideological state apparatuses which *constitute* their subjectivity for them through language. In contrast to the liberal model of the unmediated conveyance of meaning in language and the sovereignty of the rational individual, Althusser emphasises that the "transparency of language" and the "obviousness of you and I as subjects" are an "elementary ideological effect" (ibid: 161). Althusser suggests that ideology 'acts' to 'recruit' subjects among individuals or 'transform' individuals into subjects through the process of *interpellation* or hailing (ibid: 162-3). This process of interpellation "relies on the structure of recognition by the individual of herself (sic) as the subject of ideology" (Weedon, 1987: 30), where the subject profoundly *misrecognises* themselves as the "*author* of the ideology which constructs their subjectivity" (ibid: 31). Althussarian Marxism thus displaces the liberal subject who chooses, thinks and acts *intentionally* with a subject who *imagines* they are this self but who is, according to Althusser (1971), produced by the structures of class, culture, and language beyond human intentionality.

The model of subjectivity foregrounded in this approach explores the process by which individuals become conscious of their "true" place in the social structure, enabling them to work for progressive change via collective social action (Gibson-Graham, 1995: 175). The assertion of the 'truth' and 'falsity' of consciousness is enabled within Marxism by the 'scientific' nature of historical materialism, itself guaranteed by the determining structure of productive relations. The determination of 'true' and 'false' consciousness thus assumes a significant role in this model of subjectivity, a model which inflects the analysis of telework as "new technology homework".

That is, socialist feminist[1] critiques of telework as a form of 'flexible' work for women, argue that such notions misrepresent the *real* relations within which women are positioned because they assume that women will continue to provide the bulk of domestic labour in addition to running a home-based business. Such women could be theorised as suffering from 'false consciousness' in so far as they participate in telework because it is 'family friendly' without recognising the double burden of domestic and paid labour it places upon them. Additionally such 'false consciousness' shores up both capitalist and patriarchal oppression by providing more 'flexible' opportunities for the exploitation of women by both. That is, employers can pay teleworking women low wages on the basis that they are 'just earning pin money at home' while manipulating on-site workforces through the threat of a cheaper, non-organised, home-based workforce. Simultaneously men as husband's benefit from the continuing provision of domestic services by home-based women workers who also generate income, and maintain their images as male breadwinners who 'keep' a wife at home.

Socialist feminist theorising provides a significant contribution to the analysis of teleworking in so far as it draws attention to the ways teleworking buttresses forms of patriarchal and capitalist control. It also provides a critical interruption of the self-congratulatory logic of the lifestyle entrepreneur, and has significantly shaped aspects of my own thinking on this topic.

'False Consciousness' and other Problems: a Critique of the Structuralist Approach

Despite these important insights, there are ways in which structuralist (most particularly in this instance, socialist feminist) analyses of telework are significantly limited, four of which I will address here.

An initial question that plagues the structuralist account is the notion of a structurally determined 'oppression'. Such oppression is assumed to operate in a top-down fashion and is envisaged a cleavage between large, dualistically opposed groups, such as the proletariat and the bourgeoisie or women and men. The problematic ascription of 'women' and 'men', for example, into simple binary categories of 'oppressor and oppressed' is symptomatic of

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[1]   I would define socialist feminism as drawing upon Marxist insights regarding the functioning of capitalism and radical feminist analyses of patriarchy, as 'causing' women's oppression at the level of social structure (Barrett and Phillips, 1992: 2). There are significant disagreements regarding the shape of the interconnections between these two structures of power as either operating as two or 'dual' systems (Hartmann, 1981) or as an integrated and unitary capitalist patriarchy (Young, 1981).

the presumed link between structure, consciousness and political mobilisation. This critique is suggested by the genesis of socialist feminism itself, where socialist feminism sought to correct the sexism of Marxism by arguing strenuously for the extension of the category of productive relations to include reproduction in the structural determination of power (Saville-Smith, 1987). If this element of the socialist feminist project successful broke apart the primacy of class and engendered the concept of 'capitalist patriarchy' (Eisenstein, 1979), it was in turn critiqued for foreclosing *other* axes of difference. This critique was particularly exercised around the mediation of 'structures of oppression' by ethnic relations, as exemplified by the extended debate between socialist feminists such as Barrett and McIntosh (1985) with Ramazanoglu (1986), Kazi (1986), and Lees (1986). Curthoys (1988: 72) captured this critique succinctly when she wrote:

> 'Women' and 'men' are not simple, unproblematic, self evident totalities of concrete individuals, but rather are historically and variably constructed categories. While the ascriptions 'male' and 'female' have deep social meaning, it does not follow that either women or men constitute meaningful social groups ... Political movements and cultural practices may work to reinforce identity as male and female, to mobilise men and women as self-conscious groups. But in our kind of society these movements and practices cannot really succeed in any sustained way, for always the category of people which is potentially able to be called into being as a self-conscious social group is being constantly split apart by class and ethnic allegiances.

Curthoys writes against the dualistic formulation of 'oppressor and oppressed' in favour of a model of political subjectivity which emphasises the specificity of social and historical relations of power, and which attends to the ways in which such formulations are *always* cut across by other categories of difference. Jones and Guy (1992: 313) make a parallel argument when they observe that rather than "don the sober suit" of a collective subjectivity (such as gender), most of us "bomb around" in other quickly moving subjectivities which engage our fears, pleasures and sexuality and for which we have no political language. In this context the categories 'race', gender and class do not even begin to describe their complex constitution and intersection of subjectivity.

In contrast to early socialist feminist analyses of an unforgiving capitalist patriarchy that took no prisoners, feminist scholars have increasingly sought to account for socially pervasive gender dominance which also takes "different forms at different junctures" (Fraser, 1995: 159). Fraser argues that the character of this gender dominance varies for differently situated women such that its shape *cannot* be "read off from one site or group and extrapolated to the rest" (ibid). The theoretical 'project' of contemporary feminism thus

moves toward a simultaneous analysis of the ubiquity of gender relations *and* their radical specificity.

The second and related criticism which limits the explanatory reach of structuralist accounts of subjectivity, concerns the *convergence* rather than dichotomisation of gendered experience. For example, some models of the family continue to assume that men have little or no role as care givers or domestic labourers, and that they use the home exclusively as a 'haven in a heartless world' (Pringle, 1988: 214). Such accounts do not address the variation in gendered practices and subjectivities across the uneven terrain of contemporary family life (Stacey, 1996), or even variations within heterosexual, nuclear families such as those that became the focus of this study.

Pratt's (1993) work on mining communities is instructive in this regard when she reflects on analyses of the family as the 'locus of struggle' within socialist feminist thought. Pratt criticises such accounts for their lack of acknowledgement of the dynamism she found in heterosexual, nuclear families, focusing her critique on three interrelated issues. First, she notes that the role of fathers as parents within 'traditional' nuclear families requires greater acknowledgement and academic attention, a position which is important in this study with teleworking parents which explicitly sought out families where some of the men were primary care givers and housekeepers.

Secondly, Pratt draws attention to the way families act as a source of "support, pleasure and desire" (ibid: 54) as well as constraint for women, where families may be critical sites for the resistance of sexist, racist, 'ableist' and otherwise discriminatory workplaces. There were echoes of this sentiment expressed by Vietnamese immigrant clothing homeworkers in Melbourne (Armstrong, 1992c: 38-39) who 'chose' to engage in poorly paid home-based clothing production as a familial and lingual *sanctuary* from discriminatory Anglo-Australian workplaces. Family-based production, and the family itself, acted as a site of "political and cultural resistance to racism" (Carby, 1982: 216) where their 'retreat' into their homes was a tactical response to the racist practices they had experienced within 'white' clothing factories. Examples such as these lend support to Pratt's third and final point regarding the need to attend to power relations and the "specific, complex and contradictory" negotiations that occur within families. Pratt particularly emphasises the *convergence* of gendered experience amongst working-class couples where both parents work shifts, such that men had large periods of time as the sole caregivers of their children. Pratt argues that such configurations of heterosexual, nuclear family life are simply not encompassed by totalising accounts of women as subjugated and men as oppressive (1993: 54).

Pratt's account of the convergence of gendered experience in terms of parenting, and her call for more complex accounts of heterosexual nuclear families, are intriguing in terms of the focus of this study. It could be argued that the complex play of power and resistance in families is likely to be heightened when the home becomes the site of business and where men re-enter the 'private' realm of women. A simple pattern of male oppression and female subjugation is unlikely to be secured in the complex configuration of multiple subjectivities and multiple practices of home-based parents and business people. Furthermore, there is some possibility that of any group of women in Aotearoa/New Zealand, educated, Pakeha (Anglo), middle-class, heterosexual, professional women will be those who have the most chance of pursuing entrepreneurship in ways which converge with the practices of their peer group of men. This is not to side-step the important issues of gendered practice and subjectivity which are fundamental to the inquiry at hand, but rather to suggest that if any women could be successful in business, buy their way out of domesticity by hiring help, and negotiate and assert themselves in the world, then these kinds of women would be likely to be those. This group confuses the presumption of a simple and totalising binary division between women and men, as women who, by virtue of their ethnicity, relative wealth and business acumen, may affiliate with the ideal of the 'lifestyle' entrepreneur. Their practices and identifications may well converge with, as well as contrast with, those of entrepreneurial men.

A third critique that could be aimed at structuralist accounts draws attention to the "invidious judgement" of the 'truth' and 'falsity' of the consciousness of individuals (Gibson-Graham, 1995: 175). In the socialist feminist telework literature this position is reflected in a certain skepticism toward the notion that teleworking is any more "agreeable, autonomous or better renumerated" than traditional industrial homework, despite its professional, white and glamorised image (Phizacklea and Wolkowitz, 1995: 101). The authors argue that women homeworkers with young children share remarkably similar experiences, irrespective of the technology that they use (ibid: 101-2). This position suggests that there is a continuum of home-based work where women who employ so-called 'new' technology at home are considered just as vulnerable to low pay, intense work and 'exploitation' as their industrial homeworking 'sisters'.

This socialist feminist position is also reflected in aspects of my own writing on homeworking and teleworking (Armstrong, 1991a, 1992b and 1993), which in part reflect my biography as a feminist scholar discussed in Chapter One. As I suggested in that chapter, socialist feminist insights had (and continue to have) an enriching effect upon my research and proved a helpful theoretical intervention in so far as they alerted me to questions regarding the conditions and payment of telework which are frequently lost in the

unquestioning celebration of entrepreneurialism and technical mastery. However, in so far as maintaining a socialist feminist position of writing 'against' the dominant 'liberal humanist' construction of telework disrupted it, it also shored up in my own work a position where the *importance* of telework to particularly the women in the study was not able to be expressed, or when so expressed, *unable to be heard* in the analysis I was beginning to provide. To dismiss as symptoms of a 'false' consciousness, narrative accounts of teleworking as pleasurable, rewarding and enhancing of personal self-esteem and power within households, appeared to me not only arrogant but also academically insupportable. The intellectual challenge of the thesis was to hold these insights *in tension*, that is, to maintain an interest in the timing, payment and character of telework *and* an alertness to teleworkers' testimonials regarding the pleasures and powers of home-based entrepreneurship.

Fourthly, and in relation to the previous point, the recognition of dynamism, desire and specificity of social relations works against forms of structuralist theory that see 'capitalism' or 'patriarchy' as totalities or structures which are largely impervious to the actions of individual 'agents'. As Gibson-Graham argues, this inflects certain socialist feminist accounts with a resignation that patriarchy and capitalism are entities which are ultimately "impervious to the political activities of women" (1995: 215). Although in certain 'political' moments subjects can:

> resist or modify aspects of 'the social structure', these moments will only ever produce transitory change. Patriarchy and capitalism figure as obdurate structures of unchanging power ... (W)e look for political subjectivity and find a structural subject position, we expect change and get unchanging structure (ibid: 178-9).

This critique is also apposite in this research in so far as it encourages a movement beyond the gridlock of the 'structure/agency' debate or the notion of women's oppression or men's oppressiveness, toward provoking questions regarding the *consequences* of the telework as the crafting of a particular configuration of 'home' and 'work' responsibilities. To follow the lead of Pratt's (1993) analysis, such questions might also include an examination of how home-based employment opens up spaces for a commonality of gendered experience where such commonality may challenge the "meaning and status of gender as an analytical category" (Pratt, 1993: 56). Similarly it may provoke a debate on the dynamism and multiplicity of gendered subjectivity that may be engendered by women's movement back into paid work at home after years of unpaid care-giving, or the 'spaces' which may open up for men to combine parenting with home-based business. In the next section of the chapter the instability of the analytical category of gender, and the critical re-examination

of the structure/agency debate, will be taken up again, this time in relation to poststructuralist theorising.

III. Poststructuralism and the Non-Unitary Self

The questions raised above are part of the deconstruction of forms of feminist and other social theory that draw their impetus from structuralism. The intervention of the poststructuralist questioning of foundational knowledge, in concert with the theoretical ferment engendered by the writing of 'women of colour' (Benería and Roldán, 1987; Carby, 1982; Mitter 1986, 1991), have together been a significant influence on the development of this thesis. In this third and final section of the chapter the destabilisation of the central tenets of both structuralism and liberalism are explored again, this time in relation to poststructuralist analyses of multiple subjectivities, the centring of discourse and the problematising of 'choice', 'oppression' and 'agency'.

Flax (1990: 188) persuasively argues that although the term 'poststructuralism' does not correspond to any "actual or unified discourse", and that poststructuralist theorising is characterised by heterogeneity in terms of content, style and concerns, four writers have been particularly important to its development. They are Lyotard, Rorty and most significantly for this discussion, Derrida's formulation of a post-Saussurian linguistics and Foucault's theory of discourse and power. Although diverse and evocative of the poststructuralist insistence on multiplicity and difference, Flax argues that all of these writers are united by their rejection of certain positions:

> they all reject representational and objective or rational concepts of knowledge and truth; grand synthetic theorising meant to comprehend Reality as and in a unified whole; and any concept of self or subjectivity in which it is not understood as produced as an effect of discursive practices (ibid).

This form of theorising signals a move away from the notion of 'invisible' structures which determine social life or 'totalising' notions of power centred around the concept of 'oppression'. It also reflects a broader change in the academy away from the social scientific "preoccupation with things" (such as the incidence of industrial homework) toward the *discursive* analysis of "texts" (Barrett, 1992: 203-5). This 'linguistic turn' within the academy is described by Fraser as an "epochal shift" in philosophy and social theory within which "culturally constructed social meanings are accorded density and weight" (1995: 157).

Derrida and Différance

Sturrock (1993: 137) argues that poststructuralism does not signal the 'death' of structuralism so much as an extension and development of its analysis, most significantly represented by Derrida's (1973; 1976) critique of the Saussurian assumption of a stable and fixed relationship between the signifier and the signified. In the foregrounding of language within poststructuralist approaches, there is significant attention drawn to Derrida's questioning of the fixed location of meaning in signs, in favour of the argument that meaning is never fixed once and for all but perpetually 'deferred'.

Derrida argues that signs can never be complete in themselves, but refer endlessly to other signs through the process of *différance*; that is, the dual strategies of the difference between signs and the deferral of meaning; there can be no *fixed* signifieds or signifiers. As Moi suggests in her reading of Derrida, meaning can never be fully 'present', but only 'constructed' through reference to "other, absent signifiers" (1985: 106). There is no such thing for Derrida as a "transcendental signified", a meaning outside language, which would, at any rate, be "perfectly incommunicable, even to ourselves" (Sturrock, 1993: 140). The poststructuralist privileging of the discursive problematic and the deconstruction of the meanings of texts draws attention to the 'signifying matter' itself:

> which instead of making itself transparent as it conveys a particular meaning, becomes somewhat opaque, like a piece of stained or faceted glass. Thus in the most basic way the reader is invited to look *at* rather than *through* the linguistic surface (Levine, 1991: ix).

The meaning of any particular signifier, at any particular point in time, thus depends on its *discursive* location, and even this, according to poststructuralist analyses, is only ever a "temporary, retrospective fixing" (Weedon, 1987: 25) rendering the signifier open to reinterpretation and deployment. The relevance and pivotal nature of the poststructuralist understanding of language to this research is that in 'looking *at* rather than *through* the linguistic surface', the meaning of teleworkers' practices and subjectivities can be understood as *similarly not fixed* in so far as they too are constructed in and through language. Within poststructuralist analysis then, how we live as subjects and give meaning to the social relations in which we are located and which shape our day-to-day practice, depends on the "range and social power of existing *discourses,* our access to them and the political strength of the interests they represent" (Weedon, 1987: 26, emphasis added).

Discourse and Power

The poststructuralist insistence on the instability of meaning draws on the notion of discourse as:

> systems of statements which adhere around common meanings and values ... (that) are a product of social factors, of powers and practices, rather than an individual's set of ideas (Hollway, 1983: 231).

In this thesis a specifically Foucauldian use of the concept of discourse is employed which emphasises not only language, forms of meaning construction and representation, but the discourses "on subjects" (for example the discourse on gender) as it constitutes the "*lived and actual* experience" of subjects (Butler, 1995: 143, original emphasis). Such a definition of discourse fundamentally emphasises *practices* including, but not limited to, spoken and written utterances, as the means by which individuals are *constituted*, that is, the means by which "certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires, come to be identified and constituted as individuals" (Foucault, 1980: 98). Discourses do not merely "report" on subjects, but come to "articulate the possibilities in which subjects *achieve intelligibility*" (ibid: 143, emphasis added).

For example, the meaning of being a mother is an outcome of discursive processes which may include the institutionalisation of childbirth and practices as diverse as breastfeeding to reading to children while they are in-utero. These discourses of mothering may be "common" and yet they are not fixed; neither temporally, as the difference between being a mother in the 1920s as opposed to the 1990s might suggest, nor 'culturally', as the difference between the meaning of mothering within Māori whānau (family) compared to that associated with surrogacy implies. That is, practices and subjectivities are not fixed by discourses but are constituted or produced through processes which are at once "material, discursive and complex, always inscribed in relation to other practices of the production of discourse" (Henriques et al, 1984: 6).

Foucault's conception of discourse is additionally helpful in that he emphasises the power relations that exist in all historical ages to *control* discourse, to permit certain things to be "said" and others "concealed"; those "enunciations" which are "required and those forbidden" (1990: 100). In his discussion of the power relations associated with discourse, Foucault is at pains to distinguish his view of power from that which he labels "liberal" and "Marxist" (1980: 88) an issue worth discussing briefly, in that it reinforces the argument made thus far. Within *liberal* theorisations of power, according to Foucault:

(P)ower is taken to be a right, which one is able to possess like a commodity and which one can in consequence transfer or alienate, either wholly or partially, through a legal act or through some act that establishes a right, such as takes place through a cession or contract (ibid).

The liberal model of power for Foucault thus formulates power as like a legal transaction involving a "contractual" exchange (ibid). For example, liberals assume the employment relationship is a contract between 'free', sovereign individuals where power is located within the individual and delineated within the circumference of the law. In contrast, Foucault argues, *Marxist* constructions offer a model of the "economic functionality of power" (ibid) formed in relation to the development of specific forces and relations of production and associated class antagonisms. In this view the *"raison d'être* of political power is to be found in the economy" (ibid: 89, original emphasis) in terms of the concrete forms and functioning of power. In contrast to both liberal *and* Marxist views, Foucault suggests that power is relational and co-extensive with the social:

> Between every point of a social body, between a man and a woman, between members of a family, between a master and his pupil, between everyone who knows and everyone who does not, there exists relations of power (1980: 187).

Power is in other words 'everywhere', there is "no escaping from power" (1990: 82) even within the most private of relationships within marriage and the family. In this sense Foucault has proved attractive to feminists who explore the dwelling of power in those 'private' realms liberal theory deems beyond the political, a quest which radical feminist theory captured in the enduringly pithy concept of 'the personal is political'. However, contra to radical feminist accounts, Foucault proposes that power is not repressive but rather "fluid"; that it does not "fasten", "strike", "subdue" or "crush" subjects (1980: 98), but rather operates through "techniques and tactics" (ibid: 102). "Power" he wrote:

> must be analysed as something that circulates, or rather as something that only functions in the form of a chain. It is never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation (ibid: 98).

Power is thus not formulated as something which is primarily or necessarily an oppressive or negative force, the "power to say no" (Foucault, 1990: 85), but something which is above

all else "productive" (Foucault, 1980: 119). Power is not characterised by the "consolidated and homogeneous domination over others" (ibid: 98), but rather has a multiplicity of ways to act; "it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes it easier or more difficult" (Foucault, 1982: 220). Rather than taking repression as the starting point of politics and scholarship, Foucault argues we must look at the "positive mechanisms" which "produce knowledge, multiply discourse, induce pleasure and generate power" (1990: 73).

This view of power speaks to some of the shortcomings of a socialist feminist structuralism which decentres the active subject in favour of the "obdurate structures of unchanging power" (Gibson-Graham, 1995: 178). This poststructuralist conception of the 'self' as constituted in discourse, offers women and men a "transitory glimpse of themselves" as individuals with power in multiple ways (ibid: 182). Rather than assuming women's inevitable failure against the joint powers of capitalist patriarchy, Pringle (1995: 211) asks, why not celebrate the possibility of diverse subjectivities, a wider variety of possible interventions and the "contesting of specific instances of power"? The feminist scholarly project is thus reorientated away from the delineation of the intermeshed structure of capitalist patriarchal oppression, toward an exploration of the multiplicity and complexity of the discursive circulation of individuals within and between the 'threads of power'.

Subjectivity as a 'Project' of the Self

Linked to Foucault's understanding of power is the awareness that discourses vary in their authority and offer multiple, often competing and potentially contradictory ways of giving meaning to the world and of constituting subjectivity (Gavey, 1989: 464). The plurality of *subject positions* the individual may 'take up' are correlated with discursive formations (Fraser, 1995: 162) which constitute "the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and the emotional life of the subjects which they seek to govern" (Weedon, 1987: 108). The relevance of this insight to the research at hand is the examination of *how* different discourses are 'taken up' by teleworking parents, and the consequences of doing so for them as subjects located within a variety of competing possible discourses and the subject positions they offer.

Furthermore, if discourses are multiple and vary in their authority, they could be said to 'battle' or 'compete' for the subjectivity of the individual (Weedon, 1987: 26). Dominant discourses, such as the assumption that teleworking allows women the flexibility to combine paid work with 'their' caring responsibilities, are predicated upon powerful discursive constructions of women's 'natural' propensity towards nurturing, and gain their authority by reference to common sense accounts of the 'essential' nature of femininity. That is, the

assumption that home-based work is 'flexible' for mothers plays upon the notion that by remaining at home, teleworking women take up their proper roles as mothers while simultaneously generating income for their families.

The scholarly project within poststructuralist discourse is to theorise the "diversity of discourses that *could* constitute a decentred and shifting subjectivity ... to see the diversity within and between subjects that differing narratives may engender" (Gibson-Graham, 1995: 179, my emphasis). From this position no particular discourse would be seen as "inherently liberating" (Pringle, 1995: 210), but rather as "relational", that is, open to questioning in terms of its relation to other discourses and the contexts in which they are invoked. The *multiplicity* of discourses that *could* constitute subjectivity speaks to the central question of this research, namely how to theorise the contradictory positioning of teleworkers within a complex matrix of practices and subjectivities, such as being a parent and being an entrepreneur, which may be experienced with an unusual degree of simultaneity because of the lack of the usual spatial and temporal boundaries between them.

Additionally, poststructuralism argues that subjectivity (that is, the individual's sense of themselves and their ways of understanding their relation to the world: Weedon, 1987: 32) is actively *"produced* or *generated"* in discourse rather than fatally determined, foundational or fixed (Butler, 1990: 147, original emphasis). If subjectivity is not fixed but "achieved" (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993: 662-3), such an analysis opens up for discussion the *fluidity, multiplicity* and *contingency* of subjectivities and the exploration of *difference* and *power* (Gutterman, 1994: 224). In terms of this latter point, poststructuralist analyses offer understandings of the relation of subordination and domination which exist *between* women, such as between teleworkers and their caregivers, as well as insight into the relationships between *men* and women (Connell, 1995: 78-81).

Subjectivity is thus a "project" of the self to be accomplished, worked at moment by moment, rather than a stable essence (Kerfoot and Knights, 1996: 86); where teleworkers draw upon a variety of competing discourses in the process of this 'identity work' (Thompson and McHugh, 1995). In pursuing this argument in relation to the teleworking parents in this study, the question becomes: how are women and men constituted and constitutive of the complex play of "constraint and manoeuvre" (Fraser, 1995: 162) that characterises their positioning within a diversity of discourses, for example, those of organisational employment, domesticity and entrepreneurship? The utility of poststructuralist theorising to the question of the constitution of 'home' and 'work' selves thus rests upon the analysis of the constitution and reconstitution of the self in a variety of discourses, and the complex and dynamic nature of these processes.

Multiple Subjectivities and Asymmetrical Power Relations

Collinson and Hearn (1994: 10; 1996: 73) take up the issue of the dynamism and discursive multiplicity of the constitution of subjectivity within poststructuralist accounts to argue that this multiplicity must be placed within the overall social context of *asymmetrical* gendered power relations between women and men. That is, if subjectivity is constituted in a discursive field, or a "network of intersecting practices and discourses", then these discursive fields are comprised of an interplay of *"non-egalitarian* shifting power relations" (Sawicki, 1991: 80, emphasis added).

Two ideas are thus held in tension. First is the process by which subjectivity is constituted and reconstituted in a *multiplicity* of sites (such as the organisation, the home and the home-based business) where subjectivity is always a state of *'becoming'* which refuses the "inevitability, universality and constancy" of particular subjectivities (Kerfoot and Knights, 1996: 85). Second, attention is drawn to the *persistence* of certain systematic forms of power relations which Connell (1995: 77) refers to as 'hegemonic', that is, configurations of gender practice which "guarantee" the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. Hanson and Pratt (1995: 227) claim that the emphasis on the multiplicity and dynamism of subjectivities tends to underemphasise the "resting places" of subjectivity and the social and institutional forms which work to fix (although they never do so completely) *certain* subjectivities. In this sense some scholars who employ Foucault's insights argue for the retention of the concept of 'over-determination' of certain discourses (eg Gutterman, 1994), which are the result of social struggle in particular times and places (Gibson-Graham, 1995: 216-7).

This is not to suggest that such power relations are totalising and stable, but rather that in addition to an analysis of the multiple constitution of subjectivity what is *also* required is an analysis of the relationship between these meanings and "what people do" (Hearn, 1996: 208). For example, the 'non-egalitarian' power relations that Sawicki (1991) refers to above, might include the discourse of equality in marriage and the practice of women's unequal share of domestic labour which has been demonstrated in a variety of different research projects (Apter, 1993; Beckett, 1997; Habgood, 1992; Hochschild, 1989; Wearing, 1996). This should not be taken as an argument for the notion that patriarchy lies beneath the *apparent* expression of multiplicity, but rather that gendered relations are historical and dynamic and reflect the *struggle* for power between groups, rather than its linear imposition. There are thus dynamic, historically and socially specific forms of gendered relations which knit the expression of multiple subjectivities within the social fabric of gender inequality.

Approaching the theorisation of gendered subjectivity and practice in relation to teleworking requires both an analysis of the institutionalisation of gender dominance and an awareness that such dominance takes "different forms at different junctures" (Fraser, 1995: 159). That is, it requires analyses both "supple and powerful" (ibid) which emphasise the social contexts *and* the specificity of the processes by which gendered subjects come to be constituted in a number of discursive 'sites', such as paid work and parenting.

The 'Fictionality' of the Humanist Subject

This analysis of 'the self' as constituted in and through discourse, does not suggest that individuals might recognise a number of possible discursive positionings and *choose* a position to locate themselves within, through the application of their rational consciousness. Some feminist researchers have wanted to argue from this position (eg Davies and Harré, 1990; Phibbs, 1994), that is, for a notion of an 'agent' who *chooses* between discourses and takes up more libratory subject positions. Jones (1997) and Butler (1993) suggest that to make this argument is an attempt to have the humanist cake and 'eat it' too, using the 'acid' tools of deconstruction to argue for a self that is both constituted in discourse and yet, like a typical liberal humanist, chooses how it is so constituted (Butler, 1993: x; Jones, 1997: 11).

Jones (1997: 11) particularly illuminates this tension, suggesting that it reflects the persistent evocation of a humanist, choosing 'agent' in the midst of the employment of the anti-humanist vocabulary of poststructuralism. In so far as we *experience* and *understand* ourselves as 'doers behind deeds' or actors who make choices, Jones argues, we *are* the 'rational choosing subject' that liberal humanist discourse imagines us to be (ibid: 15). Acting, choosing selves exist, according to Jones:

> *because/as we invoke them.* In other words, 'truth', 'reality' and our acting choosing selves exist insofar as we refer to them and socially legitimate them. What poststructuralism maintains is that they exist in our discursive practices, not prior to them (ibid: original emphasis).

For example, the subject that 'chooses' to telework *experiences* themselves as the unified, rational and sovereign subject described by liberal humanism, but poststructuralists argue that this is an *achievement* or accomplishment that each of us makes and remakes (Heald, 1991: 138). Foucault (1965; 1995) has made clear the relations of ruling inscribed in the classification of the rational, coherent self, where the desire to pass as 'normal', to make the pieces of oneself and one's life cohere, is a necessary one; to construct a story of oneself

that is "unitary, not fragmented, rational not tossed by the ravages of desire, uncertainty and confusion" (Heald, 1991: 139).

In constructing these 'unifying narratives', individuals may believe or imagine themselves to be the author of the subject position they may (temporarily) locate themselves within, such as the 'self-made businessman'. Because of these beliefs, these 'locations' are not experienced as 'taking up' a subject position, but "lived as identity, as subjectivity" (Heald, 1991: 138). The individual presumes they are "the type of subject humanism proposes - rational, unified, the source rather than the effect of language" where this character of the individual's identification with this subject position is what gives it its "psychological and emotional force" (Weedon, 1987: 31).

As Davies similarly suggests, "the humanist self is so convincingly achieved" because of the "inscription of humanist discourse on the one who is *always already* a subject" (1997: 272, original emphasis). Poststructuralism argues for the subject's "fictionality", while recognising how powerful these fictions are in constituting what we take to be human (ibid). Davies suggests that in this process one of Foucault's major contributions has been to show how radically what is taken to be human has changed historically, where his concern is not with the individual 'texts of the self', such as the narrative accounts pursued in the course of this research, but the very process of 'subjectification' (ibid).

Does the Constituted Subject have 'Agency'?

In the wake of this deconstructive analysis of the 'fictionality' of the subject emerges the vexing question of 'agency', which remains a key theoretical debate amongst feminist appropriations and constructions of poststructuralist theory. This debate has considerable significance to research such as this concerned with the "*specificity* of the construction of *actual* subjectivities in the domain of discursive practices" (Henriques et al, 1984: 204, emphasis added). Butler's work (1990, 1993, 1995) has been significant in this debate, where she has argued that in the discursive constitution of subjectivity:

> there is no self ... who maintains "integrity" prior to its entrance into this conflicted cultural field. There is only a taking up of the tools where they lie, where the very "taking up" is enabled by the tool lying there (1990: 145).

The "doer" is, in Butler's words, "invariably constructed in and through the deed"; there is no 'original' prediscursive self or acts but rather the "discursively variable construction of each in and through the other" (1990: 142). In contrast to a humanist model which suggests

a choosing self which takes something up, according to Jones, the "taker and the taken" are "*mutually* determining" (1997: 13, emphasis added). The subject 'is', for Jones, "the discursive practices which produce it" (ibid).

In response to such arguments some feminist scholars have argued for the retention of the concept of an 'agency' that is not fully determined by culture and discourse, as exemplified by the Benhabib's (1995) critique of Butler (1995) in *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange.* Yet arguing for the retention of the concept of agency flounders for Butler on two counts, because:

> agency can only be established through recourse to a prediscursive "I", even if that 'I' is found in the midst of discursive convergence, and (b) that to be *constituted* by discourse is to be *determined* by discourse, where determination forecloses the possibility of agency (1990: 143, original emphasis).

Not surprisingly, Butler's foreclosing of agency fills many feminists, including Benhabib (1995), with more than a little trepidation. However Butler's retort to the charge of "linguistic determinism" (Benhabib, 1995: 109) is to argue that the signifying practices that "govern intelligible identity" operate through "*repetition*", and that such repetitions are open to subversion (Butler, 1990: 145, original emphasis). That is, Butler reinforces Derrida's position that signifying practices cannot be idiomatic or only occur once for "(a) sign which took place 'only once' would not be a sign" (Derrida, 1973: 55). The subject is thus "not determined" by the:

> rules through which it is generated because signification is *not a founding act, but rather a regulated process of repetition* that both conceals itself and enforces its rules precisely through the production of substantialising effects (Butler, 1990: 145, original emphasis).

That is, Butler argues for the possibility of the variation in signifying practices in the process of such repetitions, but variations which occur only from "*within* the practices of repetitive signifying" (1990: 145, original emphasis). At the discursive 'junctures' of power/discourse, the possibility of "subversive repetition" emerges, where gender is configured as an "act" that is open to "splittings, self parody, self criticism" (ibid: 146-7).

Such variations from, for example, the injunction to be a given gender, produce "failures" to conform to that injunction in the form of a "variety of incoherent configurations" in

addition to the possibility of contradiction in the overlap and intersection between different discursive injunctions (ibid: 145). In reference to this latter point Butler writes:

> the very injunction to be a given gender takes place through discursive routes: to be a good mother, to be a heterosexually desirable object; to be a fit worker, in sum, to signify a multiplicity of guarantees in response to a variety of different demands at once (ibid).

A significant focus of this study invokes two of these injunctions explicitly; those of the 'good mother' and the 'fit worker', and more particularly the relationship between the two for home-based businesswomen. If subjectivities are multiply constituted in discourse then the telework literature is suggestive of the ways in which certain gendered subjectivities, such as those associated with work for men or mothering for women, may have a "stickiness" to the self (Hanson and Pratt, 1995: 227). For example, the strong association between mothering and 'flexible' home-based work is demonstrated by the numbers of women who cite being available for children as an advantage of teleworking in research projects completed in the 1990s, such as 53.6% (n = 401) in the Prima research (Phizacklea and Wolkowitz, 1995: 81); and 74.1% (n = 119) in the Huws et al, survey (1990: 104). In a Finnish study that compared men and women's valuing of 'flexible hours' and its association to managing domesticity, men ranked flexibility in sixth place in the list of advantages of teleworking behind saving commuting time and the lack of interruptions (Salmi, 1997: 141). Huws, in a press release, encapsulated the appeal of this construction of telework as offering a:

> chance to work without having to leave the comfort of your own front room ... No more rush hour travel, no need to find a childminder, a chance to choose your own hours and your very own computer terminal in the living room ... Sounds like the answer to every working mum's prayers (1982, cited in Monod, 1985: 141).

'Being there' for one's child is indistinguishable from those qualities women are told they *should* possess in order to be 'intelligible' mothers (Hekman, 1994: 51). Home-based work thus appears to be one way to "signify a multiplicity of guarantees" (Butler, 1990: 145), in this case to the simultaneous demand to be a 'good' mother and to be a 'fit' entrepreneur where women may not be easily able to 'choose' to solely address or abandon either. The "coexistence or convergence" of such discursive injunctions are for Butler what produce the possibility of "complex reconfigurations and redeployments" of gendered subjectivities, not 'agency' or the entry of a transcendental subject who *chooses* between competing discursive constructions (ibid).

Some of the literature is suggestive of the ways that women may find it very difficult to be both 'good' mothers and 'fit' home-based entrepreneurs where their positioning between these two different injunctions may be contradictory and/or lead to new configurations of 'home' and 'work' relations such as hiring paid help, sharing domesticity or 'cutting back' on the children. For example, in the Prima study (n= 401), 32% of the women respondents were concerned that they couldn't get away from their work, 31% complained of a stressful day and nearly 50% said that their families resented their work or that it interfered with family life (Phizacklea and Wolkowitz, 1995: 89). This contradictory portioning was neatly captured by the woman who said the main advantage of telework was "being with the children all day", and when asked what the main disadvantage was, replied "being with the children all day" (Huws, 1984: 43).

Thus, rather than fatally determined, foundational or fixed, the poststructuralist self is constituted within a:

> given network of power/discourse which is open to resignification, redeployment, subversive citation from within, and interruption and inadvertent convergences with other such networks. "Agency" is to be found precisely at such junctures where discourse is renewed (Butler, 1995: 135).

Davies (1997: 272) concurs with this point when she argues that "we can think we have, and act as if we have, (and can be required by law to have) a sense of agency", while recognising at the same time that it is in the "constitutive force of discourse that agency lies". The theoretical 'project' of this thesis is to analyse the subjectivities of teleworking parents as they are constituted in the "concrete interplay of constraint and manoeuvre in specific discursive settings" (Fraser, 1995: 162). In a research area characterised by an unusual degree of simultaneity in the discursive routes which constitute subjectivity; where being a parent occurs in the same time and in the same place as being a paid worker; this analysis of the discursive constitution of subjectivity is an especially fruitful means through which to explore the complex convergence of the discursive injunctions to be a partner, parent and professional and the 'subversive citations' these convergences allow.

The Constituted and Constitutive Character of Subjectivity

The more complex theorisations of 'agency', power and subjectivity offered by poststructuralist analyses have proved attractive to many feminist scholars in terms of their call for more dynamic and specific analyses of subjectivity. Favouring this theoretical positioning in relation to the thesis is not to suggest that other feminist theorisations are

wrong. Rather, distancing the research from appeals to 'women's oppression' or 'men's oppressiveness', or to the interlocking nature of capitalist patriarchy, is to step toward theorising the *contradictory* meanings of being a teleworking 'woman' or a 'man'. In turn these gendered subject positions are themselves cut across by other axes of difference, and the concurrent experiences of "privilege and marginality ... resistance and accommodation" (Jones and Guy, 1992: 311).

In my own reading of the dialogue between Butler (1995) and Benhabib (1995) and the taking up of elements of this debate in the exchange between Jones (1997) and Davies (1997), I find parts of all of their accounts compelling, as suggested by the use of each of these writers in the course of the argument above. Their exchange signals the multi-layered and perhaps irresolvable nature of these epistemological debates in feminist and other social theory. Davies (1997: 279), for example, is the target of Jones's criticism for her use of 'choice', and yet reads such tensions in the work of both Butler (1990) and of Jones (1997) herself. That is, Davies argues that these writers *imply* that there are choices to be made, because they themselves invoke a subject who takes up the tool and who questions how to use it. However, the active choosing subject is not *visible* in their accounts: it is an "invisible hand" which takes up the tool. While Jones seems to argue that the active subject is incompatible with poststructuralist theorising, Davies (ibid: 280) aligns herself with Flax's (1993) observation that only "fluid, multi-centred" forms of subjectivity can recognise relations of domination and struggle against them. Through the "reflexive awareness of the constitutive power of language" (ibid: 272) and the 'visibility' of discourses (ibid: 276), Davies argues, subjects can resist relations of domination in ways that do not merely recreate these same relations.

Davies (ibid: 275) employs Foucault's image of a "surface infinitely folded and containing its own depth" to move beyond the metaphoric dualism of the prediscursive 'original' self (depth) and the self constituted in discourse (surface). In an endeavour to avoid this dualism, Davies makes use of Butler's notion of 'performativity', where the self is expressed in the act of performance, but does not exist independently of it. Davies argues that this concept holds the notion of the self as 'constituted' in discourse and as 'constitutive' in dynamic tension, with "the room for movement that the reflexively aware subject (has) once the constitutive power of discourses (are) made visible" (ibid: 276). In the 'infinite folds' of 'selving' or subjectification (ibid: 275), the dualistic logic of the self as either located within the relations of 'absolute compulsion' or 'absolute choice' is abandoned by Davies, in favour of a conceptualisation of the complexly layered strata of the 'constituted' and 'constitutive' self.

The task of this thesis is not to resolve this debate, or even to determine *if* it is resolvable, but rather to make a connection to the on-going conversation occurring between scholars regarding issues of subjectivity, power and 'agency'. Their application to the question of how men and women 'chose' to telework, and the consequences of doing so, will be explored in the latter part of the thesis which examines the intersection of the multiple subjectivities and practices of teleworking parents and the interstices between the discursive injunctions of the 'good' parent and the 'fit' entrepreneur.

The Pleasures of the Disciplined Self

These arguments regarding the movement between the 'constituted' and 'constitutive' character of subjectivity are explored in a significant way in terms of this thesis, with regard to Foucault's (1995) notion of the 'disciplined self' and the 'disciplinary society'. That is, Foucault asserts that power in contemporary societies is transformed from the 'top down' exercise of sovereign power that operates through repression and denial into internal systems of self-regulation or disciplinary power which produce 'subjected', 'practised' and 'docile' bodies (Gavey, 1992: 327). These disciplinary practices are constituted for Foucault (1995) not only as negative and constraining, but as productive and 'constitutive', that is, as producing meanings, desires and practices.

I first became interested in this element of Foucault's (1995) theorising, and the correspondence between it and home-based workplaces in relation to Foucault's description of Bentham's model of the ideal prison, 'The Panopticon', as an exemplar of modern forms of 'disciplinary' power. At the periphery of the Panopticon is a circular structure, divided into cells; at its centre, an observation tower. Each cell has two windows, one facing the tower and the other the outside with the effect that each captives' shape is visible "standing out precisely against the light" (ibid: 200). All that was needed, according to Bentham, was to place a supervisor in the tower and to shut up in each cell "a madman, a patient, a condemned man, a worker or a schoolboy" where each subject is alone and cut-off from the others but constantly visible from the tower (ibid).

This state of "conscious and permanent visibility" assures the "automatic" functioning of power according to Foucault, because power is both *visible,* in so far as the prisoner can see the tower from which they are spied upon; and *unverifiable* because the prisoner can never know if they are being looked at from moment to moment but can only sure that they may be so observed (ibid: 201). In the periphery "one is totally seen without seeing; in the central tower, one sees everything without ever being seen" (ibid: 202). In this context of 'conscious and permanent visibility', a subjected and "practised" individual is produced

(ibid: 208), where the subject, knowing they may be observed at any time, takes over the job of policing themselves. Disciplinary practices are thus "subtly present" and internalised by the subject, rather than imposed like a "rigid, heavy constraint" from without (ibid: 206), through the production of "isolated and self policing" selves (Bartky, 1990: 79). Disciplinary power for Foucault is "everywhere and always alert, since by its very principle it leaves *no zone of shade*" (1995: 177 emphasis added), where the captive assumes responsibility for self-regulation, taking on both the role of jailer and prisoner; becoming the "principle of his own subjection" (Foucault, 1995: 203).

Foucault argues that the concept of the Panopticon has a utility to the appreciation of the "operation of power relation (in) ... everyday life", as a "generalizable model" of the functioning of power in the 'disciplinary' society (ibid: 205). When I read of Bentham's Panopticon in Foucault's work it resonated with my feelings about the home-based businesses I had seen, where the lack of spatial and temporal boundaries between 'home' and 'work' similarly evoked for me the spectre of "no zone of shade". As I visited garage workshops in Melbourne, travelled in my father's vehicle which was the basis of his mobile business, visited the home-based entrepreneurs who ran my corner dairy and wrote my PhD on the dining room table, I too wondered, where was the 'zone of shade'? I also wondered where was Lasch's "haven in a heartless world", and what were the implications of aspects of the competitive and demanding world of work taking up residence in the very centre of this 'haven', the home? The 'disciplinary' power of work for home-based entrepreneurs similarly appeared 'everywhere and nowhere'; it was "visible and unverifiable" (ibid: 201); it was in the *potential* for the next phone call to be a major client, or the next fax to be a lucrative contract.

However, this transformation of discipline into an internal system of self-regulation is not just a negative and constraining process, but positive and productive; it is 'constituted' and 'constitutive', to paraphrase Davies (1997). For example, despite the long hours and not being able to get away from home-based business, working from home may represent the 'ideal' of owning your own business and *being in control* of one's work and indeed one's life. Whatever its ultimate effect, Bartky (1990: 77) argues, discipline can provide the individual with a sense of mastery and a secure sense of self, where this sense is generated in the skill and competence associated with disciplinary practices. Women and men may become their own 'jailers', as Foucault suggests, but in this instance they are imprisoned not by an institution but by the *stimulation of productive forms of power,* where the rewards of compliance are a sense of control, of competence and of a coherent sense of self.

Two different conceptualisations of discipline emerge in the telework literature which address this issue of discipline as constitutive or 'productive'. One concerns the disciplined, 'self-made' entrepreneurial man who Mulholland characterises as typified by the qualities of "self-denial, discipline and physical endurance" (1996: 144). This evocation of discipline is particularly focused on disciplining the body, which errantly demands food and sleep, to enable extended periods of work during time usually allocated for rest or leisure. A different use of the concept of discipline associated specifically with teleworking women in the literature, concerns disciplining the self not to respond to the demands of the household and to work intensely and at odd hours in order to deal with the sense of the constancy of the demands of 'work' and 'home' (Phizacklea and Wolkowitz, 1995: 109; Hamblin, 1995: 485; Soares, 1992: 126). For example, Goldmann and Richter's (1986) study discussed the ways women disciplined themselves to work hard in their businesses and their homes so that their families would not "notice" any change to their domestic regimes, and considered it a "personal failure" if their disciplinary practices failed and they needed to call on partners for assistance.

This notion of disciplinary power captures the dilemma of the home-working self succinctly. That is, how do the teleworkers practices suggest their *self-regulation,* and how is this an effect of both the insecurities of self-employment and the 'disciplinary' imperative of clients' demands (constituted relations) *and/or* the effect of the production of entrepreneurs' own desires for control and autonomy, channelled into a search for excellence and success in enterprise (constitutive relations)? Furthermore, the notion of disciplinary power is evocative of how one might theorise the teleworking self as "both-and" (Lather, 1991: 154) constituted and constitutive, in and through the discursive configuration of the practices of 'home' and 'work' in which they are multiply, fluidly and complexly located.

Practices of the Self

In taking up this theoretical project in relation to the constituted and constitutive power of discourse, this research is dedicated to an exploration of the *possible* meaning of telework to the subjectivities and *practices* of women and men. In reflecting on Hearn's (1996: 208) point regarding the *multiplicity of possible* meanings of subjectivities, and their relationship to what people *do*, this thesis retains a classic sociological interest in *practices*. Practices such as those associated with work, time, space, money, housework, child care, leisure etc, lie at the heart of the orientation of this thesis toward the question of *how* people manage the simultaneity of paid work, parenting and partnering in home-based business.

In reviewing these 'practices of the self', there is also something of a 'gap' between the theoretical literature regarding the multiplicity and meaning of subjectivities, and the many sociological studies of the practices of work, parenting, leisure and so on. In relation to the arena of housework and domesticity vis-à-vis employment, for example, some of the 'best' research, in terms of providing detailed, 'empirical' accounts, such as Hochschild's (1989) and Apter's (1993), do not engage with the theories of subjectivity which circulate in the feminist literature and are discussed above. And yet despite this lacuna, such research does provocatively allude to the issues of contradiction, fluidity and multiplicity that characterise the poststructuralist position.

Such writers have proved for me to be compelling reading in that they detail the practices whereby gendered power traverses households, organisations, subjectivities and indeed everyday life itself, and are significant resources for the study of the discursive construction of subjectivity. This study moves between such richly textured 'empirical' accounts of gendered practices *and* the connection of these to poststructuralist theories of subjectivity. This analysis is offered in a context where telework research has tended to be atheoretical in nature (with some notable exceptions, for example, Mackinnon, 1991; Salmi, 1997) and often unsatisfyingly 'thin' in regard to the connection between organisational and entrepreneurial subjectivities and practices and those of the home and family. Additionally this thesis links with the on-going conversation regarding the theorisation of subjectivities and practices, by detailing the "specificity of the construction of actual subjectivities in the domain of discursive practices" (Henriques et al, 1984: 204) in this particular time at the end of the century and in the particular place of the home-based business.

It is these teleworking practices, the narratives that 'story' them, and the readings I offer of these stories, which form the basis of this study. The process by which this research pursued these questions methodologically in relation to *particular* home-based entrepreneurs and their practices is the subject of the next chapter to which this thesis now turns.

Chapter 3

The 'Researcher-Traveller' and the Research Process: Methodological Considerations

Shulamit Reinharz (1992) invokes the image of the "researcher-traveller" to reflect on the intellectual 'journey' which the research process entails. She writes:

> being a researcher-traveller means having a self and a body. It means abandoning the voice of "disembodied objectivity" and locating oneself in time and space .... It also means acknowledging that the self changes during the journey (ibid: 211-212).

In this chapter I too wish to reflect on the journey of my research, to consider work I have previously completed and that which is discussed here, and the sea changes these experiences have encouraged in me. In this process I want to discuss the ways my earlier conceptualisation of feminist research both enabled and limited my research praxis as I came to develop the research design for this study of telework. I return to this experience as a means of narrating a genealogy of myself as a 'feminist researcher' located within a number of shifting discursive constructions of 'feminist research', and the implications of my theoretical positioning and research practice as it is implicated in this study on teleworkers. The proceeding discussion is thus organised into three interrelated themes which reoccur in the feminist research literature and which have been reflected in my research praxis, analysis and writing process, namely:

- Feminist research and 'standpoint epistemology';

- Feminist research as a critique of non-feminist research; as striving to represent human diversity, as aiming to create social change and as using a multiplicity of research methods; and

- Poststructuralist feminisms and the refigured place of women's experience in feminist research.

In this chapter, the literature concerning epistemology, methodology and method is discussed alongside the process of this research. This suggests the implications of my positioning as a researcher to what I looked and listened for in this study with teleworkers, and what I was able to see and hear.

Feminist Research and Standpoint Epistemology

When I first began reading the feminist research literature in the early eighties, it was energised by the question 'what is feminist research?', and was rich in competing typologies which attempted to define feminist research, such as: Oakley (1981), Roberts (1981), Stanley and Wise (1983), Mies (1983), Bowles and Duelli Klein (1983), Reinharz (1983), Smith and Nobel Spruell (1986), Cook and Fonow (1986). These early attempts to codify feminist research shared certain elements, particularly in their emphasis on the role of research in processes of social change for women. During this time of debate and development of the feminist research literature, Wendy Boyce and I ran a workshop at the 1988 Women's Studies Association National Conference where we reflected on what we took to be the central tenets of feminist research. We agreed that feminist research was "pro-women, change oriented research" that took as its "basic assumption the oppression and subordination of women by men". The role of feminist research was to act as a "tool of the women's liberation movement", providing information about the "most effective strategies to use to alter women's subordinate position" (Armstrong and Boyce, 1989a: 219). Additionally we saw our research practice as affected by the wider collective politics of radical feminism which prevailed in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the 1980s (Jones and Guy, 1992: 300) which encouraged us to think about "our role as researchers in new ways", forming less individualised, more co-operative research networks and creating more "participative and equal relationships between ourselves and our research 'subjects'" (Armstrong and Boyce, 1989a: 219). This seminar attracted a large audience as we vigorously debated how to develop a politicised feminist research and whether there was a "specific methodology congruent with feminist ideology" which would unify this arena of feminist endeavour (Smith and Nobel Spruell, 1986: 139).

A significant characteristic of accounts such as ours was their location within the problematic of women's 'oppression', based on the assumed commonality of women's experience and the linked neglect, by and large, of other axes of difference (Jones and Guy, 1992: 308). Additionally, such accounts emphasised *action-orientated research* (Fonow and

Cook, 1991: 5-9) and the connection of feminist scholarship to political activity in the wider women's movement. In Aotearoa/New Zealand this reflected both the state of feminist politics in the mid-eighties and the intellectual tenor of the times, particularly the influential work of German sociologist Maria Mies (1983) and her promotion of 'action research'. Mies argued that feminist scholars had a responsibility to act as "agents for change rather than simply investigating women as a new topic", using their "double consciousness" as members of both the academic elite *and* as part of a subordinated group as women, all of whom she assumed had "experienced male supremacy to some degree", to enrich their feminist research praxis (1983: 89).

Mies's (1983) work can now be positioned within the framework of *feminist standpoint epistemology*, that is, as arguing that "through feminist struggles against male domination" women's experience can be "made to yield up a truer (or less false) image of social reality" than that available from the "partial and perverse perspective available from the 'ruling gender' experience of men" (Harding, 1987: 185). At the time that Boyce and I presented our seminar there was no "available feminist conceptual language" to name our politicised feminist research as "standpoint epistemology" (Stanley and Wise, 1990: 25), but we were clear that our work had come out of goals articulated by the 'feminist movement'. We located ourselves and our research as part of a wider quest for change in women's lives, discussing on my part the experience of co-ordinating a voluntary group of women researchers who were members of *The Society for Research on Women (SROW)*, investigating women's participation in trade unions from 1986 to 1991 (SROW, 1991). This study had developed from a public meeting held in 1985 where prominent feminist politician Sonya Davies discussed the conference to mark the end of the International Women's Decade held in Nairobi (SROW, 1991: 10). It was suggested at this meeting attended by many women trade unionists that further research on the relevance and accessibility of trade union organisations for women would be a timely project to assist in struggles within unions for more attention to 'women's issues' and women's representation.

The SROW study was the first experience I had of the critical distance between research in practice and the tenets of them as they were articulated in the feminist research literature. The SROW study seemed to have many of the ideal characteristics of a feminist research project, as a politicised, co-operative research integrating feminist researchers and/or trade unionists in the mutual pursuit of women's political freedoms within worker organisations. What we found was that not only was the social reality we were attempting to describe and analyse much more complex and dynamic than we had first thought, but the quest for a *unified* feminist perspective upon it and the possibility of social change that we as researchers would share with our participants and with the wider women's movement, was

extremely difficult to secure. Indeed we began to see our feminist research not as an emancipatory process destined to improve the situation of those studied, but one which risked "disrupting relationships that were personally satisfying to the participants and perhaps, materially necessary for survival" (Fonow and Cook, 1991: 8). The trade union study was seen as threatening by both the employers, the unions and the women workers themselves, for the latter of whom our intervention into their working lives potentially destabilised their relationships at work and indeed their employment itself.

The emphasis on the collaborative aspects of the research served to obscure the very different investments we had as researchers vis-à-vis the participants in the process and product of the work. As Stacey (1988) notes, the researcher is able to leave the site of the investigation when she chooses while the participant remains, potentially in a context where the intervention itself has had a negative or disruptive effect. The outcome of this research was destabilising for both the participants and their respective unions, despite the degree of consultation and co-operation that characterised this project. This was in part due to contradictory and inexpressible (in the sense that we lacked a theoretical language to express them) assumptions that lay at the heart of our positioning as feminist researchers *and* activists, and in part due to contextual factors such as the elongated time frame of this voluntary research project (1986-1991).

In terms of the latter point, the project was to be a casualty of the extremely rapid political changes in Aotearoa/New Zealand which were to occur after 1984 (Armstrong, 1990: 124-130). Trade unions were increasingly subject to disruption and hostility as the state moved to legislate against national awards and worker organisations, including the removal of the word 'union' from labour legislation, changes which crystallised in the Employment Contracts Act (1991). It was this same year that the SROW study was finally made public and was not surprisingly seen as an unhelpful additional criticism of the unions at a time of instability and threat. Indeed the Council of Trade Unions subsequently published *Out of the Chorus Line: The Progress of Women in New Zealand Unions* (Sarr, 1992), as an attempt to refute the SROW (1991) study's claims about women's dissatisfaction with union structures. This feminist research project, instigated by trade unionists and conducted on a voluntary basis by women who were themselves sympathetic to and/or active within trade unions, inadvertently and despite good intentions added a further nail in the trade union coffin.

What the experience of the SROW (1991) study clearly demonstrated was that as women researchers and participants we were positioned in a multiplicity of ways with a variety of more often than not *conflicting* interests. The emphasis by authors such as Mies (1983) on

the collaborative aspects of feminist research served to obscure this awareness and the very different investments and resources that we as researchers had vis-à-vis the participants in the process and product of research. Additionally, the conceptualisation of politicised feminist research that existed in the mid-eighties rested on an assumption that as women, researchers and research participants would have *congruent* political goals. Women, it was argued, shared a way of seeing the world and had "good reason to believe that vision is better from below the brilliant space platforms of the powerful" (Haraway, 1988: 583). As a researchers in the SROW study our position changed from being perceived as positively supporting women within unions, to undermining their already fragile position. It was not clear if we were facilitating a critical examination of those who occupied the "space platforms of the powerful", such as the Employers Round Table who were campaigning vigorously against the unions, or helping shore up their mastery.

Furthermore, once the SROW study was published and released, SROW, the research group and I could not control its use by the media, by the employers or by the government. The work became part of a complex game of political positioning where the research was taken up, emphasised or excluded based on tactical decisions beyond the study group's awareness or control. This experience exemplified the unattainability of complete collaboration, an issue which proved insoluble in this study's research praxis and the mushrooming feminist research literature. Who was powerful and who was not, who had a voice and who was silenced, who gained and who suffered, were questions that plagued the literature that informed feminist research, its 'operationalisation', and the effects of the distribution of the 'knowledge' it produced.

Defining Feminist Research and the Work of Reinharz (1992)

The previous section narrates the first significant problematisation of feminist research I had experienced in practice. I include it in this discussion because it allowed me to reflect more critically on the ways in which the feminist methodological literature both enabled and limited my research praxis, providing a valuable background which I drew upon when revisiting these issues in order to design the research at hand. In this part of the chapter I want to reflect on the methodology of the research in light of a schema compiled by Shulamit Reinharz (1992) in the book *Feminist Methods In Social Research*. I have chosen this book as a focus for this section because I would argue that it represents a transitional moment between the literature of the eighties characterised by 'standpoint epistemology' and the refinement of these prescriptive typologies into thematic concerns. It is also transitional in the additional sense that it does not move on from this typology to consider the destabilisation of those definitional attempts by poststructuralist feminisms.

Reinharz sidesteps the now voluminous feminist philosophical literature about the relationship between method, methodology and epistemology by using a "grounded approach" where the author sees the question "what is feminist research?" as an "empirical problem"; that is, as a process of describing self-identified feminist research projects (ibid: 4). Using this strategy Reinharz offers a series of themes or a "meta-induction" of feminist methodology (ibid: 240) which she distills from the many and varied research projects the book reports upon, namely:

- Feminism is a perspective, not a research method.
- Feminists use a multiplicity of research methods.
- Feminist research involves an ongoing criticism of non-feminist scholarship.
- Feminist research is guided by feminist theory.
- Feminist research may be transdisciplinary.
- Feminist research aims to create social change.
- Feminist research strives to represent human diversity.
- Feminist research frequently includes the researcher as a person.
- Feminist research frequently attempts to develop special relations with the people studied (in interactive research).
- Feminist research frequently defines a special relation with the reader.

I want to dwell upon Reinharz's work as a means of discussing my research praxis in the telework study, and its allegiance with or opposition to the schema she offers. That is, I perceive this research as coming out of and responding to what has been defined as 'feminist research' at the same time as I would argue that the analyses and politics which inform this perspective are contested to such a degree that this single descriptor may well be unable to encompass its diversity. However, as a means of exploring the details of the methods I used and the implications of my research process for the kinds of narratives that were generated in the study, Reinharz's (1992) thematic structuring provides a helpful sounding-board in terms of how this research both resonated with the typology she creates and deviates from its form.

I have structured the following discussion as an examination of four of Reinharz's themes, namely: feminist research as a critique of non-feminist research; as attempting to represent human diversity; as aiming to create social change; and as using a multiplicity of methods. I position my work on teleworkers in Aotearoa/New Zealand as responding to the opportunities and omissions within this account of feminist research, rather than simply describing the practices I engaged in.

"Feminist Research Involves an Ongoing Criticism of Non-Feminist Research"

As I suggested in Chapter One, this thesis was enlivened by a critical reading of the telework literature which assumed that 'telework' was an unambiguously attractive choice for women allowing them to flexibly integrate paid work and child care (for example, Edwards and Edwards, 1987; Gordon and Kelly, 1986). Equally interesting was the assertion that male teleworkers were more likely to be involved with their children, participate in housework, and use telework to pursue lifestyle options in scenic locations (for example, Toffler, 1980; Hilsgen and Vause, 1994). In this sense this feminist research was a critique of such 'non-feminist' accounts in so far as it came out of an awareness on my part that much of the existing research (for example, Huws, 1984; Kraut, 1987; Olson, 1987; Vedel and Gunnarsson, 1985) focused almost exclusively on the *employment* and *technological* aspects of telework with much less attention being paid to its impact upon households and upon the gendered subjectivities of those who work at home.

In this sense the 'non-feminist' telework literature seemed to collapse the experience of women into what Allen and Wolkowitz (1987: 57) criticised as "a model which assumes the separation of home and work and adopts able-bodied male working patterns as the norm". In contrast the feminist literature was rich in reflection of the indivisibility of the 'public' and 'private' realms for women, the experience of women's unequal responsibility for domestic labour, child care and 'husbandcare' and the impact of these responsibilities upon women's involvement in paid labour. The goal was to bring this awareness to bear on a new site of investigation, ie telework.

These concerns led me to develop the following criteria for participation in the study:

- that the teleworkers be heterosexually partnered because of my interest in divisions of labour between women and men as couples, and that their partner should also agree to be studied in order to develop a fuller picture of the gendered experience of home-based work for families;

- that the teleworkers should have children, half of whom would be under 15 years old (there was one exception to this in the case of 17-year-old Kris Sims), who would be approached for interviews with the agreement of *both* the children and parents, and that half of the families would have babies under two years old in order to reflect on the impact of infants on home-based entrepreneurship;

- that some male teleworkers be included as participants who were combining home-based businesses with primary care giving roles for children;

- that the teleworkers would work predominantly with electronic text rather than in home-based work which brought them into frequent face-to-face contact with clients;

- that the teleworkers' employment would be predominantly home-based (although in the event almost all of the teleworkers had some requirement for "on-site" contact of various kinds) and that they be contractors or self-employed;

- that the teleworkers had not had contact with the media regarding telework, were not networked via *Workraft* (a telework magazine in Aotearoa/New Zealand) and had not already been included in the DSIR Social Science Unit telework study, because of a concern on my part that such workers may have been overexposed to the 'media hype' surrounding telework.

Using these criteria I contacted and interviewed twenty six adults, twelve teleworkers and twelve partners, two personal assistants/child care workers, and four children (n = 30). Seven of these couples had preschoolers and two of the male teleworkers were engaged in home-based work in order to care for their infant children. I found these couples by a variety of means including accessing the Business Directory which listed place of work and place of residence and, where these were the same, investigating whether the business was home-based; making contacts at professional and industrial conferences; and a more general technique of 'snowballing' from one teleworker to another. The process I used to contact these potential participants was in the first instance a letter outlining the objectives of the study, my ethical responsibilities and the procedures that the research would involve participants in (see Appendix One), followed by a phone call during which the initial interview was also set up. All of the partners, assistants and children were interviewed once. All but one of the teleworkers (John Sims) was interviewed face-to-face twice, with at least a year between the first and second interviews, followed by a further telephone interview some twelve months later.

Ethics and Family Research

The ethics of this research process orientated around gaining informed consent for participation in the study, ensuring confidentiality and encouraging participants to view and edit the material before finally releasing it for use in the study. These practices were

discussed and approved through the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. In terms of ensuring confidentiality, the specific location of the teleworkers' businesses and details of their businesses or their families that were unusual or revealing, in addition to their names, were disguised. Additionally, the specific occupations of the teleworkers were disguised or changed, especially if they were unusual. They were also free to withdraw from the research at any time. Additionally each participant was given all of the materials gathered in the course of the research after they had been assembled to review, allowing them to change, edit and exclude any materials they did not want used in the thesis or any other published or unpublished papers (see Consent Form, Appendix One). These latter two issues, of withdrawing from the research and the process of editing the transcripts, will be revisited in the latter part of this chapter.

The first ethical priority of the study orientated around gaining informed consent from each participant individually. In terms of the children this process was a delicate one, where I would interview both parents first and then request access to the children, providing the children with a letter that I then asked them to discuss with their parents. Subsequent to this intra-family discussion, I then approached the children for their agreement as individuals. I made times to interview them in their homes when other family members were also present, but where they could be assured of having private conversations with me without fear of negative consequences from their parents, a point Fine (1987: 222-44) also stresses in terms of the importance of privacy and trust in his study with preadolescent boys. Each of these girl children interviewed had seen me on a number of occasions interviewing their parents and I had conversations with each of them several times before we met for their interview. They each reflected positively on having a chance to express their 'side' in relation to their parent's home-based business.

In relation to the partners of the teleworkers the process of gaining consent to participate proved to be an interesting process in itself. Some teleworkers were clear that they wanted to discuss the issue of participation first with their partners before they received any information about the study. I began to proceed on this basis until one woman partner voiced a concern that this oral and informal process neglected the importance of her own consent being sought independently, suggesting to her that I saw her simply as an appendage of her partner. In response to this challenge I reworked my strategy to involve an initial letter and follow-up call to the teleworkers with the expectation that I would send at the same time another *separate* letter to the partners and that I would negotiate access independently with them. I adhered to this strategy regardless of whether teleworkers also discussed participation with their partner. In this sense negotiating access became a

microcosm of the general issue of boundaries between couples and their ability and desire to be seen as separate individuals within the context of their relationships.

Once interview transcripts were prepared they were similarly returned separately, as much as possible to different locations, such as homes for the teleworkers and workplaces for the partners. Work with different individuals within families does raise ethical dilemmas with regard the confidentiality of individual testimonies elicited in the context of families, where material sought individually and privately is brought together in a published form to discuss family dynamics. A number of research contexts raise such ethical questions, such as work with patients and clients in the social services, where personal testimonies not usually brought together may be so in a final published project. In the context of this thesis, equally private material is brought together which was elicited separately and confidentially.

I would argue that the potential for this juxtaposition of material to 'do harm' to participants is minimised by a number of factors. This includes the time that has elapsed since the major period of interviewing couples (four years); the tendency for the material to represent a 'snapshot' rather than a more complete discussion of family dynamics; the opportunity given to each participant to remove material before it was released; the fact that they did release all of the material cited here for use in any "published or unpublished work" (see Consent Form, Appendix One) and the general tendency for the issues between couples discussed in this thesis to be 'out' as issues between them, where what I was told was not secret from the other partner. There was one exception to this latter issue, where there was a level of secrecy surrounding a money issue that was being kept from a partner, which I was told about and which I subsequently decided to exclude from the study. In another instance a 'secret' loan had been entered into between a mother and son to buy a computer which I clarified as a secret *in the past,* which had been made open in the context of the family and thus was released for use in the study. Although complex, working through these ethical issues with couples allowed this research to reflect on a diversity of experiences of telework within the context of families, the results of which are an extremely rich and compelling set of research materials.

"Feminist Research Strives to Represent Human Diversity"

As the process of refining the research question discussed in Chapter One suggested, moving the focus of my thesis away from industrial homeworkers and toward teleworkers both *opened up* and *closed down* the possibility of achieving another theme of feminist research identified by Reinharz (1992: 240), that is the attempt to represent a greater proportion of "human diversity". By refocusing the study to focus on teleworkers, I was

restricting my vision to a largely white, middle-class group of professional workers, thus closing down some of the issues surrounding class and ethnicity that are explored in the industrial homework literature.

In terms of the latter issue, the focus on teleworkers largely limited the participants to members of the dominant ethnic group, that is, Pakeha (Anglo). Although I did not exclude participants from other ethnic groups I came across *no* non-Pakeha teleworkers at professional conferences or through my networks with government institutions, research agencies, professional associations or interpersonal contacts. My conclusion that this is a very 'white' form of employment is, however, very difficult to substantiate given that none of the statistical material or accounts of teleworkers in Aotearoa/New Zealand that I have *ever* read, and very few from abroad (with the notable exception of Phizacklea and Wolkowitz, 1995), discuss the proportion of different ethnic groups involved in this form of work.

As a way to speaking into this statistical silence in Aotearoa/New Zealand, a study by the National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women (NACEW, 1993) provided what had been difficult-to-access information of the incidence of self-employment amongst women, which included material on the ethnicity of women so engaged. I took these statistics to be suggestive of the incidence of telework amongst different ethnic groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand because women make up 70% of all teleworkers (Loveridge et al, 1996: 23) and the majority (56%) of all homeworkers are self-employed, compared with 13% of the general workforce (ibid: 14), based on census figures which are generally considered to be the most comprehensive basis for recording the incidence of telework.

The claim that telework is at present a largely Pakeha form of employment for women is thus supported by the low incidence of self-employment amongst Māori women which in 1991 stood at 2,661, representing 5.4% of all Māori women in employment. Pacific Island women are even less likely to be self-employed (3.2% in 1991), representing approximately 500 women. Chinese and Indian women are proportionately much *more* likely to be self-employed (48% and 56% respectively), although the actual numbers of workers were very small in 1991 (1,578 Chinese women and 861 Indian women, ibid: 11). Additionally, 66 % of Chinese women and 78% of Indian women were concentrated in the wholesale and retail trades (compared with 25% of other groups, ibid: 15). indicating that the incidence of professional self-employment is likely to affect very small numbers of women indeed. In contrast self-employment for Pakeha women is increasing rapidly (10.7% in the five years between the 1986 and 1991 Census) to 64,152, representing 12.4% of all Pakeha women in employment (ibid).

In addition to issues of the identification and incidence of telework amongst different ethnic groups, a further factor 'closing down' the option of research with Māori, Pacific Island and Asian people was the literature and frequent discussions at feminist and other conferences on the potential for misunderstanding, cultural appropriation and bias when Pakeha researchers study (particularly) Māori experience. I struggled with the implications of this critique and was dissatisfied with the brief disclaimers that accompanied a number of research projects informed by feminist politics (for example, Opie, 1988) which exclude Māori and other non-dominant ethnic groups for fear of racism, without seeming to seriously explore this challenge and its implications for their research praxis. In the absence of contacts or a statistical context to locate Māori, Pacific Island and Asian teleworkers, I decided to positively define the study as focused on the practices and subjectivities of Pakeha teleworkers, and to use this specificity as a strength rather than a weakness.

Interviewing Men

As some areas of diversity closed down others, opened up, and the project also offered some opportunities for the exploration of the diversity of gender and family dynamics which had not appeared in earlier formulations of feminist research within the literature. As I refined my topic, the option of interviewing men appeared increasingly central, raising new challenges to the representation of diversity in feminist research. In this sense my earlier position, which conceptualised feminist research as 'by', 'for' and 'on' women, was superseded by my awareness that to understand women's experience was critically to also understand the impact of the men around them, and to compare and contrast their experience with that of men as home-based workers. In contrast to the literature of the 1980s and my own previous experiences of research, doing feminist research in this context meant *adding in* research with men because of the importance of understanding the differences in the implications of paid work entering their homes for them as opposed to for women. It also lead me to interview partners of each of the teleworkers because it appeared to be crucial to hear "both sides of the story" (Reinharz, 1992: 41), and to reflect on how men as partners responded to the entry of paid work into their homes and relationships.

In addition, the benefits of including men in this feminist research project, which previously might have been defined as "women only", were significant theoretically and methodologically. Theoretically it enabled me to ask a series of questions concerning, for example, the experience for men of entering homes to perform paid work when this is a traditional site of women's unpaid work, and to explore whether men's integration into closer contact with their children provided them with opportunities to combine 'work' and 'home' in innovative ways. More generally the inclusion of men in the study encouraged me

to think about power relations more broadly, that is, to take up Foucault's (1990: 98) idea that power is 'everywhere', coextensive with the social, and that both genders "circulate between its threads" rather than conceptualising power as something which men *do* to women.

Methodologically, researching men's experience provided an insight into the difference gender makes in an interview context. For example, their lives tended to be more rigidly scheduled, confining our interviews into tighter time frames and leading to less lengthy and reflective answers. These interviews also tended to be held in more formal contexts such as home or on-site offices rather than in kitchens or living rooms as were the women's, and while I was given food and/or coffee during my interviews with all of the fourteen women, none of the twelve men offered me this 'hospitality'.

The character of the men's interviews were also different to those of the women. The men tended not to answer questions I perceived they found irrelevant or boring, especially those concerning domesticity, while the women endeavoured to provide reasonably lengthy answers to every question. In terms of questions regarding the family and the household, this study parallelled Stacey's (1991: 267) observation that men's gender and kinship narratives were "relatively inarticulate and underdeveloped" because men had less "experience, investment, or interest in the work of sustaining kin ties". The many questions on child care, housework and relationships in this study (see Teleworker Interview Schedule, Appendix Two) provoked much shorter and more perfunctory responses from the men than from the women. In one case the teleworking man spent the majority of his interview showing me the latest software he had designed while his wife, his (female) personal secretary and I watched silently. This experience alerted me to the potential for computers themselves to figure as significant artifacts in the lives of men, where any discussion of software with the men lead to very lengthy and highly technical narratives, while the women barely mentioned these issues. I learned to steer away from these topics in order to elicit more personal and reflective material from the men, while their narratives helped me to formulate questions about computing for the women.

The second element of researching with men that Stacey (1991: 267) identified as problematic was the politics of gender as they are experienced in the interview context itself and the inevitable shortcomings of one individual "studying gender in a gendered world". Like Stacey, being a woman did detrimentally affect my access to and empathy with the male teleworkers, unlike the rapport that I enjoyed with the women. This 'space' between us was reflected in the character of the men's narratives which tended to become a monologue and included much less self-disclosure on my part, a dynamic which Reinharz

also commentates upon as the outcome of feminists 'studying up', where they make less demands and "self-disclose less because self-disclosure diminishes one's power" (1992: 42). Additionally, a subtle sexual sub-text was visible in a number of the interviews with the men which was not present with the women. In some cases this sexual subtext was more overt and one man I interviewed in a remote rural location told me in the course of the interview that his sexual fantasy involved an unfamiliar woman showing up at the door as I had just done, who wanted to have sex with him. He also insisted on hugging me at the end of the interview. This experience was rather discomforting, not to mention sobering, given that colleagues were unaware of my whereabouts for reasons of participant confidentiality. This experience also suggests a further layer of complexity in the power relations between interviewer and interviewee, troubling the assumption that feminist research "attempts to develop special relationships with the people studied" (ibid: 240).

Another interesting element of interviewing the men concerned the two men who were explicitly chosen to participate in the study because they were combining telework with parenting their baby children. In the interview process their different orientations to this caring responsibility compared to the women was visible in the boundaries they set around this task vis-à-vis the 'job' of talking to me. All of the women I interviewed with small children carefully organised or juggled their child care to facilitate the interview, tidying away this aspect of their lives in a living example of how they manage their families in order to focus on their work. However, both of the men in this prime parenting role expected me to make my schedule more flexible in response to their responsibilities for their children. In one case the male teleworker interrupted the interview frequently to check on a sleeping child, in another the teleworker decided not to proceed with an interview because his baby was sick even though he was aware that I had travelled by air for three hours explicitly for the interview. Both of these experiences reflected for me the different boundaries between researcher and researched when women interview men, and also the different orientation to the 'business' of child care which these men experienced.

In the eighties Keohane (1981) criticised adding a few women to standard accounts of history and social institutions as amounting to an 'add but don't stir' strategy. In the nineties I added men and stirred hard in a way that added depth to the analysis of both men and women, and also stirred the existing literature by focusing much more attention on issues of power, negotiation, gender and subjectivity than standard accounts of telework allowed.

Interviewing Couples

Another realm of 'human diversity' that emerged in this research was the inclusion of the partners of the teleworkers. I decided that I needed to interview these couples separately and privately because of my sense that doing so would encourage them to reflect more openly and critically on their experiences. Reinharz (1992: 41) similarly contends that women are more likely to talk openly about their lives and relationships if men are not present. Fleming and Easting (1994: 27) found that women tended to "idealise their situations out of loyalty rather than admit to inequities" in their households. They interviewed couples both together and separately in this study of intra-household income transfers, both to encourage (especially) the women to more openly reflect on these issues and to explore discrepancies between the couple's belief that they pooled resources and indications of individual control (ibid: 16). In the present study a parallel discrepancy between the individual narratives of the women and men (I did not interview couples together) was the ways in which the men's stories tended to emphasise their development of businesses at home as a solitary quest of struggle and triumph. In two cases the women partners' labour was also significant to the enterprise and dedicated on a daily basis, an issue which was almost entirely absent in the stories of the men.

In some instances securing separate and private time to interview couples proved to be somewhat problematic. One teleworker was reluctant to leave me alone to interview her husband because she felt that his answers were not full enough and neglected the emotional impetus for his actions. When she eventually did leave us to proceed with the interview, she did so noting that she "couldn't wait" to read his transcript, although in the event she did not. In another case a male teleworker interrupted an interview with his partner to tell me in a very serious tone of voice that she talked too much, that I shouldn't take what she said too seriously and that he found her talkativeness and openness "a real problem". When he left the room the woman leaned toward me, and in a conspiratorial whisper said "you see what I mean!?". Indeed the experience of being seen as a neutral party to complain about a partners' shortcomings or conflicts in the relationship was an issue at some level in most of the interviews. For example, the last teleworking man I interviewed was elusive but emphatic that he wanted to participate in the study, requiring me to set up the interview and make travel arrangements no less than four times. Throughout this process his wife kept insisting that she had a "thing or two to tell me" and I wondered if this had something to do with his elusiveness.

My role in these situations was to act, I think, as a "safe listener" outside of the "network" (Di Leonardo, 1984: 38), especially in a context where aspects of the relationship itself were

being discussed (see Partner Interview Schedule, Appendix Two). I would note, however, that the character of this aspect of the interviews was significantly mediated by gender, age and what Di Leonardo calls the "coffee with friends" mode of interaction. She observed in her study of Italian Americans that:

> because of the ritualised offering (of food), and other indications - cleaned rooms, formal clothing, living room rather than kitchen as interview site - I concluded that for most individuals my research visits were absorbed into a "coffee with friends"... model where the friends are not so intimate that one does not have to make an effort in front of them (ibid).

As in Di Leonardo's study, some of the women in this research showed an obvious enjoyment of this semi-formal visit, indicated for example by Pam's luncheon and pottery tea set, Tess's beautifully arranged plate of cake, and Roz's immaculately presented living room, all of which I commented on and saw as a source of pleasure for both of us in the interviews. For most of the women the interviews were constructed as interactions between 'peers' not in the sense that we had equal social power in an interview context, but in terms of our positioning as women of a similar age, ethnicity and as employed in professional work with academic backgrounds. Indeed all but one adult in the study had tertiary level education and I engaged in extended academic 'shop talk' in almost all of the interviews.

In this sense I would agree with Finch's (1984: 74) analysis which argued that women are more used to accepting intrusions through questioning into the private parts of their lives through their experience of motherhood (questioning from doctors, midwives and health visitors) and from their experience as people with imputed responsibility for home and household (interviews with housing visitors, social workers, insurance agents etc). Finch also argues that the setting of the interviewee's own home and the structuring of interviews in an informal manner present a model of interaction which is in effect "an easy, intimate relationship between two women" (ibid). Finch warns against the potential for exploitation that such an easy intimacy encourages, and I would agree that the amount of intimate material that the women often shared did give me cause for concern in terms of the over-intrusiveness of the research.

Interviewing Children

My concern to 'represent the diversity of human experience' and to further investigate the impact of telework on *families* also encouraged me to pursue studying the children of teleworkers as it became clear that teleworkers were disciplining their children to use the

telephone and the house in ways that would facilitate their business. Because half of the children in the study were babies or very young children, those interviewed were teenagers although I extended this to an eight-year-old as the interviewing progressed. These interactions with the children had a different rhythm and style in contrast to my discussions with the adults, such as in the tighter focus on a question and answer format, the prevalence of tangential discussions regarding school and leisure pursuits, tended to be brief (for this study), not more than 45 minutes in each case, and rather fun.

The techniques I used to complete these interviews drew upon both my creativity as a social researcher and the expertise of other colleagues I consulted as to how to work with children in a non-threatening way. The strategy I used was to find a private space in their house, when other family members were also at home but not in the room, and ask them to draw a picture about their parent's home-based work, leaving them alone with paper and coloured pens and pencils to draw this picture. I then returned to the room and structured the interview around what the picture depicted, using this to explore other issues such as the use of space, time and the telephone (see Children's Interview Schedule, Appendix Two). The pictures the children drew were approached in a variety of ways, but all of them responded well to this opportunity to express themselves through drawing as well as through talking, where the picture both filled out the narrative text and helped stimulate conversation. This pictorial material thus contributed to an understanding of the children's perceptions of their parent's businesses, worked as a tool to stimulate discussion and operated as research 'texts' in their own right.

"Feminist Research Aims to Create Social Change"

A further thematic tendency of feminist research that remains a feature throughout the typologies of the 1980s to Reinharz (1992: 240) concerns the ways in which feminist "research aims to create social change". In the research at hand the extension of the research focus to include men raised a series of issues about social change as I had conceived it in the SROW study in the 1980s. Previously my research had focused on 'improving women's position', usually in a context of hostility, whether that be trade unions, the medical system, the state, or in terms of academic feminism (see Armstrong and Boyce, 1989 a; Armstrong, 1989b; Armstrong and Craig, 1991c; Armstrong, 1992a). This broadening of my research focus to gendered dynamics including men helped me to widen my interest in home-based employment per se, that is, to conceive of it as a practice that was simultaneously *constricting, liberating* and/or *ambivalent* experience for the women and men who engaged in it. This is in sharp contrast to the feminist industrial homework literature discussed in Chapter One (for example: Allen and Wolkowitz, 1986, 1987; Phizacklea and Wolkowitz,

1995) which tended to suggest that telework was inherently exploitative and parasitic upon women's isolation and subjugation in the home.

In the research context of industrial homeworking, a feminist agenda for social change has been mobilised to support homeworkers in the negotiation of employment contracts and in forming trade union organisations. But in the context of white-collar home-based businesses the agenda for social change was less clear cut. My role as researcher was not to liberate these workers or to provide assistance to them as a disadvantaged group (re: Mies's battered women, 1983) or even to befriend the participants in the study, á la Oakley (1981). Rather my relationship to these people was much more clearly delineated within the researcher-research participant nexus.

In terms of Oakley's (1981) encouragement of ongoing concern for, and contact with, research participants and the importance of developing "special relations with the people studied" (Reinharz, 1992: 240), these ongoing contacts in the present research were led by the participants' actions rather than the researcher's, and resulted in varying levels of continuing association. In some cases these relationships developed considerably: one woman enrolled in a course I taught extramurally, another I saw regularly some time later within a professional context, while a man wrote frequently regarding literature of mutual interest and to alert me to changes in his circumstances. One teleworker asked me to assist him with reading resources for his business, while another came to interview me about my experience of a PhD to assist her in formulating her own potential doctoral studies. Interestingly enough, the two couples who complained that they have felt "overstudied" (for various reasons which were not to do with telework) were the two couples that I had the most contact with following the interviews. In all cases the ongoing contact was not connected to collective 'political' activities.

Does this mean that an agenda for change or politicisation was absent from this research agenda? The answer I think is a qualified "no". It is true that this research does not direct articulate with a wider social change movement as the trade union study discussed above did. It thus does not appear to conform to the definition of politicised feminist research which was current in the eighties or in Reinharz's (1992) work, which equates politicised feminist research with collective feminist action as the "only viable political form" (Gibson-Graham, 1994: 214). However, this research does speak to issues of vital concern to the politics and policies of contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand, in that it reflects on the growing number of non-standard employment relationships that characterise the public domain of work and the ways in which women and men manage responsibilities for caring and paid labour. In that sense it critically articulates a rejoinder to the neo-liberal discourse

which dominates much of the public domain of politics by reflecting on the practices of home-based entrepreneurs vis-à-vis neo-liberal assumptions about their autonomy, freedom and wealth as home-based business people.

Secondly, at a more micro level, the themes of politicisation and of change are visible in so far as the research relationship itself is a 'political' intervention and the discursive exchange between researcher and researched a politicised dialogue. For example, the significance of the act of being interviewed and the opportunity to construct and recount a narrative of the self witnessed by a sympathetic but non-aligned 'other', may in itself have consequences of a 'political' kind. Even in contexts where that narrative portrays the participant protagonist in a negative light, it may, Opie (1992) suggests, provide an opportunity for that protagonist to experience catharsis and come to terms with their experience through the act of constructing and reconstructing their account. In this sense "knowledge/theory" does not exist "separate from and prior to change/politics", but rather knowledge and its production is "*always already* a political process" (Gibson-Graham, 1994: 214).

"Feminists Use a Multiplicity of Research Methods"

I employed a "thick and deep" approach to the research, engaging in a multiplicity of methods as Reinharz (1992: 240) suggests feminists typically do. As I began to conceptualise the 'fieldwork' component of the research and the range of material which would be useful for the study, a single method appeared both "flat and inadequate" (Reinharz, 1992: 202) as a way of exploring the complexities of teleworkers' and their families' lives. A multiplicity of techniques were thus employed including for the teleworkers in-depth interviews, photographs of home-work spaces, time diaries, a brief questionnaire, and as described above, picture drawing on the part of the children.

I had decided early on that the methodology would be qualitative in the sense of using in-depth, semi-structured interviews, because of a desire on my part to explore issues around the multiple subject positions of teleworkers in the context of their professional and personal relationships. In addition I had the benefit of the statistical material compiled by the Institute for Social Research and Development (formerly the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR) Social Science Unit), which had compiled statistics on the incidence of home-based work in Aotearoa/New Zealand from the 1986 and 1991 census figures. This gave me some boundaries within which to frame my study as *complementary* to this quantitative approach, and enabled me to embed this small-scale study of twelve families within statistical material regarding the scope and incidence of telework in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The core of the research was thus constituted by the in-depth interviews, and I designed an extensive interview guide for the teleworkers organised around the themes of work history, the character of and orientation to work, the use of time and space, the meaning of 'home', the performance of housework and child care and relationships with partners, friends and networks (see Teleworker Interview Schedule, Appendix Two). The interview schedule was open-ended and the pattern of questioning and relative emphasis of the interviews dependent on the individual case. The same themes were covered in the partner interview, but the emphasis placed on their perspective of home-based employment and its implications for them and their family (see Partner Interview Schedule, Appendix Two). This flexible process allowed participants to elaborate points and explore issues, enriching the recorded material. As Opie notes, the validity of qualitative data is closely related to its "quality and manner of collection" rather than "replicability" (1992: 35), and I wanted to as much as possible allow the 'teleworkers' tales' to unfold by following what they wanted to talk about as well as what I wanted to ask.

One of the things that was very interesting about the interviews with the teleworkers was their extended length. Even at the time of negotiating access to the participants I would often become involved in prolonged conversations, and five of the interviews with teleworkers were four-and-a-half to five hours long. The *shortest* interview with a teleworker was three-and-a-half hours long. I was very intrigued by this characteristic of the research which I have not experienced before and which I cannot explain by the length of the interview schedule alone. What it was evocative of, I think, was the comparative isolation of these workers from other contacts and professional colleagues, where the experience of some of the women and men converged because both experienced the isolation and loneliness of their "consignment to the privatised, domestic sphere" (Finch, 1984: 74), an experience usually associated with 'housewives'. It was also suggestive of the relative difficulty some experienced in having others take their work seriously because it occurred at home, and the strong work orientation they all seemed to have, despite personality differences. Further evidence for this analysis is the fact that none of the people I approached declined to be involved in the research although some of the teleworkers were extremely busy.

In each of the five hour interviews I conducted, the level of interruption varied very little and was usually no more than a short break for a cup of tea which we drank while still taping. In one five hour interview the longest single break occurred when the teleworker crossed the room to turn the light on, while continuing to speak. After each interview I would debrief in the car, reflecting on how the interview went and any non-verbal material

such as environment or presence of other family members which I felt was significant to the exchange, feeling an interesting mixture of complete exhaustion and intense stimulation.

These intellectual and physical sensations were interesting at another level because of the way they parallelled some of the telework literature regarding the inattention to bodies that the intensity and compelling nature of telework encourages (Pruitt and Barrett, 1991; Pryor, 1991). The interviews, extended time frames seemed to preclude ordinary bodily functions like eating lunch and going to the toilet, and the pace of the interaction such that I felt to break its rhythm would have risked appearing not serious about the 'job'. In one case the teleworker was breastfeeding and I was menstruating and I had a strong sensation as I watched the woman's breast milk seep into her clothes over a five hour period that I too might be staining my clothes, or worse still, the furniture. I learnt by my second interview to always take food and a thermos in the car so that I could finish the interview, drive a few hundred metres down the road out of sight, then sit in my parked car talking into the tape recorder and eating.

Interesting also was my parallel experience of becoming a home-based worker during the major period of fieldwork of September to February 1992-1993. During this time I had a Massey University Research Award for Academic Women allowing me leave from my normal academic duties, during which time I worked full-time in my home-office. The most immediate change that occurred during this period was that I radically altered my physical work-space at home, removing most of the non-work objects from my study (for example, photos, novels) and replacing them with work-related literature and equipment. I became strangely interested in purchasing an ergonomic chair (which I never eventually bought because they were so expensive) and in a bizarre series of time management strategies which then wasted a huge amount of time, because I hoped these 'efficient' work practices and this specialist equipment would lend my new lifestyle a semblance of professionalism and seriousness.

My interpersonal relating also changed. Like the people I began to contact by phone to set up the interviews, I felt free to talk at length and extended all telephone conversations in ways that I would not allow myself to do when working on-site. Additionally my social life became highly structured because I experienced anxiety that I would not see anyone and that I would be forgotten by my network of friends. For the first few weeks of this three month period of leave I invited friends home for lavish lunches I prepared, until I realised the amount of time and money I was spending on doing so. I also experienced the sheer panic and mortification of being caught by a colleague at midday wearing my pyjamas, while

reading a 'how to' homework manual concerning such things as the advantages of wearing casual clothes as a home-based worker.

The more positive side of this experience was that my interview questions were improved by my own reflections on my practices as a home-based work. This enabled me to explore interesting tangents which I had not found in the literature, such as the relationship of teleworkers to their home-work spaces and their decoration, their relationships to the ever present refrigerator and television, their feelings about their potential isolation from friends and extended family and/or their concerns about being too contactable.

Although I intended the interview material to form the 'core' of the study I also explored the use of a number of other research tools in order to make the study as full and as lively as possible. In order to explore issues around the use and organisation of time, each teleworker was asked to complete a time diary of a typical 24 hour period (see Appendix Three). These diaries asked participants to indicate what they were doing at specific times, whether they were doing something else at the same time, where they were, who they were with and who they were doing what they were doing for, with each hour divided into five minute blocks. A number of participants felt they were too busy to complete this task but the diaries that were completed acted as helpful tools in the context of the interviews allowing a more specific and detailed discussion of the use of time to occur. In addition, as research materials in their own right, the diaries suggested the temporal entwinement of paid and unpaid labour for the women, while the men's time diaries showed more uninterrupted periods of working time and an expectation in some cases of being serviced by their partners in various ways (eg food, delivery and pick-up of materials) to facilitate this singular focus. Although I did not explicitly tabulate the time diary material because of the uneven participation in this exercise, the diaries that were completed did provide a context for exploring the issues regarding the use of time which are taken up in Chapters Four to Seven.

As a technique for exploring the organisation of space, the idea of taking photographs of the home workplaces was appealing, not only in order to bring the study 'to life' through the inclusion of visual material, but also in terms of the contribution they made to my understanding of the *spatial* relationships within households and the link between them and the *social* relationships within each family. The photographs of each of the twelve home-offices graphically demonstrated the different claims upon space men and women engaged in home-based business made within households and their different organisation of these spaces. The photographs allowed me to 'read' these spatial organisations of 'work' in the context of 'home', and to reflect upon the relationship between space and the social, such as whether the spaces were multi-purpose rooms, whether they were shared with other

family members and whether their entrances were left open or closed when they were used for the businesses. While the photographic material acted as an invaluable resource for further reflection on the spatiality of home workplaces, it does not appear in the study for ethical reasons regarding the potential for the identification of participants. This was a problem because of the relatively small numbers of people who engage in home-based businesses, the relative connectedness of professional networks in a country the size of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the difficulty of obscuring the details of home-offices *enough* (even with computer 'morphing' techniques) in order to ensure participant confidentiality. In their place are detailed written accounts and excerpts from the interviews which describe the home-offices, where I rely upon the reader to construct their own pictures of these home-work spaces.

As a final tool in this research, a brief questionnaire was given to each teleworker regarding factors such as age, equipment, educational qualifications and income (see Appendix Four). In this questionnaire there were a number of questions about money and its management which supplemented those pursued in the context of the interviews schedule, where getting a clear sense of what the teleworkers actually earned as profit was difficult to quantify, in addition to the usual reticence research participants may feel about discussing these issues. This in part reflected the difficulty of separating out profit from necessary business reinvestment and in part the participants' relationship to money. Money was seen as either a topic to be totally avoided, reflected on at length as a source of failure, or self-consciously reacted against as an undesirable priority in life, all responses which were helpful in understanding the relationship between subjectivity, business success and the organisation of household finances. Additionally, the relative lack of clarity around what profits were being made and what contributions were being transferred from business accounts to household accounts, occurred in the context of relatively low earnings for a number of the participants. This may also have contributed to their relative reticence and lack of elaboration in regard to these issues where, like the participants in Di Leonardo's (1984: 40) study, a number of people may have been "ashamed to admit they had made life choices that would not result in financial success".

This multi-method approach, but most especially the interviews, generated a staggeringly large amount of material for a study with a relatively small number of participants (n=30), including a pile of transcripts which stacked together are two metres high. However, in terms of increasing my understanding of households in which teleworking occurs, this multi-interview, multi-method, multiple perspective strategy generated a unique and very rich set of materials in order to theorise the practices of home-based work and their link to gendered

subjectivity. Aspects of these material are discussed in Chapters Four to Seven, which explore the narratives of each family.

The above section has discussed the methods I employed in this study and some of their implications for my relationships with the participants in the research. In this next section of the chapter I want to discuss the analytical questions the materials generated in the research raised. That is, I want to return to issues of epistemology in regard to the meaning and status of personal narratives within feminist research following the destabilisation and decentring of such experiential testimonies by poststructuralist feminisms.

Feminist Research in the 1990s: The Challenge of Poststructuralism

The candidature for the PhD and the reflexive prerogative of the research enterprise more generally, lead to my re-reading of the feminist research literature of the 1980s, affording me an opportunity to reflect upon both my past research and the updated debate, a debate which included some of the same authors (see for example Fonow and Cook, 1991; Reinharz, 1992; Stanley and Wise, 1990). These feminist researchers, like myself, were engaged in a self-reflexive dialogue and praxis, in order to develop their ideas they "criticis(e) the status-quo, then criticise the critique, then criticise that critique or search for a synthesis that will itself be criticised" (Reinharz, 1992: 241).

If feminist scholarship is 'revolutionary', then two meanings of this word seem especially relevant to my re/reading of the feminist research literature. It is revolutionary in the sense that it attempts to move beyond the strictures of conventional science *and* that it appears to have completed a cyclical revolution. As a wheel completes its circular orbit around an axis, so too the writers and scholars of this literature circle around the issues and dilemmas their work discussed a decade earlier. This retrospective turn is not surprising in a literature which exemplified more than most what Rosemary Du Plessis (private conversation, 31/3/95) refers to as the *intergenerational split* between those feminist academicians of the seventies and eighties who trained women such as myself, and a new wave of feminist scholars who were profoundly influenced by the postmodern destabilisation of foundational knowledge and/or the writing of Māori women, women of colour and so called "third world women" (see Awatere, 1984; Irwin, 1990, 1992; hooks, 1990). It is not that this earlier generation of scholars were not influenced by these developments, but that the feminist scholars of the 1990s were acculturated into academic practice at a time when many of the taken-for-granted assumptions of feminist knowledge had already been radically destabilised. As Gibson-Graham (1994: 206) notes, a 'panic' has arisen:

as the situated and subjective knowledge of 'women', gleaned for example from ethnography (or) oral history work ... has come under attack for its presumption of representing the 'hidden truth' of women or women's experience. With the turn to post-modernism many of the certainties of a feminist research practice have been dislodged. This has liberated a plethora of new exciting philosophical, political and cultural endeavours which are tackling the essentialism around women embedded in both feminist and non-feminist texts. At the same time, however, feminist social analysts find themselves confronting an ironic impasse as what have been seen as the unifying objects of our research dissolve before our eyes.

This "impasse" has le d, I think, to the construction of a problematic polarity within some of the feminist literature between *'empirical'* and *philosophical* work. On one side stands the proud tradition of engagement with the *'empirical realities'* of women's lives, the articulation and authentication of women's experiences, and the assertion of a bond between politics and feminist scholarship. I am not suggesting here that this position is devoid of theory, but that the analysis it employs takes as its point of departure the epistemological primacy of women's experience as a representation of the 'real', and the validity of 'woman' as a category of research, inquiry and political action. This position is radically critiqued by an increasingly diverse and complex poststructuralist *philosophical* debate which characterises the other pole of this binary. This debate signals a broader "turn to culture" within feminism (Barrett, 1992: 203-5) dominated by what De Lauretis (1990: 259) wryly calls the "late comer, feminist poststructuralism, dark horse and winner of the feminist theory contest".

Barrett is correct, I think, that there was a movement of mind within feminism from "things to words" (ibid: 201) where the influence of poststructuralist theories has prompted a shift away from "the social sciences' preoccupation with things" such as the incidence of industrial homework, to the analysis of "texts" and their discursive construction (ibid: 205). Linked to this, Barrett suggests, is the realignment of the balance of power within the disciplines such that "academically the social sciences have lost their purchase within feminism and the rising star lies with the arts, humanities and philosophy" (ibid: 204). The transition between what has become fashionable feminist chic in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand in the 1990s and what was considered the praxis of a 'good' feminist researcher in the eighties, is stark when one revisits the literature of that earlier

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[1]   This word, and the positivist discourse which contextualises it, are problematic, and yet I use it here because although it is contested it is also used in common parlance within the academy. I signal my ambivalent response to this term by placing it in inverted commas.

time. But this epistemological flux raised as many questions as it answered, and left me asking whether such a polarity progressed the debate or limited it within yet another either/or binary.

Choosing Between 'Empirical' Engagement and Philosophy?

One response to a polarised debate is to choose a side. Some chose the 'empirical' side, and as I suggested in the preceding section, some writing on the subject of feminist research chose to side-step or minimalise the magnitude of the poststructuralist challenge in favour of examining feminist researchers, "actual ways of working" (Reinharz, 1992: 5). While Reinharz's book is one response to the fracturing of feminist politics and academic practice into a multiplicity of interventions, it does so at the expense of an engagement with epistemological debates within which it was profoundly implicated.

Others chose the philosophical side, and with it adopted a profound scepticism of foundational claims to knowledge and the polluting effect of power in the truth games of social scientific practice. Not surprisingly, feminist scholars influenced by poststructuralism reacted to the work of Mies (1983) and others in the eighties as policing the constitution of feminist knowledges and as gate-keeping entry to the feminist canon (Melton, 1997). Shaw (forthcoming: 13), for example, criticised "modernist" feminist accounts for their delineation of politically correct praxis:

> we are told in no uncertain terms that the purpose of (feminist) philosophical discourse is reckoned to be not merely an interpretation of the world, but rather more importantly a commitment to changing it ... This distinguishes between what may be counted as proper, 'politically correct', (read revolutionary) feminist theory and practice and that which fails to attain this accolade; that is, non-revolutionary, apolitical, philosophical practice and conduct.

Shaw's critique could be read as problematically suggesting that the field of poststructuralist philosophy was free from "political correctness", without acknowledging that the discourses of poststructuralism are themselves unlikely to be 'innocent' or uncontaminated by the politics of knowledge creation. Poststructuralism, as a *dominant* intellectual current of contemporary thought within the academy, could be said to police what might be said in *its* name as well, with effects in terms of curricula, academic jobs, tenure and publishing.

The point I wish to make in relation to these debates is not that either side of this polarity was wrong but, to coin a classic phrase, that the polarity itself was dangerous. Should

feminist scholars *have to* choose "between philosophical and revolutionary" thinking (Shaw, forthcoming: 12)? What was *at stake* in these choices? And in terms of the debate at hand, *how could feminist researchers choose* when such scholarship necessarily encompassed both elements, that is, theories of knowledge creation and practices of research investigation?

Living in the In-between

In response to these debates in the early nineties I resisted throwing in my lot with either 'side' because of my dis-ease with what appeared to me to be two polarised extremes and my desire to be positioned *in-between*, rather than *in*, either place. Sometimes 'living in the in-between' was an uncomfortable experience and I struggled for some time to remain at the 'empirical' end of the continuum, feeling that poststructuralism threatened my "integrity, history, identity and place" (Flax, 1992: 445) as a feminist researcher, describing myself as suffering from PMT: ''Post-Modern Trauma''.

And yet my work has been transformed by the debate within feminist epistemology that is occurring, and the fundamental challenge it makes to the foundational assumptions of feminist (and other) forms of scholarship. One cannot ignore so profound a philosophical shift, and yet I remained as committed as ever to forms of 'empirical' social research that involved exploring the narratives of the women and also men who agreed to participate in this research. At the same time, however, I came to appreciate how both my positioning as a researcher and the research I engaged in was no longer "innocent" (Flax, 1992: 449). This "innocence" is constructed according to Flax by a particularist account of 'social science' where:

> knowledge acquired by the proper methods must reflect the Real (which is also the rational, the benevolent, and the true). Hence knowledge produced by social science can simultaneously (and without contradiction) be neutral, useful, and emancipatory. It can be on the side of good and have no unjustifiable costs. Social scientists' knowledge and power can be innocent of bias, prejudice, or ill effects to anyone. Its innocence is warranted by the (universal) truth/laws in which it is grounded (ibid: 449-50).

If these "innocent" ways and days were over (and failed on their own terms as my attempts to work within their rubric in the eighties indicated), what could a social researcher such as myself refashion from the epistemological debate which was useful to the analysis of 'texts' generated in conversations with teleworkers? I am happy to reply: "a good deal".

The Refashioned Place of Women's Experience in Feminist Research

The opportunity this historical moment in the late 1990s offers a researcher such as myself, committed to personal narrative work and yet influenced by the poststructuralist debates, are multiple. There is one I will emphasise here: the analysis of 'women's experience' as a key element of feminist research and theorising. When I think of the work I do within the academy now, I notice that it is significantly concerned with the same kinds of activities as it was in the 1980s, that is life history and other forms of qualitative research that draw on personal testimonies to investigate the social, historical and political relations that surround and shape narrative constructions of the self. I asked myself, how might forms of poststructuralist theorising aid in the analysis of such accounts when one reading of these arguments is that they significantly decentre the role of women's experience in feminist scholarship?

One possibility, I would argue, is that poststructuralist critiques open up new spaces for the interpretation of interview 'texts' which offer more complex and dynamic analysis of subjectivity than previous feminist accounts allowed. Within poststructuralism, experience is constituted discursively rather than "representing the 'hidden truth' of women or women's experience" (Gibson-Graham, 1994: 206). The meanings given to experiences are thus dependent on the discursive resources brought to this task and are therefore potentially open to reinterpretation and redeployment (Butler, 1990: 145). Flax (1992: 452) makes this point explicitly when she argues that:

> sense data, ideas, intentions, or perceptions are already constituted. Such experiences only occur in and reflect a variety of discursively and socially determined practices ... One cannot even assume that the mind has some universal, transcendental, a priori categories or concepts that always shape experience in the same, even if unknowable, ways. Instead the categories or concepts by and through which we structure experience are themselves historically and culturally variable.

The notion that 'experience' is discursively constructed, that experience has no *intrinsic* or *given* meaning because it is always located within language and discourse (Jackson, 1992: 26), cuts to the heart feminisms which seek to value and give voice to "hitherto repressed or devalued female experience to form the basis of a new feminist epistemology" (Fuss, 1989: 113). Yet "female experience", as Fuss points out, was "never as knowable, as universal and as stable as we presume it to be" (ibid: 114). Indeed she argues that "belief in the truth of Experience is as much an ideological production as belief in the experience of Truth" (ibid: 118). Fuss suggested that while experience could never be a reliable guide to

the *real,* this does not mean that it has no role at all in the realm of knowledge production. To modify Fuss's Althussarian-influenced account within a poststructuralist frame: experience, as a *product* of discursive practices, could function as a *window in/on to* the complicated workings of discourse (ibid). In this schema:

> experience would itself then become "evidence" ... but evidence which is obviously constructed and clearly knowledge-dependent ... experience is not the raw material that knowledge seeks to understand, but rather knowledge is the active process which produces its own objects of investigation, including empirical facts (ibid).

Indeed "empirical facts" themselves, Fuss argues, are "never 'given' to knowledge" (ibid), but rather are *produced* through particular knowledge practices under certain specific conditions, where 'figures of arithmetic' are as discursively constructed and socially situated as 'figures of speech' (Poovey, 1993: 256). In following through the implications of this decentring of women's experience within Fuss's account I was drawn to Stanford Friedman's (1995: 13) different but parallel argument that personal narratives, as oral or written textualisations, are "triply mediated" by the processes of their production.

First, such accounts are mediated by the narratives that participants construct of what 'really' happened to them, where experiences are "reinscribed, translated, radically rethought and fundamentally worked over by the text" (Felman and Laub, 1992, cited in ibid: 15). Plummer makes just such an argument when he evocatively suggests that:

> *whatever else a story is, it is not simply the lived life.* It speaks all around the life: it provides routes into a life, lays down maps for lives to follow, suggests links between a life and the culture ... But it is not the life, which is in principle unknown and unknowable (1995: 168, original emphasis).

These processes of reinscription, translation and rethinking were highly visible in this study because of the methodological strategy of interviewing and reinterviewing, affording the teleworkers opportunities to re/invent their narratives as time progressed. The period of more than a year between the first and second face-to-face interviews provided a context for them in which to revisit an earlier narrative of the self, to contradict themselves, to reflect on the complexity of their situations and to express newly articulated stories in response to their own transcripts. This dynamic was also present in Marshall's (1995: 35) study where she found participants developed different perspectives on their narratives over

time, where some "felt less sensitive about telling them fully because they now referred to past selves".

A second mediation of the textual production of experiential accounts Stanford Friedman identifies, is the "politics of documentation" and the "luck, skill and persistence" of the scholar as investigator (1995: 13). In this research this "luck, skill and persistence" particularly paid off in relation to the criteria that all the members of the household agree to participate in the study. This proved to be a key theoretical and methodological intervention of the research which elicited the multiple and often contradictory narratives spoken within families, and enabled an exploration of their 'intertextuality'. Positioned as a researcher within this chorus of voices, a more uneven, less rehearsed view of the usually 'private' world of family emerged, a world inhabited by fleshy beings that moved and acted, loved and fought one another.

The third mediation of the research text, Stanford Friedman suggests, is the "interpretative, meaning making gaze of the researcher herself" (ibid); and it is this kind of thinking which lead me to create my own narrative in this text (see also Court and Court (forthcoming) on this point) as an attempt to provide a genealogy of my work or what Foucault (1984: 46) terms an "historical, critical attitude". I am also aware of the perils of such genealogies, where the infinite regress of the researchers' reflexivity and "yearning for attention" may displace the participants, and indeed the research question's centrality within the text (Stanford Friedman, 1995: 27; see Loveridge, Judith 1992 for an example). However, these processes of radical self-reflexivity are one way of rendering the researcher's positioning in the text *as reader and interpreter* more opaque. In the context of this study, the interview transcripts, the questionnaires, the photographs, the children's drawings, were "not just to be *known*, but *read*" (Stanford Friedman, 1995: 27, original emphasis) in a context where such readings remained sensitive to the processes of textual mediation which were implicated in their construction.

In turn, the account I as a researcher produced can also be 'read' to reveal its production as an *interpretative act*, rather than transmission of 'authentic' or 'true' knowledge about 'real' experiences. In this sense, feminist researchers are challenged to *take responsibility* for their analyses in a more profound way, rather than deferring this responsibility through references to the transcendental 'truth' of experience or the 'justice' of certain accounts, or the belief that:

outside the haphazard and perilous experiments we perform there lies something (God, Science, Knowledge, Rationality, or Truth) which will, if only we perform the correct rituals, step in to save us (Rorty, 1991: 208).

Multiple Interpretations and Interpretative Conflict

If feminist researchers are more profoundly implicated in their interpretations, then they also have more opportunities for exploration in terms of the multiplicity of meaning within texts and the consequences of these 'readings' in terms of politics/knowledge. Such arguments have encouraged a variety of responses amongst feminist researchers, including offering *multiple* and *contradictory* analyses of narrative accounts (see Court and Court, forthcoming) and inviting research participants to engage in processes of collaborative interpretation of their 'experiences', to enhance the 'polyvocality' of the research.

This latter strategy of encouraging research participants to engage in processes of self-reflection on research materials is not new (see Mies, 1983). However, unlike Mies and other 'modernist' invitations to participate in research interpretation, a poststructuralist approach does not conceptualise this process as getting to the 'real' story, such as expressing the essence of a 'core' self or a collective women's experience, although at the time the story is told or read, people may come to "believe in it and its veridical power" (Plummer, 1995: 168). Rather, in the process of editing and reflecting on interview texts, the participants' (and researchers') accounts are positioned as constructed, that is, as the outcome of processes of telling, rereading, retelling and reclaiming 'stories'.

In this research, participants were encouraged to alter the text of their original interviews as they wished; to expunge, reinscribe or extend the narrative they had created. For the twelve key participants (the teleworkers themselves), this was a process of reflecting on a narrative they had created of themselves some twelve months earlier, offering them an opportunity for both revision and further reflection, in addition to forming the impetus for the second 'follow-up' interviews. In this sense a further utility of the politicised nature of feminist research emerged as participants created, refreshed and renewed their narratives of 'home' and 'work'. These processes also offered opportunities to open up the research text to alternative/transgressive voices other than that of the researcher. In this sense research moves toward a methodology which "acknowledges the presence of the speaker in what is spoken" (Ransom, 1993: 144), and exhibits a satisfying 'lumpiness' as the fleshy subjects of history, such as the research participants and myself, wrestle with contemporary social forms.

Additionally, such engagements offer more open processes of negotiating different, sometimes *conflicting* readings of materials produced in the engagement between researcher and researched. In this sense feminist research once again "irrevocably enters the realm of politics" (Flax, 1992: 459), because how much *space is made* for interpretative difference within research analyses, how much opportunity participants are given to 'talk back', becomes a measure of the ability *to hear and give voice to* these differences (see for example the conclusion to Stacey, 1991).

In the research at hand, a disagreement emerged between myself and a couple who had been engaged in the research in terms of the interpretation of the transcribed material. While the research process had encouraged participants to edit their interview transcripts as they wished, and to discuss their theorisations of their own narratives in the follow-up interview, it did not engage in a co-analysis beyond this. This couple had agreed to this process, and consent forms had been signed. Subsequent to this agreement being reached, this teleworking man and his partner felt strongly that their interview transcripts should be analysed in a *particular* way, departing from the original agreement regarding the release of the material following this process of transcript editing and reflection.

At this tricky juncture a number of highly politicised options were available, and in each issues of power and control were visible. I could have acquiesced to the participants' wishes and limited the analytical 'reach' of the work to analyses they approved of; looked for more sympathetic and pliable people; written the analysis anyway, asserting my authorial authority, hoping that these participants would never happen upon the work in a library and recognise themselves; or work with their resistance and in negotiation with them allow their voice and my own to be present in the research, perhaps even simultaneously on the page in parallel columns, to indicate the interpretative conflict that was present in the research. These were but some of the strategies that I could have employed, and these two participants had a number of other options and countermoves they could and did enact, including renegotiation of their consent, official complaint and/or withdrawal from the study. In each case issues of "knowledge, desire, fantasy and power" (Flax 1992: 457) are at play, once again evoking the spectre of power and politics within feminist research.

In this case this couple and I engaged in (intermittent) negotiation over a three year period, during which the terms of the debate shifted on both sides. The participants restated their desire not as a concern to engage in a process of co-analysis of the interpretation of their material in the thesis, but as a desire to "*comment* on any of the analysis and interpretation of *our* data prior to it being published" (correspondence, 7/7/97, original emphasis). I meanwhile became concerned about having further confrontation over the analysis of the

material with these participants in the media once the study was released, in light of the topicality of the study and the keen interest in it the media has shown over the years. The smallness of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the likelihood of possible connections between participants raised for me the spectre of other participants becoming concerned that they might be encouraged to enter such a debate and/or lose their anonymity within the research. In the last months of the thesis no satisfactory resolution or compromise to the issue had been found and I eventually decided, with regret, not to include this couple's material in the study and to write the thesis in light of the remaining eleven.

The Analytic Process

In general the analytic strategy pursued in this research followed standard procedures of qualitative research, including generating initial analytic categories that parallelled the themes pursued in the interview schedule, which had themselves been determined following my reading of the international and local literature and media representations. These major analytical categories included: work histories and motivations for engaging in home-based work; the orientation to work in terms of careerist aspirations or their absence; the timing and spatial organisations of the work; income and business practices; the relationships between the teleworkers and their computers; issues of embodiment and discipline; orientations to 'home', housework and domesticity more generally; and relationships with partners, children, extended family and friends.

Within each of these broad categories I also considered the testimonies of the partners, children and child care workers. I went through each account indexing the transcripts to these major categories, and them moved between the different accounts to compare themes as they emerged. It was not until this point that I realised what negative experiences all of the women had of actual or potential organisational employment and the striking difference between this element of their narratives and those of the men. I began by writing a chapter exploring why the women had left organisational employment or chose not to re-enter it when they resumed paid work, contrasting this chapter to another one I wrote about their negotiation of motherhood and domesticity. Although I eventually abandoned these chapters and their equivalents in terms of the men, they did assist in the clarification of how this textual strategy was decontextualising the different accounts (I will discuss this in more detail below) and suggested a framework for writing a different analytical commentary based upon the analysis of the *different discursive sites* which emerged in the narratives as key: namely, organisational employment, domesticity and entrepreneurship.

Rather than a linear process, this refinement of themes took me back to the transcripts to generate different categories, organised within these three broad sub-groups while dividing the initial categorisations between them. Some categories clearly fitted in one or other of the three sites, where work history, for example, clearly linked with organisational employment; while others occurred in all three of these key arenas, such as time. In this sense the processes of analysis, of categorisation, and of writing-up were not discrete but each interrelated and informed the others. This observation was also made in Opie's (1992: 41) research where she noted the ways in which these interrelated processes lead to the re-experiencing of "differently contextualised text" organised through the indexing process or used in the context of the writing, helping her to "rethink the implications and revisit/modify/expand earlier analysis". Like Opie, the analytical process of the thesis was focused on *contracting* the material to a manageable size while still allowing the complexity of the material to shine through, in addition to *expanding* the argument in the process of writing, indexing and analysis "beyond previously reached points" (ibid: 42). My purpose in these processes was to capture both the initial vividness of the experience of engagement with the research participants and to make available in the text some of the narrative material which had provoked the analysis.

The Presentation of the Narrative and Interpretative Accounts in the Thesis

In part as a response to the experience of interpretative conflict in the research, and in part in response to the process of writing about each family, the next chapters are presented as a series of 'teleworking tales' accompanied by companion discussions devoted to my analytical commentary upon these narratives. That is, Chapters Four and Six present the teleworkers' narratives organised into a number of topic areas regarding the women and men teleworkers and their families respectively, but does not include an analytical commentary beyond this. The interpretative commentary is separated and dedicated to Chapters Five and Seven.

The decision to present these 'teleworking tales' in this form and to separate the analytical narrative offered by the researcher into other chapters, was one that emerged gradually in the course of the writing, but one which appeared to more effectively convey the depth, complexity and variety of the material generated in the course of the research. Originally, for example, Chapter Four was written around the theme of the rigidities of organisational practices for working mothers which encouraged them to 'withdraw' into home-based employment, where small excerpts of the narrative material were woven within the broad themes I had selected as significant. While this 'interwoven' strategy is the usual format for the text of research accounts, I found this strategy had three significant drawbacks.

First, this interweaving of the narrative and interpretative accounts, without the contextualising of them within family and individual scenarios, failed to capture the dynamic nature of the women's and men's negotiations within their families and the multiplicity of practices and relationships within which participants' telework was located. This element of the study is particularly compelling; that is, the sense of the contextual location of teleworking within both domestic dwellings and family relationships. This study is unique to my knowledge, in so far as it interviewed other family members, including children, on *their* perspectives of the impact of teleworking on their home and families. One of the advantages of constructing this material into 'teleworking tales' was that the multiplicity of voices that 'spoke' in the research were *present,* so that teleworkers' families' narratives were located *with* the teleworkers' accounts, offering the reader an opportunity to grasp the multiplicity of perspectives within households about the effect of home-based business. Additionally, these 'teleworking tales' allow the home-based businesses to be contextualised vis-à-vis domestic and caring labour, indicating the different ways in which the women and men negotiated their participation in the former, in relation to their varying responsibilities to the latter.

Second, the 'interwoven' strategy used little of the narrative and other materials, swooping magpie-like on certain 'shiny' things, at the risk of dangerously decontextualising the participants' accounts. The word 'dangerous' is used here to signify that something important was being lost in this endeavour, namely the 'intelligibility' of these individuals' strategies for managing their telework and their families. Their practices appeared quirky and humorous, or more problematically, as simply self-destructive, when they were quoted outside of the context of the families and businesses within which they were located. For example, when Nora Jolly sat silently with her family in her darkened living room pretending to be out rather than turn a client away from her door, she was not so much acting 'oddly', as creating a boundary between her and her clients without appearing to turn away work, an 'intelligible' strategy in the context of a home-based business with a large clientele. In the worlds that Nora and the other participants inhabited, the strategies they employed to create boundaries between their 'homes' and their 'work' when quoted out of context appeared both to myself as the researcher and to the audiences to whom I presented excerpts of this material, unusual if not bizarre. Relocating these practices and the narratives that storied them within the context of individual and family relations went some, but not all, of the way toward restoring them to a context within which they appeared 'intelligible' negotiations of everyday life. I would argue that the strategy of presenting the material as a series of stories about the eleven families, with limited analytical commentary provided by the researcher, moves toward a more robust sense of the 'integrity' of the material, presenting more of its constitutive parts, rather than a highly selective choice of excerpts.

However, this can only be a *movement toward* a better sense of what occurred in the conversations between myself and the participants in this study over time, subject to the multiple mediation of interview narratives discussed by Stanford Friedman (1995). It is important to underscore at this juncture that in separating out aspects of the narrative accounts from the analytic commentary I am not making an appeal to a feminist epistemology which argues that the researcher's role is simply to listen to and record voices which have been silenced or marginalised, while eschewing the complex politics of representation discussed at length in this chapter. Rather, while I agree that women's and men's personal narratives are rich resources for the investigation of the intersection of the biographical, historical and 'the social', the narratives presented here are *constructed* accounts rather than "raw data" that reflect the "truth" of individuals' experiences. My crafting of the narratives the participants constructed, into 'teleworking tales', is an overt act of representation, an act which reflects my own analytical sifting, choice and organisation of the narrative material, my selection of themes and labels, and my attribution of significance to them. As a means to remind readers of the researcher's role in constructing these narrative accounts and shaping them into stories, the paragraph numbers have been left in the text as a 'trail' to suggest where excerpts from different areas of the transcript have been placed together or, conversely, separated.

Finally, making a spatial separation between this level of 'construction' of the material in Chapters Four and Six, and an explicit analytical account of them in Chapters Five and Seven, is an attempt to offer spaces for *alternative* interpretations by readers. I would argue that this strategy is consistent with the argument pursued in this chapter which suggests that the researcher's analytical 'reading' of the narratives generated in research is only *one* possible account amongst a multitude that could be made. In a context where generating such material is difficult and time consuming, where one of the strengths of this research lies in its methodological contribution to a field lacking in such material, and where there has already been an unusually high level of international interest shown in this study,[2] reporting more (but of course, not all) of the material generated in the course of the research would appear to be desirable and legitimate. Separating the material spatially from the researcher's analytical commentary may leave the writing more 'open textured' and available for other interpretations, suggesting that mine is only one form of analysis amongst a multitude which could be offered. It is my hope that this narrative material in Chapters Four and Six, and

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[2]   I was invited to present aspects of this research at the European Commission (Directorate Five) "High Level Experts Meeting" on the Information Society and to the Pan-European Research Group on "Gender and Teleworking" in 1995 in Brussels, in addition to invited presentations at specialist telework conferences in The Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom (see Armstrong 1997a and b).

indeed the analysis in Chapters Five and Seven, provoke fruitful alternative 'readings' to than my own, and may be of use to other researchers, policy makers, media commentators, and importantly, teleworkers and their families.

Refiguring Oneself as a Feminist Researcher

In this chapter I have discussed how debates within feminist research, and particularly the challenges to 'modernist' feminist epistemology by poststructuralist feminisms, have figured and refigured my research practice and my response to feminist epistemology in the 1980s and 1990s. In this discussion my purpose has been to suggest how the feminist research literature has both limited and inspired me in relation to this research with teleworkers. In these processes I am drawn to Gibson-Graham's (1994: 220) reconceptualisation of the 'political' within feminist research in the 1990s when she writes:

> as a feminist researcher, I am coming to understand my political project as one of discursive destabilisation ... I see my research as creating identity/subjectivity, and in that process as constituting alternative sites of power and places of political intervention ... Conversations can produce alternative discourses that entail new subject positions, supplementing or supplanting those that currently exist. These new subject positions crystallise power in new sites, enabling novel performances - individual or group interventions in a variety of social locations ... In this way the creation of alternative discourses subverts the power of existing discourses and contributes to their destabilisation.

The feminist researcher figured in these negotiations and relationships resists the collapse into evocations of commonality and collaboration in favour of *persistent difference*, invoking questions of power and subjectivity rather than political absolutes and centred subjects.

Dramatis Personae: Introducing the Research Participants

The following provides a brief snapshot of each of the teleworkers as a guide to readers before the engaging in the detail of each story. In Chapter Four below, the six women teleworkers are introduced: *Pam, Roz* and *Jill* are all younger women with babies, and all of them are engaged in computer writing businesses, Pam in computer communications, Jill as a technical writer and Roz as a database consultant. Each of these women had been full-time 'career' women in their previous organisational employment and each had left such employment after the birth of their second child. In contrast *Nina, Nora* and *Tess* were

mothers of older children and each had spent considerable periods out of the paid workforce to care for them. Nina had resumed paid work in accountancy before establishing a home-based business, while Nora and Tess resumed paid work by establishing a home-based business, in Nora's case as a desktop publisher and in Tess's as an international marketer of flowers.

In Chapter Six the five teleworking men and their families are introduced beginning with *John,* a communications technology consultant to two large organisations who worked 115 hours a week in a specially designed home-office in his garden. Like John, *Jim* also worked over 100 hours a week in a database business for regional television stations and relied on his partner Ann's contributions to the business. *Ethan* was a computer programmer, the father of a five-year-old son and was accustomed to carrying his hard-drive in his pocket as he cycled between his part-time job in an organisation to his home-based business. Meanwhile *Sam* had developed a management services business at home which he ran with his partner, where the couple had two children including a baby and where Sam was very critical of organisational employment. *Tom* had established a database business at home and combined the business with the care of his new-born son, while his partner was the major income earner for the household.

In the following chapters the details of these stories are discussed, drawing out both patterns across the different women's and men's narratives and the differences between their unique accounts.

Chapter 4

'Teleworking Tales': The Women's Stories

In this chapter the major themes that emerged in the personal narratives generated by the teleworking women in this study, and the accompanying stories of their families' perceptions of the home-based business, are detailed in the form of six family narratives. These 'teleworking tales' are evocative of the unique and particular constructions of the worlds of 'home' and 'work' for these six women, and also the dilemmas they share as heterosexually partnered, teleworking mothers who experience the demands of their families and their home-based businesses at the same time and in the same place.

In these accounts the women appear to fall into two groupings according to their own age and that of their children, a "generational" distinction between teleworking women also observed in Christensen's (1997) work. These two particular groupings are recognisible as follows: Pam, Jill and Roz were all in their thirties, all became or were once again pregnant in the 1990s, and all three had developed careers before they became mothers. Their experiences and motivations for taking up home-based self-employment were orientated around both their sense of frustration at the rigidities of organisational employment, in particular at the point at which they gave birth to their *second* child. Their working lives were coloured by the duality of the demands of their home-based businesses and the usual needs of their infant children for care, and both Pam and Jill were still breastfeeding their youngest children when I first interviewed them.

In contrast to this sub-group, the other three teleworking women, Nora, Nina and Tess, were in their forties and fifties, had become mothers in the 1970s, and thus had different career histories and expectations. All of these women had spent considerable time out of the paid work force caring for their children, and had followed and supported their husbands in their work as the primary 'breadwinners' in their families. Beginning a home-based business was for these women a response to the problems of re-entering the labour force after significant periods of absence and/or a response to their sense of the limited

employment opportunities available to them as older women. These women were not as pressed by the demands of their children as the mothers of young babies, and indeed were assisted in their teleworking to greater or lesser degree by their children, yet each of them still took the majority of responsibility for the organisation of their households' and their teenagers' lives. Teleworking for them was not so much the experience of a *rupture* from a previous full-time career, as much as an attempt to craft a working life that provided some income and a focus outside of the family, while maintaining the *continuity* of their commitments as caregivers and 'housewives'.

In this chapter these accounts constructed by the researcher have as much as possible allowed the women to speak for themselves, in addition to being spoken about by their partners, children and personal assistants. Within these 'stories' the recurrent themes of time, space, money, domestic labour, child care, mothering and relationships with partners have been drawn out. These personal narratives, accompanied as they are by the stories of other family members, provide an insight into these women's teleworking 'selves', and more generally, act as a resource for the exploration of gendered subjectivity. From the women's 'teleworking tales' emerges a picture of the delicate and complex positioning of women between the responsibilities for their families and homes and their often demanding home-based businesses.

I. Pam Brody

Pam Brody's negative experiences of senior management positions, in combination with family circumstances, motivated her development of a home-based business. Pam worked in the computing industry as a manager, where sixty hour weeks and extensive travel were the norm. Pam worked hard in the organisation to achieve what she called a "non-gender role" because she was conscious that some people were "treated like people and some like women" (76)[1], and it was important to her that she not be treated "like a little fluffy thing around the place" (76).

Pam was the mother of a teenager from her first marriage and three-year-old Christie from her second, and was the family's "main income earner and person with the career climbing the corporate ladder" (18). Pam was aware that achieving her career goals would require two or three more moves where she would have to "uproot the family". She looked at her "models and mentors" and realised that:

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[1]   These numbers refer to the paragraphs of the original transcript from which this excerpt is taken.

if you want to be where these people are you just have to keep dragging your family around the countryside ... and I began to realise that was actually quite hard on everybody. I had been dragged around the country to follow (my) father's career ... it just didn't seem worth it (37).

These dissatisfactions with the corporate employment prompted Pam to "leave the corporate thing and see what happened"(37), and she subsequently found a well paid, enjoyable and permanent position within the public sector. At this point Nicholas Sainsbury said "I want a career now" (37), and Pam was "decidedly pissed off" because this decision required that the family move again. She decided that the "only exciting thing to do was to run (her) own business" (39), and subsequently established a computer communications business at home in 1990 which involved her in technical writing and training development work for large organisations, The business had been established for three years at the time of the first interview. In 1992 Pam had a third child Grace, who was affected by a medical condition requiring medication on a four-hourly basis. Grace was one year old at the time of my first contact with Pam.

For Pam, working from home allowed her to avoid the "crappy politics" (51) of the organisations she had worked for and allowed her to "set (her) own hours and go at (her) own pace". She was also pleased to avoid the sexual harassment that was part of her experience as a younger woman in computing, to which she had responded by "outing" the protagonists and the issue during a live radio interview. She described this as "taking direct action" (75). Pam was also clear about elements of working on-site that she missed, particularly the resources and money organisations had available to pay for training and development (49, 57). Pam felt isolated from her professional and social network and recognised "how hard you have to work to keep up some kind of support network" (128). Pam had an extended response to the question of whether she would consider taking organisational employment again and her sense of the difficulty of securing a desirable job once she turned forty which she was shortly about to do. Although she had been offered work within a computing organisation at a high salary in 1992, she was not willing to face the seventy hour weeks, travel and "heaps of shit" the job entailed and the disruption to her partner and to her daughters' lives (174). However, she was attracted to the professional contact, training and stable income organisational employment offered.

On Avoiding Being a 'Boring Housewife'

If teleworking provided an alternative opportunity to pursue a career for Pam, then it also provided a means of financially and socially resisting what she perceived to be the low status

and isolation of being a full-time mother. Pam described herself as *"very defended"* (505) about the prospect of being a *boring* housewife and, like a number of other women in the study, feared that the balance of power would change in her relationship if she became a full-time mother and that she would lose opportunities to regain career employment later on should she move out of paid work altogether. For Pam the former prospect was particularly distasteful:

> I mean for me personally one of the major, major sins in the world is to be boring, in fact it's the only sin, and so the idea that I might be boring is terrible ... it's the cardinal sin basically, it's why I divorced my first partner. I love to see people's faces when they ask why did your marriage end and I say "because I was bored". My mother really doesn't regard this as a good enough reason (laughter).
>
> *Nicola:* Is there any hook up then, to being a boring housewife?
>
> *Pam:* Oh yes, I mean, yes, I mean there's that whole thing about being resistant to the lack of status ... Yes it's that, I, I'm very defended about that. Mmm (505).

Full-time motherhood was not a prospect Pam felt attracted to, so running a home-based business was one way of reconciling the dual desires to be an 'available' mother and to maintain a stake-hold in her career. When asked whether her career was still as important to her now she was working from home as it was when she worked on-site, Pam replied:

> Yes, in the sense of my self-identity. I started to work very young and my self-identity is integrally tied up with work. I'm trying to wean myself off that to some extent (laughs) but not all that successfully.
>
> *Nicola:* That identity is, can you describe what that identity is for you?
>
> *Pam:* Oh yes, my need to be professional, to be a professional and to be financially independent (168-172).

The money Pam earned within the business allowed her not only a measure of financial independence but also to employ a full-time personal assistant/child care worker, called Kay. During the working week Kay worked with Pam from 9.00 am until 3.00 pm.Pam described Kay as "wonder woman basically" (140) who assisted her with everything from typing and administration to ironing and tending to baby Grace's special needs for regular injections of medication. Pam "thank(ed) God for the Employment Contracts Act" which allowed her to write such a broad job description for Kay's duties, allowing the two women to flexibly juggle between them the work of the house and the children with the work of the business. Pam thought that she would not have "contemplated" telework with a baby on medication

without Kay, and that this relationship had largely countered the negative effects of being an at-home parent for Pam. She said it "just pushes me a little bit and doesn't allow me to sloth into a kind of depression that has actually overcome me when I was working at home with children on my own" (149).

Pam saw the person employed to help with the business and the baby as requiring specialist skills and thus as deserving of a 'decent' wage which was set in 1993 at $25.00 an hour. When Kay applied for the job she in fact had no experience of the kind of caring work Grace required, or of the desktop publishing software Pam used, two of the key skills. Pam was seeking. Indeed on the first morning of the job, Pam showed Kay how to administer Grace's drugs and then, according to Kay, "walked out the door and that was it" (7). This was a somewhat nerve-racking beginning for Kay, who spent her first two weeks on the job ironing outside Grace's bedroom so she could monitor her progress. Kay's perspective on her work was to see herself as a "service" to the Brody household, in that she tried to "be there the whole time ... just to make their lives easier" (16). In this sense Kay's broad responsibilities in the household, from housework, from child care to the work of the business, meant that she thought of herself as "running two households, mine and hers" (13).

'Broken Up' Time

Pam worked in her home-based computing and communications business on a full-time basis (forty to sixty hours) five days a week, from 9.00 am to 3.00 pm when her eldest daughter, eight-year-old Christie, was at school although she would often work in the early evening as well if she were able. She usually worked a half day on Saturdays and two evenings a week, but she had a rule that she would not work Sundays (227). Kay's input during these "core hours" on Mondays to Fridays allowed Pam to be highly work focused she only had "these precious six hours", and would work "as fast as (she) could" (248). In this context Kay's hour-long lunch break was a "real pain in the arse" for Pam, but essential for Kay's management of her own household.

While Pam perceived herself as highly productive in her home-based business, and was described as "going like a train" by Kay, she felt she missed out on the "straight runs" and "uninterrupted intelligent conversation" that characterised her partner Nicholas's work as a trainer in an organisation (452). Pam made "mental comparisons" between these "straight runs" and her own use of time, "broken up" between paid and unpaid work responsibilities, such that the "idea that Nick has all that time ... every so often gets right up my nose" (452). Early morning was a particularly stressful time for the family because of the different needs of the two children, Nicholas and Kay and the impact of this upon Pam. Pam felt she was

pressured to stay one step ahead of Kay so she could work, but also had responsibilities to the children to prepare them in the mornings. On a "bad" Monday, Pam would not get into the home office until 11.00 am and resented being left with the mess of the house to clean-up before she could begin. Nicholas also found these conflicted morning schedules "frustrating" because the phone rang and Pam was "taken out" into the home-office (24). Sometimes Nicholas would delay going to work himself rather than leave the house in a mess because either Pam had "thrown a wobbly" or he wanted to be "fair about what happens at home" and he sympathised with the dual demands she faced (25).

The Home-Office as Pam's 'Territory'

If time was a scarce resource in the Brody household, then so too was space; and it was over this issue that Pam and Nicholas had more serious conflict. Pam had a dedicated home-office at the front of the house which constituted 17% of the total floor space of the building; it was approximately 3 x 4 metres wide with large windows that faced the sun and had three desks, a fax, computer and printer (526). The office had been renovated and painted and had initially included a "really nice sofa" which Pam had removed because she was "tempted" to "just curl up there with a book" (272).

Pam recognised that the home-office was a desirable space in the house and that she and Nicholas shared a small and much less sunny bedroom in order for the space to be used in this way. This in itself was not the source of conflict between them but rather the strong defence Pam made of this "territory" in terms of resisting demands from Nicholas to also use it as a work space. Pam "defended" her "right" to work and the significance of her business, which was represented by her resistance to allowing the home office to be used by other people or for other activities. Pam would "not tolerate" Nicholas having a desk in the home office because it was her space and she was "doggedly selfish about it" (420). She said:

> One of the bitterest forms that (this conflict has) taken, is over the physical space in which Nicholas was quite taken aback by the fact that I wasn't prepared to share it, at all, full stop. But I *wasn't,* I wasn't prepared to negotiate over this space, over the use of space, and I've relented a little bit now, but only because it's clearly established as *mine* as opposed to *ours* (509).

Pam's prioritisation of a dedicated space had developed as a concern during an earlier period when she had tried working from home while on maternity leave. Although she lived at that time in a large open-plan house, she was forced to work on the kitchen table which

she found "hopeless" because "there was absolutely this sense of this not being serious because I had to sort of tidy it away all the time, and that if there was tomato ketchup all over the kitchen it just drove me crazy" (555). In response to this experience, Pam saw maintaining her work space as her own as a significant symbol of her "professionalism". Because of this she "totally refused" to allow the home-office to be used as a guest room and insisted that guests stay in a front bedroom that needed to be accessed through locked doors from the verandah (535). This situation was, Pam agreed, "quite inconvenient for everybody", which was "too bloody bad". Pam rejected the "concept of (her) work being interrupted by the idea of mother-in-laws coming to stay" and felt that "the physical territory (is) actually absolutely tied up with how seriously your work is taken". She and Nicholas fought about the home-office as though it were a "battleground" (541) where the dedicated work space was intimately entwined with Pam's self concept as a businesswoman, a symbol of her independence, and a means of resisting an image of herself as woman at home earning "pin money".

Despite the clarity of Pam's boundaries around her work space, her defence of this "territory" was not fully secured. Although Nicholas' had "given way" on trying to use the home-office as his after hours study, and "gracefully accepted" that he had "lost a particular battle", Pam still felt that she had to fight to maintain her exclusive claim to the room. She said:

> One of the things that I'm amazed about is just how hard I've had to fight to retain that territory. Absolutely ... I feel like Nick has made umm, you know, it's like a little tidal wave that you know time and time again this great wave comes sort of rolling up the beach trying to erode that, it's like that clip at which you can actually feel something trying to sort of erode it. I think the issue over space is where you start to be marginalised and I'm just really adamant about it (539).

Another issue with regard to space which was contentious in the Brody-Sainsbury household was the presence of clients in the house. There was a difference between Nicholas and Pam that resonated with a number of families in this study regarding home as a 'social centre' for the women and home as a 'sanctuary' and quiet retreat for the men. When I asked "what does your home represent to you?", Pam replied:

> It's quite different for Nicholas and I ... to him it's clearly a work refuge, he wants it to be something he can retreat to. For me it's kind of like a centre to which I like to have people come ... I am happiest living in a central city location where I have people dropping in and out, I like knowing that people feel it's a welcome place

where they can come and go (253).

However the entry of clients into the house and the potential loss of the family's privacy was something which Pam also felt concerned about at times. She said that "there were definitely a number of clients that I think there is no way in the world they are coming here" (419) and that she didn't "want that person to know that much about me" (420). Decisions about the entry of clients into the house were also related to the kind of work Pam was doing; if it was "consultancy work at the management level" then Pam had another set of concerns about whether she was living in the "right avenue" in an appropriately "expensive house". Pam thought the family's house was "a bit modest really" and as such did not want to invite high status clients into it (420). Additionally, the entry of clients into the house raised some issues for eight-year-old Christie in terms of the need to keep the house tidy or keep quiet because Pam had visitors (201). Christie thought it was a "bummer" that at the time she was getting ready for school she would have to get the house "spick and span" when Pam had "somebody important coming around". Her response was "not another one, because she's got so many important people coming around" (96).

Housework and 'Maintaining Certain Standards'

Pam felt that the amount of housework to be done had definitely increased since she started working at home, in part because she the house was also Kay's workplace, and she felt she could not leave it in "whatever state" because this was "unfair" on Kay (406). In part Pam was also aware that because clients came into the house, a degree of organisation was required to maintain the house at a suitable level of tidiness with two young children.

As with the division of space, Nicholas disagreed with Pam about the implications for the housework of the home-based business. Nicholas thought that this difference came down to his assertion that "this is our home and we have a right to treat it how we like" and Pam's counter argument that "this is also my work space and it has to be of a certain standard" (36). Nicholas felt:

> there is no arguing with that really, I mean it does, you can't bring the Chief Executive from somewhere to discuss a contract and have them tripping over pairs of shoes and school bags and tapes spread all over the floor (laughs) or whatever else, so I mean that is right (36).

However Nicholas continued to feel some resentment over the "lack of discretion" he had in terms of the timing of housework and the standards of tidiness (38). He was particularly

frustrated about the need for the house to be tidy in the morning and in the weekend if a client was coming, "which is totally inconvenient for me" (36). Nicholas took the implication of Pam's statement that "this is my workplace and it has to meet a certain standard of tidiness" to mean that Pam "has to take responsibility for meeting that standard, which is a bone of contention to some extent" (39). This difference in "standards" had also been apparent when Nicholas had been the primary caregiver and 'housekeeper', when Pam would come home and think "what the hell has he done all day?". As an outcome of these differences, Pam acknowledged that she did take on more responsibility for the housework "out of choice", and thought that her standards of housework were high, but that, "it's me pushing me" (412).

The increase in housework had forced Pam to reassess her view of it, because she had previously considered it to be "cleaning up after other people"(467). Pam had decided to "positively frame" housework as "creating harmony and order", and having done so she felt "quite differently about it", a change in attitude that had been "absolutely vital to (her) survival" (467). Pam was aware that she could not actually tolerate a house as messy as her husband and the "sense of aggrievement (she) would arrive at would be immense you know" (469). Rather than continue to fight with Nicholas, Pam "chose to see it another way", reinforcing the priority of keeping a home that was "harmonious and beautiful", rather than focus on the unequal division of domestic labour between her and her partner (471).

The Advantages of Home-based Child Care

A key advantage of telework for Pam was the convenience of home-based child care, especially with a baby with special needs like Grace. Pam thought that children should have "good calibre adults" in their lives, preferably within their own homes in order that they establish a sense of "territory" (360). Pam had also used home-based child care when she worked in organisational employment because "it pays", especially when the children got sick (358). Pam knew that this kind of care was beyond the financial means of some families but she felt crèche was "hopeless" with unwell children and home-based care "beneficial", *except* when the caregiver herself was ill (300).

In Pam's case meeting her children's needs was assisted by the close relationship that formed between the baby Grace, eight-year-old Christie, and Kay. For the most part Pam and Kay kept one-year-old Grace out of the home-office because she had got to the stage where she could "cascade a bunch of papers onto the floor", and they worked at finding ways of occupying Grace in "developmental tasks" accompanied by music or a story tape, which could last for as long as ninety minutes. Kay and Pam would decide between them

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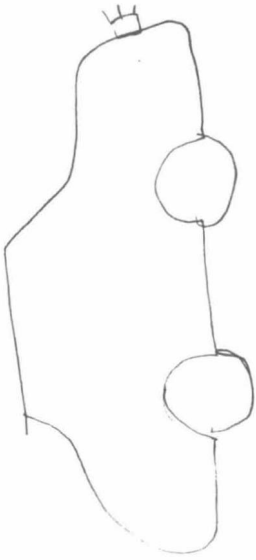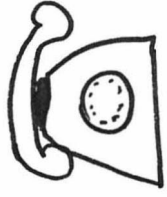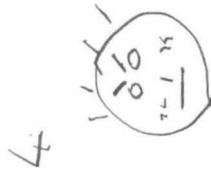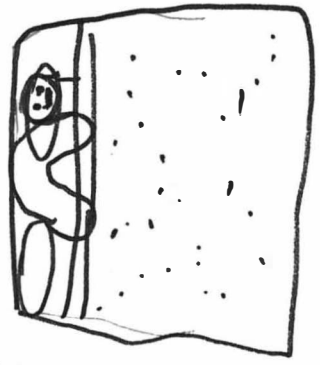
who was "on duty" with Grace; Pam found this an important demarcation that she wanted to be "quite clear", so that one or other was free to focus on the business (340). In this sense the women's labour was interchangeable, because in Kay's words "there's always someone for the house and someone for the office, there is always a happy medium, I mean one doesn't go neglected for the other" (50).

It was interesting to interview Christie subsequent to having interviewed Pam and Kay (where I had been told that this arrangement worked extremely well) because for Christie the major issue was not how well she and Kay related, but how the telework interfered with her use of the house and interrupted her leisure time. When I asked this eight-year-old to draw a picture of "how her mother's home-based business was for her", Christie drew all of the things about Pam's telework that she didn't like and entitled it, "Things That Piss Me Off About Mum Working at Home" (see drawing opposite). These "things" included Pam limiting Christie's access to the phone and television during 'working' hours, never allowing her to use the home computer for computer games, being asleep when Christie left for school because she'd stayed up late working, or interrupting Christie's weekends or after-school time by "yelling" for her to "get in the car" so she could drop something off for her business (2). Christie's response to these things was to say "'mumble, mumble, mumble, don't want to', Mum says 'don't moan!' It's a real pain after a while" (2).

The telephone was a particular source of contention, as Pam was concerned that "household noise flowing down the telephone" would "detract from the professionalism" (336). Pam felt that when clients heard a baby crying in the distance "anxiety creeps into their voices and it changes their attitude to what's happening basically", and she had always tried to make the children as "invisible as possible to clients" wherever she worked. Pam tended to shut the door to the home-office when Christie was home and she was on the phone because she didn't want it to be "obvious that I'm at home" (334). Although Pam had "trained" Christie to answer the phone and thought she had a wonderful "technique" (42), she preferred the eight-year-old did not do so during office hours.

Kay thought that Christie did get a "bit toey" about the restrictions on the phone, explaining to her that "we are still in business hours and it doesn't sound good if you've got children answering the phone", to which Christie responded "it's always business hours" (79). In contradiction of Pam's description of the 'flow' between the work of the house and the business, Kay suggested that Pam was "very, very strong" on Christie not interrupting, and that when Christie did, "Pam just goes off her rocker and tells (her) to get out", (77). Kay tended to not take sides in these disagreements, pretending she "couldn't hear a thing", but did feel that sometimes Christie "just wants a bit more attention from her mother" (79).

Christie felt that she had "learnt because of (her) mistakes" not to interrupt Pam with "silly questions, like can I watch TV", but that "I always know I can tell her something urgent, like the house is on fire" (149). Not being allowed to interrupt her mother concerned Christie when she came home excited from school and wanted to talk to Pam immediately:

> Like say we're doing a play or something like that's happening and you come up "Mum, Mum, Mum, Mum" and she says "mind out sweetie I've just got to make this call, it will only take five minutes" and five minutes is gone and I will think 'five minutes is up' and then I'll say "Mum" and she says "it will only take a couple more minutes", she's kind of dragging it out (161).

Sometimes these situations left Christie feeling quite isolated "especially when no one else is around and Grace is asleep" so that she "sometimes wished (she'd) never came home from school" (112). However Christie was aware that she still had more time with her mother than she would have had if Pam worked sixty hours per week in an office as she once had. As the interview proceeded, Christie talked about the way she liked her mother usually being at home because "you always know that she's around, like it's not like coming home to an empty house, because that's quite scary sometimes" (38).

Christie also knew a relatively large amount about her mother's business from seeing aspects of her work at home (346), and had taken up play activities associated with businesses. Christie thought that when she was 'grown up' she too would run a business from home "if I'm going to have children", because she thought her "children would feel safer if (she) worked at home". Christie had her own business aspirations which developed over the time I knew her from wanting to have a job as someone "who gives awards out" (189) to, at the final interview with Pam, wanting to set up a business that ran parties. This ambition was much more concrete than Christie's earlier ideas and included wanting as a ninth birthday present, to have her company's name and trademark registered, emphasising that she would be "really angry" if Pam did not do this.

Christie's mixture of feelings toward her mother's teleworking business, that is, that it blocked her interaction with her mother and her use of the house but made her feel "safer", was summed up in the following statement. I said in response to Christie's drawing:

> *Nicola:* When you think about Mum's home work, is that (pointing to the picture) what comes to mind, the way it stops you doing the things you want to do?
>
> *Christie:* Um. When I'm annoyed with her yes, but when I'm happy with her we

get on quite, it doesn't really matter. So it's sort of in the middle of my head (24).

Pam's Difficulty with Leisure

If spending time with Christie was one demand upon Pam, then it competed with a host of others. Pam's life required extremely careful planning to "work", a task she approached with great seriousness and concentration. During one interview I found the walls in her living room festooned with pieces of white paper several metres long containing her family's current and future goals. These lists included everything from clients Pam intended to see to arranging a vacation for the family, presented as a continuous stream of more than thirty tasks and activities. Beside every task was a date and a name, most frequently and prominently Pam's.

Although Pam attempted to schedule in holiday time during the year she felt she "generally did not have any leisure" and chose to use what discretionary extra time that became available to work, because it was the activity she identified as most enjoyable. This was something of a source of friction between Nicholas and Pam, both because there was a "competition" about "who was going to work" and because Pam "would elect to use her half day to work", and Nicholas felt this was "not recreation" (35). For Pam there was little "time out to escape":

> I really enjoy work and I identify with it strongly. I kind of feel justified to shut the door and say this is my space ... and I'm thinking or writing or whatever ... I feel much, much less comfortable about it, leisure, outside of that. (31)

When I probed Pam about the issue of leisure she indicated that she did garden, although she saw it as "something of a chore" (31). When I noted that one of the things I liked about gardening was that it was "a productive activity, things grow", Pam responded:

> thats my difficulty with leisure, or things like exercise ... I think if I go for a walk, I'd like to be walking *somewhere,* or I'm taking the dog for a walk, so I'm walking *for the dog.* But if I'm doing something just for myself I tend to think there's no added value. (31)

On Independent But Fluctuating Income

If leisure, space and time were in scarce supply and sometimes sources of contention in the Brody-Sainsbury household then so too was money. However, this issue was less of a source of friction because of the clear boundary Pam drew between the business account and the domestic accounts. Pam felt that the home-based business had the potential to match the salary she once earned within the organisation, but that she traded off money and time so that given her high salary had required she work sixty hours per week, teleworking provided "better income for the hours I'm prepared to work" (130). Pam was aware that as a "sole trader" clients didn't "owe (her) anything" in terms of continuing contracts or providing sickness or holiday pay, and she often charged her services at high rates in order to compensate for these additional costs and her ongoing responsibility to provide a wage for Kay (611). Pam had determined her rates "arbitrarily" but included the cost of employing someone skilled and responsible enough to administer Grace's medication (ie NZ$25.00/hour in 1993). Pam then determined a range of rates from $30.00 to $140.00 per hour for different kinds of work she might perform, noting that Nicholas was "outraged" that she "had the nerve to charge $140.00 an hour" (621). Pam justified these rates on the basis of the incomes that her clients earned, noting that "these people are on $80,000 a year and they can't work out what to do in their organisations, why should I come in and tell them for $35.00 an hour?" (625).

Pam juggled the investment of the family's money in the business with other expenses, some of which lead to conflict with Nicholas. Pam had formed a limited liability company which used the house as a guarantee in case the business failed, but this financial risk was less contentious than the day-to-day issues of the money management, such as that invested in the home computer which Pam refused to allow Nicholas to use. Pam's way of avoiding direct conflict over the financial management of the business was to deduct all the costs, plus additional money for development, *independently,* and then decide "what surplus is available for joint decision-making" (574). Pam was clear that one of the reasons she was "in business was for independence", and she was thus reluctant to be accountable to Nicholas in terms of how she managed her accounts. For example, Pam was aware that she would need to upgrade the computer and fax equipment, and that although she was intent on making this decision "independently" it clearly was going to affect "how much money we have as a family available" (574). In this sense there was a conflict in Pam's narrative between her assertion of her independence and her commitment as a partner and joint income earner:

Basically our household needs big injections of cash at certain times of the year, and sometimes I just can't meet that, and it's just too bad. Nicholas and I have quite different understandings of money and he would just go absolutely berko if he could see what was sitting in my business account while I'm running in overdraft in the domestic account. But I know that I have tax commitments or that there isn't a paid-up contract sitting there so I'm just not prepared to risk it (580).

The turnover of the business in the 1993-1994 financial year was $112,000, and although this was a substantial amount Pam felt disappointed she did not make more profit and felt concerned that the business was erratic. In the 1994-1995 financial year the business did go through a slump prompted by provisional tax expenses, paying Kay for eight weeks of holiday and sick pay and Pam "sacking (her) major client", which was a "very expensive decision". Pam summarised this changing situation as going from "a highly buoyant situation to a bleak, dark situation" where she had little option but to "trade her way through". This situation lead her to make *no* drawings on the business account for the household that year.

During this time Kay grew "really worried about the bottom line" and was concerned that Pam could no longer afford to pay her salary, and she saw little point to Pam working so hard and not making any money. Pam's commitment to "be in business to be in business" was most clearly visible during this time, where she had:

years of actually working to pay for child care, having all my money going out on child care and just thinking 'I'm in business to be in business' that's not a foreign concept for me at all. I have long term goals to be in business, so not earning any money this year, like working forty to sixty hours a week and not earning any income, it's not pleasant but it's the price you have to pay. And I think that's a foreign concept to (Kay), like why would anyone work that hard and not actually get anything back?

Pam's commitment to being a business woman and to continue even if all she gained was someone to care for her children rather than care for them full-time herself, reflected the prioritisation she gave   to her work. However Kay's concern at the financial state of the business in 1994 increased when she worked on the accounts for tax purposes and Pam described her as "horrified to find out that the business had diminished to such a large extent". In response to this situation, her sense of being a 'wage burden' on the business, Kay subsequently looked for and secured another position.

Although Pam supported Kay's decision she felt "completely devastated" when Kay told her she was leaving. In the event Kay left the new position after only a week, and took a job with an associate of Pam's who also ran a home-based business. In turn Kay arranged for her daughter to work for Pam when she left, and Pam was "pleased and relieved" to be able to pay the young woman a youth-rate wage, half of that which she had paid Kay. Kay continued to see a lot of Christie and Grace and had the children to stay, while she and Pam remembered one another's birthdays and anniversaries.

By 1995, Pam was still not taking any drawings from the business account as salary, but had negotiated with Nicholas that her money would go toward paying off the mortgage so that she could develop another "family business". This business would involve the family living in the country selling produce to visitors, an idea Pam had seen developed by a local lavender farmer who had 40,000 visitors to his property in the first year of business. Pam felt the whole family was much more supportive of her business now they all had this shared aim, although Nicholas felt "exhausted and overwhelmed" at the thought of this number of visitors coming to their home. Pam acknowledged that they would have to negotiate this future plan so that Nicholas could still experience their home as a "retreat" from work.

Nicholas confirmed that for him the most difficult aspect of Pam's work was the "constant presence of work" and the lack of boundaries around "time, space and availability in terms of family" (32). He wanted Pam's business to be under "more control" and her working life "more regulated" (26). In terms of his own work Nicholas had "quite strong boundaries" and did not return to work at night or on the weekends, because "I have a family, a family life too" (14). Nicholas was concerned that Pam's telework continued to encroach too much on family life, particularly in terms of the phone which he sometimes felt they were "slaves to", and that he felt like "putting it down the toilet and flushing it sometimes" (16). Pam felt that she "hardly" made distinctions between home and work, and that she was "coming more to terms with the idea that it's *all work*". Ideally she wanted clearer boundaries about "where work starts and ends" (291), and that in contrast to her previous work within organisations she was getting "more and more control" over the telework. She thus favourably compared her situation with her previous experience of corporate computer work, which had been "exciting" but "totally overwhelmed everybody, me, the family, the whole shermosal" (291).

Despite this increasing feeling of control, Pam's response in 1995 to her interview transcripts from 1993 was to feel that she was "totally work focused" and was concerned about this because of the level of exhaustion she felt even though the family had just had an annual holiday. I had accidentally left, as a annotation on one of the transcripts, that I had

felt "totally exhausted" after our initial five hour interview, and she had been "interested" to read this and noted that the transcript was "full of evidence that I don't (have breaks) and I don't look after myself and it's clear I don't look after anyone else either". She was interested in whether people who teleworked were in search of more balance in their lives, and that ultimately they were "looking for more balance than they actually get". When I answered that I thought that was one of the issues people who telework struggled with she said "that's what I've wondered, do people ever feel they've actually arrived?".

II. Jill East-Land

Jill East-Land ran a technical writing business from home, and had a passion for computing which she shared with her husband Ian Land who was a programmer. Jill was the mother of two infant children and served as one of the strongest examples in the study of the difficulty some women had of continuing organisational employment once they became parents. Telework in this instance was an example of the rejection of a 'toxic' workplace and the attempt by Jill to re-engage with paid employment 'on her own terms'.

In 1989 Jill worked at called 'Computer Ltd', a multinational firm within which she worked as a technical writer, while her husband Ian worked in a similar firm as a computer programmer. She had been at Computer Ltd for two and a half years when she decided to have a baby, and she offered to resign when she became pregnant with Beth because she had a "pressurised job" with a lot of travel in Asia (11). Computer Ltd did not want her to resign, and because Jill didn't want to be a full-time mother and give up paid work completely, she continued working for the organisation. She returned to work just six weeks after Beth's birth to complete a business trip to Jakarta with her breastfeeding baby and nanny in tow. She continued to breastfeed for nine months, believing that "you can do anything if you put your mind to it" (11). Jill paid for the nanny and the nanny's airfares on the trip to Jakarta, which cost her NZD$10,000 in 1993 at a time when her salary stood at $48,000, in addition to travel expenses and a company car which represented a further $15,000 of additional remuneration.

When Jill returned to work from Jakarta she found her immediate boss "just wasn't happy about me working and having a baby at home" (13), being someone who "was very much a believer in barefoot, pregnant and in the kitchen" (11). He proceeded to "gun for (her) reputation" in a context where this would have been particularly damaging because the computer industry in Aotearoa/New Zealand is "very small". He attempted to have her fired through the "very illegal way (Computer Ltd had) of getting rid of people out the back door" (13). Jill "brought in the union" even though she knew Computer Ltd was a "non-

union shop" (13). Then sent a letter of complaint indicating that they were going to take the complaint to the Labour Court, to top Computer Ltd executives in New York, Hong Kong, Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand. Within three weeks an investigator had been sent from New York to settle the dispute in-house and Jill was duly retained in her existing position. Jill described this period of her life in 1991 as a "rocky time career-wise" because she "was a woman", and found this experience of conflict within the organisation very stressful. This is apparent in the following excerpt where she repeated the word "stress" five times:

> All I wanted was my work record reverted back to what it was before he came along, and I wanted to move from out under him immediately. They gave me stress, I had stress leave, I mean immediately that was all over I fell pregnant with Fay (her second baby), that's the sort of stress we were under. I mean it's just, it was incredible the amount of stress, I mean Ian is eagerly waiting for the demise of this guy, he's still at Computer Ltd; because that bad guy owes me a few sleepless nights, I mean it was a tremendous amount of stress we were under. Um, because Ian was too. But I was determined to fight it, I'd walked away from one other place early on in my career from a twit like that and I was determined I wasn't going to walk away this time. Not when I knew I was right, utterly, you know, those sort of guys can just go away, I'm not interested in them (22).

As this excerpt illustrates, Jill in part blamed the stress of this situation for her second pregnancy, and because of it, she felt obliged to take a sideways career move within Computer Ltd out of lucrative technical writing and into an accountancy job without the 'perks' of her previous position. Jill wanted to continue to work for Computer Ltd but also wanted to avoid her former manager (25), and just at the point when she had successfully made the transition into her new accountancy job, was working under a woman manager that she enjoyed and was about to once again get a company car "which amounts to a $15,000 promotion"(27), she was made redundant. Her manager assumed she'd take the redundancy because of the children, but Jill said "I enjoy working for you, and there's no guarantee that I'm going to keep working for you and that's what it came down to" (28). Rather than risk once again being moved under a new, potentially hostile male manager and re-experience her earlier difficulties, Jill decided to leave Computer Ltd. She successfully developed a technical writing business from home, taking short but intense contracts of three to six months on a full time basis writing computer manuals periodically throughout the year and had been doing this for two years when I first met her.

Equipment and Space and 'Having All the Right Toys'

In order to set up at home as a technical writer, Jill had to buy alot of equipment and software, and of all the teleworkers in this study Jill had made the largest investment in technology for the home-based work she engaged in. She and Ian had explicitly decided when Jill moved out of organisational employment that she needed a "decent" computer and they had "all the right toys" including 286 and 386 computers, a CD Rom extension, a tape system on the computer, a hand scanner, fax, modem, cordless phone and answering machine. They also intended to buy a laptop to enable Jill to work with it "anywhere", especially places with "peace and quiet and no interruptions" (148). Perhaps most expensive of all was the investment in software which Jill estimated as costing $40,000 in 1993, all of it designed for use in Jill's contract work and financed by the family income.

This dedicated use of family resources for the home business reinforced Jill's access to the equipment ahead of that of Ian and the children. Jill had successfully argued that "whoever is getting paid gets priority usage" such that she "won" access to the more powerful 386 "nine times out of ten" because she was being paid to work on the computer at home (206). Ian was less demanding of time on the 386 because he worked all day at an organisation in front of the screen with a more sophisticated machine, but on some week nights he did use it to "put the reading he had done at work on innovations into practice" or just to "play around". The metaphor of "playing" with the computer was also practised in the East-Land family in terms of the keen interest held in computers by three-year-old Beth and eighteen-month-old Fay. Beth had been "hands on" with the computer since she was six months old and at three she was proud to show me her prowess at turning on the computer, using the mouse, moving between a main menu and a games application and playing the game she selected. Fay was, in Jill's estimation, similarly keen on the machine, and she described her as "an eighteen-month-old who *demands* to be on a computer" (70). Jill felt, however, that the computers weren't "babysitting tools" (200), and that if the children used education packages she or Ian needed to be with them to explain things. However the entertainment packages that Beth was particularly fond of did act as a form of 'babysitting technology', in so far as Beth could set up and engage in computer play herself. This lead to some competition between Jill and both of the children to use the machines because unless she shut the door of the office or the nanny distracted them, the children wanted to use the CD Rom on the 386 to access "living book" programmes (70). Jill felt that in the future the family would need a computer each to resolve these competing demands and that until they had computer "number five, we won't be doing any trade-ins" (179).

Jill's work space, where all her equipment was housed, suggested the fluid spatial boundary between 'work' and 'home'. The home-office was a multi-use room in the sense that it also held Ian's work clothes, the sewing machine, cutting table and ironing board which was associated with its original function (206) and it was used by all members of the family. Jill and Ian frequently worked on both computers "side by side", and she emphasised three times that this was "not a problem" and that they sometimes "talked while they worked" (206). However, given their rule about the priority that paid work received in terms of the allocation of equipment, Ian also maintained that Jill could not sew in the work space if he was working, an argument Jill had "lost early on" (206). This story suggested to me that while Jill had some control of the use of the room, like Pam this control was achieved through the prioritising of income-earning work. Asserting her desire to use the room for some other potentially noisy task that did not generate income, suggested Jill's conditional claim upon the space.

Jill's Income as Money for 'Extras'

Both Jill and Ian spoke of the insecurity of the computing industry and of the need to calculate into contract wage rates "buffer money" for the inevitable periods of unemployment that occurred between contracts (24/98). Jill thought the insecurity of contract work received little acknowledgement from on-site colleagues, and that contractors were resented as highly paid intruders. She said:

> a lot of people see contractors as the dirt, the dregs, they don't like that contractors are paid high rates. They don't see that contractors don't get sick pay, don't get the security of the job, they don't see or won't accept the fact that somebody's being paid for their expertise (94).

Jill was unusual in this study in terms of her clarity about the insecurity of contract work, and her motivation for working was strongly related to income generation rather than identity issues such as in Pam's case. She particularly sought work with multinational companies because they paid more, and mentioned on five separate occasions in that she did not take contracts that did not compensate her well enough:

> if it's not good money, I'm not interested. I mean I'm quite open about the fact that I'm doing it for the money. Might keep my résumé looking professional or something like that, but I mean there's no point in doing it if I'm not coming out ahead (222).

More specifically, Jill only agreed to do contract work that was sufficiently lucrative to provide a reasonable rate of return once she had subtracted her costs, those including the care of children and housework. She charged enough for her services ($700/day) so that she could afford to have a full-time nanny *and* a full-time housekeeper and still make a third profit on her contract. These costs were subtracted from Jill's income, rather than from the joint income, indicating that in this family, as in others, a classic equation was made as to whether the wage for Jill's paid employment sufficiently compensated her when off-set against the costs of 'her' child care.

Jill and Ian usually decided jointly on how the money Jill earned would be used in the household, although both of them were clear that Jill's money was not to pay for the mortgage and that she was "going out to work to buy extra things" (60). The couple were aware that they could "survive" on Ian's income alone if they had to, and that Jill's income allowed them to afford "extras" such as a trampoline or trip for the girls or putting in a CD Rom in the home-office for the family to use (216). In this sense the time Jill took away from the children when she worked on a contract was compensated, she felt, by the "extras" she could provide with this income, so that the children received the "best of both worlds" (60).

Jill thought it was important that parents calculate the "hidden costs" of their employment into their contracts, because if they took account of the work-related expenses such as child care, transport, dry-cleaning, hair dressing and clothing, "most people are in a deficit situation, not a profit situation, and they don't realise it" (232). Jill was aware that her particular resolution of these issues was enabled by her higher-than-average earnings ($48,000) plus her expense account and that if she were earning "$20,000 to $30,000" she wouldn't have been in a position to afford a nanny and a housekeeper for the children. Jill was one of the very few highly paid women income earners in 1993, where only 2.8% of women in Aotearoa/New Zealand were earning over $40,000 in 1991 according to the Census (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1193: 68). However, her wage was still carrying her equipment costs, the wages of two workers, hefty agency fees and insurance premiums charged by employment brokers[2], making her stated objective of a third profit on all contracts difficult to secure.

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[2]   Ian recounted a number of examples of contractors being charged out by agencies at many times the rates they themselves received as income, and Jill herself had been charged out at $800/day but received only $42.00/hour gross for the work, a more than 100% profit for the employment agency. The brokers acted as gatekeepers on computer employment, and the contractors were entirely dependent on them to find work. Ian compared this relationship to "needing a pimp" (56).

Being 'Very Career Orientated'

If Jill's income did not always 'adequately' compensate her for her work vis-à-vis her costs, she nevertheless strongly identified with her work, and worked because she saw herself as a 'career woman'. Jill's subjectivity was integrally tied up with her business and she had resisted becoming a full-time mother to her two infant children when she left the organisation. She felt she lacked the necessary instinctive urge to be a full-time parent, because "as much as I would like to be ... I don't think I'm that way orientated" (11). Jill felt she was "very career orientated" and had never given up her unmarried name, preferring to hyhenate it with Ian's because it was the name she was known by in the computer industry. Jill emphasised that her "work (was) separate from (her) personal life, always has been" (115).

Both Jill and Ian thought that it was important that Jill "kept (her) skills up" as a technical writer, an area of computing which developed less quickly than programming, but which still required a degree of involvement to remain marketably informed (224). Ian felt it was significant in an industry where a "good reputation" was the key to future employment, that Jill didn't get "removed from the marketplace. Periodic contracts giving Jill work experience, with time with the children between engagements, worked "extremely well" in his opinion (133).

Jill thought that by working at home she did "raise some eyebrows" in the computing world because of the association of being at home with caring for the children and she resisted being marginalised by people in the computer industry as a "just a mum"; she enjoyed disrupting assumptions based upon this premise. She related a story about visiting a local computer shop where she felt she was not taken seriously by the assistants as a mother accompanied by two small children. This experience stimulated an angry response from her at the time and in retrospect:

> I get really hacked off. One day I waltzed into a computer store with a double pushchair, two young children and not exactly dressed in my best, all sloppy ... and nobody got up to serve me and I said, "excuse me are you open for business?" and they said "oh, yeah" and I said "I want to have a disk to have a look at a notebook" ... and he started to give me a spiel about the 386 and I said "don't give me spiel on the 386 please, I've got one of them". That stumped him, absolutely floored him; yeah I was a wife coming in to oversee the husband's purchase or something like that, you know, it was as if I would have absolutely no computer knowledge. He didn't even ask me any leading questions (about what hardware I had). I knew very

well that a 286 would run what I wanted to do, but he was telling me it wouldn't ... So I just walked out, and said to Ian, we're not dealing with them ever again. If I went in there with a briefcase all dolled up in my normal work clothes I would have got a totally different attitude (119).

The story was indicative of the ways that Jill actively resisted definitions based upon her status as a mother in possession of an occupied double pushchair, where being strongly marked as a mother through the physical presence of two small children in her care was assumed to exclude Jill from participation in professional/technical knowledge. However, Jill also 'played' with aspects of her physcial appearance and made a distinction between "passing" as a professional on-site and looking "rough and ready" when she worked at home (123). Jill usually worked a quarter of the time on-site and was required to meet new clients before contracts were signed, both because clients wanted to see examples of previous work and if "they're fronting up with the sort of money they're having to pay for technical writing they're not going to do it sight unseen" (129). Being "seen" as an appropriate embodiment of a 'professional' became important in these situations and Jill was aware of the performative element of getting "dolled up" to go to work, including wearing business suits, having a briefcase, "always" having her hair up, "expensive jewellery" and make-up. She said:

> I look totally professional, totally different, people get quite shocked, because they don't recognise Jill (laughs). There's quite a bit of fun can be had in that too. It really throws people, it shows how easily people get into their ruts and they, appearances are just so important (127).

Managing Domesticity and 'Not Being Superwoman'

If Jill 'played' with her appearance when she was on contract then she also took seriously creating a firm boundary between 'work' and 'home' by engaging both a full-time nanny and a housekeeper when she was on a contract. She did this because of her awareness of the demanding nature of her work and felt critical of women who tried to telework without this kind of support:

> ... I can't see how some people can cope without having a full-time nanny and a full-time housekeeper. *You're not superwoman* and there's no reason to be (234).

Jill usually contracted the nanny and housekeeper for eleven hours per day, allowing her to 'leave' the house at seven in the morning and work into the night. I place the word 'leave'

in inverted commas because Jill only worked on-site within the organisation's premises 25% of the time and she would engage in "quite cunning" practices in order to conceal her presence in the house from the children for the remainder of the time when she worked at home. These "cunning" practices included elaborate "leaving home" rituals (58) involving "pretending" to go out to work, kissing and farewelling the children, exiting through the front door, parking down the street so that the children would not see her vehicle and using the back door to re-enter the house to begin work.

A further possibility for avoiding these problems was available in the form of the children's own busy schedules which included playcentre, pre-school music and gym classes each week morning from 9.00 am, in addition to extended afternoon naps (169). It wasn't until after 4.00 pm that the children were likely to notice Jill was at home, and would hear the tell-tale "tap - tap - tap in the computer room and know Mummy's in" (169). Additionally the children sometimes became aware that Jill's car was parked in the street because of three-year-old Beth's vigilant monitoring of the neighbourhood cars (26). In these situations Jill relied on the nanny to "distract" the children, and felt that "that's what she's paid for" because she was "more productive" if the children did not know that she was at home (175). The exception to this rule was when the children were sick and thus "ultra clingy", and Jill would sometimes delay beginning work, as she did on the day of the first interview, in order to be with them until they went to sleep, which "just means the nanny gets an easier day" (192).

The responsibility for the housework in the East-Land household was similarly largely passed to the housekeeper when Jill was on contract, including washing, ironing and cleaning (183). Jill cooked for herself at night while Ian "tended to look after (him)self" (96) when he arrived home late from work, although Jill did most of the cooking in the weekends. In terms of the child care, the provision of paid assistance or Jill's full-time presence relived Ian of this responsibility where he felt "the women get to look after the kids, very crudely put" (96). Ian was "positive" about Jill's work and felt that it was "stimulating" for the children because they got to see Jill doing something "tangible" on the computer, as opposed to his own work where he "disappeared" for ten hours a day and the children knew "nothing" about his employment (66).

Although this organisation of child care and housework worked very well one difficulty that emerged was the conflict between the girls' and Jill's time rhythms in terms of their different responses to "pressured" situations (230). Jill was aware that a number of organisations were "unrealistic" in the time frames they estimated for particular jobs and that she was "not prepared to work fifteen hours a day" in order to make up for their underestimations (90).

Although she did in fact work relatively long hours (7.00 am to 5.00 pm) Jill resisted the tendency to try and meet "unrealistic" deadlines and thought all teleworkers should hold to this ethic. Jill felt that picking and choosing one's clients was of key importance for home-based entrepreneurs. She said:

> I very nearly walked out on the last contract because I didn't think the stress level (was) worth (it for) the contract. And I think that's one of the nice things about working from home, you can pick and choose and you can work at whatever pace you want to work at. People who find it too pressurised, I think they shouldn't be doing it. The whole idea of it is to be as easy as possible (181).

Jill felt that she worked "extremely well under pressure" and that she tended to organise her work so that she was running up to her deadlines, "but the problem is the children don't operate under that sphere too" (230). Tight deadlines which suited Jill sometimes "got too stressful for the girls" (232), and she was aware that what she was looking for was "creating that balance" between the children and her business (230). Jill felt that many women tried to juggle too many things and like her critique of 'superwomen' she resisted the idea of working and caring for the children simultaneously:

> I think the hardest thing for many women is they're trying to be too many things, they say they want to work from home and be with their children, but you can't work and be at home, you can't work and have the children playing at your feet, *it does not work*, you know, but you can make a compromise, which is the next best thing (232).

Jill made an exception to this rule for women who were working because they "needed" the intellectual stimulation of the work itself such as Pam Brody. Jill felt she could relate to such women felt similarly herself, it was "their choice, they may need it, because I know I was in the same boat, that's a decision you've got to make" (232).

Interestingly Jill had met this need for "mental stimulation" in a variety of ways beyond teleworking, including an extensive amount of community work between contracts since 1990. She was the chairperson of a local community centre, involved in community neighbourhood watch programmes, treasurer of the local crèche and was training as a playcentre manager. While Jill had always done community work, the reason for her increased involvement at that time was linked to her telework "for the simple reason that I knew I would need some outlets in the community" (82). However, Jill wasn't willing to take on community activities or personal projects that were "too demanding" or required

her to "juggle" the children's needs. For example, she did not continue to study for a management qualification because the nearest university was "too far away" and she had a friend who was doing so where Jill felt "her children (were) being juggled too much and I'm not into that" (86).

Another 'simulating' outlet for Jill which ameliorated her isolation at home was work-related socialising, something that she and Ian saw as simply 'part of the job' in an industry where contracts relied on networks and being known. Jill managed dinners and Friday nights at the pub by "always" spending time with the children beforehand because of the priority and responsibility she felt she had to them even when they were being cared for by others (220). The priority that Jill gave to work-related socialising did not necessarily extend to family and friends when she was engaged in her contract work. She noted the "small shock" family members received when they rang and she was having a business meeting at home or if she continued working on the computer while she talked on the phone (194).

Over the time I knew her, Jill's career aspirations changed. While Jill felt willing to continue with her contract work, she also felt in 1995 attracted to the possibility of resuming a career in an organisation outside of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Ian particularly was drawn to returning to the lifestyle they had pursued in Germany in the mid-eighties where their work had been lucrative enough for the couple to take three months of holidays per year. Ian described Germany as a "land of opportunity" for computer workers and that "the sun was always shining, you could go out and do what you wanted, we had the money to do that anyway" (10). Both he and Jill felt that given the relatively short-term nature of work in computing organisations in Aotearoa/New Zealand (usually no more than a year), the key to having a good lifestyle was to work overseas where the contracts were more long term and salaries higher. Jill was especially interested in finding a specialist area of computing where she was the "only one", and could charge rates which were "very nice thank you very much" (20). If Jill decided to follow this route she thought that she would use part of the money to hire child care and housekeeping support, continuing to maintain her strategic position as "not a superwoman", and would only reengage in such work after the children had begun to attend school. She was clear that she would never again remain within an organisation in the state of 'embattlement' that had characterised her employment in Computer Ltd.

III. Roz Jeffs

Roz Jeffs's dissatifaction with organisational employment began when her employer refused to keep the part-time job she had developed as a training manager open for her while she

was on maternity leave. He insisted that the only job that could be retained for her within the health centre in which she had worked for seven years was a clinician's position, although she had been primarily engaged in training and management work in the organisation for more than a year. She noted that she "had done more than (she) was theoretically meant to do" in terms of the training and management work, but then became pregnant and didn't have a chance to complete the renegotiation of a "change of job status" out of her previous clinical position (28).

Roz had a ten year history in the health industry, seven of which had been spent in this health centre. She had found the transition from being a full-time worker to being a part-time worker a difficult one when she married Ben, had her first child, Joss, and took up a routine of working three days per week with her old employer, in addition to doing part-time study. Roz described going from a sixty hour a week "management position" where she "just worked every spare minute, it was like work, work, work, work, just to pump out the work", to "20 hours and just being a peg in the organisation" (216). However she wanted to continue to earn some income, using the money to pay for "extra care for (Joss) and also time-out for me to do my study" (161).

Roz suffered from depression during this time of transition, where the experience of full-time mothering was for her so negative that her husband felt she needed paid work in terms of "maintaining her sanity", by which he meant that she needed to maintain her "professional abilities, and her confidence and self esteem as a professional person" (25). Following the birth of her second child, Sally in 1992, Roz again took maternity leave for a year. It was during this second child's infancy that Roz more seriously reviewed her commitment to continuing in organisational employment. In addition to the inflexibility within the organisation in terms of her job description and the relatively poor pay, Roz had become disillusioned with the "politics of meetings" and the "power games and deceit" (46).

Telework for Roz was a result of her rejection of the "politics"of the organisation, the rigid job descriptions within it and the relatively poor pay associated with her part-time work. At the end of her maternity leave in 1992, Roz turned to freelance contract work construcing database information at home, rather than further part-time work with her previous employer. With two-month-old baby Sally and two-year-old Joss to parent, Roz limited her telework to a part-time commitment of less than twenty hours, with the intention of increasing her client base and extending her hours as the children grew older. She had been engaged in this work for a year when I first interviewed her. As part of her twenty hours of telework, Roz had successfully secured a profitable eight hour per week contract constructing a training database. The money from this single contract paid her more than the

three days she used to work part-time within the organisation, and she commented rather wryly that this "shows you how little I was being paid".

However, setting up as a home-based contractor had some disadvantages from Roz's perspective, and she was especially concerned about two issues: the lack of technical support and the lack of contact with professional colleagues in terms of team work. Because Roz had moved to database work and away from her background in health, she found setting up the computer environment she needed for the business difficult, and emphasised that "one of the most difficult things is doing things beyond my sphere of expertise and not having immediate access and free access to technical support" (673). Setting up the modem access which was essential for the database contract was one example of this problem, where Roz missed the support of in-house technicians. She found she had problems "getting people to help me sort it out", especially given the relatively remote location of the Jeffs's "lifestyle block" property (32). She felt that trying to buy equipment and get technical support as a self-employed home-based worker was like being a "tiny little fish in a huge sea trying to get service" (673).

A second disadvantage concerned Roz's dissatisfaction with the isolation of home-based work as a "people person" who enjoyed networking with professional colleagues, which she felt she was "not going to get with home-based work" (663). Roz thought she was a "good team member and player" and "got a real buzz" out of facilitating team work, yet found that as a contractor she no longer "felt part" of a network of "peer, professional contact" (50). Developing new networks and maintaining links with previous colleagues "just to stay in contact" was thus a priority for Roz, who was aware that her ability to sustain teleworking in the longer term was in question "because of missing the people" contact (40). She said:

> one thing that would stop me carrying on is the aloneness of it, that you're out there doing it on your own and you know damn well that there are lots of other people, but how do you get hold of these people? (675).

By the time of the follow-up interview in 1995, Roz had successfully established a cooperative working group of four other teleworkers who were supporting each other by sub-contracting to each other elements of their different but complementary skills. The group hoped to set up a shared telephone receptionist in a local town for their businesses which remain were to home-based, intending to split the costs of this wage between them so they could avoid overusing their answer phones, which they perceived to be off-putting to clients. When I asked if this group acted as a support network in terms of the isolation of teleworking that Roz had feared in 1993, she indicated that she did not have time to use

them in this way because "the day is so short I don't sit around and talk a lot". Roz was aware that "every hour I take out of the working day ... I have to make up at night", and she now sought sociability through contacts with clients during the course of her work, rather than colleagues.

Roz Keeping a "Toe in Her Career"

The issue of Roz's relationship to her work was framed somewhat complexly for her and reflected her rejection of the organisation, her high level of qualifications, her interest in her work, and her primary commitment to her children. Jill thought she had realigned her previous commitment to her career when she married and had children, and that from that time her work was "certainly second fiddle" to her commitment to her family. However, the clarity of this position was juxtaposed against Roz's desire *not* to be a full-time mother and to retain a stakehold in the workforce and in professional life. She said:

> I'm not like a super career person, though most people would say that I am, but I know I need to have a toe, maybe a foot, or, certainly not both feet, but a toe in my career (234).

The vacillation in Roz's response as to how much of her metaphorical body she wanted to devote to her career was a reflection of the complexity of this issue in her life. She had one clear and decisive awareness; that she "did not want to give up (paid) work completely". She intended to "get her teeth into a full-time position" as soon as the family was "settled", expecting that she would continue to work into her fifties and sixties (234). In this sense, like Pam and Jill, Roz actively positioned herself as "not" like her parents or her sisters, that is, "full-time at home looking after children" (234). However Roz's responsibilities for the children and the house also precluded a more active engagement with her career at that stage in the children's lives, so she described herself as "treading water" with her career, in that she was "keeping up to date with things but not progressing" (236).

Roz felt that during this stage in her career, her qualifications acted as her "insurance policy to stay in the workforce" and that as someone with an unusually high level of qualifications in her field, she felt reasonably confident that she could find employment. Roz had, for example, been approached by two different organisations to take on senior management positions which she thought showed "how hard up" her area of expertise in health was for "leaders" with postgraduate qualifications (266). However, Roz did not feel that she could be complacent about her relatively good labour market position, because she was aware that more and more students were doing higher degrees and that her qualifications would no

longer be unusual (292). She said:

> I also recognise that I have to keep, I'll have to keep at it, I mean I can't just sit back and rest on my laurels, yeah. Check out for five years and still expect to get out there to work, get a job in five years time (284).

Ben concurred with this view of Roz's position and indicated that he felt Roz needed to "keep her hand in professionally ... keep up-to-date with technological advances' (25). Roz did not share want to the experience of her former colleague who had been out of the paid workforce completely and suffered extreme "loss of confidence" in her difficult attempts to return to it, which Roz had found "quite, quite amazing" (26). Similarly Roz had told 'child free', career orientated friends that "having children reduces your commitment to work" which "scared the hell out of them", a sentiment they were surprised to hear from Roz who they considered as work focused as themselves (573).

For Ben the outcome of these competing concerns was an attempt to find a "balance between what is good for (their) family and what is good for Roz", where finding the balance of Roz's needs as an individual and the family's needs was focused on modifying Roz's involvement in paid employment, rather than changing Ben's commitments to domesticity (26). Striking this balance thus involved limiting Roz's paid employment, and she described her teleworking contracts as "doing little bits and pieces" (94). This description also matched Ben's sense of Roz's work; it did not impact on the division of domestic labour or space from his perspective.

This sense of Roz's telework as "little" also reflected her particular feelings of incipient boredom and the limited creativity of the database work she was engaged in. More than any other teleworker in this study, Roz was not intrinsically interested in a significant portion of the work she did and thought it involved "pretty marginal creativity, problem solving, the modern sort" (376). Roz felt that she would get "bored stiff" updating the database; the "challenge" for her was in setting it up, after which time she thought she would subcontract the inputting to someone else (120). However, this sense of being bored with the routine side of the database work did not extend to the issue of working with the computer per se, which she saw as a "very valuable tool" (635). Roz felt that she "expressed (herself) much better using the computer" and that she "really got a lot out of it, I'm addicted in a word". When I questioned Roz about the use of the word "addiction" she clarified that she did not use the machine "for the sake of using the computer" and that she was "not so much addicted" as "dependent on having a computer" (637). The computer she had to use for her telework was not entirely satisfactory however, because the organisations who contracted

her chose to provide her with their own machine and then reduce the cost of the contract (76). This situation had not proved very satisfactory because it was "old gear and not compatible" (76), and she wanted a more powerful computer to set up modem access to the database (84).

Ben was looking forward to this technical development in Roz's work, so that he could use the modem when he worked at night or chose to work at home during the day. Although Roz never mentioned this as a possibility, he indicated that "we have no problems about doing this" (34). In some senses Ben's assumption that he could use equipment provided by Roz's contract may have been a reflection of his multiple status as both Roz's partner and one of the stakeholders in the database contract. He was the database representative in one organisation involved in the contract, and Roz was, according to him, "working for our organisation" in addition to a number of others (57). Roz mentioned this as a positive element of the work in that she could talk to Ben about the database, but emphasised that she "never let it influence" her (573).

Earning an Income and Economic Dependence

Like Jill East-Land, Roz Jeffs was more focused on the financial rewards of her telework than the intrinsic rewards of developing a business from home, which were significant for Pam Brody. This in part reflected Roz's different aspirations to Pam's, where she was more attracted to being "head hunted" back into organisational employment at a senior management level once the children were older rather than 'running her own business'. Roz felt there were not "too many opportunities for challenging, stimulating part-time work at the level I'm wanting", but that taking on full-time work was not yet a possibility because it would require a "reevaluation of the whole situation" (663). Roz thus thought of herself as in a transitional period in terms of her "definition of career" (260), and wanted the paid work she did do to compensate her well for the time it took away from the children, the house and "property development" tasks, that is, developing the small block of land surrounding the house.

Roz felt she was in a "strong bargaining position" in relation to the contract bids she had put in for database work, and had felt that whether she made it a springboard into further home-based work or not, "it would just be nice to have some money" rather than be totally economically dependent on Ben's income (84). Because it "didn't matter" if she "got contracts or not", she "loaded' her bid for the eight hour contract in terms of including her own training needs and child care fees, and she described it as "exceptionally padded" (80) and was somewhat surprised that the organisation "bought it", a situation undoubtedly

assisted by Ben's dual role as Roz's partner and a contract stakeholder (80). She and Ben had been clear that they didn't have the resources to set Roz up at home without being funded to do so in terms of computing equipment (84), and Roz was aware that she wanted to be compensated for the costs of child care that taking on paid work necessitated (153).

This position of "dictating her own terms" was thus facilitated by Roz's awareness that she could rely on Ben's large and regular income and his status as the family's "breadwinner" to finance their household. Interestingly, Ben had himself experienced two years of self-employment and "earned so little money it wasn't funny", making him cautious about investing money into Roz's small business unless he was "pretty sure it was going to be successful" (14). Ben appreciated the "greater disposable income" the family experienced because of Roz's telework (25), and because the couple's finances were "totally enmeshed" Ben was "enjoying spending" the money Roz generated through her telework on "property development" (85).

On Time and 'Not Being Available 24 Hours a Day'

Roz's organisation of time was tightly focused around balancing the needs of the business and the family. She wanted periods away from the children when they were in care and to be able to spend time focused on being with them. Her primary work days were thus limited to Thursdays (for database clients) and Fridays, in addition to two nights a week and four to five hours spread over both days of the weekend. Roz had consciously worked on writing a contract that limited the database work to these two days, and "refused to have a mobile phone" (208). She spoke extensively about the firmness of the temporal boundary she created around the work:

> I've limited my availability, I've limited the amount of what my contract is, what I'm promising, so I'm not available 24 hours a day. I'm not saying I'm available out there ... I'm not excusing the fact that I have young children here and they know if they ring other than Thursdays then I'm liable to be only half there. So yeah, potentially there could have been a lot of disadvantages, if I hadn't been very clear about what I was able to do (212).

Roz's clarity about the limits of her availability when she tendered for contracts allowed her to dictate a clear separation of her 'work' and 'family' times. She felt this reflected a broader change in her priorities from when she was a single career person who "worked every spare minute", to being married and having children where "home simply got more important and I got much better at saying 'no' and containing my work" (216).

Roz managed her teleworking time by placing the children in care on her work days and working at a high intensity in the hours they were gone from the house, such that she felt she was "more productive" at home but working "less hours" (334). She usually began her work days by driving the children to day care in a nearby town and then sometimes staying in town for meetings or using the time to shop in an attempt to minimise the time she had to spend commuting (326). She then returned home and ritually started her telework with cash balancing and the in-tray, followed by a goal setting exercise for the day so that she could reach that goal and "have a break" (338). Roz was aware that when working at home "intensively", breaks became more important because time wasn't broken up by colleagues dropping by as it had been in the organisation (360). These breaks included the highly organised system of expressing breast milk she developed for the days when baby Sally was in care. She liked to "keep a week ahead of herself" (338) in terms of this task, and found that the discomfort of her breasts would remind her that she'd been "sitting engrossed in (work)" without taking a break and needed to express some more milk (366). Additionally, the demands of breastfeeding made Roz feel hungrier so that when she was "feeding (her) body and (her) body was feeding the baby" she took breaks to have morning and afternoon tea, which she would not have done within the organisation (397). At the end of the day Roz would clear the desk she shared with Ben in the home-office and "pack away" (461) her work, and then "reward" herself with time in the garden to "get messy and clear the air" before she picked up the children (356).

Roz, like Jill, was aware that with such small children she did not have an option to focus on her work outside of the hours she devoted to it to meet client deadlines. She needed to "keep at it" because if she got behind she could not "lock herself in that office and work (her) butt off" (296). She did however "allow" the work to move into night time (on the two evenings when the home-office was 'hers' and not Ben's) because she sometimes used Thursday mornings "for her" by doing errands, shopping or visiting the library while she was in town and without the children (141). The other strategy Roz used if she needed to work outside of Thursdays and Fridays, was to "steal time" when the children were asleep during the week, when she would decide between a number of competing possibilities what she would do with this precious resource. She said:

> I have to make that decision, do I do some work or do I go and do something for me or do I go out on the garden, whatever. Then if I decide I will work I feel mutter, mutter, mutter, mutter, I would much rather not be working ... I'd much rather be sitting with my feet up, reading a good book, then I feel sort of a bit peeved off, but then I also know that I've got to do it, so (370).

Ben provided a different, although complementary account of Roz's use of work time and the intensity of her working patterns. Ben felt that Roz got "carried away" with particular tasks and felt both admiration for her concentration which he thought was "far superior" to his own, and frustration at the way Roz delayed going to bed or promised to come to bed and then would still be working an hour later (52). However, Ben mediated how much he was willing to intervene in these situations because although Roz could not catch up on sleep during the day because of the children, he felt that these rhythms reflected "her work procedures". He would go as far as telling her to "make a point" of going to bed early the next night, but otherwise respected her "business procedures" (53).

The issue of time in the Jeffs's household did not so much concern the problem of Roz's work encroaching on 'private' time within their household, but rather the number of different demands upon her time. Some temporal boundaries in the Jeffs's household were fluid, like the boundary between working at night and sleep time; others more rigid, like never answering the phone at night after the couple had gone upstairs to their bedroom (54). Time for work, for the children, for the partnership, Ben's study and property development, were all allocated and organised between the couple in an attempt to do many things, but not to miss out on any one part.

Negotiating Home-Office Space

In addition to time, another carefully negotiated resource in the Jeffs household, was the home-office space, which was located adjacent to the lounge and baby Sally's nursery. Although the house itself was large the room used as a home-office was too small for both Roz and Ben to work in at the same time; it only accommodated one desk which they both used. They thus had certain allocated nights when they had exclusive rights to use the home-office and the computer provided for Roz's database work, although they also renegotiated these nights as required, a process which Ben described in typically 'strategic' terms:

> we discuss each others' commitments for the next four or five hours and how we are going to achieve it, so in that respect one of us may forego actually using a particular resource in order to allow the other one to complete what they are doing (61).

Roz and Ben both felt this arrangement worked reasonably well although Roz was "training" Ben to tidy away his work after he used the office, in preparation for her taking possession of the space the following night, an issue they had "negotiated" because Ben was "not a naturally tidy person on that score" (625). For Roz this clearing away ritual was a significant

way of marking the end of her day, the accomplishment of her goals and her transition into partnering or parenting, noting that she "got to where I want to get and (the work) goes away ... I don't have these white elephants sitting on my desk" (427). Indeed for Roz this practice, in combination with shutting the door of the home-office, worked extremely well to "get rid" of the work, in addition to not using the space for any other purpose (421).

From Ben's perspective, Roz's work was not encroaching on home space and he described it as "in a little corner" (75). He was himself attracted to the idea of running a home-based business in the future, but was aware that doing so could become a "bit stressful" especially if they had "clients and customers coming in and taking over the house". This situation would require the relocation of the business "elsewhere" according to Ben (93). Ben felt such spatial separations would be important if Roz continued with the home-based work, such as relocating the home-office in a separate "workshop" so that the couple could "separate out the lifestyle from the home-based work" (75).

Being With and Being Away From the Children

The division of caring labour in the Jeff's house was fairly clearly delineated as Roz's responsibility outside of the paid care Roz organised for the children. In part the mixture of paid care and care provided by Roz was a response to an earlier experience when Roz was still working three days a week in the organisation, with Joss in care every day of the week, which Ben thought was "quite stressful on Joss" (24). Roz's restricted hours were thus an outcome of the way this earlier arrangement had not worked, while both arrangements left Ben's hours in the organisation unchanged.

Roz's attitude to child care was to use the money she generated from her telework to buy care for the children outside of the house for these two days per week, and then to spend time completely with them on another day of the week. The weekly pattern of child care thus parallelled the work cycle. When Roz was teleworking on Thursdays and Fridays the children were in care all day, on Tuesdays Roz was with them all day at home and did not telework, while on Monday and Wednesday mornings the children went to playcentre and Roz has time to herself or the business (561). In response to a question about whether Roz would consider being a mother at home full-time she responded with a clear "no, I need my career" but she enjoyed this mixed pattern of time with the children and time to work, noting that on Tuesdays she "just totally enjoyed being at home" (511) and devoting herself to play activities and not having "anything to do with work" (521).

Roz felt that she ideally wanted to have "major chunks" of work time when the children were not in the house so that she could "focus", because when the children were in the house they were her "primary" responsibility (493). She was annoyed when clients called her at times when the children were awake and at home, especially if the baby was crying, and was irritated at callers' lack of awareness about children. She said:

> They keep talking as if there's nothing wrong, I get the impression that they don't understand that I really should go and look after the baby and not worry about them. I usually get the feeling that this person obviously hasn't got children, or they've got older children and they forget what it's like (308).

Roz's attitude was in marked contrast to Pam Brody's feeling that if callers made concessions because the baby was crying in the background, they were being "patronising". Rather, Roz wanted to keep 'work' and 'home' separate as much as she could because she was aware of the demanding nature of both. Roz thus used teleworking and the money it generated to take "the pressure off" herself in terms of "meeting the needs of two children", and saw herself as "just purely doing it for the time out" (180-2). Roz emphasised that without including the cost of child care into her contract, she "couldn't have done (the work)" (150) because the care of the children was almost entirely her responsibility.

Ben's responsibilities for the children were limited to taking time with them at the end of the day and during the weekends. Ben felt that "if Roz could get a job that paid better than (his)" then he would be at home with the children, and that the division of caring labour was purely a "economic thing" (101). However Roz had been offered two such jobs and hadn't taken them because it would have disrupted Ben's career. A number of other comments Ben made about care giving suggested that he struggled at times to "meet the children's needs as a father", and thought he would find being the primary carer difficult when he reflected on a friend's experience of doing so:

> I got the impression the husband wasn't taking it very well, in that he's a bit like me, you know, he's a 'doer' and he was finding it really frustrating, from the point of view that he's an achiever and here were the children and he wasn't able to get things done (101).

Ben remembered his experience of spending four weeks at home 'developing the property' where he had found Joss's presence an "impediment" and "incredibly frustrating" because the two-year-old did not want to do "chore after chore" (39). Ben thought that in contrast to his own "struggles" Roz had an "extraordinary rapport" with the children and an

"uncanny ability just to switch into them" (35), which he also used as a justification for his own lack of assistance with the children. He recounted a conversation he had with Roz about his going out to work and leaving her with the children:

> she said "you must breathe a sigh of relief when you drive down the driveway" and I would have to be honest and say that's true. Because I'm usually rushing in the morning. I get up, I try and get Joss to brush his teeth with me, but if he doesn't I just keep going, because inevitably I'm, quarter to eight, we work eight to five, although my hours aren't fixed, but I just try by virtue of my standing to be there at eight o'clock and I have breakfast and I'm out the door. Roz must think I'm deserting her at times, but as I say she has an incredible rapport with children (36).

Ben felt he "needed to be" involved with the children and that he did not know how families coped where the man worked, went out to "Rotary Club" and the "mother and wife did the whole thing" (86). In their family, according to Ben, he and Roz saw the child rearing as a "partnership" where Ben also had a part to play (86). For example, Roz said they were "working toward" Ben taking the children to care in the mornings "depending on what he's got on" so that Roz could "get straight into it at 8.00 am" and thus extend her teleworking time (326). This did not in fact eventuate in the three years I knew the Jeffs and underscored how the "partnership" largely rested on Ben providing certain structured care for Joss on the weekends when Roz asked him to. In addition, Ben occasionally came home to care for the children for "short, irregular periods" while Roz attended on-site meetings, an experience he sited as the only disadvantage of Roz's telework (29). Although Roz could not avoid these on-site commitments, she usually organised them around the children's nap time, during which Ben could by his own estimation "still be productive workwise" (31). Roz did not use Ben as a 'back-up' caregiver when she was sick, and although his organisation had 'domestic leave' provisions she didn't "envisage having to actually use (them)" (575).

The division of caring labour in the Jeffs's household was thus the outcome of a number of factors including the priority the both gave to Ben's career, their reliance on his income and the couple's gendered expectations of one another and themselves. Also critical was Ben's expressed sense of resistance about performing caring work and his acknowledgement of how difficult he found it. He said:

> Boy I don't know how some people hack two kids every day of the week at home, boxed up with them, boy! It's a real hard task and I wouldn't blame some mothers for getting suburban neurosis, you know, I could see it happening (27).

Housework and 'Smart Meals'

In the Jeffs's household, housework was almost entirely Roz's responsibility. They had no paid help to clean the house because Roz perceived that "it's really easy to keep this place clean and we're not that finickity" (194). Roz insisted that the Jeffs's house was not a "show home", and that she was "not concerned" if she didn't do the housework because the house was "not dirty, but it's not spotlessly clean". My observation of the house was that it was very tidy with none of the toys and scattered domestic paraphernalia I expect from the households of those with small children, although this may have been a response to my visits (475). Roz limited the housework on her teleworking days to "minimal" activities such as doing the washing, pursuing other household tasks outside of this time (447).

Ben's role in the housework was orientated toward "property development" and the 'lifestyle' associated with it, and he noted that Roz did the housework before the weekends because according to Ben she "recognises that I value my weekends" (982). Ben indicated that he had "no qualms" about doing cleaning as part of the "maintenance contract" associated with the house and he had done such housework before he married Roz, but that now she took the majority of responsibility for this work (83). Roz was aware of this responsibility and wondered aloud in an interview if Ben expected a "really smart meal" on Thursdays because she had been home all day without the children (525). She decided not, but noted that the "household falls to bits" (216) if she was not organised, because caring for it and the children was considered her responsibility. She said:

> as much as Ben is a tremendous support, I know that at the end of the day it's me that keeps the household ticking over, and it's me that, if I'm stressed out or upset then that, I mean the kids are just awful. And then it just goes zzzzz, goes on down ... I knew I had to keep things manageable (228).

Three different patterns of organising domestic and caring labour are thus present in these case studies so far: Pam hired Kay as an assistant with the business and as a "second mother" within the house so that both of them worked on these tasks interchangeably; Jill focused entirely on her telework and delegated all of the domestic and caring labour to other paid assistants for intermittent periods followed by other periods of full-time caregiving; and Roz limited the telework to two dedicated days per week when the children were in care, in addition to performing the majority of the housework and child care outside of these times. For these three women, managing the care of 'their' infant children was a critical component of their teleworking while for Nora, Nina and Tess, their status as mothers of

school age and teenage children significantly mediated and lessened this element of domesticity.

'Couple Time' and Leisure Time

From Roz's perspective the advantage for Ben of her telework was that he had a "happier wife". In part this was a result of her being able to have some 'time out' from the children as discussed above (585), in part because she did not come home complaining about the organisation because she was "so, so pissed off" with the management that she needed to "moan, moan, moan, moan, moan, moan" to Ben. Now that she worked at home Ben no longer needed to support Roz in this way because she felt she had "no one to moan about" (599). From Roz's perspective the disadvantage for Ben of her telework was the possibility of the telework spilling over into other time, in a household were time was a "pretty tight" and thus a carefully organised resource. Ben had feared when Roz had set up the business that her estimates of the timing of the contract had been "light", and that the telework would "encroach on other time" and would "get too much" (591). While Roz acknowledged that this was a cause of concern and could "cause tension", she felt there were still "pockets" of time that could be used if the work 'spilled over' such as night time, without this becoming a problem between them.

One of the areas that appeared to be of immediate concern when Roz took on telework was protecting time the two of them could spend together as a couple without the children. Typical of the Jeffs's household, Roz was highly organised in her relationship with Ben, so that like the telework and the child care it too was allocated time and given priority in a structured way within their weekly routine. Roz and Ben enjoyed each other's company, but Roz felt that because they were very focused on their work at home, including paid work, child care, study and property development, they risked not going out enough and "becoming total hermits" (607). The couple had realised once they had a second child and Roz took on the home-based work that they were spending less time together, and they subsequently "negotiated" spending Friday nights as a couple, in the same way as they negotiated time in the home-office for their respective work.

If time to relate as a couple was organised in a structured manner in the Jeffs' household, then so too was leisure. Roz was the only teleworker I spoke to who, when asked what first came to mind when she thought of her home-based work, conjured up an image of herself "sitting out on the deck having lunch on a fine day", a form of "flexibility" that teleworking allowed her (131). On her work days, Roz also "disciplined" herself to "limit the length of (her) long lunch hours", followed Roz's statements about "flexibility" were usually quickly

followed in her narrative by statements about "discipline" (298). Roz also hoped in the future to use the flexibility of teleworking time to go for runs and regain her fitness, because she felt she had to be physically fit "if I'm going to work hard" (387).

If Roz kept a fairly strong boundary between her telework and the housework on her two paid work days, then the garden was more of a "distraction" given its intermediary status as a leisure pursuit, a means of "developing the property" and thus increasing its resale value, and as a form of 'work' associated with owning the land. The property was relatively large and the Jeffs had developed three acres of garden, with plans for a swimming pool, as part of their vision of their future "lifestyle" (202). For Ben this included the "dream" of a time when they could "sit back and enjoy the whole thing", inviting friends to the property for meals and swimming, a "dream of something we can be proud of" (72). Developing an extensive garden was a key component of this dream as well as an outlet for Roz's creativity (202), a drain on "any spare bit of money" (204), and a "distraction" from the telework (477). The gardening was thus a 'serious' leisure pursuit that had a 'structured' quality like other elements of the Jeffs's life. As an indication of this, Ben talked about their "development plans" and being "a winter ahead" (64) with their plantings, indicating the highly organised, project orientated way they both approached this 'hobby'.

Seeking "Balance" in the Context of an Expanding Business

Both Roz and Ben felt that they could both end up in senior management positions in their respective fields and both were aware of the stress that would put them under, including a fear in Ben's case of suffering from a heart attack (106). Their desire for 'balance' was thus a response to both this fear and their aspirations, in terms of all they hoped to achieve and all they had taken on. Roz expressed this in terms of seeking a "balance" between paid work, bringing up the children, study, developing the property, and developing the relationship (68).

Achieving this balance was not easy, however, and by 1995 Roz's home-based business had expanded to three days per week and had a $50,000 a year turnover, out of which came Roz's expenses and the cost of an administrator she had employed on a part-time basis. Making money from the business had increased as a priority for Roz and she now felt that the reason she worked was for the "extra income"; she diverted income she generated directly into long term savings, insurances and lump-sum mortgage payments. The Jeffs did not want to rely on Roz's home-based earnings, however, and Roz felt that if the work were to suddenly "dry up", they had budgeted so they could still live within Ben's income.

The family had also expanded, and Roz had a four-month-old baby who she kept at home with her when she teleworked while the other children went to care. Despite her earlier resistance to combining caregiving and telework, Roz thought this arrangement was "working well". Roz had strengthened her self-definition as a mother by the time of the interview in 1995, affirming that her "priority" was being there for the children, and was "very definite" about "being the person who takes (the children) to care or collects them". The earlier possibility of Ben taking the children to care to allow Roz to have a longer teleworking day was no longer suggested in Roz's narration of their situation, although she still wanted "an eight to five day" and to start a bit earlier.

Roz did not work every night, but she was aware that "when I'm working, I'm working, every minute is precious". Roz occasionally worked until one or two in the morning to finish a project, despite her earlier aversion to doing so and despite her need to care for three pre-school children early the next morning. The scarcity of time in Roz's life had intensified as both the business and the family grew, and there was now no room for the expansion of the work into other times. She emphasised that "when it gets uncomfortable is when there's deadlines and there's no room in that system to work longer".

Roz hoped that in the future the family would go and live overseas for a period so she could pursue specialist studies which she had been interested since our first meeting in 1993, although the children were still young enough for this to be difficult to envisage. At the time of my last contact with Roz in 1995 this element of her plans had not yet eventuated, and Ben continued to work full-time for the same organisation that had employed him in during our first meeting. Although every minute was precious to Roz she still took breaks out on the sunny verandah of the house and was clear that in their household, telework had proven for both her and Ben to be a "good compromise".

IV. Nora Jolly

Nora Jolly, along with Nina Todd and Tess Flowers, were all women who had taken significant periods away from paid work to care for their families, and unlike Pam, Jill and Roz were, when I met them, mothers of teenage children. Nora had followed her partner's employment from place to place for the first fifteen years of their married life, and had given up a career as a teacher when she and Nathan had children. Nora felt that it was now "her turn" to have a career:

> (Nathan) has probably given more to me than I have given him careerwise, and yet I think we both justified it in the sense that ... we've been married for twenty years

and he has really only been doing this for the last five. But for the first five we were married I just trailed around the country after him ... and then I stayed at home with the kids for seven or eight years and so. That is how I guess we justify it to each other, that I was due for some time to be a bit selfish ... But we were still setting up a home-based business so that I could be around, so I suppose that I wasn't being *totally* selfish (768-770).

The decision to run a home-based business developed after the Jollys' two children, Rose and Mara, began school, were Nora felt "bored" and took a job as a cleaner in Nathan's workplace (18). A manager recognised that Nora's qualifications prepared her for more than cleaning work and offered her a part-time job setting up a desktop publishing system for the organisation (18). Nora was "self taught" and enjoyed the work more than other part-time jobs she had experienced, when Nathan's career required that the family move again. At this juncture Nora thought "rather than go and work for somebody else, I'd slaved all those long hours teaching myself, I'd set up something for myself, and so I basically set up business but *for me*".

In 1989 Nora began a desktop publishing and secretarial services business on the dining room table, because she felt that Mara and Rose were still "quite young" (seven and nine years old respectively) and she didn't want to work "away from home" (25). The Jollys had a commitment "as a unit" that *either* Nora or Nathan would be at home "for the children" (692), but it was a commitment that Nora fulfilled on the basis that Nathan was the family's "breadwinner", had a regular wage, and earned significantly more than Nora (670). Nora was also aware of the limited opportunity for highly skilled and highly paid *part-time* work and mentioned the "restrictive" nature of the work available to her (590) which she saw as limited to "stocking supermarket shelves" or her previous experience of cleaning (36).

Nora began the business modestly with a computer, printer and desk purchased with family money (31). One of her first major obstacles to setting up the business was to retrieve the money she invested in an unsuitable computer, involving her in a Small Claims Tribunal dispute with the firm that sold it to her. She eventually fought and won, salvaging all but $1,000 of her original investment (819). Having secured an appropriate machine, her next task was to generate a clientele and on Nathan's advice she placed an advertisement in the Yellow Pages of the phone book and visited local organisations offering the desktop publishing services of her "professional business based in a residential location" (3).

Despite this description of the business as "professional", Nora felt on reflection that at this stage she was "just playing with marketing", was only working "half days" (21), and that

she wasn't running a "*real* business" (3). This intital phase ended after only six months when the business had built up enough so that Nora could sub-contract elements of the routine typing work to students employed after school and at night. They would "belt in a whole lot of text" at the dining-room table, which Nora would then work on during the day with desktop publishing software (29). Nora invested in a fax to allow clients to proof-read work at a distance, alleviating the need for her to constantly leave the house to drop off or collect work (40), and by the end of 1989 she had also bought a modem with the financial support of a regular client who wanted her to be "more accessible" (217).

During this first year of the business Nora was also significantly "accessible" in terms of being involved in the children's schools, and pushed work into the night and weekends in order "fit around the kids". By the end of the year the intensity of the work had already begun to preclude such activities and Nora felt that "it was a bit like getting on a treadmill and I just got busier and busier" (27). By January 1990, Nora was working full-time, had purchased a second computer so she and her assistants could work simultaneously, and offered Lora, her primary assistant, full-time work, which she described as a "really big step" in terms of the cost to the business of a full-time wage (52).

The transition to employing Lora full-time also required a change of location for the business from the dining room table as as the whole family were beginning to complain about the business's intrusion into their home. Clients who came to proof-read text would, according to Nathan, "wander in through the middle of the house" while he watched television, creating tension because they "would come sauntering in as if they owned the place, because during the day *they did* and no one was here and so it didn't matter, and that's why we built the separate office" (706).

In addition to deciding to convert the garage into an office, Nathan also built a high fence around the living room balcony that had often been mistaken as an entranceway by clients, in order to protect the family's privacy (35). The plan to create a dedicated home office also suited Nora who felt uncomfortable with the "stigma" of working inside the house, apologising to clients because it wasn't a "real" business such as those that ran "in town" (99). Nora was also increasingly unhappy with the way the function of the dining room itself was intermingled with her work: she could "never get away" from it, such as when guests came for dinner and they "ate 'in the office', and just pushed all of the computers (aside)" (85). As a result of all of these concerns, the Jollys remodelled their garage into a home-office in time for Lora's commencement of duties in January 1990, undertaking the work themselves using a $10,000 gift from Nora's father and $5,000 of their own money.

The transition of the garage into a dedicated home-office was a significant improvement for Nora. Clients stopped coming inside the house, which was "the biggest joy" (77), and employing Lora full-time helped Nora to "create a more business-like environment" (91). This 'environment' included building separate toilet facilities at the back of the home-office, but no "tearoom" so that Lora and subsequent assistants would eat their lunch in the kitchen or in the home-office which used to "bug (Nora) a wee bit" (113). In 1990 Nora also had a PABX phone system installed with two lines, one of which was exclusively dedicated to the business, and the other designated 'domestic' use although this line carried the overflow of work faxes and phone calls (77). The next year the business was 'caught" by the power authority, after which time Nora had to pay commercial rates for the power she used for the business, which was metered separately from the house (316). By the end of 1992 Nora had two full-time assistants working in the home-office, thirty regular customers constituting half of all her business, a large 'casual' clientele and an annual turnover for the 1992-1993 financial year of $110,000.

Throughout this period, Nathan's work had also been undergoing some significant changes and by the end of 1992 he had made the decision to accept voluntary redundancy from the organisation he worked for as a scientist to set up a partnership with a former colleague. In January 1993, a month before the first interview, Nora and Nathan moved into a shared office space in the city in order to minimise overheads and share the cost of a receptionist. In this sense Nora's narrative is unique in the study as someone who had established a highly successful business from home but who no longer worked from home, and her interviews and those of her family were characterised by a candid and critical appreciation of her five years as a teleworker; an appreciation facilitated by the fact that she no longer worked in this way.

Not Being a "Career Woman"

Nora did not feel she was a "career woman" and that it was "important" to her to be a mother and wife, a "role" with which she was "comfortable" (176). Alongside of this awareness ran Nora's sense that although the children came first at present, if through accident or disability they were to become more dependent on her again, she would "stop work" in town (because "what mother wouldn't?") and "start another home-based business and carry on" (174). Nora thus identified as "not a career woman", and yet not "only" a wife and mother. She felt that she could not mix being a *"real* career woman" with being a "mother and housewife", which she associated with following positions within organisations to different locations as Nathan had done (680). Nora established a home-based business so that she could work and generate income and also "be there" for the two children, but felt

that she wouldn't have set up the home-based business with "little kids" because of the demands the business made upon her time (744).

Nora felt a sense of satisfaction at "self-determining" her working life because she had made a "conscious decision" to establish a business at home. Although she did not identify herself as a "women's libber" (beyond destroying all business letters addressed "Dear Sir" before she read them), she felt that many women did "not really enjoy" their paid work, whereas:

> if you make the conscious decision to work at home, I'm thinking from a women's perspective, you have sorted through all the things like how are you going to fit it in with your kids, your family and your home and so what you are actually doing you *really* want to do (299).

Nora had additionally organised her working life so that the work she did was enjoyable, delegating data entry work she found boring to other people (340). Nora thus perceived herself as not a "wage slave' but as someone who had actively crafted a business out of the combination of her circumstances and skill base (302).

The Important Boundary Between 'Home' and 'Work'

Building a dedicated home-office had been a significant transition for Nora, and she was aware that when clients visited her they were surprised by the appearance of the home office and would "almost say, oh wow this is a real office, isn't it?" (99). Nora had organised the space so that there was room for three desks and three computers for her and her two assistants, a printer, fax, modem, photocopier, a phone system, typewriter and guillotine; equipment she estimated as costing $40,000 in 1993 (832). Nora had not decorated the office beyond the functional requirement of installing carpet and painting the walls, and Nathan eventually bought a framed poster to decorate the space. It was otherwise bare except for a little sign Nora had put up saying "How many things can I get away with and still get to heaven?" (19). Nora felt that her home- office was "just the same as a real office" (107) and that its appearance distinguished it from enterprises that were "just playing at running a business" or "hick little backyard operations" (99). Despite this her brother still joked that it was "amazing what you can do with a funny old tin shed" (103), and clients commented that they had never seen "pigeon holes in the garage" (103).

The movement of the business out of the dining room and into the home-office set up in the garage had an added significance for Nora because it provided her with a certain distance from the business, so that she could make the physical and mental transition from 'work' to

Home

Dad

Home

Gemel

Office

Emma Worthy
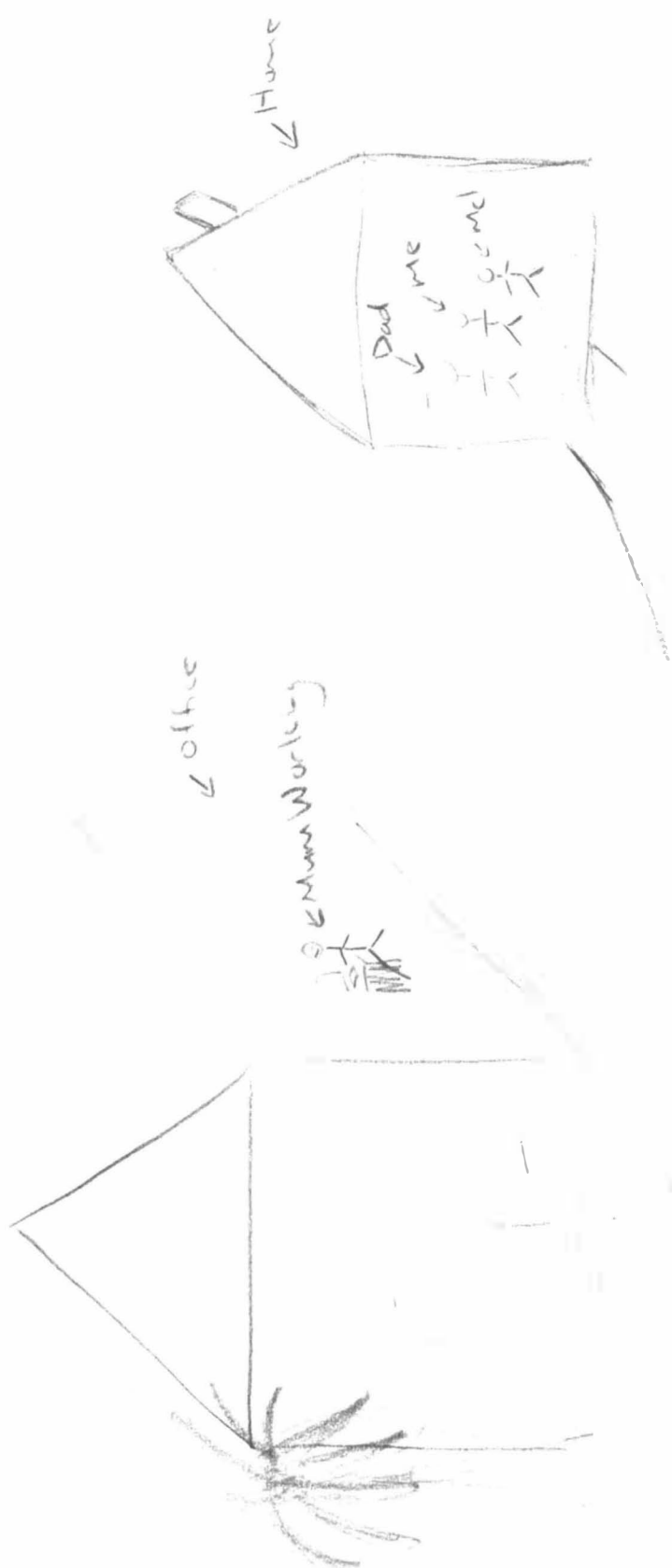
'home' by at least locking the door and taking "ten paces inside" (85). Nora's daughter Rose (who was nine years old at the time) similarly commented on the difference moving her mother's business out of the dining room and into the garage had made for her, emphasising that "the office was the office, and I suppose it made a barrier, because when Mum was in the office she was in work mode and when Mum came 'home' it was quite good" (31).

The importance of this physical space between the house and the home-office was represented in Rose's drawing by a long pathway between the house and the office, although the space that separated them was no more than three metres (see drawing opposite). Interestingly, Rose drew the size of the home-office much larger than the house, when in reality it was probably no more than twenty percent of the size, perhaps suggesting the relative importance of the business as a locus of household activity. Rose depicted Nora frowning at the computer inside the home-office, while the rest of the family stood, faceless, in the centre of the house, similarly suggesting Nora's work focus and concentration.

If for Rose these ten paces from the kitchen door to the home-office were represented by a long pathway and were significant as the physical boundary in Nora's own testimony, they were not a *sufficient* 'barrier' to the work in the longer term. Nora spoke of "never getting away from the work", of rising from the desk at 11.00 pm and jumping into bed while she was "still in work mode" (352). Nora felt that "home and work were all mixed up together" so that "work is home and home is work, even when we were out in the office" (148). For Nora the more negative side of this scenario was her sense of herself as "a watered down mixture" of her "work person" and her "home person" (362), so that she could never completely relax at home because her work was always present, and never completely concentrate on her work because she was constantly reminded of home by the physical presence of the children and the house.

Nora felt in retrospect that with the office just outside of the house it was "too convenient" to "just pop out and work and finish things", and that when she moved all of the computers into her office in town a month before the first interview, she was "enjoying that bit of freedom from (the work)" (873). It was harder to justify "wandering" into the office at night now that she had to "physically get in the car and go back in" (2). Nathan concurred with this sentiment and the reclaiming of their home as his "sanctuary" (35), and reflected on the space the business had taken up even after they built the home-office, with filing cabinets in their bedroom and the hot water cupboard devoted to the storage of paper (30). Like Nathan, Nora too was enjoying the separateness of home and work now that she was back

on-site, and felt that she was more "comfortable" at home and that her home was now like a "cocoon" where "no one could get at (her)" (352).

Clients in the House and Offering a 'Superhuman Service'

More than any other business in this study, Nora's required frequent contact with clients, both in person or by phone and fax, to check texts as they were prepared. This issue of clients coming into the house was thus an outcome of the kind of work Nora did *and* the kind of "service" she saw herself as wanting to provide. Nathan described the standard of this service as "bloody awesome", emphasising that one "wouldn't find anybody else so committed to work as she was" (38). Nora described herself as "valuing" her clients and of wanting to "offer them this superhuman service" (726). As an example of "superhuman service", Nora discussed the tendency of clients to pick up work after hours. As they came up the path Nora would think "ooh, I can't be bothered with this", but nevertheless forced herself to be enthusiastic. She said:

> You'd drag yourself to your feet, then you would put on, you'd change your personality and put on this bright smiling face, bounce out the door, nothing would be too much of a problem. And the minute they're sort of gone, you'd just crash (720).

Nora felt that when she worked at home she had to "put on sort of a front"; in this case, an available, cheerful front (362), and felt compelled to work because "it had to be done and I wasn't going to let people down" (187).

An additional complicating factor in this presentation of self was the status of a number of Nora's clients as "more like friends than clients", many of them home-based entrepreneurs like herself. Nora spoke of having an "affection" for these clients (368) and identified with them as small business people who, like herself, were part of the "huge corner of people in society who work really hard". She gave the example of clients to whom she would apologise for calling on Sundays, only to find that "nine times out of ten" they would be working too (182). Nora encapsulated the sense she had of being both aligned with her clients and resenting the intrusion of their presence in the following way:

> Every time someone came up the path, it was almost a feeling of dread in the end, that it would be a client. And that was really what made me decide that I had enough of this (home-based work). But it was nice to see them and to go out there and put

on a smile and nothing was too much trouble, but you would come inside and say "bugger that person, why can't they just leave me alone?" (256).

Over time clients' demands felt more like "real intrusions" than "good business" (360). Nora gave the example of clients phoning to have urgent work done on Sunday afternoons when she was in the garden, and feeling that she "had to say yes", then washing and changing in preparation for their arrival (360). Nora would similarly "pop out" to the home-office if clients called around during family gatherings, a practice that "horrified" her parents and which happened "frequently" (734).

Nora managed backlogs of clients' work by delegating it to her assistants to perform on the weekends while she did other things. On these occasions she felt "trapped in (her) own home" rather than freed to relax, in part because of the guilt she experienced that they were out in the home-office working while she was inside (853). Additionally clients would sometimes ask for her if they found her assistants in the home-office because they could "see me vacuuming or see me in the sun reading a book" (115). Nora thus felt that even when she did try and take time off at home she'd "almost be hiding in my own home", and felt that the family had to go away from home for a break (115, 716). Nora similarly felt that she was hiding in the house from phone calls from clients, and resorted to telling Mara and Rose to lie to clients that she was out. She would then question the girls about who had phoned and often returned the call if it was a regular client, lying again in saying she had just come in and seen the message (331). Nora felt that this lying was out of character and "really bad", but that such practices were necessary in a context where she felt like "a captive in (her) own home" (333).

Nora was aware that now she worked on-site, home was now "home" (115), and while there her clients "weren't still at (her)" (728). Nora felt that the transition to an on-site office had been necessary by 1993, and although it was driven by their changed circumstances, it was also strategic for the family because she:

> got busier and busier and for the family's sanity in the end it was almost too busy and too demanding to run from home, because of my inability to make a distinction between home and work (848).

'Flexible' Time and the Compulsion to Keep Working

If presence of clients in the Jolly household was one implication of the merging of 'home' and 'work' space, then clearly the other was the flexibility of work time. In addition to

Nora's tendency to stop what she was doing to attend to client's needs when they arrived at the doorstep, and the difficulty of anticipating work in advance, was the overall context of the long hours she put into the business on a regular basis (736). Nora tended to rise at 6.00 am and eat breakfast with the family from 7.15 to 7.40 am as the one meal of the day that the family would all "sit around a table together" and the only chance for the children to "get cheques signed and school forms filled out" (476). Usually Nora's breakfast was "interrupted by a client" (478) arriving and she would go out to the office before the children left for school, sometimes returning to the house in the mid-afternoon to find her cereal bowl still sitting where she had left it (270). Nora felt ambivalently about the lack of control she had over the "abrupt"starting of her day and perceived it as "frustrating" that her day began "when (she) wasn't quite ready for it to start" (268).

Nora tended to only sometimes stop for lunch, and worked until 6.00 pm or later, frequently returning to work after a meal from 7.30 pm until 10.00 pm (247). She similarly noted the difficulties of not having a "finishing time", and that what ended her day was either her sense that she had "had enough, bang, crash, shut the door" or some "outside force dragged (her) away from the desk at night", such as the children's needs (276). Nora noticed that her assistants would tell clients that the business closed at 5.00 pm, which was their own finishing time, but they also let clients know that Nora was usually available because she lived "on the premises", which Nora felt gave clients "an out to come at 6.30 or 6.45 pm" (276). Nora was somewhat annoyed that clients took advantage this and picked up work after hours "because they knew I would always be there" (123), coming by at times which suited their schedules rather than hers, such as in the evenings, or on the weekends (256).

Nora habitually worked most weekends and felt she had no more than ten weekends off in the five years of home-based business, a figure which correlated with the weekend trips the family made out of town (250). Nora also left some work specifically until the weekends, when she had less interrupted time, and a publication that Nora typeset on a monthly basis was a particularly demanding weekend's work. During "publication weekend" the family would assume responsibility for all the domestic labour and Nora would not accept any invitations to weekend social events (254). Weekends were also a time to anticipate the next week's work, and often clients would fax work to Nora on Sundays for her to complete on Monday morning. Nora would often complete the work on Sunday when it arrived, because she feared that other clients would unexpectedly arrive on Monday morning and prevent her from doing so (310). Although she would not fax back work for the client to check on Sunday, she did make sure it was sitting on the fax "all ready to go" on Monday morning without "admitting" to the client she had completed the work on the weekend (310).

Nora also regularly returned to the home office late at night if she had been out with the family at a social event (754) to "make up" for the time she had spent away. Nora's tendency to work at night was one the family especially disliked, and thirteen-year-old Mara described her mother "sitting watching TV" and then saying "I should go out and finish this" (44). Additionally, Nora tended to go out to the home-office at night to check faxes she heard arriving on the business line, although unlike Tess Flowers she did not interrupt her sleep to do so (323). However Nora did interrupt her sleep to work *through* the night on some occasions, because she had promised clients that she would have a job ready by the morning, and she described this as discovering "there is a whole day in the middle of the night" (195). At other times Nora would work through the night because clients had mismanaged their own deadlines so that "good old Nora" stayed up all night to complete the work and then worked a full day. Nora did not see this as particularly unusual or problematic and said "but other people must do that?" (201). Other teleworkers in this study, such as John Sims, did indeed "do that", but not for the $15,000 to $20,000 a year that Nora assigned herself as a "profit" from the business (26).

Working through the night was a strategy that Nathan perceived as very hard on Nora physically and emotionally, and felt clients often made unfair demands on Nora:

> I would go out there at 6.00 pm, I would stay awake until 1.00 am and I just couldn't hack it any longer and I would say "I'm sorry but I'm going to bed". "That's alright" she said, but I would go out there at 6.00 am and she wouldn't have stopped working, she would be sitting at her computer crying and still working because she was trying to beat some bugger's deadline, and then she'd find out it wasn't their deadline at all, they had allowed three or four days up their sleeve, things like that, Groan! (39).

Nathan often reminded Nora of the long hours she was working, and she was conscious that there were times when she wouldn't go outside the front gate for five days at a time, a scenario reminiscent of Pam's awareness that she "hadn't seen the sky for days" (712). Nathan would encourage Nora to walk to the shops with him (36) or to go away for the weekend out of town (62), because the pressure was "bloody awful".

Nora felt that she had always been the kind of person who had to "work really hard at leisure time", and felt that both she and Nathan struggled not to work (378). Nora thought that she and Nathan were both "workaholics" because they "*had* to work really", although she did not see this as problematic because they "chose" to be that way (378). Nathan confirmed in his interview that he was a "workaholic, I know I am", and felt that the reason

for "carrying on working" was that it was the "easiest" and most "comfortable" thing to do. He described doing "something completely different", such as leisure activities or socialising, as requiring "extra effort" and were a "risk" (48). Both Nora and Nathan spent much of their available leisure time working, often in the same physical location like the home-office.

In retrospect Nora felt that this equation of leisure with work was problematic and that she "thought (she) enjoyed the work more than (she) did". She emphasised that while she did not mind "working hard", she thought her circumstances left her "no alternative" but to do so (864). These circumstances included the rapid growth of the business, and Nora used the image of a "treadmill" a number of times to describe her sense of "pounding away and not actually being able to jump off" (185, 127, 732). Nathan felt that toward the end of 1992 Nora *had to* move the business out of the home office:

> I knew she had to get out of there ... for her own peace of mind and for the family's peace of mind. We had to get out of living at home and working at home, because we just had to have time out (30).

Income and Not Being a 'Breadwinner'

Like other women in this study, Nora did not draw a regular salary from her business account and appreciated the fact that she could establish the business without having to support the family at the same time because she had "the prop of Nathan's business to fall back on" (178). Nora thought that women entrepreneurs were "lucky" in this respect because "men are still thought of as the breadwinners", and thus businesswomen were more able to tolerate the uneven income self-employment generated (1978).

Nora's business had done well financially and had a turnover in her last year as a teleworker in 1992-1993 of $110,000. Nora's strategy had been to pay her costs, wages and tax and then make irregular $15,000 lump sum drawings per year on her business account (20). Nora was considering in 1995 taking a regular salary from her own business, rather than lump sums, in part because of difficulties Nathan was having in generating a stable clientele in his new business (26) and in part because she wanted to "prove" to herself that she could (54). Nora estimated that her salary from the business would be "around" $20,000 to $22,000 that year, in other words, slightly less than the $22,000 she paid her workers but slightly more than the $15,000 she had been drawing until 1993 because she was "doing a bit better now" (26).

Nora was concerned that she not make larger drawings on the business as salary for herself, because of her "responsibility" to meet her wage obligations to her workers, especially in her small business where she "knew her staff really well" and where they were more than "just a number on the wages sheet" (46). It was particularly important to Nora, given the instability of Nathan's business and his recent experience of redundancy, that she not make any of her own staff redundant, emphasising their significance to her as "real friends" (47), where making one of them redundant would be "a lot more than business, it would hurt" (46).

Nora's other response to my questions about financial gain focused on her feeling that she would not be able to sell the business if she wanted to, because "anyone with any nouse could set it up". Even if she were able to find a buyer she felt the business was not likely to generate much profit if she sold it (38-9). Nora was aware that the business was not making her much money, and unlikely to make much for her in the future, and she talked of feeling "a bit cross at all the effort (she) put in" vis-à-vis her small financial gain (32). When Nora felt this way, she said she would emphasise all the benefits of running a business outside of the financial return, most of them orientated toward the gain to others such as her workers or the family, or the intrinsic successfulness of the business. She said:

> I just say to myself 'Well darn it, you've set something up that is still going after six years and that isn't in an overdraft situation, so even if you haven't drawn a heap out of it, it's still kept its head above water. And I provide jobs for three and a half people. Have quite a lot of fun. And probably in terms in my feeling of self-worth. And the kids even, they're probably quite chuffed (32).

Nora went on to reflect more on the issue of "self esteem", and felt resistant to "putting herself down" because some of her clients worked the same long hours she did, but earnt three or four times as much (37). Nora returned to a comparison she had made in 1993, between the work she was doing and the work she could be doing "packing shelves at the supermarket", noting that such workers didn't "earn very much either ... even less than me" (36).

Having No Time for Housework

In contrast to the telework literature, Nora was the least likely of any of the women to interrupt her telework to perform housework tasks. Nora would sometimes receive comments from women clients that "it must be wonderful to put the washing out ... or put a casserole on", but she did not use the 'flexibility' of teleworking time this way (284). Nora

felt that rather than having 'flexible' time she was usually "too busy" (290) to do housework, and overall there "weren't many idle moments" (298). Nora used the imagery of a rubber band to depict that sense of being pulled inside the house, but noted that she did not succumb to this 'pull' because she felt she was "at work". Often it did not even occur to her to use the 'elasticity' of home-based work time this way because of her primary focus on the business (290).

Over time Nora came to realise that the level of pressure she was experiencing in the business would not allow her to do the domestic labour that was expected from her by her family (400). As the business got busier, she reached a crisis between the expectations on her as a housewife and mother, and her business commitments where she "just didn't have the time" to do both. After a crisis of identity around not being able to be a "supermum 24 hours a day", Nora hired someone to help do the housework as part of her "support" network for the *business* rather than for the family (399).

Nora also made more demands on the children with regard the housework, particularly the preparation of the evening meal. Rose had been involved in making the evening meal from the time she was in Standard Four (approximately nine years old) and was "perfectly competent" at doing so according to Nora, something she felt developed Rose's independence. Rose felt this situation evolved because she would get hungry by 8.30 pm while Nora continued working, and her father's culinary repertoire was limited to dishes she didn't enjoy, such as canned spaghetti on toast (23).

Additionally, Nora grew to rely on Nathan more to clean the house and care for the children, a situation that also reached a crisis because Nathan by his own account left the "biggest proportion" of the housework to Nora (54). While Nathan felt that he did do "bits and pieces" such as taking the girls to music lessons, he tended to come home late and then sit and read the paper while Nora, who had arrived in the house equally late, prepared the evening meal (54). Nathan was aware that although he had thought he was "contributing a hell of a lot" by doing laundry or vacuuming tasks, he realised that the "big chores of the day" were left to Nora (54). After a 'showdown' in 1991, Nathan felt that other than cooking, at which he was "hopeless", the couple now split the housework and responsibility for the children "equally". In retrospect Nathan saw his earlier justification for not contributing to the domesticity because of his work as spurious, as organising his time flexibly was a "bloody sight easier" than Nora's experience of constant client and staff interactions (54).

Nathan's observation that Nora's home-based work was *less flexible* than his own as an employed professional who could take annual leave or flexibly organise his work time, became increasingly apposite as the sheer magnitude of Nora's business expanded and she could no longer leave the business to participate in school camps and other time-consuming demands (805). Nora had noticed a tendency for Nathan to take more responsibility for the children because she was no longer available, and he discussed at length enjoying the children's "bubbliness" after school, which he felt Nora had shared every day while he missed out (23). While Nora may have found her children's after school "bubbliness" more of a problem than a bonus, her response to Nathan's increasing 'ownership' of the task of managing the children after school was to find it "difficult", because she saw this caring work as "*my* job" (799).

By 1995 after Nora had moved the business into town, she had set aside a half day a week to do 'family work', reclaiming aspects of domestic and caring labour she had been unavailable to participate in when she was engaged in home-based work. Nora was enjoying this reorganisation of time because it allowed her to "do the extra things that you would normally do on the weekend" while her receptionist 'covered for her' at the business (11). The weekend was, however, largely spent working very long hours at the on-site office, so that Nora's *apparent* tendency to take more time off during the week was largely reabsorbed back into working during the weekend (11).

On 'Being There' and Being Unavailable as a Mother

For Nora Jolly, "being there" for the children was an integral part of her motivation for teleworking, and yet every day she faced the simultaneous demands of meeting the needs of the girls and those of her clients. Until 1991, Nora took the primary responsibility for the children while Nathan was the family's "breadwinner", in part because she had historically been the one to prioritise the children over her career, and because once she resumed paid work she was 'at home' while Nathan was "at work" and "removed" from the family and the house (468).

However, Nora's criteria for 'being there' for the children revealed her policy of being available in only a limited sense for the children, who were seven and nine years old respectively when she began the business. Nora did not like to leave the children with a 'babysitter', and would have felt "guilty" doing so (282), but acknowledged that although she was "always there", the "quality" of her care "might not have been very good". Both Rose who was fifteen when I first met her, and thirteen-year-old Mara felt that the primary advantage of their mother's telework was that she "was there" physically (14, 12), and Nora

felt that on balance her proximity in the home office was "a lot" better than leaving the children in care. However she also felt that she was "there but (she) wasn't there" because she maintained a primary focus on her business (282).

Nora had a variety of strategies she employed to set boundaries between the demands of the children and the demands of the business, most of them orientated around limiting the frequency and mode of contact she would allow with the girls. The children saw themselves to school in the morning and did not interrupt Nora to say goodbye after she had begun work. Nora discouraged them from entering the home-office when they returned after school and was especially firm that the children were not to "burst in" if a client was there, encouraging them to simply wave at her as they went into the house to "do their own thing" (77).

Nora felt strongly that she could not conduct a "professional" business with the children interrupting (62). She was especially sensitive to the children being boisterous or demanding in front of clients, and talked about the difficulty of "putting on a front and being Mrs With-It" during these times (62). Both Mara and Rose were aware their mother's need for a "professional image", and Rose concurred with Nora's view that "it looked really bad" to have them interrupt her in the home-office (33). Nora saw these "intrusions" as the children "overstepping the rules", giving an example of trying to "maintain (her) professionalism" when the children interrupted to ask for $2.00 to go to the shops (170). For a period, 'interrupting' was used by the children to "con" Nora into agreeing to events or purchases; they would "race out while (she) was in the middle of something" (406) and she would agree rather than argue in front of clients (408). Nora put a stop to this behaviour by directing the girls to call her on the telephone from the house if they "really needed her", allowing her to "maintain that professional image" because she could answer their call without the client knowing she was talking to the children (77). Nora felt that this strategy worked well, in the sense that she was 'available' in a 'controllable' form but also able to "kind of shut them away" and attend to the business (77).

Mara had the most difficulty with the boundaries Nora set, especially at not being allowed to talk to her mother straight after school when she was "bursting with news"and thinking "damn, why is everybody here? It's our house" (38). This boundary between herself and her mother "really bugged" Mara, especially when "clients would stay all afternoon" and she wasn't able to tell anyone her "really exciting" news until her father came home at 5.30 pm (7). Mara then felt that Nora would come into the house at 6.00 pm to 6.30 pm after Rose and Mara had "said it all" to Nathan, and they were sometimes disinclined to repeat themselves (36). Rose also mentioned early in her interview the difficulty of not being able

to talk to Nora as soon as she arrived home from school, although she could call Nora on the phone and tell her her news in "quick, short sentences" (12). Rose felt that using the phone was somewhat better than trying to talk to Nora face-to-face because at least she answered the phone rather than telling Rose to "go away" (34), and Rose would often end up listening to her younger sister's stories if she had a "horrible day" (36).

Nathan was sympathetic to the children's complaints about Nora's unavailability, *and* to Nora's concern about being interrupted which he saw as part of Nora's constant striving to "get everything so bloody perfect" (36). He both admired this quality and hoped the girls would emulate Nora's "work ethic" *and* thought Nora's standards were unnecessarily high, frustrating the children and putting her under pressure (34). Nathan hoped the children came away from the experience of the home-based business with both an understanding of the importance of a commitment to work and an appreciation that "it's bloody difficult to mix work with home" (34).

The difficulty of mixing 'work' and 'home' was also suggested by Nora's desire to limit the children's access to the 'domestic' phone line so that it could be used for the overflow of business calls and faxes. Conversely Nora allowed her staff to use the residential line to make private calls, which tended to "bug" Mara (10) because she blocked the girls making such calls during working hours. Typically Rose was more understanding of her mother's wishes, calling 'after hours' or making her calls shorter in order to keep the phone free (18-20). Nathan felt that Nora's rules about the phone "infringed" on the children's use of it (26), although both parents disciplined the girls to answer the phone "properly" with their names and "can I help you?" in case it was a client (26). These "strict sort of rules" requiring the children to be "more formal in answering the phone" reflected Nora's concern that the home-based business appeared "professional" rather than a "tin-pot, Micky Mouse operation" (25).

Nora also set limits on the children's use of the house and garden, and she was loathe to allow them to use the trampoline outside the home office, be boisterous outside with their friends after school (586), or dance around the living room to music which they liked "heaps", because they made too much noise (16). Both Mara and Rose were aware of Nora's desire that they be quiet in the house and stay out of the garden, which Rose explained in terms of the way in which "kids lying around the garden didn't fit in" with the business, soliciting "weird looks" from Nora's clients (18). Nathan also commented on Nora's disciplining the girls about "respecting" these rules, and described how the girls playing on the lawn or laughing on the trampoline would earn them a "quiet sort of stare

Me at home
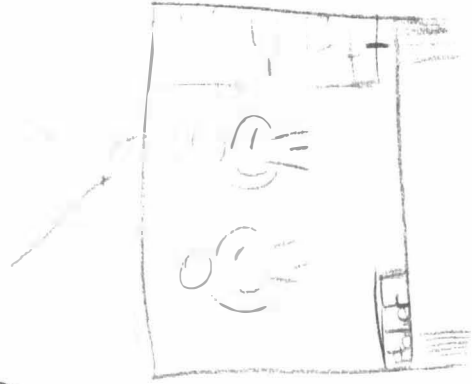
Mum at work
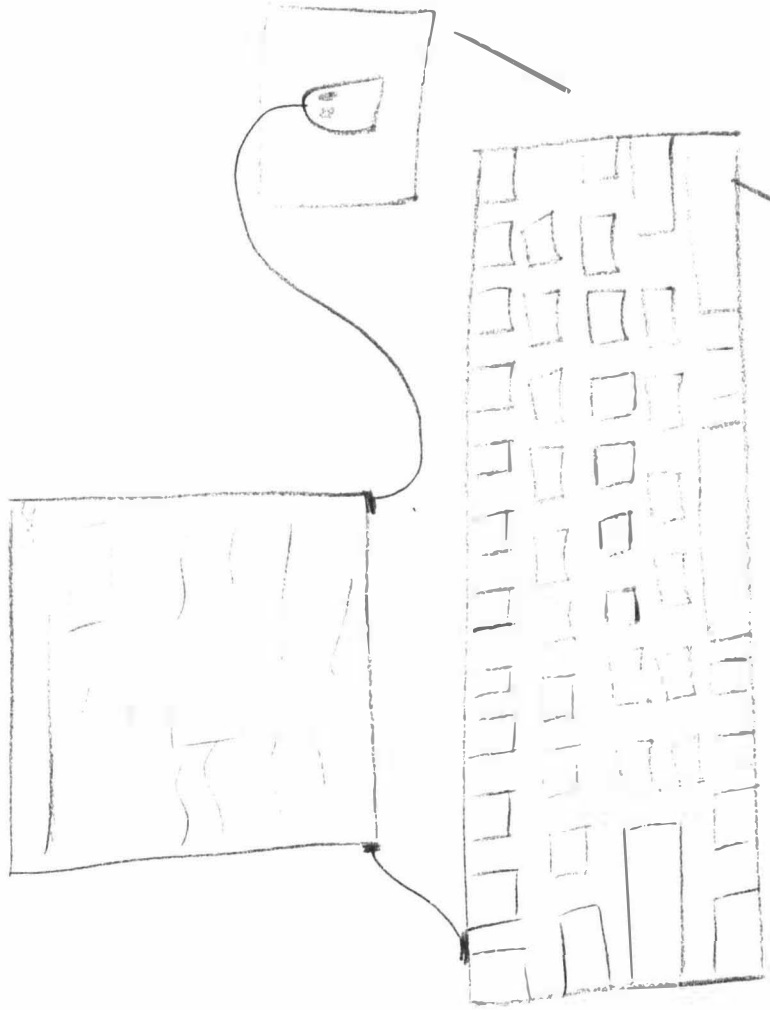
from the boss (Nora) and a growl" meaning "you are intruding on my silence and work space" (29).

A strategy Nora used to manage the children's needs was to use her assistants in the business to help with caring labour associated with them while she got on with her paid work. A number of Nora's staff had worked with her for some time and knew both children well, and all members of the Jolly family emphasised that these women were more "like friends" than employees (424). They would perform elements of caring work such as taking the children to have their hair cut or to music lessons (404), preparing their materials for Girl Guides and attending to them when they were sick (482). Although she was not keen on using 'babysitters', this delegation of the caring labour was something Nora felt less "guilty" about on the basis that her staff were "like part of the family", and their performance of these tasks was both acceptable to and enjoyable for the girls (404). Rose and Mara concurred with this view, and both thought of the staff as "quite close friends". Indeed Rose saw the only disadvantage of Nora's work now that she was back on-site as not having Nora's staff to socialise with (37).

During the follow-up interview Nora felt in retrospect that her limits on contact with the children had "not hurt them", and as busy working mother Nora valued her children's independence from her, in a context where they could acquire this independence while she was nevertheless "around" (484). Nora was aware, however, that the children had begun to "resent" the intrusion of clients into the house and the limits this placed upon their use of the phone, garden and more importantly, upon access to Nora herself. She noted that both the children had mentioned enjoying the fact that clients no longer came to the house and that their home and their mother were "theirs, and not half the town's" (82).

For Mara and Rose there was a sense of satisfaction that their mother was now "relaxed" at night, because, according to Rose, she could no longer "pop out to the home office and keep working" (37). Mara expressed this sentiment in relation to the picture she drew, depicting her mother's commitment to and passion for the computer as the same kind of passion for and commitment she felt for the television. The title this twelve-year-old gave to her drawing of her experience of her mother's teleworking was "Mum and I at Our Machines", in a picture which showed a computer and a television side by side, separated by a vertical line (see drawing opposite). When Nora decided to move the business out of their garage and into an office in town, Mara summarised her satisfaction with the new arrangement in the following way:

Mara:	Once Mum is home she's home. She doesn't think I'll just watch "Flying Doctors" now, then I'll go out (to the garage) and do something.
Nicola:	(laughter) So she's all yours now?
Mara:	It's more relaxing now (292).

Nathan's Perspective on Nora's Business

Nathan was more involved in Nora's business than any other male partner in this study, was formally constituted as a partner for tax purposes, and had a 10% salary allocated to him, although he did not take it (631). Nathan played an active role in the business in terms of assisting Nora with advice on marketing, weekly and sometimes nightly proof-reading, performing domestic tasks which were designated as Nora's so she could focus on her work, and discussing problems and developments in the business (629).

Nora's perspective on Nathan's connection to the business was that he was both a support and also something of a "threat". She spoke of being "challenged" by Nathan's perspective on business decisions she had taken, and she felt "threatened when he challenged me on something I was doing" (698). Nora felt that because the business was located at home Nathan would "see things that other husbands wouldn't see" if she had worked on-site. He would, for example, challenge her over issues of staff management such as the length of staff breaks or their talkativeness in the office, where Nora both disagreed and felt "aggravated" with Nathan for raising these issues (700).

Nora's way of responding to clients was also something that generated some disagreement between the couple and an area of continuing contention. Nathan would be critical of clients' behaviour, which would make Nora "cross" because they were *her* clients (710). Nora would also discipline Nathan around his use of the phone in the same way as both of them disciplined the girls:

> I would answer the phone if I was home during the day sometimes and Nora would come and give me a blast and say, "that's my work phone you are talking on". Hey I live here! The fact that I was holding up her business and her commitment to her clients ... (I) was just an intrusion (27).

Nathan felt that clients' intrusions into the home, rather than his intrusions into the business, were the real problem and that the family lost their privacy and their "sanctuary" from the working world with the home-based business which they could only regain if they left the house (11). Nathan spoke of being "brassed off" with clients coming into their home and

interrupting Nora's time with the family. To reclaim this sanctuary he gave the example of a car drive up, Nora telling the family to be quiet, turning off the lights, waiting while the client knocked on the door and then driving away, and then turning on the lights again. Nathan thought this strategy was amusing but also "bloody stupid" (24).

Where the couple had more serious and painful conflict over the intrusion of the business into the house, was in the way it cut into family times or rituals. Nathan gave the example of going out to the home-office to tell Nora that "the kids are in bed (and) they want a kiss tonight". He felt Nora became so absorbed in the work she was "totally unaware of the time" and he would "quite often" return to the home-office a half hour later to tell Nora the children had gone to sleep already, whereupon Nora would then come inside the house to kiss them while they slept, because she felt "guilty" (59). Nathan response to this situation was:

> to feel cross about it, I used to think 'gosh, it doesn't take two minutes to go in there and give them a kiss goodnight', and I used to know she'd be cross with herself five minutes later because she hadn't done it when they were awake. It's just this damned intrusion of all the bloody work. Do we need this work? What's it for? (59).

When the business had moved into an office in town, Nathan felt that "home is starting to become home", and that he would "certainly caution people" who were interested in home-based work because of the "sacrifices" in terms of space, time and privacy that the family had experienced as a result (34).

Having a clearer boundary between 'home' and 'work' was a distinct advantage of Nora's relocation of the business. In April 1995 when I last met Nora Jolly she had been in her on-site office for more than two years. Nora had begun to call herself 'Director/Manager' of the business because she thought 'Managing Director' sounded too much like someone "sitting in his (sic) ivory tower doing nothing" (8). While still an integral and active leader of her business, Nora had changed some of her work practices considerably since she had moved the business out of her home. She no longer had clients coming to the house, and no longer checked faxes at night, noting that "there could be fifty faxes sitting on the floor at work now and I really don't care" (325). She seldom went in after hours to work for clients at night, both because they did not ask her to do so and because she found working at the town office at night "dark and spooky" (280). The only element of flexible work time that had remained constant was the tendency for Nora and Nathan to regularly work on both Saturday and Sunday.

Nora also enjoyed the fact that with an on-site office the "boundaries are more easily set" (728) between 'home' and 'work', giving her more freedom to take time out and be with the family. Nora was using her receptionist strategically to take windows of time to be with the children for particular events, and was more often able to be home for them by 5.00 pm (9). She also discussed her sense of satisfaction at being able to attend a recent family gathering by delegating work to her assistants, and left knowing that the receptionist would be able to cover the telephone while she was away (12). In addition, Nora had begun to set aside a regular Wednesday afternoon time to "do boring things" like clean the house and take the children shopping, although she told clients she was "leaving to play golf with the orthodontists" (9). She did not intend to return to running a business from home, and no longer conceptualised her working life as a "treadmill" she could not get off. She felt this "treadmill" was in part the result of being a "one man band" in terms of the business, where she had felt she had to be "the office clerk and the marketer and the tea lady and do all the work" (142). She described this situation by analogy to a "pit-face":

> I always had visions of rock-crushing convicts, where there was nobody after you but a rock wall and the rocks that had to be crushed ... I had a good client who worked for himself and he used to say "we're on the pit-face Nora". There is just nobody else after you, is there? (207).

V. Nina Todd

Nina Todd's home-based accountancy services business was, like Nora Jolly's, an attempt to craft a working life which allowed her to spend time with her thirteen-year-old daughter Cleo, and nineteen-year-old son Eli. It also allowed her to care for the house and the 'hobby farm' she lived on, which her husband Eric deemed her responsibility. Also like Nora Jolly, Nina Todd's home-based business was established after she had spent a considerable period of time out of the paid workforce, with her children, in her case eight years. Nina then took an accountancy job for thirty hours a week within an organisation, and she was to have a number of such jobs over time. Sexual harassment within one organisation acted as an important incentive for Nina's movement out of the organisational employment and her establishment of an accountancy services business at home. This sexual harassment reached a crisis for Nina when her boss had insisted she travel away with him on business and then only reserved one hotel room. When I asked her if this was one reason she had set up a home-based business she said:

> I couldn't stand it! Who wants to prostitute themselves to a boss? Not me! ... I think men as bosses, I am a bit of a woman's libber here (gives an example of

harassment) ... it's just horrible. Really horrid ... They think they've got you cornered and because they are paying your wages you should be doing exactly what they say (24).

Home-based work was thus a refuge from a threatening work environment for Nina, which she had felt trapped in because of the limited opportunities available to her as an older woman without completed university qualifications in accountancy. Nina was aware that without an accountancy degree she could not become a chartered accountant, and she felt her husband had "always been very negative toward her study", such that she did not to study when he was around. The possibility of completing the two full-time years of university work she needed to finish her degree seemed remote in 1993 when I first met Nina, in addition to the fact that she was "close to retirement". Nevertheless, Nina had the skills she required for the accountancy jobs she had undertaken, and felt "terrible" that for others she did not even get interviews. She felt she was discriminated against on the basis of her age alone, and that the people interviewing her looked on her, a woman in her early fifties, as an "oldie", although *she* felt she was "not beyond it" (2).

In addition to Nina's more immediate feeling of 'threat' in the job she had prior to setting up a home-based business, she had also experienced periods of having a very pressured career and was concerned to establish a home-based business in order to enhance the flexibility of her working life. She responded to a question about what she was pleased to avoid about on-site work in the following way:

> Definitely the hassles of having to be somewhere at a set time and the last minute running across the car park finding a park and running three blocks to get to work on time, that I hated ... (I once) had a morning job and an afternoon job, I would eat my sandwiches, I would sometimes drive off the road with indigestion, in pain because of the race to get from one job to the other, eating sandwiches and getting indigestion. And you would get home at night and the kids are doing nothing but watching television and that to me is the epitome of not living life, it's a *disaster*. You are existing for money and that is what I don't do you see. (6)

While "existing for money" may have been something that Nina resisted, the income she earned was significant to this family. In the Todd household, more than any other in this study, there was a sense of real conflict about Nina's home-based work, primarily because she was earning less and had an irregular income and because of the expense of purchasing the computing equipment required for the business. Nina had navigated her way around this conflict by accessing "independent" money to buy the equipment and by negotiating a loan

from her son, which allowed her to resign from her position within the organisation in 1990. Nina discussed the situation in the following way:

> Eric said I was not to do it, I wasn't having any money to do it and there was no way we would raise the money. But I have insurance policies of my own that I was able to raise money privately (through a loan from my son). I didn't even ask a second or third time, I just went and got the money and bought a computer and all hell let loose. We had a year's fighting about me doing my own thing when really I should consult the family and should be, I should have consulted. But I very strongly believe that ... if you want to work on your own and be self-employed then you should be free to do it and so. I had such strong feelings on it and I refused to give in on it at all. And so I'm not a very nice person to live with (laughs).

The issue remained unresolved between the couple for more than a year, after which time, according to Nina, "it just fizzed out because I wasn't going to give an inch" (62). Nina's narrative, like that of Pam Brody, suggested the tenacity with which some teleworking women hold onto the working lives they fashion at home, in a context where their desire to work or their 'choice' of a home-based business may sometimes be in direct conflict with the needs and priorities of their partners and other household members. Fully three years after this conflict with her partner began, Eric still felt angry about the way Nina had started the business and felt she "should have done the groundwork first", gathering together clients before she made the decision to leave (12). Eric felt establishing the business had required a "huge" financial outlay of "eight or nine thousand" and that there was a "very lengthy spell" between Nina leaving the organisation and "any real return" coming from the business, a "spell" that Eric emphasised was "very expensive" (12). Two issues were thus at stake: the first the issue of resources in terms of lost income and new expenses; and the other Nina not engaging in proper consultations with Eric before making such a major decision, as an assertion of her "belief" that she should be "free to enter self-employment if (she) wanted to" (62).

However other forces also gathered to restrict Nina's freedom in this entrepreneurial quest. When she first advertised for clients in a local newspaper as an accountant, the Society of Chartered Accountants "came down on her like a ton of bricks", threatening legal action over her use of the professional title because she was not registered. (7). At the time this additional prohibition was hard to bear because Nina had already given up a secure, if unpalatable, employment, and was enmeshed in a significant conflict at home with Eric. Despite these setbacks Nina survived this first tremulous year on the basis of the four clients the notorious advertisement had generated, avoided legal action, persisted in her endeavours

despite her husband's disapproval, purchased a computer and established her home-based business (6). The business had been running for three years at the time I first interviewed Nina.

Nina immediately found the experience of working for herself preferable to her experiences in the organisation in terms of the time flexibility, the lack of the "hassle and costs" associated with commuting, the lack of expenses associated with work clothes and lunches and, of course, the avoidance of sexual harassment (9). Additionally Nina felt sanguine about the loss of office sociability compared to Roz Jeffs, noting that she had never particularly liked the "chit chat" at work (23), and that now she was "not so exhausted" she had more time to "have real friends". The one element of on-site work that Nina did miss was the training and, like Pam Brody, she was "jealous" of Eric's access to staff development within his organisation (16).

'Flexible' and 'Disciplined' Time

Given the multiplicity of tasks and demands on Nina, the flexibility of teleworking time was the primary advantage for her of home-based work. She particularly emphasised the flexibility of being at home after school for her daughter, and of being able to perform the regular round of work on the farm on which she lived, including the harvesting of crops and the feeding of stock (25). The flexibility of teleworking time also allowed Nina to work at night, "to work with (her) body" as someone who was "happy" to be working at the computer at 11.00 pm (9). Nina tended to work a five day week including at least two nights, although she did not work in the weekends because she found "family things encroach", particularly her and her thirteen-year-old daughter Cleo taking their pedigree dogs to shows in the weekends (43). This weekly schedule amounted to an ideal 25 hour week for Nina, supplemented by farm work and the farm accounts (44).

Nina's daily schedule was thus moderated by the rhythms of the household and the demands of being a "part-time farmer" in addition to running a home-based business (31). Nina usually began the day with farm work, getting Cleo off to school at 8.00 am, followed by housework and meditation, so that she was usually at her computer by 9.00 am. She tried to make a rule of doing this because "if you are disciplined you get more done" (24), and she felt "angry with (herself)" if she started later because of being "distracted" by the house or the farm and "wasted too much time" (24). Interestingly, Cleo's vision of her mother's telework corroborated this sense of 'flexibility' *and* 'discipline' when she noted that the advantage of Nina's telework was that she "doesn't have to be anywhere at a certain time",

and could begin her work "whenever she wants, which is usually about 9.00 am anyway" (37).

The other issue where 'flexible' *and* 'disciplined' uses of time were apparent was in Nina's parcelling of "billable" time into five minute portions. She emphasised that she was "too honest" to charge clients for an hour when the job had only taken 50 minutes or "ten units"(46). Unlike the other teleworkers in this study, and as a result of the conventions regimenting time within accountancy organisations, Nina's approach to time paralleled those of on-site work and she similarly restricted her coffee breaks to fifteen minute blocks. Nina was also strict about the space in which these breaks occurred, noting that she "definitely" had her breaks away from her work area rather than drinking coffee at her computer, because she was "not going to have (the work) worrying me for quarter of an hour, it's a break" (42). She would not, however, take these breaks in the garden like Roz Jeffs, because she found that going outside reminded her of all the work she had to do to maintain the house and she feared that rather than having a break she would "start to worry about those" (72).

Nina's disciplined use of time was "balanced" by her commitment to taking breaks when Cleo returned from school at 4.00 pm. Nina and Cleo had established a ritual upon Cleo's return to the house where Nina would close the document she was working on while Cleo brought her up coffee. Nina enjoyed doing things with Cleo after school and wanted to "be free and not be sitting up there working" (26). Nina's response to Cleo's return was in stark contrast to Pam Brody's sense of anxiety and irritation at being interrupted, and reflected in part Nina's lesser commitment to her telework vis-à-vis her identification with her primary focus as a mother. Nina's commitment to her telework was also 'cut across' by her responsibilities to the house and farm, and she concluded each day with several hours of domestic and farm labour, preparing the family's evening meal at 7.30 to 8.00 pm (55). She would then return to her computer after the evening meal at least twice a week, concluding her telework at 11.00 pm.

Nina found that while she was working she easily became absorbed in her work, and that her "biggest terror" was missing appointments, especially those associated with the children. When the children were younger she "always feared missing picking them up from school because (she) was so engrossed at the computer" (58). When I asked her if she thought she was a 'workaholic' (which she defined as someone who "doesn't do anything but work") she said:

I am a workaholic, but I am a very underachiever workaholic ... when I work for other people I work very hard, if I am doing any computer work I try to speed up and get it in faster, timing how long it takes me to get a bank statement through. In that sense I'm a workaholic. I am a workaholic, I work hard when I work, but I'm not a true workaholic who spends all their life working, no. Because I have many other things I like doing and also I like being lazy, but I am never lazy, I never do nothing, ever (36).

Professionalism and 'Helping People'

Although Nina had a number of demands upon her time she was interested in accountancy and in computers, and preferred working at night to watching television with Eric because she felt "bored" by television but "not bored by (her) work" (35). Nina was aware that many of her clients were also small business people like herself, for whom doing the accounts was "agony", while for her it wasn't "agony at all" (71). Indeed she felt that one of her roles as an accountancy services provider was to assist her clients to come to know and understand their financial situation better and to improve their bookkeeping procedures.

Nina thought of herself as working to "help people", which reflected her earlier training as a teacher before she married. Nina felt that in providing accountancy services she took the "worry out of the biggest bogey-man around ... the tax legislation and the tax guide", and noted that her aim was to "help these people carry out their businesses more productively, by taking some of the worry out of the business". Nina felt her home-based business allowed clients closer proximity to their accounts, and gave the example of a client who would work beside her, where they would "giggle and falsify all the figures on the computer", noting that "he likes that, no other accountant can he get up to the computer and change things, and it's all done within the law" (39).

Although Nina thought her clients valued her collaboration in their financial success, she felt Eric undervalued her business and thought her day was "terribly relaxing and I don't do anything all day"; that he "couldn't *believe*" that she was "doing more concentrated work" (122). She did not keep Eric informed about the progress of the business or the money it was making. Although she felt she needed additional clients to make the business more financially rewarding, the relatively small financial return she received in no way detracted from her vision of herself as a "entrepreneur". Like Pam Brody and Jill East-Land's resistance to being dismissed as "fiddling around at home", Nina positioned herself as not just "filling in time" but as being a "professional" and as acting "professionally". Although Nina acknowledged that she was not "100% successful" in terms of being "jam packed with

clients" (she had eleven in 1993), she did think she had significantly contributed to the success of some of her clients' businesses (32). Like Roz, she sometimes pictured herself as a "little fish" (16), but this in no way detracted from the seriousness with which she undertook her work and the time and energy she spent performing it.

Money and 'Subsidising Nina'

If Nina's business resembled a social service more than a profit-making business, then she openly positioned herself against accountants who were there for profit alone. She was, for example, scandalised by the accountancy firm in a nearby town which bought "fancy Italian chairs" and other office furniture, and then had the temerity to have them delivered in "broad daylight". Nina thought the firm should have had been more sensitive to clients' concerns about their fees, and have them delivered under cover of darkness when "no-one was around" (23). Nina's clients rejected such firms complaining about "paying for the posh offices" (23), and she was angered by firms asking clients for $100.00 an hour to tell them how their businesses had done "after the event", when in any case "the girls have done all the work" (127).

Nina had been one of these "girls" herself, and had completed tax and profit accounts in a previous job in 1990 and been paid $10.00 an hour for doing so, while her work was being charged out at $117.00 an hour. Nina felt that "you're only in this life once" and she was not prepared to work for an accountancy firm for $10.00 an hour, which was $2.14 an hour *less than* the ordinary time average hourly wage for women workers in 1990 (Statistics New Zealand, 1995: 131). In her own business, however, Nina was only charging her clients the relatively modest rate of $20.00 an hour. This reflected Nina's feeling that "happiness is not based on material things" (102) and her desire to support the small business people she worked for by not charging a large fee. One of Nina's uses for the money she earned was to hire a cleaner for the house and she in part calculated the $20.00 fee based on the $10.00 an hour she paid this woman, although she did not allude to any other overheads that she had factored into the determination of this rate. Nina still thought she was better off than she had been within the organisation because she did not have to pay for travel and clothes and was able to deduct from her tax some of the costs of the home-based business.

Nina was aware that because she was earning less the "family's debt" had increased in terms of mortgage and credit card repayments (122-123). According to Nina, Eric felt that without his financial support she "would have gone under years ago", and that her business would ultimately be a "failure" because it was not economically viable (31). Although Eric was unsure about how many clients Nina had or the details of the business's turnover, he

was clear that "financially we're subsidising Nina" (47), and he was concerned that they no longer earned "two nice incomes" (19). Nina's retort to this argument was to assert that men used to be expected to be the sole financial supporters of their families, suggesting that it was Eric who was providing an inadequate income, not her (110).

The unspoken contract that was background to the ongoing conflict about money concerned the division of domestic and caring labour in their household, where Nina had "never really brought up the issue that (she) wasn't prepared to work full-time and do all the housework and the farm work and all the accounts and get no help in those areas" (111). Nina continued with the home-based business and was "allowed" to do so by Eric, because as long as he continued not to contribute to the activities of the house and farm, Nina could continue to argue that she needed to 'be there' for them. Although Eric minimised Nina's contributions, arguing that the children were "pretty independent" (43), and that there was not a "huge ... physical or organisational input into running the place" (16), he did not try and stop Nina running her home-based business beyond challenging her about how much money she was making. Eric 'accepted' the home-based business and the wider issue of the unbalanced division of domestic, family and farm labour remained unexpressed.

Colluding in the Computer

Given the unusually high level of conflict that surrounded the beginning of Nina's home-based business, the covert support of Nina's son was very important to its establishment. Nineteen-year-old Eli had lent Nina $900 in 1990 to buy a computer that "he could enjoy", and they visited a computer show together to make sure that they got a machine and software that fitted both of their specifications. This was done without Eric's knowledge and they "did a lot of secretive work on that side" during this establishment phase where Eli colluded with Nina against Eric's wish that she remain within the organisation (91).

Eric felt that Nina should do the accounts without a computer, a position Nina strongly objected to because she felt "you have *got* to have a computer, you have *got* to be efficient with your time" (110). When Nina did purchase the computer Eric was critical of the choice she made, ironically enough because she had not put in *enough* money to buy a machine with a larger hard drive (142). In 1993 when I first talked to Nina she had still not entirely paid off the original loan from Eli, and wanted a "proper telework station" with a fax and modem but resisted investing in more technology on the basis that it would require "a lot of money" (36). Nina contented herself with the computer and software she already had, in addition to an adding machine, desk jet printer, answer phone, three desks, two chairs, a

number of lever arch files in place of filing cabinets and the provision of a 'call-waiting' service on the phone (131).

Nina felt obliged to share her computer and work space with Eli, and this lead Nina and he to "battle" for access to the machine which was in use "twenty hours a day" because one or other of them was "grabbing at it every spare moment" (92). Eli's financial contribution to the equipment also entitled him to the use of one of the drawers in Nina's work desk, but she monitored any additional encroachments his possessions made into her space, it being "important to (her) that his junk didn't wreck my work area" (95). Cleo, in contrast, had no contact with the computer, which Nina explained in terms of her daughter's lack of interest in the technology. Cleo herself saw it as an outcome of her lack of opportunity to use the machine because Nina or Eli already competed to have access to it so intensively (13).

A Hallway Office as a 'Compromise' Work Space

If time on the computer and money was scarce in the Todd household, space was not. Compared to the provision of a "double workshop" (58) for Eric to engage in his passion for motorcycles, Nina's demands upon space were relatively modest. The family's house was large and the property included two spacious and well-appointed work buildings in addition to the house. However, Nina had chosen to work in an open-plan hallway at the top of the stairs overlooking the lounge where the children and Eric often spent time in the evenings. In choosing this space Nina positioned herself so that she could be seen by her family and could see them, did not need to take possession of a room used by other family members, and was neither too far away nor too close. The space was a "compromise" which did not effect other family members, use of space and which did not engender further conflict with Eric.

Nina's work space was close to the bedrooms and the bathroom and she felt a "little bit embarrassed" about its location in terms of the clients who visited each week (75). Because the work space's was in the heart of the Todds' domestic activities, this also posed some problems with regard to tidiness and privacy as clients were required to pass through the kitchen, lounge and then upstairs to where the bedrooms and the bathroom were visible to get to the computer. Because of this Nina sometimes did "an hour's housework before (clients) have arrived", although she "begrudged having to do it" (43).

Ideally Nina wanted a separate "little, confined space" to work in. Preferably a home-office located next to the front door so that clients would not need to traverse the house to get to it, or alternatively a separate dedicated space large enough that other people could come and

work with her in a "telecottage" (39). Nina thought the latter possibility was remote because she was "just a little, little, I'm not an innovator, I'm not a tall poppy really", and the prospect of launching a telecottage was too daunting. Such an initiative was also likely to provoke fresh hostilities with Eric, so Nina was resigned to "just quietly tucking myself up there (in the hallway) and working on my own" (39).

On the Priority of Mothering

If Nina was resigned to working alone at home, she nevertheless valued the proximity this afforded her to her two teenage children thirteen-year-old Cleo and nineteen-year-old Eli. Nina "believe(d) very strongly in parenting" (12) and saw Eli and Cleo as her "priority" (68), summarising the link between her telework and her parenting in the statement that "my family always comes first and that's why I'm working at home" (78). Nina liked to reward "good behaviour" from the children by spending time with them, in Cleo's case by spending time caring for their dogs together; with Eli, working together on the computer (78). It had been, and continued to be, Nina's responsibility to take the teenagers to the doctor, to accompany Cleo on school camps and to "organise them", something that Nina saw as the major demand of raising teenagers and which she was glad to "be there to do" (13).

Nina felt that the children appreciated the fact that her telework meant she was at home when they returned to the house after school and university, and that her being in the house was for them "a lovely comforting feeling, home isn't a deserted empty place" (99). Cleo confirmed that "it's nice to have someone there when you get home" (10), and that she could see that family was a priority for Nina she "always has time for us" (36). Nina was somewhat critical of her home-based clients whose children were younger than her own and "desperate for their attention". She felt they had "massive problems" trying to "juggle the needs of their children and attend to their businesses", and she thought they were "trying to make both important and they fight each other" (77).

Nina contrasted this strategy of "juggling" with her own style which could be labelled 'intermittent attention'. For example, according to Nina she would 'manage' Cleo's return to the house after school by asking Cleo to make her coffee, which allowed her to close a document while Cleo prepared the drink. The two of them would then often go outside together and spend time with the dogs for an hour, and then Nina would either return and continue to work at the computer or begin to prepare the evening meal. Interestingly, Cleo gave a rather different picture of the frequency and character of these interactions. Nina's narrative emphasised the amount of time she spent with Cleo and the mutually advantageous nature of this coffee-making ritual at the end of the school day that allowed her to complete

her immediate task in order to focus on Cleo. Cleo emphasised the way this coffee ritual allowed Nina to "carry on working". She chose this interaction as the topic of her picture of Nina's telework, depicting Nina with her forehead wrinkled with concentration because "she is still deep in work, she's just carrying on" (6) (see drawing opposite). Cleo drew herself without a face in this otherwise detailed and precise drawing, and when I asked her about this she said that was because she usually "felt tired" when she returned from school and "probably interested and confused about what she is doing (on the computer) because it looks a bit of a jumble" (3). By Cleo's estimation Nina joined her in caring for the dogs only once or twice a week after school, although she did always stop when Cleo came upstairs with coffee "for a couple of minutes, to say hello" (6), and if she had "spare time, to talk" (22).

If Cleo felt that Nina was focused on her work, she still liked the fact that her mother was at home when she returned from school, even if she had to carry on with her paid work or the housework rather than spending time specifically with Cleo. If Nina took a job outside of the house, Cleo felt she "wouldn't like it as much ... it'd be boring coming home and our dogs wouldn't like it much either" (11). Cleo thus confirmed Nina's sense that even if she was not actually engaging with her, she appreciated that her mother was still available in the house should she wish to do so. As a further example of this, Nina recounted a conversation with Eli in which he had questioned her going out of the house at night to see friends, which she felt was an indication of the fact that "they actually like me here, even if you are not talking to them" (121).

If sharing time after school was something both Cleo and Nina felt satisfied with, sharing the telephone was somewhat more problematic. Nina's business involved her in telephone conversations during the day, at night and in the weekends, and she used her five minute billing system to charge clients for all these calls (127). Access to the phone became problematic when Eli and Cleo wanted to use the telephone to pursue long conversations with their friends, and Nina was insistent that they use the 'call waiting' service which allowed them to interrupt conversations to answer incoming calls (34). On this point Nina was adamant that the children "*must* stop talking and take the other call, they *mustn't* carry on with their teenage conversations etc, they don't run the phone", an issue of some consternation to Cleo (34). Additionally Cleo resisted answering the phone in the way her mother directed. Nina had asked Cleo to say her name when she answered the phone in case it was a client, as it was Cleo who was more likely to be downstairs and thus physically closer to the one phone in the house located in the kitchen (29). Cleo had obeyed her mother and answered with her name a number of times, but didn't "like saying it, it felt stink", and had resisted doing so ever since (28).

Eric's perspective on Nina's business vis-à-vis the children was to confirm Nina's account of the children as her "main priority", noting that he left the responsibility of "organising them" to her. Eric worked long hours in an organisation in a nearby city, leaving the house by 6.30 am and not returning until 7.30 pm or later at night. He was critical of colleagues who arrived "at one minute past eight and left at one minute to four", although he made no mention of the different responsibilities to their families they might have had (10). On the Wednesday I interviewed Eric he had arrived at work at 6.00 am and returned at 7.30 pm twice that week already (10). This intense work schedule meant that Eric did not see the family in the morning (23) and did not usually help with homework or other tasks related to the children at night (43). Nina felt Eric's work was "remote" for the children, and that they were not involved in it in the same way that she had been in her father's farm work as a child (100). Nina felt that Eric did not "have a close relationship" with the children, because "you've got to give them time" (106), while he felt the children benefitted from Nina's telework in terms of her ability to spend time with them and "support them if they 'had a bad day'". He agreed that Nina did not "isolate" herself by working, giving him "no cause for concern" that the children were being neglected in favour of the business.

Housework and Not Being 'Superwoman'

In the Todd household the division of domestic labour mirrored the division of caring labour. It fell to Nina to complete almost all of this work and when I asked her if there were any parts of the housework that other family members usually completed, she said:

> No, that is probably one of the main reasons that I am working at home, because I have a husband who never, ever cooked the meals or helped in any way, so I think 'why should I bust a gut and race about and be one of those silly modern women who race out, race home, do everything? Superwomen. Nobody is going to thank you for it in the end. So I thought right, if he's not going to do it, I will work at home and therefore it will be easier to do (the housework) when you are working here (48).

An interesting element of the above excerpt was that like Jill East-Land, Nina rejected "silly modern women" who attempted to "do everything", the 'superwoman' stereotype. As part of this rejection, Nina had used part of the money she earned to have a cleaner for the Todds' large house for four hours every week, calculating the profit she would have to make against what she would pay this woman to perform 'her' domestic labour, making arrangements to complete the housework herself if she was not making enough money (48). Nina felt that hiring someone else to do the housework was an "efficient" use of time and

rationalised that it was more "productive" for her to generate income rather than "waste" time when she was "not good" at housework (89).

Hiring a cleaner was only part of the solution to the domestic labour that had to be performed in the Todd household, and Nina also interspersed domestic tasks with the accountancy work, for example, by putting food on to cook automatically for the evening meal, noting "you can't do that when you work in an office" (48). Nina found, however, that the housework "nagged" her, and thought this would be the key advantage of having a separate work space somewhere else on the farm in the future because then she wouldn't "walk along the corridor and see it there" (40). Unlike Nora Jolly, Nina found that it was easy to be distracted by the housework and to think she had "better just do the kitchen floor" before she 'started to work', noting that "before you know it, you have done no work and it is 11.30 (am)" (24). She also used breaks to do domestic and farm work, such as "wedging in" tidying the kitchen or feeding the animals at lunchtime. She also used the time when documents were printing to do smaller tasks such as make the bed, attending to the washing or tidying the bathroom, observing that she did not tend to "sit at the computer and wait" (51). Cleo confirmed Nina's movement between paid work and unpaid work, and that one of the advantages of Nina's telework as Cleo understood it was that she was "able to do other things if she doesn't have any more (tele)work to do" (37).

With the exception of the cleaner's help, and sometimes because of it, Nina did not receive much assistance with the housework. She sometimes traded-off time with Cleo in exchange for help in preparing the evening meal (88), and Eli also "infrequently" helped with cooking meals (89). Nina felt that the children's lack of participation in housework was her "own fault" because she was unwilling to "nag" them to participate more, and "consequently (she) end(ed) up doing it herself" (85). She felt that not encouraging them to do housework when they were young had "been a mistake", but was resigned to this because it was "history now" (96). When I asked Cleo about this issue her response was that she didn't help with the housework because "we get a cleaning lady in" (26).

Eric also explained his lack of participation in housework in terms of the cleaner, in addition to his sense that the work involved was minimal and limited to "feeding the automatic washing machine" and participating in cooking, which he felt Eli "often" completed (38). Eric limited his own contribution to the "normal husbandly type thing", by which he meant "dishes" (23). Eric did not know what the cleaner was paid or the connection between this and Nina's calculation of her rate to clients, and saw this matter "of no importance as far as (he was) concerned" (38). Eric did not know how any of the domestic labour was organised,

or how Nina managed without his contribution, he simply "assum(ed) either Nina or the cleaning girl were coping" (48).

The Absence of 'Couple Time'

If teleworking allowed Nina to spend time with the children in a way that both she and Eric saw as important, she did not organise her work around her husband's needs and saw this question as "irrelevant" to their situation (115). Nina felt that she and her husband had no "shared interests", and that there was "nothing much we do together at night" (114), an issue Eric also discussed listing their various, but different, leisure pursuits (27).

For example, one of Eric's favourite and most common leisure pursuits, watching television, was something that Nina particularly disliked as a "terribly antisocial thing", and as too passive for someone such as herself who was "always doing something" and "never idle" (37). Not only was Nina not attracted to the prospect of watching television with Eric, she was actively opposed to the whole concept of it and Eric felt this difference created a separation between the couple. He also chose other hobbies which Nina did not share as his preferred means of spending leisure time, and had a workshop some distance from the house in which he pursued his interest in motorcycles. In contrast to separate leisure pursuits, Eric had developed a passion for computer games since Nina had purchased the machine, but rather than this being a source of shared interest Nina saw this as a way of Eric "encroaching on (her) work space". By using the computer Eric also stopped Nina from working, thus complicating the intense competition for the machine that already existed between Nina and Eli (37). The teleworking at night, which suited Nina's biorhythms so well, was for Eric a further means of distancing the couple, and he complained that it, and the housework, "reduced (their) social hours together to zilch" (25). He felt that over time Nina had become "a lot more introverted, a lot more focused on her accounting" (50). By working upstairs and not watching television, Nina and Eric's evenings were "segregated almost", which he described as "one of the hardest things" about her telework (24).

From Nina's perspective there were *no* advantages for Eric from her telework, but many disadvantages including her lack of a stable income, the bad debtors he thought she should "chase up", and his feeling that she was "probably wasting (her) time during the day" (106). Eric did in fact mention a number of advantages of Nina's telework from his perspective, in terms of her availability after school and in the holidays for Cleo, and noted that it gave her time flexibility and reduced the cost of work-related commuting (14). However he concurred with Nina's sense that her telework had no advantages for him *personally,* noting that he was concerned about the loss of income and the "flexibility" that it had offered the

family (19). Eric also emphasised that the telework was "not convenient to his routine, probably the reverse", referring particularly to the lateness of evening meals and Nina's tendency to work at night (15).

Nina felt that the covert conflict between the couple which characterised the first year of the home-based business and which had subsequently "fizzed out" was now demonstrated in Eric's resistance to "ferrying" her completed work into the city when he commuted to work. Nina recounted a recent experience of rushing to get a piece of work completed, which Eric then forgot to take into town for the client for three days (54). Nina saw this as an example of Eric's lack of acknowledgement of the effort she put into the home-based business, and an example of the way in which he didn't "think (she did) anything here at all", and that he did not acknowledge she was "terribly efficient" in terms of getting work ready for clients (54). Another example of Eric's "negative support" from Nina's perspective was that he set certain limits upon the business at night. Nina responded to a question about whether she ever stopped working because Eric asked her to in order to spend time together, by noting that Eric "told me he can't go to sleep because the bloody computer is making a noise outside (the bedroom) door" (117) so that she felt obliged to turn the machine off and go to bed.

Double Days and New Ventures

At the time of the first interview in 1993 Nina had thought that she would "definitely" be teleworking in five years time, once again in sharp contrast to Eric's view, who thought the only reason Nina would still be teleworking would be if tax laws changed such that securing an on-site position became difficult (60). What in fact happened to Nina was quite different, and when I saw her two years later she had taken up work in an office in a small town with her brother who needed a "helping hand" with his business. Nina's brother had initially offered her "rent free" accommodation for her business in his office, in exchange for Nina answering the telephone and doing other administrative tasks, for which he intended to pay her $5,000 a year. Unfortunately the promised fee "just disappeared" because her brother "can't afford an office girl, he just *cannot* afford it" but she continued on in the position out of "sisterly love".

Initially, when Nina had taken on the "helping" in her brother's firm, she had imagined that she would continue to work on her accountancy business in between attending to her brother's business, but found that she did not have time nor the energy for this work during the day or at night in addition to her domestic and farm responsibilities. She said:

You get home and you're so exhausted, it's quite different. Whereas before, because I had a more relaxing day, somehow it's more relaxing working at home, I could work at night. Now I come, by the time you've put your bags in, bought the shopping home with you, started to get dinner, started to do things around the home, and then cooked dinner, and fifty percent of the time doing the dishes and cleaning the kitchen at ten o'clock and you've got to do the ironing, work goes out the window (4).

Nina feared that working in her brother's office could continue for as long as five years, and had considered (although she had not done so) hiring someone else to do the home-based work part-time, to keep the business going. Nina had purchased a second computer and a fax and this along with her other equipment was being used in her brother's office, the new equipment once again financed by a loan from Eli although she still had six months of debt left on the first machine. Nina acknowledged that the home-based business had not made a lot of money in the previous financial year (18) and that she was moving to a new way of billing clients so that she could charge them in smaller amounts to encourage them to "pay better". Nina felt that her problem was that she "charged too little", and calculated during our interview the additional revenue a $10.00 per hour increase to her rate would generate on a weekly, monthly and yearly basis, although she concluded that she would change her prices (14). Nina emphasised that what profit she did generate was used to "support the family", and that she *"certainly"* did not spend any money on herself, noting that she "desperately" needed a new watch, but "just didn't have the cash" (20).

Despite Nina's sense of financial stress and obligation to her brother, she was also considering establishing a new home-based business, selling mail-order information and equipment for pedigree dogs. In part she was reserving her money and biding her time in case she started up this "new sideline"(20), which she hoped to locate in one of the workshops on the farm, allowing her to give up the accountancy work for which she was "never going to be fully qualified". Nina thought this new business would have real advantages because she could claim tax deductions for the cost of attending dog shows and also "hopefully sell equipment" (21), noting that to combine her work with her hobby would mean that she could be "working while I'm there, I'm not wasting my time" (22). Nina was enthusiastic about the likely increase in the popularity of mail-order shopping and felt she was "ahead of her times" as someone with experience of home-based business. She said:

mail-order is going to be the thing of the future. People just haven't cottoned on that in the future ... everything is going to be done from their homes, they're not going to travel half as much. Again I go back to the home, home industry (21).

Nina's sense of optimism about her new business was tempered by her resignation about the burden of "carrying" the children, her husband, the farm and her work and was something she associated with 'women's lot' in the world. She spoke of feeling that she had to restrict her hours once she returned to working in an office because the family left the house very early, leaving her with domestic and farm work to complete before she herself could go to the office. She said:

> Quite honestly who runs the house? Who feeds the animals? You know? I do everything plus go to work. And who gets to work short hours? It's me because I'm carrying everyone else (7).

Nina felt that she couldn't do an eight hour day under these conditions because she was not able to get to work at 7.30 am like the rest of her family, and that by the time she had done the chores she was forced to work shorter hours. Nina felt that if she got help at home from the family she could complete an eight hour day "quite comfortably", but that she *"didn't"* (9). Nina saw no likely change to this pattern of domestic and paid labour, furthering her resistance to taking on more income-generating employment. When I noted that Nina's schedule sounded "exhausting", her response was to say:

> Well that's part and parcel of being female and being married. Unless you've got a fifty/fifty relationship you end up having to do two jobs, you know? I'm not the first person who's done it (8).

Nina may have thought of herself as 'ahead of her times' when she was teleworking, but she also saw her situation as an outcome of her almost total responsibility for the family, the house and the farm. Nina felt that as a consequence of this domestic situation, it was she, rather than other members of the household, who "compromised" because "nobody else compromises" (9).

VI. Tess Flower

Tess Flowers, like Nina Todd, used home-based work as a way of prioritising time with her two children, fifteen-year-old Tori and nineteen-year-old Chas. She also prioritised spending time with her husband Henry, and would take each lunchtime a break from her international business marketing flowers, to prepare a meal for him. Also like Nina Todd, Tess's teleworking followed a period out of the work force looking after children, in this case for more than thirteen years. Tess had been a teacher and had resigned from her position when she had children, because it wasn't a job she:

wanted to combine with my own family. I tend to be a 100 percenter in whatever I do ... A lot of people manage perfectly and that's fine but it wasn't for me, so I gave up work completely (9).

Tess's business grew out of a flower growing hobby that began in 1980 and which she maintained throughout her children's childhood, because it could be "fitted" into time when they were away at school (9). Tess saw an opportunity to combine this hobby and her studies of Thai language, into a home-based flower growing and marketing business with Thailand. Tess was also attracted to this kind of business because it was a form of employment that her husband Henry was interested in as a commodities trader in wheat products. She feared that following her "natural bent" toward academic work might lead the couple to grow apart:

> One of the reasons I went into business, rather than back into teaching, is that my husband and family (father) are involved with business, and my husband never understood when I was working for school why I should be working in the weekend, he'd say "you're not being paid for that Tess". He just didn't have an idea of what academic emergencies there were so I could see that this could be a source of friction for us, whereas in business we talk the same language ... You know I look back and I'm quite sure that, part of the decision-making was this feeling of, well he was giving me all the green signs you know and I was thinking that 'yes, it makes some sense' (29).

Tess felt that because of her family background and Henry's influence she had "absorbed the language of management unknowingly", although she was "not comfortable" with money or transactions. Additionally, Tess's skills and interest in interpersonal relationships were a real bonus when working with Thai clients, where business was oriented around the maintenance of ongoing business cordiality (65). Tess wanted to develop a business as "something for herself", some form of 'career' she could pursue as the children grew older, and wanted to fit it around her husband's needs and interests. She subsequently "made a job" (19) as a commodities trader selling flower products, beginning by developing links with Thailand in 1985, when the children were in high school. In developing the business, Tess was aware that "there was no other person in New Zealand" who had her unique combination of language, marketing and flower growing skills (71). She had thought:

> I can speak Thai and I certainly know about flower growing and (I'll) put the two together and export flowers to Thailand. I expected everybody to laugh, and say

"don't be ridiculous, you can't do that, you haven't had any experience of that", but everyone took me seriously and that's how it began (9).

Tess thus crafted the working life she wanted: flexible work in an area where she and her husband Henry could support each other, where Tess could "use the advantages" of Henry's business expertise, and where the family continued to enjoy the flexibility and proximity afforded by Tess's location at home (29).

By 1989 she had formed a company, secured her first on-going export order, and was beginning to distribute flower products to hotels in New Zealand. In 1993, Tess hired an 'operations manager' to work on commission as a distributor because of the constraints of her husband's business and the impossibility of her moving to a city from which she could pack and ship the flowers. Tess's flower products enjoyed a burgeoning domestic market and an increasingly large number of export orders, and Tess had put $70,000 into research and development to design a specialised container for shipping her flowers nationally and internationally in the year when I first met her.

Tess's business thus went through a number of stages, parallelled by her children's increasing independence and the success of the unique market niche her unusual combination of skills was able to fill. 1989 she sub-contracted the flower growing to a business in another town, rather than growing them herself and packaging them on the kitchen table (315). Tess's exclusive focus thus became marketing flowers and selling the specialist container she had developed for them to other businesses (3/15).This division of labour had proved significant in terms of the 'professional profile' of the business, and Tess was at pains to point out to clients that the flowers were packed "elsewhere" in case they took a business based at home "less seriously" or were concerned about the quality of the product (21/151). She also experienced some credibility problems in the establishment phase of the business, and recalled the company who produced labels for the flower containers calling and asking for the "finance department" of the business (325). Unfortunately, Tess and her family were in the middle of entertaining friends at the time and Henry answered the phone and responded jokingly that they "wouldn't get any money here (and) going on and on and on". Tess had felt somewhat embarrassed about this incident but responded lightheartedly, noting that from time to time callers would ring expecting to find a company and experience the "shock of having a child answer the phone" (325).

Work as a 'Game' and a 'Hobby'

For Tess Flowers, the home-based business was a means of protecting a certain lifestyle to which she and her family had become accustomed, orientated around her availability to particularly her husband and children, and to a lesser extent, her parents and friendship network. Tess emphasised at a number of points in the interviews that she was not a "career woman", which was demonstrated in two areas in particular: namely, the lack of awareness of the extent and success of her business by her family and secondly, by her own orientation to business as a "game". In terms of the first issue, Tess noted that in her thirteenth year of business, her mother had only recently asked her if she was working full-time:

> I keep such a low profile in the city, I don't need recognition from my friends or my family ... my mother said to me just the other day, "Tess are you really working full-time?" (laughs) ... So as far as my mother is concerned (I am available) ... I kept that purposely like that ... I wanted to be available to her (392).

Tess felt that her mother had suffered from being "put down" by her aunt because she had never had paid work, and Tess's "low key" approach was one way for her to avoid being "another one to put her down" (396). Other family members were also 'protected' from knowing the full extent and scope of Tess's business, and she emphasised that she "didn't need their recognition" because she felt "secure, loved and approved of" in her role as a wife, mother and family member. Tess felt that until 1992 "people didn't even think I was working", noting that although the hours were probably the same, the work was "sort of unseen" (195). For her two teenage children fifteen-year-old Tori and nineteen-year-old Chas, their mother's business was visible, in the sense that she was in the home-office working on it, but not "important", in the sense that it didn't inject money "into the household" (368). Tess noted that her self-definition as "not a career woman" led her to fill in the 'occupation' questions on official documents with everything from "housewife" to "company director" to "flower marketer", and that in a recent survey she was asked to complete on entrepreneurs, her initial response, despite the success of the business, was to ask if she was "qualified" (567).

The above should not be read as indicating that being in business was unimportant to Tess; she was aware of her need to feel as if she had achieved and "done well", noting that unlike academic work, as a mother "no one ever gives you a mark" (735). Although Tess was unsure if she would ever feel satisfied she was an 'A+' mother, she was confident that she was a significant figure in the flower growing world and had been president of one of the industry's professional associations for several years. She recounted a story of attending a

flower growers' conference with Henry where he was referred to as "Tess Flower's husband", an experience he "never forgot". She saw this experience as parallelled by the wheat growers' conferences she would attend with him, where wives perceived themselves "according to the position of their husbands" (78/729). Tess "hated" this transference of status from husbands to wives and valued being in business and the independent status it gave her. She saw this as "one of my main motivations for being in business, to have something *of my own*. But it's interesting you would think that would mean that I want recognition, and yet I haven't. It's only for myself" (729).

This tension between identifying with being in business *and* a desire to make that work 'invisible' so that she was "available" to her extended family, is suggestive of Tess's negotiation of work and family responsibilities. In this sense keeping the business small scale enough so that it remained 'hidden' lessened its impact on her family and on her primary identification as a wife and mother. In Tess's case this subtle and dynamic process was also reflected in her metaphoric reference to business as a "game". When I asked her about this imagery, Tess clarified that referring to business as a game was not meant to sound "facetious" but rather to indicate the "unpredictability" of being a commodities trader, something she did take "very seriously" (124). However the analogy of playing a game remained for Tess a potent one, especially in terms of the primary identification she maintained with caring and, to a lesser extent, domestic labour, and her sense that much of her business did indeed feel like 'playing a game' in terms of the emotional labour and presentation of self associated with it.

This complex movement between "playing the game" and the "real" game of managing the family and the large house the Flowers lived in, was an ongoing juggling act for Tess. Her awareness of her positioning was occasionally mirrored by other members of the family as they acknowledged her attempts to *do it all,* at no cost to them emotionally, physically and financially, a juggling 'game' that was sometimes demanding. Her nineteen-year-old son Chas captured this situation beautifully while Tess called home from Thailand to talk about problems with a client's order, when he told his father to "tell Mum to remember it's just a hobby" (366).

Reinvesting Money in the Business

Tess felt that the children continued to see the business as a "hobby" because it did not appear to contribute to the household income (368). The business's developmental costs were "absorbed" by family finances, and the income it generated was "supplementary" household money (11). Nina had purposely started the business "very, very small" (132) and

had been "very, very conscious" of avoiding a large capital investment at the outset, including not investing in computing equipment, dovetailing on to the business phone line that Henry had laid to the house (473) and using family finances to fund the business rather than taking loans (473). Tess saw it as a 'privilege" to be able to start the business under these conditions with no demands on her to support the family with the proceeds, allowing her to "play the game" of business with "the least amount of risk value" (88).

Tess reasoned that "if you don't have overheads, you don't have to make a lot of profit" (473), and had resisted making drawings on her business account "so that it can accrue" to build up the company's "assets". However, the business was not asset 'rich' because the flower production was sub-contracted and the 'goodwill' of the business was associated with Tess's particular combination of language, cultural and marketing skills which she thought were unique in the industry, making the possibility of selling-on the business unlikely (685). The assets did not include computing equipment, and Tess was the only teleworker I interviewed who did not have a computer and who described herself as "totally computer illiterate" (275). Tess used an electric typewriter for faxes or had them typed commercially, and felt that the only computer of any use to her would be the kind where she could walk into her office and say "for Godsake computer give me the figures on such and such", in other words, the kind that at that technological stage didn't exist. By the time of the follow-up interview in 1995, Tess had still not purchased a computer for her large and successful business, although she acknowledged that a means of storing database information for the business would be helpful.

Tess's financial expectations of the business were relatively low, and she wanted to generate enough profit so that she could justify trips to Thailand on a "regular basis". The way Tess conducted these trips was suggestive of her tendency to conserve money and to endure discomfort rather than spend money on herself. She saw her behaviour on these trips as "basically masochistic" because she would seek out cheap airfares that were not direct, and "did not eat" once she arrived in order to preserve her funds (691). She felt that she had "some pretty tough times in Thailand, feeling pretty terrible and coming back in a very bad state from over-exhaustion", but that she preferred this in order to save money and secure future trips (691). Tess's income from the business was thus not taken in salary, but in terms of the "freedom to do things", that is, the freedom to go to Thailand and "have her own money and not have to call on Henry's money" or worse still for Tess, go to Thailand "just as Henry's wife" on the occasional business trips he made there (723). Tess was careful therefore not to mix the business and domestic accounts, so that money remained in the business account for reinvestment (669).

A Large House and a "Little, Tiny Office"

Tess's work space in the house was initially located in a "little, tiny office" which she created out of an outdoor storeroom which was connected to the house. This choice of a small and dark space as office accommodation was interesting in a house which was large enough for the family to refer to certain parts of it as the "west" or "east wing". Because her work space was so small, Tess packed the flowers she grew on the kitchen table. Tess worked in this storeroom office for nine years, until her son moved out of the house and she transformed his downstairs bedroom into an office.

This second office was large enough to hold a desk and several comfortable chairs and looked over a private garden and verandah. It was located between the kitchen and bedrooms on the ground floor, so that although it was 'separate', it was also close to other family living areas. Tess emphasised that in this household "all the rooms are open to all people" and more than anyone else in this study, Tess shared this room with the whole family and with friends because it was a sunny, attractive space to socialise in (307). Tess also felt it created a "cosy feeling" as a enclosed room compared to the large, open plan style of the rest of the house, where Tess and the family sometimes "congregated" to watch television.

Tess's orientation to her home-office was in dramatic contrast to that of Pam Brody, and Tess struggled with whether she should shut the door, let alone exclude other family members from using the space. Tess noted that if something was happening with the business she could shut the door, then modified this to emphasize "I don't, but I could". When I talked about this to Henry he admitted to being unsure about whether he should knock on the (open) door before he came in, something he had discussed with Tess and which she saw as a "joke" with a "little message in there". Tess noted that this "joke" had only emerged in 1992-1993 and that "up until then, no-one, but no-one, ever considered that I was inaccessible" (537).

Tess's use of space suggested the priority she made of being *available* to both her family *and* her clients. For example, she found it difficult to resist checking faxes that arrived in the middle of the night in case they were an order from Thailand (94). Usually it was not an order but "just a bloody problem", but she would nevertheless get up and check the fax once she heard the machine begin to operate in her home office. Although she did struggle with herself about whether she would "get up (out of bed) and see it or not", she invariably did so. Maintaining this "availability" was at times very demanding, and she reflected on one persistent caller from Thailand who always rang at 2.30 am until she pointed out that this

"really wasn't appropriate" (104). However Tess continued to value the "service" element of the business and the ongoing maintenance of working "relationships" with clients at a distance, something she valued more than "profit margins" (83).

'Flexible' Time and 'Couple Time'

Tess was typical of participants in this study in the sense that she 'loved' the "freedom to make my own day": emphasising to choose *when* to work, that she "really enjoy(ed) that, rather than a structured day starting at such and such a time" (29). Typically also, Tess struggled with the ways in which working time 'spilled' over into 'private' or 'family' time, an increasingly significant issue because the majority of the business involved working with clients located in another time zone. Tess had always tried, despite the 'flexibility', to keep to a regular pattern of working from 9.00 am to 5.00 pm including a lunchtime break where she prepared food for Henry and, until 1992, her two children as well (191). Tess also worked one or two evenings a week and some hours on both Saturday and Sunday, organising her routine around Henry's visits to the golf course, foregoing leisure time for time in the home-office (163). In 1993 Tess found this seven day week schedule manageable and said "I don't find work a drain ... I never think curses, I've got to do that" (163). Tess did sometimes find it hard to exploit the 'flexibility' of teleworking time for leisure purposes such as reading because she felt "guilty" (134) noting that she used to have more leisure but that in 1993 "the game has been fairly intense and there's not enough hours in the day to do it" (134).

Tess had always tried to maximise the flexibility of teleworking to spend time with the family, and noted that Henry's "fluid" schedule strongly affected her own, such that if he was late out of the house she was late in to her home-office (176). She would also tailor her finishing time to suit his return home, based on communication they had during the day, where she would "work out (her) programme accordingly" (281). Although Tess stopped work at the end of Henry's working day she sometimes found it hard to "leave a problem behind at work" because there was "nowhere to get away from it". She was aware that "physically moving" would have assisted her in making the separation from the work-related concerns that sometimes disturbed her sleep (88). Henry also reflected on the advantages for him of physically leaving the office. He said:

> At the end of the day I've tidied up all my desk and finished and I come up the hill whistling. I get back and find Tess had all these problems, and I have to get back into it again. I close the door, because your office is up the road, you close the door,

whereas Tess never really knocks off ... even when the fax goes at 12.30 at night, she sort of can't wait to see what it is (504).

However Henry's support of Tess's business was important to her, and the couple would discuss its progress often; Henry had an intimate knowledge of Tess's work in contrast to both Eric Todd and Nicholas Sainsbury. Henry was a "sleeping partner" in the business and Tess had established the company with both of them as directors (401).

Tess had a policy of 'availability' to her husband in the same way as she protected her availability to the rest of her family, and was the only woman in this study who made a cooked lunch for her husband every day (281). Tess thought the advantage of her home-based work for Henry was that she was "totally at his beck and call, to the point that if he wants a spell at work he'll ring me up". This situation was, however, in a state of transition as Tess's business became more successful and she worked to maintain the level of daily contact with Henry that she had during the first thirteen years of the business. For example, in 1995 Tess "often" produced a cooked lunch, but that when she was busy and only she and Henry were at home she cooked a full meal "less and less", noting that Henry sometimes complained that he'd "come a long way for a piece of toast" (185). However, Tess was clear that if the business grew in size to the point that she was in danger of becoming a "workaholic", Henry "would just not accept it".

Being a 'Totally' Available Mother

As the above suggests being *available* to her immediate and extended family and friends was a priority her narrative emphasised throughout, as the following excerpt indicated:

> I *really* enjoyed being available for my family, my kids totally, they were first priority, but available for my husband (Henry) who comes home for lunch every day, available for my parents ... for Henry's parents, my brother, *family* and friends (21).

In the Flowers household, the care of fifteen-year-old Tori and nineteen-year-old Chas had primarily been Tess's, and she regarded her family as "of primary importance" in her life (257). Tess felt that she had "always been in the driving seat at home", and described herself as "far too indulgent" with the children. Throughout the first twelve years of the business she had taken and collected the children from school, been "available" when they might need her, and, in short, been a "totally, totally full-time mother" (169). She said:

I don't think there was ever a time that I actually ever asked Henry to ... do something because the kids were at school camp or something. That's the great thing about being home employed, you can be an intimate part of your kids' lives in all the different facets (352).

Tess had found this focus "a real pleasure" and spoke of the "fantastic years" she had when the children were growing up. She also acknowledged that it was good to have "something that's yours, that is your own challenge and area of satisfaction". The business had provided this focus for her as an individual, gradually increasing in scope and importance as the children's needs for her grew less, but never "at odds" with her primary commitment to them (169). The children had in turn been supportive of their mother's business and assisted in packing flowers in the early stages (319) and "hosting" clients who infrequently visited the house. Tess noted that on such occasions the children's presence was a "real asset" in that they would offer clients "hospitality" (251).

One area where Tess had less success mixing the children with the business was "getting the message across" with regard to answering the phone with the business name and keeping the lines clear for fax and phone calls (330). Tess, like Nina, had trouble making the children to answer the phone with the company's name and gave up "in the end", settling for having the phone answered "politely". However Tess's "100 percenter" mentality meant that in 1993 when we first met, she was temporarily 'free' of the children who were both living in other cities and could thus "enjoy" being a hundred percent focused on the business" (336). In this sense both she and the rest of the family saw the business as a substitute for her previous focus on the children, and she had noticed that her son had rung several times and asked "how's business?", which she felt indicated that he saw the business as a "substitute" for his absence (378).

Tess had in fact felt the need for another focus even when the two children were still quite young, and noted that when the family left the house on Monday mornings she felt "left behind" by their busy, occupied lives (490). Additionally the "little community" of full-time mothers that had surrounded Tess when the children were infants had since taken up paid work, increasing her sense of social isolation (595). These Monday mornings were particularly difficult in terms of "winding up" to the work of the business, although Tess noted that in 1993 there was "too much happening to experience that" (492). Tess felt strongly that in contrast to the "incredible" requirements of caring for preschool children, running a business was much less demanding she felt many of the skills were transferable such as "organising time" and "juggling a hundred different things in your mind", but without the recognition that such skills attracted in paid work (739). Tess felt that if she had

tried to run the business when the children were younger at the level it was at in 1993, "something would have to give" (41). She felt she had been fortunate that as the business increased, the children's needs for her had grown "less and less" because they were older and more independent (490).

Housework as 'My Cleaning For Me'

In addition to assuming the majority of responsibility for the children, Tess also did most of the housework in the Flowers's large home, and insisted on *not* hiring any assistance to do this domestic work (203). Tess thought of the housework as her "exercise", and had a "quirky" possessive feeling that someone else should not be paid to do "my work", "my cleaning for me" (203). Tess felt that she "should" be able to do this work herself, it was "part of (her) living", that is, part of the practice of being a mother and wife. She acknowledged that such a position was a "luxury" and that it would have been more "cost effective" to work on the business and hire someone else to perform this labour (203). Her one exception to this feeling was shopping which Tess disliked, in part because it was a "tie and a real pain" to travel the several kilometres to the nearest supermarket and partly because she resented all the "fancy packaging", although she acknowledged the "hypocrisy" of this as the purveyor of such packaging herself (221).

Tess's "attempts" to encourage the children to do more housework had not been successful, and she felt that her "threshold" for cleanness and tidiness was higher than other family members. However, as the business grew busier she had attempted in 1994 to "make more demands on the kids", and there was some tension between them in terms of the family expecting her to do everything she had before the business developed, in addition to this work (346). In 1994 her son Chas returned to the family home to study at a nearby university and she had come to rely on him more and more to take over the cooking during the early evening which had become an increasingly busy time for the business (4). Tess felt that she could "give up the role of cook" because she didn't think it was one she ever "really enjoyed", and that as it was the "only contribution" her son was willing to make, she "kept him in the kitchen to get any contribution whatsoever" (4). Tess also began to rely on Chas to contribute in specific ways to the business, as his studies prepared him for some of the accounting work that Tess was engaged in. She encouraged his participation because she was "flat out, pulling (her) hair out" and aware that he was in the house sleeping between classes (14). Tess was also aware that her frenetic activity and Chas's relative abundance of time was "saying something" to her in terms of her own stress and activity levels.

The Business Growing Bigger

The increasing size of the business and the sense that it wasn't going to get quieter was something that Tess had been coming to terms with in 1995, giving the example of a company asking her to produce two million of her specialist containers for flowers, which gave her "a bit of a start" (775). Tess did not want to "build an empire" (771) and was already concerned in 1993 that the business could grow "too big, too fast", a concern her father shared in terms of feeling that Tess had "a tiger by the tail" (10). By 1995, Tess no longer checked faxes which arrived in the middle of the night and had grown "accustomed" to the sound of the machine, such that it did not always wake her from her sleep (21). Additionally Tess was working toward creating stronger boundaries between her work and her home life, such that "if I've decided that I've left the (home-office) I don't go back" (21).

In the follow-up interview in 1994 Tess reflected on a concern she had in 1993 of "creeping overload" and her increasing lack of leisure time. She was delaying doing the "hundreds of things" she liked to "do for pleasure" until she had gotten through the particularly busy time she was experiencing, noting that it had "been a particular time for too long" (291). In fact the business did not revert to a quieter spell, and Tess explained in 1994 that the business had "become bigger, and bigger and bigger" (22), doubling its turnover in the 1993-1994 period with the expectation that it would double again in 1994-1995 (12). The implications of this for Tess's earlier enjoyment of 'flexible' time were significant, because rather than 'making her own day' she was increasingly driven by the demands of her Thai clients to work into the evening which represented 'core' working hours in their time zone. Tess's day tended to begin later, when the Thai businesses opened at noon New Zealand time, reaching a peak at 4.00 pm to 6.00 pm and continuing as late as 10.30 pm. This schedule clearly conflicted with Tess's lunch and dinner times with the family, and although she gave away cooking the evening meal, she staunchly protected her lunch break with Henry.

Tess had reached a crisis shortly before the follow-up interview in 1995, where there was "too much work" and where she felt she "couldn't give a stuff" about the business (23). Tess became aware that what lay at the heart of this crisis was not the difficulty of the work but the constancy of its demands upon her, and she realised she hadn't had a weekend off for "I don't know how long" (23). Tess decided to do something about this immediately and for the following four weekends she read novels on Friday nights and "wouldn't budge" until she had finished them, describing this experience as "going all around the world in my books" without leaving the house (24). This crisis thus provoked a new "learning curve" for Tess around the issue of going "stale" and taking time for rest and leisure.

Tess noted that to some extent she was channelling these desires into a beach house the family were building, which Tess saw as a place to unwind, although at this developmental stage it wasn't very "restful" (25). Tess thought that it was "really important" that this holiday home did not "involve any (maintenance) work" so that she was not engaged in such activities in two locations. However, she also thought it was an "absolute priority" that they have a fax/phone line installed in the holiday house because it was becoming "increasingly difficult" to coordinate the business without it (10). Tess struggled with both a desire to have more rest and 'get away from it all', and her desire to continue working without interrupting the business as she moved from location to location. This was leading her into increasingly complex "juggling" acts in her attempts to fulfil them. She gave the example of helping her son to move to the South Island for a year 'on the business', which she turned into a tour of hotels where she sold her products and received business faxes and phone calls at each place they stayed (767).

The real advantage of a 'mobile' business, was, Tess felt, going to be in terms of managing the difference between Henry's increasing orientation toward his retirement and her feeling that she was "ten years behind Henry" in terms of the development of her business. Because she had taken time out of the paid workforce to care for the children, she felt she would be "happy to carry on" when he reached the point of retiring (787). In this sense, a mobile teleworking business was something that Tess thought could be a real advantage because she could continue to work *and* to be with Henry in their holiday home, continuing the pattern of availability that characterised this couple's life together.

By 1995 Tess had $80,000 factored into the business as a salary, making her almost twice as financially successful as any other woman in this study in terms of earnings, although she seldom made drawings for this purpose (33). She had, however, put some of the profits toward buying land for the holiday home, had installed a Thai sauna bath in the house and had more than enough money already invested to cover her taxes for the year (27). She remained somewhat uncomfortable with spending money, noting her "frugal nature' and the fact that she didn't "get any fun out of buying things" (29). She felt at heart that she was an "absolute communist" (30) and that for her, the business was not "profit orientated" because the family were already quite well off and didn't need the income. Her motivation was thus more "altruistic" and orientated toward "doing something"; in this case producing "value added" exports and stimulating employment for her and her 'operations manager' (783). Tess felt that if Henry were to die before her, she would "make all this money" and then "give it all away", although she noted with a smile that the children "might have something to say about that" (31).

Summary: Women's 'Teleworking Tales'

The narratives above, offer examples of the work histories, family relationships and entrepreneurial practices of six home-based businesswomen. Within these 'stories' the recurrent themes of time, space, money, domestic labour, child care, mothering and relationships with partners have been drawn out. These personal narratives suggest some interesting differences between the younger 'career' women and the older women who had spent some time out of the paid workforce. In parallel with these differences was a thematic tendency for the women to negotiate their business *within* and *through* their responsibilities to domesticity, rather than *around* them, a key difference between their 'teleworking tales' and those of some of the men in this study.

I would suggest that these women's narratives suggest their *common* negotiation of three central discourses and the subject positions they offer: those concerning organisational employment, domesticity and entrepreneurship. In their narratives the differences between them, marked by their division into two groups outlined in the introduction of this chapter, suggest how differently-positioned women negotiate the "coexistence and convergence" of these discursive formations (Butler, 1990: 145) where their practices as teleworking mothers allude provocatively to the issues of contradiction and dynamism which characterise the poststructuralist position. Their narratives also suggest some interesting links to what Hanson and Pratt (1995: 227) refer to as the "resting places" of subjectivity and the social and institutional forms which work to fix (but never full secure) certain subjectivities at certain times and places, such as those of mothering. For example, despite differences in their respective identification with domesticity, all of the women continued to remain primarily responsible for it as home-based businesswomen, and employed 'cutting back' strategies in order to 'manage' the simultaneity of the demands upon them.

These narratives thus connect in intriguing ways theorisation of subjectivities and practices, by serving as examples of the "specificity of the construction of actual subjectivities in the domain of discursive practices" (Henriques et al, 1984: 204). The following chapter provides an extended analytical commentary upon the narratives discussed above, and is grouped into three interrelated thematic discussions which explore the multiple subject positions of mother, partner, housewife and teleworker which are at play for women owners of home-based businesses.

Chapter 5

Women Negotiating Discourses of the Organisation, Domesticity and Entrepreneurship

From the narratives of women teleworkers and their families detailed in the previous chapter, certain recurrent themes emerge associated with the subjectivities and practices of the teleworking 'selves'. Practices such as those of child care and housework, of the use and division of time and space, or the control and management of money, lie at the heart of the orientation of this thesis toward the question of *how* people manage the simultaneity of paid work, parenting and partnering in home-based business. Additionally, these narratives are evocative of the relationship between these practices and the discursive construction of gendered subjectivity. Three central sites of discourse emerge as significant, namely those associated with organisational employment, domesticity and entrepreneurship. These discourses both 'constituted' and were 'constitutive' or productive of teleworking women's subjectivities and practices, as they negotiated within and between the realms of 'home' and 'work' as home-based businesswomen.

The following analysis examines *how* these different discourses are taken up, and the consequences of doing so for subjects positioned within a variety of competing possible subject positions, such as those of the mother or entrepreneur. The *multiplicity* of discourses that *could* constitute the subjectivity and practice of teleworking women speaks to the central question of this research, namely how to theorise the contradictory positioning of teleworkers within a complex matrix of discourses, such as those associated with being a parent and being an entrepreneur, which may be experienced with an unusual degree of simultaneity because of the lack of the usual spatial and temporal boundaries between them.

The chapter begins by examining the discourses of *organisational employment* that the women in this research were either actively positioned within at the point at which they took up telework, or which they avoided when they 'chose' to take up home-based employment

rather than return to on-site work. The discursive constructions of organisational employment for women in terms of the timing of work, office politics, the sexual and familial discourses of the workplace, the difficulties of fully qualifying and labour market opportunity are discussed as a means of contextualising the rejection or resistance of the women in this study to their actual or potential organisational working lives. The second discursive construction reviewed here is that of *'domestic femininity'* and the particular framing of feminine subjectivity organised around the injunction to be a 'good' wife and mother. In this section of the chapter the women's affiliation to domesticity is run against their strategies for managing the combination of home-based business, housework and home-based child care, orientated around the theme of 'cutting back' on time spent on their work, their children, the housework, their relationships and themselves. Thirdly and finally, the discourses of *entrepreneurship* are discussed in terms of the use of time and space by home-based entrepreneurs, and the assertion of business a site of teleworking women's 'autonomous' practice and subjectivity. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the crosscutting discursive axes of domesticity and entrepreneurship and the consequences for women who 'do' gender as they 'do' business.

Crosscutting Discursive Axes and Subjectivity

Before engaging in this debate, the theoretical orientation of the thesis outlined in Chapter Two deserves some review in order to clarify how the analysis in this chapter will engage with the narrative material discussed in Chapter Four. As suggested in previous chapters, the subjectivities and practices of teleworking women in this thesis are understood through the poststructuralist suggestion that subjects are positioned between *competing* discourses, where 'discourse' is defined as "systems of statements which adhere around common meanings and values ... (that) are a product of social factors, of powers and practices, rather than an individual's set of ideas" (Hollway, 1983: 231).

This thesis employs a specifically Foucauldian use of the concept of discourse which emphasises not only language, forms of meaning construction and representation, but also the discourse "on subjects" (for example the discourse on mothering) as it constitutes the "lived and actual experience" of subjects (Butler, 1995: 143, original emphasis). Discourses, in this account, do not merely "report" on subjects, but rather come to "articulate the possibilities in which subjects achieve intelligibility" (ibid). This position is not to suggest a form of cultural or linguistic determinism but rather to invoke a dynamic model of 'performativity' where the subject is *constituted in* and *constitutive of* discourse, each time they think or speak, neither fully determined by language nor "radically free to instrumentalise language as an external medium" (Butler, 1995: 135).

Discourses offer multiple, often competing and potentially contradictory ways of giving meaning to the world, and vary in their authority (Gavey, 1989: 464). In the following discussion the discourses of domesticity and entrepreneurship could be said to 'battle' or 'compete' for the subjectivity of the women, and offer different subject positions for them to 'take up' such as those of 'the mother' or 'the professional'. This is not to suggest individuals might 'choose' amongst discourses through the application of their rational consciousness, or that subject positions are "coterminous with the individual" (Gavey, 1992: 326). Rather subjects are always already located within overlapping discourses and are constituted within and through these contested cultural sites (Jones, 1997: 13).

Poststructuralist analyses distance themselves from the liberal humanist concept of choice, such as the 'choice' to own your own business, or the 'lifestyle choice' of home-based entrepreneurship, where choice is figured as the application of a unified consciousness by a competitive and self-maximising subject within the 'public' arena of small business. Poststructuralism is also distinct from the structuralist *rejection* of 'choice', which favours an analysis of the circumscribed nature of 'agency' and the oppressive character of capitalist patriarchy which appropriates women teleworkers' labour as low-paid home-based workers and domestic labourers. In contrast, the poststructuralist view of 'choice' feeds off the notion of 'the subject' as located within conflicted cultural fields of discourses, such as those of the autonomous teleworking entrepreneur and dependent spouse at home. The subject that 'chooses' to telework may believe or imagine themselves to be the author of the subject position they may (temporarily) locate themselves within, such as that of the 'self-made businesswoman'. Because of these beliefs, these 'locations' are not experienced as 'taking up' a subject position, but "lived as identity, as subjectivity" (Heald, 1991: 138). The individual presumes they are "the type of subject humanism proposes - rational, unified, the source rather than the effect of language" where this character of the individual's identification with this subject position is what gives it its "psychological and emotional force" (Weedon, 1987: 31). Poststructuralism thus argues for the subject's "fictionality", while recognising how powerful these fictions are in constituting what is taken to be human (ibid).

This discursive flux is open to "complex reconfigurations and redeployments" (Butler, 1990: 145), rather than the exercise of 'free will' or the striving of a revolutionary consciousness able to perceive the 'real' relations within which it is embedded. That is, the implications of discursive configurations may be uneven and contradictory, rather than rational and progressive as in the liberal model, or inherently exploitative and oppressive as in the structuralist account. Because the subject must be discursively constituted again and again, they are "not fully constrained in advance" because they are figured as a "reworking of the

very discursive processes by which it is worked" (Butler, 1995: 135). Butler argues that there is no "standing outside of the discursive conventions by which 'we' are constituted", but only the possibility of redeployment and reworking of these conventions (ibid: 136). The notion of gender performativity thus does not suggest a conscious performance or masquerade by an intentional self, but rather the processes by which 'agency' is derived from the very "power regimes which constitute us and which we oppose" (ibid). Butler (1990: 145) suggests that the "very injunction to be a given gender take place through discursive routes" including those of the 'good' mother and the 'fit' worker. Teleworking women positioned between these two discursive injunctions "signify a multiplicity of guarantees", in response to a variety of different and simultaneous discursive 'demands' (ibid). The 'agency' of the self thus exists within language and culture, rather than outside and prior to it, where 'agency' appears as the "contingent and fragile possibility opened up in the midst of constituting relations" (1995: 137). 'Agency' is thus not the attribute of the will of an autonomous individual, but a discursive effect (Scott, 1990).

The scholarly project within poststructuralism is then, to theorise the "diversity of discourses that could constitute a decentred and shifting subjectivity ... to see the diversity within and between subjects that differing narratives may engender" (Gibson-Graham, 1995: 179). From this position no particular discourse, such as that of entrepreneurship, would be seen as "inherently liberating" (Pringle, 1995: 210), but rather as 'relational', that is, open to questioning in terms of its relation to other discourses and the contexts in which they are invoked. In pursuing this argument in relation to the teleworking parents in this study, the question becomes: how are women and men constituted and constitutive of the complex play of "constraint and manoeuvre" (Fraser, 1995: 162) that characterises their positioning within a diversity of discourses, for example, those of organisational employment, domesticity and entrepreneurship?

The narratives recorded in the previous chapter suggests the 'contingent' nature of these women's 'choices' to leave or not rejoin organisations, to care for their families and to take up home-based work, constituted as they are within the limits of 'intelligible' gendered subjectivity. In analysing these individual stories of teleworking women the constituted and constitutive power of discourse figures them not as "passive subjects of power" but as subjects with specific kinds of "agency or capacity" (Yeatman, 1994: 94). In these processes, Gibson-Graham argues, subjects "catch a glimpse of themselves as individuals with power in many different ways" in the "momentary performative fixing" through which subjectivity is constantly made and remade (1995: 182).

I. Discourses of Organisational Employment

An initial question that emerges from the narrative material in Chapter Four, and which relates in interesting ways to the telework literature regarding the "entrepreneurial pull" toward telework, is the implications of the women's stories regarding leaving the organisation or not re-entering on-site employment and 'choosing' instead to establish home-based businesses. This discussion begins by examining the sexual and familial discourses of the organisation and the subject positions they offer women. It provides clues as to the increasingly untenable nature of organisational employment for the younger 'career' women in this study, particularly once they had a second baby, given the dominant discursive construction of the disembodied 'ideal' worker.

Why Women Leave Organisational Employment

In Apter's (1993) book, *Professional Progress,* she observed that one of the most noticeable things about women's work was their tendency to give up career track employment, particularly after the birth of their second child, "whatever their previous investments" (1993: 44). Although such women are trained, educated, and passionately engaged with and invested in their work, Apter argues, they seem "unprepared or unwilling, to keep up the climb" (ibid). There are two key reasons Apter identifies in the literature to explain this phenomenon: the *rigid division of domestic labour* (Beckett, 1997; Goodnow and Bowes, 1994; Hochschild, 1989) and *the masculine culture of the workplace,* where culture is broadly defined to include such things as organisational forms, work practices, sexuality at work and the use of language (Cockburn, 1991; Evetts, 1994; Marshall, 1995). The literature tends to bifurcate around emphasising one or other of these factors. Hochschild (1989), for example, emphasises the difficulty women find in managing employment and the 'second shift' of domestic and caring labour where they 'cut back' at work, rather than seek a greater sharing of the responsibilities of home with their partners. Marshall (1995), on the other hand, tends to emphasise the 'male dominated' character of workplaces and the limiting of women's opportunities within them, particularly focusing on organisational conflicts and narrowed opportunities for women in senior positions.

Although the literature on organisations is increasingly sensitive to the issues of workplace culture and subjectivity, this difference in emphasis suggests a problematic tendency to focus on constraints engendered *either* inside of *or* outside the home, while the narrative material in this study strongly suggests the significance of *both* factors to the final decision to leave. For example, the women's narratives in this study indicate that the final impetus for leaving

organisational employment was associated with *both* the major life change of having a second baby where there were then two pre-school children to care for in the household, *in addition to* unsustainably high levels of workplace conflict. These circumstances were also contextualised within women's allegiances to, and support within, organisations that pre-dated these decisive events and which, in combination with expectations on them to provide caring and domestic labour, ultimately led to their self-employment at home rather than their continuing employment on-site.

The argument below suggests that employment *and* domesticity are two dominant and simultaneous discourses which constitute and are constitutive of the subjectivities of women who work within organisations. This is not to argue that either of these discourses is monolithic or totalising, as within and between each are tensions which women workers negotiate on a day-to-day basis. Rather these discourses are dominant in that all of the women teleworkers in this study could be positioned in relation to, and were affected by, the discursive construction of the 'home' and 'work'. Located as they were between the injunction to be 'good mothers' and the injunction to be 'fit workers', the women in this study wrestled with hierarchies and practices of the organisation. Leaving the organisation and 'taking up' home-based entrepreneurship, despite the challenges, costs and economic insecurity of doing so, suggested the difficulties some women experienced in managing domesticity and paid employment on-site when they had more than one small child to parent.

Rejecting the 'Masculine' Culture of the Workplace

The 'masculine culture of workplaces' that Apter (1993) identifies is one of the key issues deliberated in the 'women and work' literature in terms of the discursive construction of the 'masculinity' of organisations. Marshall (1995: 309) argues that these masculine organisational cultures are constructed by such things as the presence of men as a numerical majority, the tendency for women to experience inequality of opportunity in recruitment and career development practices, and the tendency for interpersonal and collective interaction to reflect stereotypical or degenerative images of masculine behaviour within the organisation.

In terms of the latter point, the 'ideal' worker of the organisation is assumed to experience a strong boundary between their 'home' and 'work', and to be focused on their commitment to the organisation. Acker (1990: 151) argues that women have a ambiguous relationship with the 'disembodied' self of the organisation which has no emotions, no sexuality and does not procreate. Women's ability to emulate this disembodied 'ideal' is significantly mediated

by the gendered subjectivities and practices of heterosexuality and mothering where the 'ideal' itself obscures and reproduces underlying gender relations within employment.

Marshall (1995: 297) develops this idea in her research, when she identifies the motivations for women managers leaving organisations, some of whom went on to establish themselves as self-employed business people at home. These women cited the following factors as significant to their leaving, namely: *organisational cultures* (office politics, hostile and male-dominated cultures); *jobs which become untenable or lacked opportunities* (narrowed organisational opportunities); *organisational conflicts and a lack of recognition* (difficult relationship with boss/senior colleagues, feeling unappreciated); *stress and tiredness* (difficulty maintaining a viable sense of self, unbalanced overloaded life); *identity factors* (incongruity between inner and outer images, major life change); and *fostering relationships* (wanting more time with husband and family) (ibid: 293).

All of these factors are implicated in the women's 'teleworking tales' in this study. All of the six teleworking women had some form of professional work within organisations before setting up home-based businesses, four directly and two after some years of caring and domestic work at home. Pam, Jo, Nina and Roz were part of the growing group of women who succeeded in organisations with a preponderance of men. Each had experienced elements of unequal opportunity in terms of decision-making and parental leave protection, and each emphasised the ways in which they experienced the cultures of their organisations as 'alien' in ways which reflected the over-determination of masculine values and practices. That is, each of them reflected on the lack of 'fit' between their subjectivities and practices as women and mothers and the prevailing organisational discourses associated with the 'ideal' of disembodiment and the primacy of work subjectivities. For example, each of them found difficult organisational practices associated with working long hours, the expectation of maintaining full-time continuous employment, travelling for business, and the expectation that employees follow their work from place to place. These practices dynamically interact with certain forms of subjectivity where having a 'career' is associated with a primary identification with organisational perogatives above other life interests, maintained in part by the clear and distinctive 'split' between 'work' and 'home' and the concealment of the latter in the work arena (Collinson and Hearn, 1994).

Clearly such practices and forms of subjectivity which constitute 'intelligible' working selves within the organisation are problematic for those with significant responsibilities for the care of dependents. Yet the narratives of the women in this study suggest the tenacity with which they held on to organisational employment and 'disciplined' themselves to conform to 'masculine' work cultures, typified by the practices and forms of subjectivity suggested

above. However, each of them acknowledged in different ways the difficulty of maintaining this approach in the longer term, especially when they had more than one small child to parent. In order to unpack the 'masculinity' of organisational cultures and its implication for the women in this study, the following discussion is grouped below around the issues of time, office politics and the implications of sexual and familial discourses in the workplace.

Time in the Organisation

For each of the women in this study, a lack of time in combination with the more rigid structuring of time in the organisation was experienced as stressful and tiring, making the prospect of 'flexible' time within a home-based business highly attractive. Each woman discussed time, although from their different positioning as part-time workers or full-time 'career' women. For example, Nina's story emphasised the difficulties of rushing between two different part-time jobs and the stress of juggling two rigid timetables which squeezed out time for food and rest in her working day. Pam and Jill, conversely, focused on the length of their working week. Pam explicitly rejected returning to an industry where sixty hour weeks were the norm, and Jill complained of the unrealistic timetables of clients within the computer industry. Interestingly, Jill was obliged to conform to these time regimes even after she left the organisation to engage in contract work at home, and she could only sustain the eleven hour days the work entailed on a periodic basis with the assistance of two full-time domestic workers. Roz's approach was different again in that she did not attempt to continue the use of time that she had established as a single woman without children, although her narrative contained some nostalgia for a previous self that worked sixty hours a week in "every spare minute" to "pump" out her work. For Roz, becoming a mother was her first rupture with this 'careerist' subject position, and she experienced becoming a part-time "peg" in the institution as a serious threat to her understanding of her relationship to the world. Roz's changing time commitment to the organisation in terms of the contraction of the hours she worked was to signal her more thorough-going marginalisation within it.

The conflation of time with commitment and productivity makes organisations "alienating" for women, according to Apter (1993: 35), where 'tough' hours challenge women's ability to participate in organisational employment. Each of the women in this study rejected the rigid structuring of working time within organisations, the expectation of full-time continuous employment and the lack of opportunity to pursue rewarding part-time or flexible work. That they did this having managed for a period to 'juggle' the responsibilities of 'work' and 'home' within the context of organisational employment, suggests that the timing of organisational work is one of a *combination* of factors that makes such employment untenable for some women. Each woman also organised time differently once

they were located outside of the organisation, suggesting that the extended, full-time hours model was replaced by a *variety* of practices: from working five 'short' days a week (Pam), to combining two days a week in paid work with other days devoted to child care (Roz), to periodic re-engagement with the regime of the sixty hour week for certain months of the year (Jill).

The Displeasures of Office Politics

A further element of workplace cultures that a number of the women reflected on as problematic was organisational 'office politics'. Marshall noted the significance of office politics in her study, which lead women managers to feel "excluded, under attack, less than effective, marginalised and isolated" within organisations (1995: 309). In the study at hand, Roz became disillusioned with the "politics of meetings" and the "power games and deceit" (46)[1] that characterised the culture of the organisation in which she worked. She saw her "management base" as built upon "respect, honesty, integrity and openness", which she felt were incommensurate with the "modern politics" of the organisation that employed her (46).

Marshall (1995: 155) notes that the experience of difference from and rejection of the politics of the organisation can be a diverse experience. Women's feeling of being 'alien' within the masculine culture of the organisation may lead to an attempt to disguise feelings of difference. As in Pam's attempts to 'take up' a "non-gender role". Conversely, a position of marginality and difference may be taken up defiantly, as in Jill's insistence that she take Computer Ltd to the Labour Court for sexual discrimination. In Mackinnon's (1991) study of Australian women teleworkers, office politics were similarly significant to women's decisions to leave organisational employment. Office politics were discussed as a site of masculine power struggles that the women in her study felt "bound to lose", with concomitant implications for their advancement possibilities within the organisation (1991: 117). Such a sense of resignation that she was 'bound to lose' accompanied Pam Brody's discussion of the "crappy politics" (51) of the organisation in which she had been employed. The importance of this issue to Pam was demonstrated by a lucrative career position she was offered after she established her home-based business which she saw as unattractive because it involved "heaps of shit". Pam, Jill and Roz thus felt at odds with the politics which characterised the workplace cultures of the organisation, which had employed them and from which they wished to distance themselves.

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[1] These numbers refer to the original paragraph number within the transcript from which the excerpt was taken.

Sexuality in the Workplace

Another theme that emerges in the literature regarding masculine work cultures concerns the appearance of discourses of sexuality as a key component of the supposedly 'non-sexual', 'public' arena of work (Adkins and Lury, 1996; Pringle, 1988 and 1989; Witz et al, 1996). In Pringle's (1989: 161) work she argues that to treat the 'private' realm of sexuality as "a relic of past forms (of organisation) is entirely to overlook the appearance of new forms of power and control based around the construction of sexuality". Pringle suggests that rather than existing in "separate social spaces, public and private occur simultaneously within one social space" (ibid), where men often have more choice about the extent to which they keep their 'public' and 'private' lives separate. The women secretaries in her (1988: 51) study did not have this degree of control over the delineation of 'public' and 'private', where discourses of sexuality in the workplace were in evidence in the ways male bosses presumed to comment on the women's dress and physical appearance, required personal work and housework from them and called them at home.

Discourses of sexuality were also at play in the stories the women in this study told about the organisation. In Pam's narrative, being 'read' as sexual within the organisation was figured as problematic because it was associated with not being taken seriously. This motivated her to construct her subjectivity and practice at work through the notion of a "non-gender role", where Pam felt that there was a distinction made within the organisation between people who were treated "like people" and those who were treated "like women", the latter associated with being treated "like a fluffy little thing around the place" (76). Assuming a "non-gender role" for Pam included modifying her dress style to avoid looking too feminine, being careful about her use of language, avoiding rising tones at the end of sentences and "maintaining a business gaze", by which she meant avoiding looking at peoples' mouths when they spoke to her (78). This account suggested some interesting parallels with Apter's (1993: 122) research, where she also found women who self-consciously minimised their "feminine self presentation" including language, mannerisms and attributes of their physical appearance which might be read as sexual.

Pam Brody's practices could be understood as an attempt to emulate the liberal humanist construction of the 'universal' individual who has "no emotions, no sexuality" (Acker, 1990: 151), where the constituting power of this discourse lead Pam to attempt to erase elements of her feminine subjectivity and practice. Such attempted erasures are suggestive for Marshall (1993: 5) of the ways that "women are not defining, influencing, and changing (work) cultures as significantly as many people had expected or hoped", where 'intelligible' business practice continues to draw upon masculine normative definitions.

In other narratives generated in this study, sexuality within the organisation was figured as 'dangerous', such as the 'harassing sex' which contributed to Nina's decision to leave the organisation. Pringle (1988: 94) argues that sexual harassment in workplaces underscores both the prevalence and centrality of discourses of sexuality in the supposedly non-sexual realm of the workplace and the ways in which sexuality, harassment and joking are used as routine elements of managerial authority. Nina explicitly recognised the entwinement of managerial power and 'harassing sex' in the organisation when she parallelled being an employee with being required to do "exactly what they say" in terms of both paid work *and* sexual relations.

Sexual harassment and violence in workplaces was also raised as a motivation for teleworking, in the rather surprising context of a high profile conference on the subject held at the Sheraton hotel in Auckland in 1991 by Laurie Hilsgen, the co-author of the highly successful book, *Working from Home in New Zealand* (1994). Hilsgen revealed, in a conference otherwise dominated by male speakers focused on technological and managerial considerations with regard to telework, her serious fears of being attacked as a journalist, where late night work was unavoidable. She cited as an example a woman who was raped and killed in a nearby office when they were both working late at night. Hilsgen had 'chosen' telework for the additional *security* she felt it offered her in terms of working in the presence of her husband, and felt that "teleworking has eliminated that worry for me on nights when I can't wiggle out of working late" (1991: 58).

Although women in Aotearoa/New Zealand are as frequently raped in their own homes as they are on the street or in the workplace, and those who choose, as Hilsgen has, to live in a remote area are vulnerable to delays in support services, the sense of being safer at home and in the company of one's (male) partner adds a new dimension to a literature otherwise silent on such issues. However, these concerns do surface in the industrial homework literature, especially in response to the issue of 'cultural safety', where women from ethnic minority groups may seek home-based work as a 'sanctuary' from sexual harassment in the workplace. That is, home-based work may allow such women to remain within a familiar language and cultural context, and to protect themselves from being sexually preyed upon, while simultaneously conforming to cultural expectations that may dictate that a woman's place is in the home (Armstrong, 1992c). Testimonies such as Hilsgen's offer a different but related experience and give voice to the often deep anxieties and sense of danger that women may feel within their workplaces, anxieties which prevented Nora Jolly from returning to her office in town at night because it was "dark and spooky" compared to working at home where she could "still see (her) hubby on the couch watching telly". Although sexuality at work may be a source of pleasure and contribute to the constitution

of subjectivity in the workplace, it may also contribute to the weakening of women's commitment to paid employment, to their sense of belonging within the organisation, and to their desire to withdraw from it into home-based work.

Familial Discourses in the Workplace

Pringle's (1988) analysis also suggests that in addition to sexualised discourses within the workplace, gendered familial discourses also constitute workplace subjectivities and practices. Pringle (1988: 216) argues that familial discourses are "as central to work as (they are) to domestic relations", not only because of the congruence between some women's paid work and domesticity (such as cleaning or caring work), but also because "authority in the workplace is organised around family symbolism". Pringle emphasises that sexual and familial discourses in the workplace are not just "imported from outside" the organisation, that is, from the 'private' sphere into the 'public', but rather are actively *produced* within the discourses of the organisation (ibid). While organisations *appear* sexless and gender neutral, discursive constructions of sexuality and family are central to power relations, practices and subjectivities at work (McDowell and Pringle, 1992: 160).

Jill East-Land's account most dramatically demonstrated this point in this study, in terms of her extended conflict with her male manager once she became a mother, where discourses of the family were generated at work and articulated in Jill's manager's preference for women to be "barefoot and in the kitchen". Jill's response was to determinedly work to position herself within the liberal humanist construction of the individual who believes they can 'do anything if they put their minds to it', including engaging in international business trips while breast-feeding. Despite Jill's successful appeal to the 'separate spheres' discourse of liberalism, where procreative and domestic labour does not disrupt the individual's commitment to self-maximisation in the 'public' sphere, she was nevertheless subject to her immediate boss's preference that 'mothers stay at home'.

Jill's attempts to emulate the 'disembodied ideal' of liberal humanism (Acker, 1990) could not be fully secured because she was still 'read' as primarily a mother despite her attempts to continue with her work as before. Black and Coward (1981) make this point very clearly when they argue that women are marked and defined through specifically feminine, sexed categories, while 'being a man' is discursively constructed not as an entitlement to masculine attributes, but to 'non-gendered subjectivity'. The Personal Narratives Group (1989: 5) similarly observe that although men are affected by the social construction of gender, for men "gender has been an unmarked category", while women's narratives reflect their negotiation of gendered subjectivity, whether they accept gender norms or defy them. The

consequences of such familial discourses within organisations on women may be profound, as suggested by the negative effects upon Jill's advancement in the organisation, earnings, access to lucrative 'perks', and movement out of her specialist area of expertise into accountancy. In addition to these costs, this organisational conflict required Jill's engagement in a stressful form of office politics which Marshall (1993: 5) identifies as "embattlement", the heat and passion of which "become a way of life, but are demanding to sustain" because they render the individual "continually vulnerable and volatile".

Indeed Jill blamed her second pregnancy on the stress of her experiences within the organisation, which in combination with further organisational restructuring made her continued employment with them untenable. Marshall's (1995) work is relevant in this context in terms of her observation that women's decisions to leave organisational employment are influenced by both powerful mentors and powerful *enemies,* where the latter may be those unwilling to accept women in business. Although the women in Marshall's study resisted, "the resulting tensions, and the feeling that they could not be remedied, contributed significantly to the women's decisions to leave" (ibid: 223). Familial discourses in Jill's workplace took the shape of a corporate culture which did not tolerate women with children well, that worked best "for the entrenched elite: white men with few family obligations" (Apter, 1993: 253).

Is Leaving the Organisation a 'Defeat' or a 'Triumph'?

The above argument has suggested that teleworking could be read as a 'retreat' from 'toxic' organisational environments, but it is a qualified retreat, because as Jill's narrative account testifies, some women do not leave without a fight. Marshall (1995: 20) asks if the women who left organisations in her study could have done more to "create, resist and change" the organisations in which they formerly worked, and whether they colluded in their own disempowerment. Narratives such as Jill's record strong challenges to male managerial power, the constitution of active political subjectivities in workplaces, and attempts to change organisational practices in ways which potentially make spaces for other women, that is, both *engagement* with and *resistance* to the organisational 'masculine' culture of the workplace. As with the women in Marhsall's study it may be that in some cases what stimulates home-based work is the sense that some work environments are too difficult to change, or too difficult to inhabit in the longer term, especially when one has more than one small child to parent.

Leaving organisational employment to establish home-based businesses could thus be represented simultaneously as a *triumph* and a *defeat*, a duality also observed in

Hochschild's (1989: 196) study. That is, leaving the organisation could be read as a 'triumph' in so far as it signals women formulating lives over which they feel they have more power and control, and often only emerges as a 'choice' *because* of the success these women have already achieved in a "major evaluative framework of Western societies, that of employment" (Marshall, 1995: 330). If some work environments are experienced by women as 'toxic', then withdrawal into home-based work is one attempt to craft an alternative subjectivity and practice in paid work that is publicly viable and "sufficiently authentic personally" (Marshall, 1995: 158). Self-employment at home could also be read as a 'defeat', in so far as leaving the organisation underscores the way women's embeddedness within it may be fragile and their shaping of organisational cultures and practices less than successful. If 'retreating' into home-based work is read as women's 'weakness' and lack of suitability for the rigours of the workplace, then dominant discourses shaped by masculinity will continue to prevail within organisations.

Domesticity and Women's Reluctance to Re-enter Organisational Employment

As suggested above, the second reason Apter (1993) identifies in the literature to explain why women give up career employment focuses on the *rigid division of domestic labour*. Expressed another way in terms of this study, for some women the constraints and pleasures of domesticity and the seeming rigidities of life in the organisation together preclude their re-entry into organisational employment. The analysis below will explore these issues in terms of the primacy of domesticity, the difficulty of becoming fully qualified and reduced labour market opportunity for women who have spent time out of the paid workforce and who 'chose' not to re-enter organisational employment.

The Primacy of Domesticity

For Nora, Nina and Tess the primacy of domesticity to their subjectivities as women was a significant part of their motivation for taking up home-based business. In contrast to the younger 'career' women, they had each conformed to more traditional expectations and withdrawn from paid employment to parent their children when they were young. This in part reflected a generational difference in the study between Roz, Pam and Jill, who became mothers in the eighties and nineties, and Tess, Nina and Nora, who had their first children in the sixties and seventies. Christensen (1997) makes a parallel point in relation to her study of American teleworking women, noting the striking differences between those who became mothers in the 1950s and who identified primarily with domesticity, and those who became mothers in the 1970s and who grew up expecting to have paid work. In this study a parallel but different generational difference was visible. The older mothers expected to have some

considerable period out of the paid work force caring for children (eight years in Nina and Nora's cases, more than thirteen in Tess's), while the younger women expected to have brief periods of maternity leave (as little as six weeks in Jill's case) before re-engaging, in Jill and Pam's cases, in full-time work while their babies were still breast-feeding. The pattern of contrast that Christensen observed between the mothers of the 1950s and the 1970s is thus intensified in this study between the mothers of the 1970s and the 1990s, as the women took less time out of the paid workforce when they give birth and took up longer hours of work when they re-engaged in paid employment.

The three older women's pathways into teleworking shared some similarities: all gave up teaching careers when they had children and all prioritised "being there" for the children. The Jollys held the belief that "one parent" should be at home with the children, while the Todds and Flowers talked about children "needing their mothers". Each couple prioritised the men's work as 'breadwinners' with regular salaries who were likely to generate much more income than the women. It fell to the women to fulfil the commitment to the children and the house, such that they expected that any income-generating work that they engaged in would be organised around the primacy of this responsibility. Within these families, teleworking was a way for these women to accommodate the prioritisation of their husband's paid work over their own, which maintained and reinforced a division of domestic labour which saw the children and household work as theirs. The discursive construction of the 'good' mother, wife and 'secondary earner' meant that for these women, earning an income was limited by, and pursued through, gendered practices and enacted in the gendered subjectivities of domestic femininity.

The primacy of domesticity, and the compromising of the choice of career in order to 'fit in with' her husband's preferences, was reflected in Tess's discussion of not being attracted back into teaching because it was "too demanding" with a family and would have restricted her availability to them. An additional sense of constraint was engendered by Henry's response to the possibility of Tess pursuing her "natural bent" toward academic work. Tess experienced Henry's disapprobation for working on the weekends on "academic emergencies" because he felt she wasn't paid to do so, an experience she feared would continue as a source of "friction" between them. Tess felt that as a home-based businesswoman she and her husband "spoke the same language", where practices like working in the weekends, or discussing work at home, made sense to Henry as the actions of a 'invested' business owner and operator. By becoming a commodities trader like her husband, Tess found 'flexible' work where the family could continue to enjoy the close proximity afforded by her location at home (29). However, it was these very advantages

which undercut the status and acknowledgement of Tess's business because she continued to be primarily identified as a wife and mother.

Apter (1993: 149) emphasises that although women are penalised for taking "time off" for domestic duties, many 'chose' paid work which is less demanding with fewer promotional opportunities. Such women "chose" less demanding work, according to Apter, because like Tess, they want to maximise their availability to their families. Apter describes such 'choices' as "special female compromises" where "internal and external aims and constraints" are mapped on to women's experience of both family and 'work' (1993: 45-6). However, Apter's invocation of a liberal discourse of 'choice' somewhat obscures the context of *constraint* engendered for women such as Tess who recognise that the smooth functioning of their domestic lives relies upon their labour and availability. Tess's narrative is also emblematic of the 'resting places' of multiple and dynamic subjectivities where the discourses of mothering and heterosexual coupledom worked to fix (but did not secure) the subjectivity of the 'available mother' irrespective of, in Tess's case, the development of a successful, international business. That Tess managed to maintain many of these commitments *and* to have a successful business suggests that she did manage to 'have it all', but in order to do so she worked long hours and sacrificed her leisure time. If Tess 'had it all', then all that could be had was always already inscribed within the asymmetrical gendered relations which constitute both 'home' and 'work'.

The Challenge to Qualify

A further implication of the primacy of domesticity for Tess, Nina and Nora was the impact it had on their completion of training and qualifications. Tess and Nora pursued training both before they were married and after their children went to school, in ways that were commensurate with their primary responsibility for the house and family, in Tess's case by engaging in part-time language studies, and in Nora's, by pursuing on-site training in her part-time job. Tess's work history conforms to the experience of some of the women in Apter's (1993: 138) research who developed hobbies into small cottage industries; Tess's flower growing hobby was able to be maintained throughout the children's childhood because it could be "fitted' into time when they were away at school (9). Apter metaphorically compares 'hobby' entrepreneurs like Tess to enterprises during recessions, in that they manage to keep training and careers 'ticking over' until opportunities re-emerge, in Tess's case when the children were in high school. Although this strategy was successful for Tess, it also limited the seriousness with which her work was taken by the family, as indicated by Chas's quip to "remind Mum it's only a hobby".

While the gaining or updating of qualifications is both a challenge and success in and of itself, such qualifications do not guarantee successful re-entry into employment. Apter noted in her study that employers *did* actively discriminate against women who took as little as eighteen months out of paid employment to perform caring work, and that such women were "downwardly mobile" within organisational hierarchies, frequently returning to lower-level jobs (1993: 149). Such breaks were seen by employers as a "handicap" because they insisted that equipment, the market or policies had changed in the women's absence or that they required retraining (ibid). This in turn links back to familial discourses within the organisation discussed earlier, where any rupture of the pattern of full-time, continuous employment can be seen as grounds for a reassessment of women's commitments to the organisation and their place within it.

Additionally, for some women the challenge to qualify or update their skills is just too difficult, as Nina's experience in this study suggests. In a context of regulation of accountancy services, Nina's lack of these qualifications was a distinct disadvantage, but the challenge of engaging in two more years of full-time study to finish her degree, in combination with her age, the loss of income, the fees entailed and the hostility her husband felt toward her study, militated against her doing so. Nina's situation paralleled the experiences of some of the women in Hochschild's (1989) study who felt they were disadvantaged by the lack of a tradition of 'putting your wife through college'. A number of women spoke of shouldering the burden of both paid and unpaid labour while their (male) partners engaged in study, hoping that such experiences were temporary and would result in an increased standard of living for the whole family (ibid: 233). However, none of the women in her research received similar support (1989: 223), and indeed Hochschild found some men *stopped* sharing domestic labour once their (female) partners began to study for a degree, and many more could not imagine being better off when wives completed their training (ibid). One man, feeling deprived of "attention and service", shouted into Hochschild's tape recorder that he "hated" his wife's dissertation because "you can't eat it. You can't talk to it. It doesn't buy a vacation or a new car" (ibid: 223-224). Women in these situations may take on *more* of the burdens of domesticity and continue to contribute to income-earning activities in addition to their studies, in order to 're-balance' the power in their relationships which may swing out of kilter as they become better qualified (ibid). Although for the Todds, Nina's completion of her degree would have been advantageous economically and improved her opportunities to gain 'career' employment, it may have disturbed elements of Nina's constitution of herself as an 'available mother' and further antagonised her husband in a context of considerable ongoing conflict. The 'self-maximisation' of Nina as an individual in terms of her 'career' was thus limited by her positioning within the discourses of mothering and heterosexual coupledom.

Reduced Labour Market Opportunity

A further implication of Tess and Nora's positioning as primarily identified with the home and family, was the effect of this on their opportunities within the labour market. Unlike Tess, whose motivations for teleworking were primarily stimulated by the desire for a focus "after the kids", Nora's, and even more so, Nina's telework, was driven by economic necessity. As the children grew older and after an eight year absence from the workforce, Nora looked for income-generating employment that suited her responsibilities to the family while she followed her partner's career from place to place for seven more years. In this context returning to teaching was not a possibility for Nora, her husband's work demanded too many moves, and she wanted to be 'available' for the children after school.

Many studies attest to the difficulties women face in finding well paid 'flexible' work and the cost of discontinuous employment for their career advancement (Brocklehurst, 1989; Evetts, 1994; Hamblin, 1995; Probert, 1989). In this context Hamblin (1995: 485) suggests that teleworking is a 'compromise' made necessary by the "continual inequality of (employment) opportunity and (the) inadequacy of child care facilities". Women teleworkers show up in surveys as 'relatively' satisfied with their employment because, according to Brocklehurst (1989: 55), they make a comparison with other 'women's work' and thus with their more restricted options. In this context telework can be read as a flexible, 'family friendly' choice of employment, but a 'choice' which is significantly compromised by the lack of alternatives.

For example, Nora's decision to telework was explicitly a response to her awareness of the limited possibility of finding high skilled and high paid, flexible, part-time work that was commensurate with her responsibilities to the children. Nora emphasised the "restricted" employment opportunity she experienced, which she saw as limited to cleaning or "stocking supermarket shelves" (36), a perspective her (now) fifteen-year-old daughter Rose supported as undesirably low skilled and low paid work (14). Both mother and daughter felt that despite Nora's teaching qualification, a woman returning to the workforce after a considerable absence would be forced to do such "menial work" because that was the "only kind of work you can get to fit around your family" (298).

Hochschild (1989) reflects on the circularity of these processes for women and men. If women's subjectivities are more 'decentred', that is, less invested primarily in paid work, and if their employment comes second to their partner's in terms of pay and status, they will carry more of the domestic labour and provide more of the "backstage support" for their husband's work (1989: 254). Because this support is unequal or unreciprocated within the

relationship, women's personal ambitions contract and their advancement within careers and increase in earnings are slowed. Thus the inequality in domestic labour, and the unpaid and unreciprocated contributions women make to supporting men's paid work, contribute "not only to her husband's success but to the expanding wage gap between them" (ibid). What is critical in this process, Hochschild argues, is not only the income generated by the work women do but the *value* couples place upon the woman's job. Hochschild found couples where a significant wage gap existed in their earnings, but where the husband shared domestic labour because both thought her work was valuable and important (ibid: 225). Evaluations of the importance of the relative value of each job was determined by such things as the investment in education, occupational status and the expectations partners made of one another. The more value placed on the man's job, the more support he receives in terms of domestic labour; while the less support the woman receives for her work, including her partner sharing with her the 'second shift' of domesticity, the less important her job becomes (ibid: 254).

Hochschild's account is compelling because of the interactive relationship she posits between labour market conditions and sexual divisions of domestic work, where issues of subjectivity feature in dynamic tension with the materiality of money and the practices of domesticity. Interesting also is the surprising convergence of factors, where women's contributions to household income are not necessarily grounds for greater contributions to domestic and caring labour on the part of men. This provocatively suggests the complexity of these processes, where the amount of money earned or the qualifications gained interact with gendered subjectivity, where women may forego demanding that men participate more in domesticity in favour of being 'allowed' to pursue careers and education. For Nora, Nina and Tess, who had been entirely devoted to domesticity for considerable periods of time, who had qualifications that were incomplete or required updating, and who constituted themselves as secondary income earners and/or 'not career women', pursuing organisational employment was problematic in contrast to the 'choice' of establishing a home-based business.

Summary: The 'Choice' to Leave or Not Re-enter the Organisation?

The narrative material detailed in Chapter Four and discussed above suggests two clear pathways into teleworking, one from 'inside' the organisation into home-based work, the other out of domesticity into self-employment at home. Both pathways are suggestive of the discursive construction of the 'good mother/wife' and the 'fit worker', and the ways in which women struggle with these simultaneous discursive injctions and the demands they place upon them.

In Nora's account, teleworking appeared to be more 'family friendly' and attractive than low paid, low skilled, part-time work within organisations; but it might also be the case that if more 'family friendly' workplace policies were in place, women such as Nora would be better enabled to re-enter organisational employment. Although apparently 'flexible' (and I will take up presently the issue of whether the practice of telework is *experienced* as flexible), the kind of businesses these women set up were economically risky, in Nina, Pam and Nora's case low paid, entailed long working days, and occurred in a context where these women did not experience the protections as employees they might have enjoyed if they had returned to an organisation. Located as some of the women were within the domestic arena as full-time housewives, and given the limits on their participation in 'careers', flexible but risk-fraught employment as home-based businesswomen was the "special female compromise" they pursued (Apter, 1993: 45).

For Pam, Jill, Roz and Nina, leaving the organisation to take up self-employment was an option they 'chose' in preference to struggling to remain within it. Their narratives suggest that their movement out of on-site employment was not simple or unproblematic. Rather, these transitions were marked by sometimes intense conflicts within organisations, a sense of futility in attempting to remain within "alien" workplaces and a high degree of ambivalence about the implications of leaving in terms of career advancement and income. In the search for an alternative work culture and a chance to more actively 'control' their working lives, these women in this study made the bold step out of the organisation into self-employment at home. The concomitant risk to their financial security, career development and sense of themselves as professionals, occurred in a context where all were expected by their partners to re-establish themselves in business and to contribute to family income. In a labour market where men are rewarded more for their working time, where more work time is increasingly demanded by organisations, where work cultures remain inflexible and where predominantly women remain associated with domesticity, changing the division of domestic labour within homes and the practices of paid work within the organisation remains slow process.

'Choosing' to telework, rather than rejoin organisational employment or continue within it, can be 'read' as an example of women's negotiation of their positioning within and between the discourses of 'work' and 'home'. Analyses of the why women 'take up' home-based work requires an examination of both sides of this dynamic: to reflect on telework as a response to the inflexibilities and sexualised hierarchies of organisations, and to the continuing expectations of partners and children that women will continue to perform the majority of unpaid work in the home. In their stories the women in this study did 'act' and 'choose', but they did so in the context of the asymetrical division of domestic labour, the

inflexibility of organisational employment, and the forms of subjectivity and practice associated with both, which *constrained* their choices and actions. Although such women are positioned within constraint, they are not entirely so as in a structuralist reading, for telework itself indicates what may occur in the spaces *between* two contradictory discourses and the subject positions they offer: those of women as primary caregivers/housekeepers and women as entrepreneurs.

It is significant that leaving or not re-entering organisational employment and setting up a business at home is an available "pattern of possibility" (Marshall, 1995: 160) for these Pakeha, educated, professional women, and the presentations that I have given on this topic suggest it is attractive to many more. Leaving or remaining outside the organisation is thus not only a personal 'choice', but 'intelligible' (Butler, 1993: 3) as part of the wider discursive contestation and reconstruction of 'home' and 'work', as these narratives of the primacy of domesticity or untenable organisational positionings attest. Telework emerges in the midst of these "constituting relations" (Butler, 1995: 137) where women positioned between the discursive injunctions to be 'good mothers' and 'fit workers', search for the spaces *between* them. In the following section, *how* women 'take up' the discourse of domesticity in relation to their home-based businesses will be explored in more detail, in terms of both the pleasures and burdens of 'doing' domesticity and 'doing' business.

II. Discourses of Domesticity and Mothering

Section One above discussed Nora, Nina and Tess's constitution of their subjectivity through the primacy of domesticity, the effect of this on their work histories and their subsequent unwillingness to engage in paid employment on-site. In this section this argument is extended to an examination of the discursive construction of domesticity for *all* of the teleworking women in this study in terms of their negotiation of the sometimes complementary, sometimes contradictory, subject positions of professional businesswoman and mother. The following analysis will review the women's reactions to being 'boring mums' versus 'being there' for the children; men's lack of participation in domesticity; and the practices of 'cutting back' at 'home' and at 'work'.

'Stepping Out of the Workplace' and 'Stepping into a Mould'

If teleworking provided a means of exiting difficult or 'toxic' workplaces for Pam, Roz and Jill, then it *also* provided a means of financially and socially resisting the perceived low status and isolation of becoming a full-time mother at home. Apter similarly observed that the professional women in her study experienced a sense of disorientation and distress at the

prospect of new motherhood, and feared that by "stepping out of the workplace" they would be "stepping into a mould", especially the mould associated with their own mothers (1993: 130-1). Roz Jeffs's story of becoming a mother was an example of this dynamic where she discussed becoming very depressed after the birth of her first child because of the low status, isolation, economic dependence and constancy of mothering, and the disjuncture between this subject position and that associated with being a 'career women'. Roz articulated her negative experience of the sharp transition from being a "high flying manager" to "being at home looking after a little child and coping with that" in terms of the "post-natal depression" she suffered during this period, noting that "there were some days I thought shit, why have I done this?" (230).

In response to this depression Roz resumed three days' work per week with her previous employer, despite the low pay that such work entailed for her. For Roz the decision to telework after her *second* child's birth signalled her fatigue at attempting to maintain her 'stake- hold' within the organisation and her awareness that she could not return to her previous practices as a 'career woman' with two infants to parent. Hochschild (1989: 127) noticed a similar pattern, where women's juggling of paid work and domesticity that was intensified by the birth of their first child, reached a crisis with the second. This pattern was evident in the narratives of Pam, Jill and Roz. Roz's resolution of this 'crisis' was to withdraw from organisational employment into self-employment at home in order to retain a "toe" in her career. Roz felt that her business was "certainly second fiddle" to her commitment to her marriage and the children, but also described parenting as the "hardest thing (she'd) ever done" and as a "24 hour a day job". She positioned herself as not like her parents or sisters, that is, "full-time at home with children" (234) as she did not want to give up paid employment "completely".

Motherhood was thus both a 'privilege' and a threat to Roz, where she feared becoming totally aligned with domesticity in case it precluded her re-entry into professional employment and the relinquishment of her status as a career woman. Apter accurately captured the ephemeral yet curiously viscous grip of such fears when she observed that women who decide to change their "career tack" to have more time with their children are "caught around the neck by that ghostly shadow of the traditional mother" (1993: 131). Although Roz looked forward to a time when the children were more "settled" and she could "get her teeth into a full-time position" (234), she remained effectively 'caught' in domesticity during the three years of the fieldwork. Even though she was offered high status, full-time employment within an organisation, she rejected this offer because of the disruption it would have entailed for her children and partner who had come to rely upon her proximity and availability at home.

Rejecting Being a 'Boring Mum'

Running parallel to the concern about losing one's place in career employment by withdrawing entirely into a full-time domesticity, was Jill, Roz and particularly Pam's resistance to the subject position of the 'boring housewife'. These individual concerns in turn link to the low value attributed to domestic work and the declining cultural status of the full-time housewife (Apter, 1993; Beckett, 1997; Habgood, 1992; Hochschild, 1989; Wearing, 1996). With the 'marketisation' of many of the products and services previously provided by the full-time housewife, women who 'just' stay at home may develop the "defensiveness of the downwardly mobile" (Hochschild, 1989: 244). Additionally, as the "job culture" of contemporary societies expands at the expense of the "family culture" (ibid: 231) and money becomes a "dominant symbol of honour and worth" (ibid: 245), the unpaid domestic and caring labour of women within the home, Hochschild argues, is increasingly devalued and defined as "not real work" (ibid).

In response to the low status of domesticity in the wider culture, feminist accounts have been centrally concerned with the significance of domestic labour and its pivotal importance to both patriarchal and capitalist relations. Oakley's classic study *Housewife* (1974) emphasised the relationship between the exclusive allocation of the housewife role to women, its association with economic dependence, its primacy for women, and its spatial location within the 'private arena' of the home, as critical to its status as 'non-work'. Oakley argued that domestic labour not only served individual men but was central to capitalist relations through the reproduction of workers on an day-to-day and generational basis, reinforcing women's secondary position within the labour market.

The re-evaluation of these arguments in the 1980s questioned the assumed centrality of women's domestic labour to the continuation of capitalist production, where Ehrenreich (1992: 143) argued that no matter what the value of the full-time housewife's labour, "fewer and fewer men (earn) enough to support one". With the decline in the male 'family wage' and the increasing participation of married women in paid employment, the net amount of housework performed decreased without capitalist accumulation being seriously compromised by "unironed shirts and cold breakfasts" (ibid). As men showed an ability to survive on "fast food and the emotional solace of short-term relationships" (McDowell, 1992: 190), the institution of the family and the pivotal importance of the housewife within it posited by socialist feminist accounts began to break down; 'the family' began to look more like "an improvisation than an institution" (Ehrenreich, 1992: 146).

The implications of the declining cultural status of the full-time housewife for some women in this study, was that they were actively opposed to their alignment with full-time domesticity. Pam Brody described herself as "*very* defended" (505) about the prospect of being a "boring housewife", and feared that the balance of power would change in her relationship if she became a full-time mother. In contrast to the ways Pam experienced herself as powerful in relation to her career, she had found the spectre of full-time mothering a frightening descent into depression during periods of maternity leave. If children were for women of an earlier generation their "only accomplishment" (Hochschild, 1989: 230), then Pam's experience of her own mother's full-time care was to describe herself as "suffocated". She felt she had never been "very comfortable" as a full-time at-home parent and found it "very lonely", and the "loss of status and income just devastating" (158). Apter noted a similar dynamic in her research, where one participant described maternity leave as "torture" in terms of the boredom and listlessness she experienced during this time, arranging working lunches at home as soon as she could "sit down without wincing" (1993: 128). The implications of a similarly conflicted positioning for Pam were two-fold: she wanted to 'be there' for her infant and primary-school-aged children and she wanted to avoid the social definition of herself as 'just a housewife' and the threat it posed to her hard-won status as 'career' woman. When I questioned Pam about whether her career was still as important to her now she was working from home as it was when she worked on-site, she described her "self-identity" as "integrally tied up with work", associating this identity with "being a professional" and being "financially independent" (172). Such sentiments were similarly expressed in a nationwide poll in the United States, where more than sixty percent of women indicated that they preferred to work rather than stay at home, even if they had enough money to live as comfortably as they wished, and 87% gave one of the reasons for working as the "sense of accomplishment and personal satisfaction" it provided (cited in Hochschild, 1989: 242-3).

Despite the clarity with which Pam saw the importance of her 'career' to her life and self-definition, she still felt she had to struggle to maintain this position, that she had to "defend" the "importance of (her) work or (her) right to work, against other things" (509). Domesticity was figured in Pam's narrative as an *encroachment* on her primary identification as a career woman and home-based entrepreneur, and she resisted this encroachment strenuously, as suggested by the emphasis in her narrative of her struggles around "independent" space, time, computer access and money. Furthermore, Pam's narrative suggests the importance of 'denaturalising' the connection between heterosexuality, reproduction and motherhood, in favour of attention to the more complex and multi-textured relationship between them (Gutterman, 1994: 226). In this case, teleworking was an attempt by Pam to position herself within the discourse of the 'good mother' *without*

sliding into being a 'boring mum'; an attempt to reconcile her desires as an individual to work and have a measure of financial independence from her partner *and* to fulfil her responsibilities to her children.

On 'Doing Gender' When You're 'Doing Housework'

If Pam, Jill and Roz were positioned in struggle with full-time domesticity, then Nora, Nina and Tess all positioned themselves firmly within it when they established businesses at home. This alternative positioning curls back to the critique "capitalism-plus-patriarchy paradigm" of socialist feminist accounts of domesticity. Ehrenreich (1992: 145) argues that this model offers an "over personalized" vision of capitalism 'interested' in housewives' labour, and conversely, a 'depersonalized' analysis of women's caring and domestic work which leaves little space for an acknowledgement of women's desires or pleasures in relation to their families and homes:

> once all the interactions and efforts of child raising have been reduced to 'reproducing labour power'... there is no place for human aspiration or resistance. Once it has been determined that 'all the processes involved in domestic work help in the perpetuation of the existing society' the women who perform these 'processes' have lost all potential autonomy and human subjectivity (1992: 145).

Fenstermaker Berk (1985: 201) elaborates on this point when she stresses the importance of women's desires to the practices of mothering and housework, where what is being 'produced' is both household goods and services (meals, clean children and so on) *and* gendered subjectivity itself. Fenstermaker Berk contends that women "do" gender as they "do" housework and child care, and that through these practices the "material and symbolic products of the household are realised" (ibid). What Marshall (1995: 98) makes of this suggestion is that women are "active agents" in constructing their subjectivities; that they have "some choice about whether they perform or resist gendered stereotyped behaviour" and what meanings they give to these gendered "performances". As the discussion in Chapter Two indicated, this thesis argues against the notion of the unified subject positioned outside of, and able to 'choose' between, different discourses, and argues instead that such gendered performances *constitute* and are *constitutive of* the subject as they are 'taken up' by her. In this model the subject is neither fully determined nor radically free to 'choose' as Marshall's account suggests, but constituted in and through the act of 'doing gender'.

Tess Flower's resistance to hiring a cleaner and Nora's difficulty and sense of "failure" when she felt unable to continue 'her' domestic labour without help, are suggestive of the

constitutive power of domesticity upon women's conceptions of themselves as 'adequate' mothers and partners. The connection between gendered subjectivity and the practice of domesticity is also suggested in research regarding the "emotionalization" of domestic labour, where preparing food, for example, becomes associated not only with feeding the family but with fostering family loyalty and affection (Pringle, 1992: 151). Pringle observes that tasks of this "emotional magnitude" are not easily delegated to "servants" because of their entwinement with heterosexual and maternal love (ibid). For example, the commitment both Nora and more particularly Tess had to providing their partners with lunchtime meals when they were working at home full-time, is suggestive of the significance of certain forms of domesticity to the maintenance of intimacy and heterosexual partnership.

Furthermore, Mulholland (1996) and Kondo's (1990) research provides compelling reading with regard the importance of the performance of domestic femininity to the constitution of *masculine* subjectivities. For example, the importance of the "job" of being a "middle-class, educated housewife" is central to the constitution of the "executive man" in contemporary Japan. The practices associated with the housewife, from flower arranging to managing household repairs, in addition to the forms of subjectivity associated with it such as "graciousness, competence in practical affairs, a sense of the aesthetic and cosmopolitan", are an important counterpoint to the "all-consuming career of the white-collar executive" (Kondo, 1990: 281). Mullholland (1996) suggests a similar dynamic for the 'wives' of "self-made entrepreneurs" in the United Kingdom. Such women shoulder almost entirely the tasks of managing domestic and caring labour, describing themselves as like sole parents in this regard, and also offer direct support for their husband's entrepreneurship in the form of secretarial work, public relations and business-related entertaining. Additionally, these women's daily practices included the emotional labour of "shielding spouses from domestic problems" and "acting as counsellors" to their spouses (1996: 241). Both studies suggest the ongoing importance of the practices of domesticity, even where servants *could* be used to off-load elements of it in these affluent households, in terms of the symbolic and emotional content of domestic femininity to both the family *and* entrepreneurism. This is not to raise again an argument for the instrumental function of domestic femininity within relations of appropriation, but rather to suggest that domestic femininity as it is *performed* by middle-class women is central to the enactment of both their own subjectivity and practice and the backdrop against which is played the 'heroic' story of the 'self-made man' or the 'white-collar executive'.

If futuristic visions of women urged them into the workforce, leaving automated processes and robots to fulfil 'their' duties, such visions failed to come to terms with the way in which the practices of domesticity have a "strange, sticking link to notions of femininity" (Apter,

1993: 57). These "sticky" forms of subjectivity and power which run around and through women could be compared to honey in their "various degrees of fluidity and sticky congealment" (Grosz cited in Caine and Pringle, 1995: xi). The 'stickiness' of domesticity, mothering and heterosexual coupledom in turn relates to Hekman's observation that being biologically female is "indistinguishable" from and 'sticks to' those qualities women are told they *"should* possess in order to be feminine" (1994: 51). Thus, although servants or robots could complete domestic work, it was important to some of the women in this study to 'do it' themselves, and in the process to 'do' gendered subjectivity.

Additionally, a number of theorists (Apter, 1993; Carby, 1982; Pratt, 1993) call for a more robust analysis of 'the family' as a site of "passionate interest, of love and ambivalence, of enormous personal investment" which is also implicated in the analysis of the 'stickiness' of domesticity to female subjectivity (Apter, 1993: 58). Such analyses would investigate how the practices and subjectivities of the 'home' connect with and express women's own pleasures and desires, as well as faciliating the appropriation of their labour. Tess's description of the time when she was a full-time mother as "fantastic years" and "a real pleasure" cannot merely be dismissed as the exercise of 'false' consciousness by a women duped by patriarchy. At the same time, Tess's alignment with the construction of herself as the "totally indulgent" parent and the attentive wife had *consequences* for her 'career' and the development of her teleworking business, in particular the lack of recognition of her business success and her continued responsibility for domesticity.

Narratives such as Nora's and Tess's encourage feminist scholars to take seriously and attend to women's subjectivities and practices as mothers and 'homemakers', as a valuable and valued arena of physical and emotional labour. As Cox and James have suggested:

> among women who identify themselves with domestic life ... (they) trade a secondary position in society as a whole for *security and supremacy in the household* ... women value their domestic and emotional strengths. They do all they can to maintain them and find meaning in them. In the world as they experience it, only the private sphere seems to offer them the opportunity to live as they wish (1987:18-19, emphasis added).

Women in this study spoke of their homes as 'safe', 'secure', 'attractive', as places where they had more control and autonomy than within the 'public' world of organisational employment. While homes may be sites of violence, abuse, economic dependence and powerlessness, they may also offer security and a degree of control that for some women may be unavailable in the arena of work.

Men's Problematic Participation in Domestic Labour

The other side of the production of women's gendered subjectivity within and through domesticity pivots on and against men's *lack* of participation in housework and child care and the underdevelopment of 'domestic masculinity'. An important difference between the narratives of the teleworking women and men in this study was that irrespective of the women's alignment with domesticity vis-à-vis business, domesticity strongly affected their practices and subjectivities as home-based entrepreneurs and all of them managed 'their' domestic lives in a way that the teleworking men did not.

A major theme in feminist accounts of domesticity and its effects on paid employment for heterosexually partnered women focuses on the issue of men's lack of participation in domestic labour (Beckett, 1997; Hochschild, 1989; Stacey, 1991). Hochschild's (1989) study is perhaps the most relevant one to the discussion at hand, in that her focus, like the question that shapes this thesis, concerns *how* women manage the 'second shift', parallelling the concern here regarding the negotiation of competing subjectivities and practices of paid work, parenting and partnering in the home. Hochschild (ibid: 24-29) argues that, if women have been drawn into paid employment and have less time, if men have resisted being drawn into domestic labour, and if the work of raising children and caring for the house have remained relatively constant, then questions of "who does what at home and what 'needs doing' become key" (1989:13). Stacey (1991: 259) similarly observes that women have added the "burdens and benefits of paid labour to their historic domestic responsibilities", while men have been less than eager to share the "responsibilities and rewards" of parenting and housework. For example, popular books such as Brown's, *Having it All* (1982) and Shaevitz's, *The Superwoman Syndrome* (1984) offer women advice on how to do it all *without* change in men, how to be women who are *different* from their mothers but married to men who are not very different from their fathers (Hochschild, 1989: 28).

In this study 'who does what at home and what needs doing' are particularly significant because of the location of teleworking businesses within households. For the women who had previously identified primarily as career women, this issue pivoted off the way that partners drove away each day to work (as they themselves once did), leaving the women to deal with both domesticity and the business. Nicholas Sainsbury provided a very clear exposition of this point and the conflict he and Pam Brody sometimes experienced when he 'left her' with the house to clean before she began work because it was a "work place" that needed "a certain standard of tidiness" (36). Nicholas was nostalgic for their previous lifestyle, where *both* of them left the house in the mornings and the nanny came in to perform this work for them, because it had engendered less conflict. In their household, the

outcome of these struggles was the re-delegation of domestic work to paid help in addition to Pam's "reframing" of housework. In the past the housework had been a source of "immense" "aggrievement" (469) for Pam, who saw it as having to "clean up after other people". When she established a business at home she decided to "choose" to see housework as "creating harmony and order" (467). Rather than continue to fight with Nicholas, Pam's 'choice' was one response to her unequal responsibility for domesticity and her inability to 'walk away' from the house as her partner did. Pam needed to deal with domesticity, both because it was *identified with her* as a mother and partner, and because as a workplace she felt the house 'needed' to be kept tidier.

The literature further suggests that where men do 'help' with domestic labour they tend to choose when they make contributions and to "specialise" (Collinson and Hearn, 1996: 67). Collinson and Hearn note that such "specialisations" include playing with children or putting them to bed, waste disposal and household repairs and that such tasks are preferred by men over the more "time consuming, supposedly mundane and indeed socially subordinated" daily tasks of cooking, cleaning, laundry and the routine care of children (ibid). The implications of such 'specialisations' for the teleworking women in this study was that they could *not rely on* their partners' contributions to domesticity because those contributions were neither comprehensive nor constant enough to significantly ameliorate the pressure they felt as their businesses became busier and their time to perform domestic labour contracted.

A further factor that inhibited Pam, Nora and Nina's renegotiation of a greater contribution to domestic labour from their partners was that they feared that if their partners contributed more at home, they would have to make greater contributions of money out of the business and into the household. Nina was particularly embattled with her husband around this issue, where she refused to relinquish running a business at home, irrespective of her low earnings as long as she remained responsible for most of the work of the house, family and farm, focusing instead on the inadequacy of her husband's contributions as a 'breadwinner'. Hochschild (1989: 223) observed in her study that the couples who were least happy were those where the husband "neither earned the bread or cooked it", and although Eric was fully employed, his earnings were not enough to support Nina as a full-time housewife. Even when there was a desire for the men to participate more in housework as in this case, Hochschild (1989: 202) identified a number of strategies men in her study successfully used to avoid domestic labour, some of which Eric also employed. He would, for example, 'play dumb' indicating that he "had no idea" how the cleaning was organised, or use a 'needs reduction' strategy to argue that the children were "independent" and the farm "ran itself".

Hochschild's (1989: 194) study further suggests that some women wanted their partners to share domestic labour but didn't ask for such change because they "wanted the role - and whatever power came with it - themselves". For the women in this study whose subjectivities were shaped by the years they had spent full-time at home, there was a similar sense of loss and threat that was associated with partners beginning to take on more responsibility at home. Nora's case was an example of this in terms of the decline in Nathan's career and his growing participation in the care of the house and the children. Nora did not always welcome Nathan's increased participation, especially when it concerned the emotional care of the two children. Nora spoke of Nathan's earlier practice of 'doing what she asked him to do', where she was "the one who had to think of asking" (466), but that when he began to take more initiative in terms of 'owning' the task of calling the children after school, she had found this "difficult" because she saw this caring work as "*her* job" (799). By the time of the follow-up interview, Nora had reclaimed her central role in relation to the children, setting aside a half day a week to complete some of the domestic and caring work associated with them and the household more generally, such as taking the girls shopping after school. Nora's reassertion of her primary position in relation to the house and the children was suggestive of the centrality of domesticity to her subjectivity and the way she manoeuvred to reclaim domesticity for herself.

The Practices of "Cutting Back" at 'Work' and at 'Home'

The argument that has been sustained to this point in the chapter has pursued the idea that women who run businesses from home are 'caught' by, or entwined within, the 'threads of power' associated with the discourses of domesticity and mothering. In different ways each of the women in this study responded to the discourse which suggested that the house and the family were their responsibility, *in addition to* their contributions to income-generating employment. If these responsibilities were theirs, and if male partners were selective in their contributions to domesticity, then the women used other means to *manage* 'home' and 'work', such as those practices associated with the notion of "cutting back" discussed in Hochschild's research (1989: 196-197).

Before beginning this discussion it is worth noting that throughout this section of the chapter the word 'management' or 'managing' is used to describe the negotiation of domesticity. This is not to invoke the notion of a rational person 'in charge', if indeed managers could be said to typify this form of instrumental rationality, but rather to offer the notion of managing as negotiation, compromise and coping. I want to argue here that women teleworkers positioned between competing demands 'manage' or *navigate business through domesticity*. In order to do so, one strategy they employ is to 'cut back', and these

practices are discussed below under the following headings: cutting back on work and hiring others to help, cutting back on the children, the housework, the relationship and finally themselves.

Cutting Back at Work

Hochschild suggests (1989: 196) that working mothers in part manage the 'second shift' by cutting back their hours and commitment to paid work. In this study Pam, Jill and Roz, who had been in full-time employment, used the establishment of a home-based business to 'cut back' on their previous commitments to sixty hour weeks. Although they had maintained these commitments for a period during the infancy of their first children, this pattern proved to be unsustainable after the birth of their second child. But if taking up work from home was a means of 'cutting back' their hours of paid work, the hours these women engaged in once they set up their businesses, although 'flexible', were often very long and more likely to be engaged in at 'unsocial' times such as nights and weekends. Additionally, once they established businesses at home, 'cutting back at work' became harder to continue to use as a means to manage 'home' and 'work' because homes were no longer a 'sanctuary' from paid work into which they could 'retreat', but rather the locus of their business activity.

Nora Jolly's is the most interesting story in this regard because she began her business as a means of engaging in part-time work that would allow her to *maintain* her commitment to being at home for the children. Once the business had become established, it gathered a momentum that took as much time as she could give it, including time usually devoted to sleep, leisure and the family. She described the business a number of times as a "treadmill" that she was increasingly unable to "jump off", because of the lack of a spatial and temporal boundary around her work (185). Nora subsequently moved the business *out* of her home as a means of 'cutting back at work', taking an afternoon 'off' each week, and using the receptionist to 'cover' for her by explaining her absence from the business as "playing golf with the orthodontists". That Nora felt compelled to move the business 'on-site', and that Pam Brody felt "exhausted, and it's only February" (ie one month after the summer holiday break as it is observed in Aotearoa/New Zealand), signals the difficulties some of the women were having in using a 'cutting back at work' strategy in the absence of the usual spatial and temporal boundaries around their paid employment.

Cutting Back by Hiring Paid Help

As the preceding discussion suggested, women who run home-based businesses 'manage' their households in order that they may do so, where negotiating greater contributions by

(male) partners was problematic. In every case other than Tess Flowers's, the women used some of the money generated in their businesses to hire other women to perform some of 'their' domestic labour, assistance which was (not surprisingly) especially needed by the women who were mothers of infant children.

However this means of 'managing' domesticity has also raised some significant questions and dilemmas for feminist scholars. With characteristic prescience Evelyn Fox Keller (1989: 318) asked:

> When educated, middle class women are relieved of the burdens of caring for life ... we might ask what happens to the place of the values associated with ... life caring in the larger culture? ... Where in the social order are their replacements to be found? Who will now be shouldering (these) responsibilities?

While Fox Keller's elision of femininity and "life caring" is problematic, the question she raises is a significant one in Aotearoa/New Zealand where state provision of child care, for example, is both underdeveloped and under attack. Yeandle's (1997: 15) pan-European study of non-standard work is relevant in this regard, in that she examines the re-emergence of the use of private domestic workers in dual earner families where both partners have professional or managerial work. Yeandle argues that this re-emergence is "an especially important source of polarisation between women in societies where the state has not accepted responsibility for enabling parents to participate in the labour force" (ibid). Yeandle found that this trend is particularly significant in the United Kingdom and Germany, and that this work is frequently undertaken by "poor women" whose families are dependent on state benefits. Additionally young women who lack alternative employment opportunities, such as non-European Union nationals working as au pairs, may take up such work, a common pattern for young New Zealand women undertaking their 'overseas experience'.

Although the middle-class women in pursuit of 'having it all' lifestyle are held out as models to other women, many women cannot afford to hire others to clean their houses or care for their children: 42% of all New Zealand women in 1993 earned under $10,000 a year (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1993: 68). Hochschild (1989: 232) further observes that the implication of child care and housework being outsourced to "lower paid specialists" is that the value accorded to this work further declines, concomitantly making it even less likely that men will take it up. If fathers 'pass the child care buck' to their partners, then these women pass it to child care workers, each one wanting to feel good about this delegation and tending to deny or diminish any problems (Hochschild, 1989: 232). Ben Jeffs, for

example, emphasised the "extraordinary rapport" Roz had with the children and her "uncanny ability to switch into them", which he contrasted to his own "struggles". For her part, Roz was careful to limit her requests that Ben help with the children, resisting using him to care for the children in the case of her own sickness or unavailability and was unusually unforthcoming on the quality and character of the child care her children received from the day care centre.

Hochschild (1989: 121) found that what the women in her study wanted in a child care worker was in fact a 'second mother', not a babysitter. When such women paid others to care for their children, they got many of the attributes of the attentive suburban mother but not the "soul of that person" that is, the "planner, the empathiser, the mother herself" (ibid: 121). This desire was clearly visible, and to some degree met, in Pam Brody's relationship with her child care worker and personal assistant, Kay. As the mother of a child with special needs for medication, and as a business owner requiring the help of someone with specialist desk-top publishing skills, Pam had been looking for a very particular kind of assistant. However, when Kay applied for the job she in fact could not do either of these things, which suggested that she 'fitted' what Pam needed in another sense, as an older mother who had a high commitment to her 'work' and experience of 'juggling' family and employment. When Kay spoke of her job she did indeed see herself as like a second parent and housewife, where she described her and Pam's labour as interchangeable, because they were "both mothers". Whomsoever of the two of them was doing the "priority work" (ie work for the business) would be left to do so while the other went and attended to the children and the housework (51). In this sense Kay's role in the house was very broad, from housework, to child care, to the work of the business, so that she thought of herself as "running two households, mine and hers" (13).

Kay was what the women in Hochschild's study dreamed of, but could not find, a 'second mother' for their children, a situation no doubt facilitated by the fact that Pam was herself always present and able to direct Kay in order to maximise her role in this regard. Interestingly, Kay's juggling of her own mothering and domestic labour was significantly more 'boundaried' than that which she performed for Pam, which she described as a "service", doing "anything to make their lives easier" (16). In order to be so focused on Pam's household, Kay preferred her own children not to call her at work and was curt with them when they did so, felt uncomfortable when they were sick and she had to bring them to work, and delayed or cancelled her after-work commitments in order to be more available for Pam's. If Pam 'passed the buck' of child care to Kay, then Kay 'cut back at home' in order to take it up, limiting her availability to her own family in order to be "totally available" for Pam's. It was not surprising that given these practices and Kay's identification

with the children and the house, her eventual departure from the job was an enormous loss for Pam, something she experienced as "completely devastating".

Cutting Back on the Children

Another means of 'managing domesticity' used by women in this study and identified by Hochschild (1989: 196-7) involves 'cutting back' on the children. Such 'cutting back' occurs in a context in which what children "need" is far more than it was fifty years ago, including intellectual 'stimulation', good schooling, entertainment, constant care and good health (Apter, 1993: 106). In contemporary families, time to offer this care and the financial means to purchase the goods and services required by 'superkids', places more and more demands on parents, requiring new allocations of scarce time and resources. Additionally the care and nurture of children are "hot" issues within families, picking up on questions of "fairness and equality, of respect and recognition, of the value of one's time" (ibid: 107). Apter quotes Fuch's estimation that children have lost ten to twelve hours of parental time per week since 1960, but notes that the solution to this 'famine in family time' is to spread the responsibility for children to fathers, employers and government, rather than complaining about the shortcomings of the much beleaguered working mother (ibid: 111).

In the context of shrinking time for parenting, a discourse valuing children's 'independence' has emerged. Hochschild observed the ways parents in her study cut corners in the physical care of their children (ibid: 197), arguing that they were not 'latch key' children but 'self-care superkids' (ibid: 231). There is little evidence in this study to suggest the women were 'cutting corners' with the physical care of their children, but there was a tendency to value independence in children from a young age. Pam Brody discussed finding ways of keeping one-year-old Grace out of the home-office by occupying her in "developmental tasks" which she did in her bedroom alone, for as long as an hour and a half (364). Similarly, Nora Jolly talked at length of the limits she placed on her availability to the children, emphasising their independence and encouraging their awareness that "the world doesn't revolve around them". For example, the children were not allowed to "burst in" to the home-office after school, but directed to go into the house to "do their own thing" (77). However, the home-based business set limits on 'doing their own thing' where Mara and Rose were not allowed to jump on the trampoline, play loud music, dance in the living room, run around in the back garden, giggle audibly with their friends or use the phone, because it interfered with the 'professional image' Nora wanted to project in her home-based business.

An important tension that emerged in the study, was that although all of the women were in part motivated to take up home-based business because of their desire to be available to

their families, all of them then significantly *limited* how much access they allowed between the children and themselves once their businesses were established. Sometimes this issue was dealt with fairly matter-of-factly such as Jill's comment that the temporary caregiver's role was to "distract" the girls so that she could get on with her work and that this was "her job". In other cases, such as Nora's, the issue of availability was a source of "guilt" and anxiety. Although Nora was "there" for the children "physically", she felt she was "wasn't there ... emotionally" because she was focused on the business (282). Similarly, Christie Sainsbury-Brody talked of appreciating her mother's physical presence at home, but also felt that she wasn't 'available' to her and could only be interrupted over issues of physical threat, such as "if the house is on fire" (149). In the case of Christie and Pam, Pam's lack of availability to her daughter, and the limits the business placed on Christie's use of the house after school, was a significant source of conflict between them. Kay described Pam "going off her rocker" at Christie for interrupting, and telling her to "get out" of the home-office (77), while Christie complained, 'that's all you ever care about, work, work, work' and she says 'that's not true' and I say 'why don't you spend some time with me?' and she says 'I will later'" (161).

This argument is not presented as a criticism of the teleworking mothers in this study, but rather as an indication, contra to the literature on the 'family friendly' nature of telework, that home-based work is not "the answer to every working mum's prayers" (Huws, 1982 cited in Monod, 1985: 141). Women such as the ones in this study have significant difficulties in "being there" for their children, and have profound feelings of guilt and even hostility toward their children in their attempts to make boundaries between the family and the business. While many 'working mothers' feel this contradiction and its difficulties, for home-based businesswomen the contradiction may be more 'accute'. For example, Nora noted that mothers who had their children in after-school care had a "barrier" (686) between 'work' and 'home', while in contrast she "faced the situation continuously" that she "should be there with (her) kids helping them do their homework" because she could "see them sitting at the kitchen table doing it" (688).

Teleworking *does* give children more access to their mothers than the sixty hour weeks that some of the women were working in organisations before they took up home-based work, and in that sense is a major concession and symbol of commitment to valuing children and 'family life'. Additionally, however, all of the women in this study were also actively in pursuit of the development of their businesses. In this context the presence of children during client visits and phone calls was seen by a number of the women to undermine the 'professionalism' of their businesses, to suggest in Nora's words that they were running a "tin pot, Micky Mouse, operation" (25). Furthermore, although Apter (1993: 247) is correct

that teleworking allows women to manage "domestic emergencies" that "play havoc with other women's more rigid work schedules", teleworking women in this study found coping with these 'domestic emergencies' an ambivalent experience because of the way in which it undercut their participation in the discourse of the 'professional businesswoman'. An example Nora gave was Mara's frequent migraine headaches and requests from her school to come and pick her up, to which Nora would respond "I'll come as soon as I can", emphasising that she "wouldn't have just walked out on a client" (168). Nora reflected on the difficulty of coming up the path toward the home-office with Mara vomiting into a container while a client watched from the home-office, as being 'caught' "obviously being a Mum" and not "looking after clients' needs" (170). Nora thus felt "guilty" she wasn't being a "true, proper mum" *and* guilty because she was "letting (her) clients down". Apter found that women who had *changed* their commitments to organisational employment told "starker and blacker and bleaker" stories than those who were still deciding whether they would make a change (1993: 125). As the only teleworker who had *stopped* working at home in this study, Nora's story was more critical of the difficulties of life as a home-based entrepreneur, and she reflected on the relief she now experienced in having a on-site office where clients did not witness her management of 'domestic emergencies'.

Nora coping with a vomiting child under the gaze of her clients is suggestive of the ways in which 'home' and 'work' are not discrete spheres for women, but are both work sites which present *conflicting* demands and require a "complex juggling act" of 'home' and 'work' (Pringle, 1988: 215). In order that the "two domains" not be seen to intrude on each other, the women in Pringle's research avoided allowing work to "impinge" on home "in any way" (ibid). In this study, teleworking women juggled in order that children did not impinge on *work* 'in any way', where the children's demands were experienced as a threat to the sometimes tenuous hold these mothers forged with the subject position of the entrepreneur.

Cutting Back on the Housework

A further strategy that women in Hochschild's (1989) study employed to manage 'home' and 'work' regarded 'cutting back' on the housework and on their idea of "what needs to be done" in terms of the house, a theme which emerged as a "clear, intentional and almost across the board" strategy (1989: 196). Hochschild identified two responses to the issue of cutting back on the housework. For the more 'traditional' women in her study, she observed the sense of failure the lowered standard of tidiness and cleanliness provoked, where it was a "wrench to disaffiliate their self-esteem from the look of the house" (ibid: 197). Nora most clearly parallelled this position when she reflected on the significant personal crisis that

ensued when she could not 'manage' both spheres as "supermums" should. She "just didn't have the time" to do both:

> I was just about beside myself, I was so tired and I was nearly in tears saying "I can't do this, I am no good". I was getting really low self esteem because I felt as though I was being supermum 24 hours a day, and a friend said "why don't you get someone in to clean your house, why don't you get someone in to help you?". And I said "I can't do that", because that was sort of giving in. And it was the best thing I ever did, and so I saw her as my support network, *for work* (399).

Nora hired a cleaner to come in twice a week which relieved much, but not all, of the cleaning work, and "cherished" the tidy appearance of the house after the cleaner had visited (422). Rose Jolly observed that although the cleaner had been very good, her mother had found it difficult to relinquish these tasks because she felt she "should" do them and feared her "role was being taken over", echoing Nora's sentiments with regard to Nathan's 'usurpation' of her role with the children.

A second approach to the issue of 'cutting back the housework' identified in Hochschild research was taken by the women who valued "egalitarianism" and wanted to share the 'second shift' with partners, where they "tried hard *not* to care about the house" (1989: 197). In contrast to Hochschild's equation between egalitarianism and not caring about the house, the one woman in this study who used this strategy (Tess) could be said to be rather 'traditional' in terms of her association with domesticity and her expectation on her partner as the primary income earner. In this cases, not 'caring' about the housework was a response to the sense of overload Tess experienced where she could not sustain her previous standards of housework. Tess Flower's position was to not care because it wasn't worth the tension it created in the household to have struggles about the housework with the family. Tess felt her "threshold" for cleanness and tidiness was higher than other family members and that her "attempts" to encourage the children to do more had been unsuccessful. In response, Tess gave up her desire for a tidy house in favour of having a manageable workload, and used the strategy of taking out her contact lenses so she couldn't see the mess, which she described as "wonderful" (340).

Cutting Back on the Relationship

In following through Hochschild's (1989: 197) analysis of 'cutting back' as a means of managing 'home' and 'work', cutting back on the relationship or marriage was especially apparent after the birth of the first child. Hochschild noted that cutting back on time

together as a couple was usually "very emotionally charged" for her participants, and often "unintentional" (ibid: 197). This strategy was present and a source of conflict in Nina, Pam and Nora's cases and a source of concern for Tess and Roz, although it was framed somewhat differently for each. In the Todd household, Eric blamed Nina's business for the reduction of their social life together to "zilch" and felt that Nina's tendency to work at night lead to them being "segregated". Nina felt that when she worked in the organisation she had "needed" to talk to Eric about her work because "I would have all these awful things that I had to get out of my system" (116), but that once she began her own business, work was no longer a basis for asking for or receiving support because of the conflict it engendered between the couple. For this couple, then, telework was in itself a source of conflict and a means of justifying time spent apart which further separated them. For the Todds, increasing commitments to work were used to rationalise time spent apart as a couple, but were indicative of deeper conflicts in the marriage around Nina's resentment of her husband's lack of participation in domestic labour and his resentment at her lack of contributions to the household income. Hochschild (1989: 260) reflects on the former aspect of marital conflict when she observed that women's resentment towards their husbands' lack of participation in domesticity was like "hazardous waste" in the relationship, where a significant personal cost of the unequal sexual division of labour was that the women could not "afford the luxury of unambivalent love for their husbands". This study additionally suggests the significant resentments that *men* in such relationships may feel about the insufficiency of their partners' income generation and the strain this too places on the relationship.

In Pam and Nora's cases, 'cutting back on the relationship' was not a reflection of conflict or hostility, so much as an outcome of overload from work. A classic example of this in the Brody-Sainsbury relationship which Pam spoke of, was her reaction to Nicholas's invitations to spend time as a couple because "he would like us to do something together and I want to work" (432). She gave the example of Nicholas inviting her to lunch:

> there is never a kind of immediate 'yes that would be lovely' kind of feeling on my part, there's a kind of 'oh God, do I have time to do this? Will he be offended if I say no? Does Grace have to come with me? Am I going to enjoy this?' So there's a really mixed feeling about kind of juggling everybody's needs over something as simple as whether we're going to have lunch together for God's sake (446).

For Nora the issue of time for the relationship was complicated by the tendency of clients to come to the house without prior warning, where she felt cross-pressured in a very immediate sense. Nora's clients would intrude into time the couple had set aside to be alone

with each other to drink wine and "looking lovingly into each other's eyes". When clients interrupted these moments Nathan was angry that they didn't pick up the "vibes". He was less concerned or surprised about Nora *responding* to work demands in these situations, because being a 'workaholic' was something this couple felt they understood in one another. On one occasion when Nora spent more than an hour meeting a 'client's needs', Nathan was "fuming" about the client's insensitivity, thinking "well so much for that romantic evening" (24).

In Roz and Tess's situations, cutting down on coupledom was handled rather differently, with Roz going to some lengths to compensate for cutting back on the relationship by 'scheduling in' time for Ben along with other tasks and priorities. In this relationship, which was Ben's second marriage, the couple had made a New Year's resolution that they "*had* to make time for each other", setting aside Friday night to "talk", and they were strict about observing this time. Ben admitted that this structured way of relating at a specific time did not necessarily take account of their circumstances on any particular Friday, and sometimes they were "just so tired that sitting in front of the TV just blobbing out isn't so bad", although the they "rarely" did this (60). Maintaining the intimacy in the relationship in a structured way was the only means by which they felt they could give each other some 'quality time', where the quantity of time available was scarce.

Tess's case was the clearest example of overt *resistance* to cutting back on the relationship as a means of juggling 'work' and 'home', and as her business grew busier and busier she went to greater efforts to maintain her previous level of contact with Henry, which included daily lunches, frequent phone calls and tailoring her working day to his. Although by the time of the follow-up interview their work timetables were no longer synchronised, Tess felt that Henry "just would not accept" her becoming so focused on the business that it began to erode their time together. Tess was clear that "we just enjoy to be with each other, and, so if it felt (that the business) was encroaching on that situation, we would look at changes". By this Tess meant that she would cut down her working hours, or use a 'cutting back' scenario in other areas, rather than negotiating more participation in domestic work with her partner or asking him to reschedule his work (261).

Cutting Back on Themselves

A final means of managing 'work' and 'home' that Hochschild (1989: 197) identified in her research was women 'cutting back' on themselves. In this study, the teleworking women also cut back in this regard, 'disciplining' themselves to work during times usually devoted to such things as leisure and sleep. A clear difference, for example, between the teleworking

women and their partners was the 'leisure gap' between them, where all of the male partners had leisure pursuits they participated in on a weekly basis, while all of the teleworking women did not. The exception to this pattern was Nina's passion for dogs, which was an interesting case because she 'justified' her interest in dogs as a way of 'doing' mothering with Cleo and she did not spend time with them unless Cleo was there. That Nina was looking toward developing the interest in dogs as a possible business venture was another 'justification' for the time and expense it entailed.

Other women in this study were actively opposed to leisure. Pam often used the half day of 'free time' she had negotiated with Nicholas on the weekend to work in the home-office. Although Nicholas did not think this was "recreation", Pam admitted to being "much less comfortable about leisure outside of that" (31). Pam used the language of business to express her "difficulty" with leisure and her feeling that there was "no added value" in these activities. If for example she went for a walk she wanted to walk "somewhere" or walk "for the dog".

One retort to the assertion that people like Pam do not have leisure would be to argue that historically only a very privileged class of people did and do have leisure, and that it reflects a particular class discourse to perceive this as a lack. Apter (1993), however, contends that middle-class lifestyles are *defined* in terms of leisure and cultural consumption, that leisure is part of middle-class definitions of the 'good life' and part of the middle-class social milieu. Additionally, leisure pursuits may well mix with business opportunities. For example, attending dinners and pub sessions were some of the activities Jill East-Land engaged in as "part of the scene" of computing, suggesting that in some occupations, leisure pursuits are strategic and perhaps even necessary to the maintenance of a viable working personae and network.

A different more negative implication of 'cutting back on oneself' which Marshall identified as a motivation for the managers in her study leaving lucrative and high status employment, was the "driven-ness" of work leading to a loss of "basic life vitality" (1995: 103). Tess's discussion of "going stale" on her work was an example of this, the antidote to which was a binge of novel reading where she went "all around the world in her books", without the inconvenience and cost to the business of actually doing so. A further aspect of Marshall's (1995: 103) work that is interesting in this regard was the way that some of the women in her study felt their work focus precluded attending to other aspects of their subjectivity, including artistic and spiritual dimensions. The price of maintaining a "competent, consistent professional image" can be high, Marshall warns, for women driven by "personal injunctions" to be "perfect" (ibid: 82). For women who work from home this 'impression

management' can be particularly acute because there is "no zone of shade" (Foucault, 1995: 177), no other 'territory of the self' where different elements of subjectivity are enacted. Homes become an arena of heightened 'discipline' and of public visibility, rather than a respite from it.

In this sense, missing out on leisure is only one of the means by which these women 'cut back' on themselves. Additionally they disciplined their bodies by cutting back on sleep (including working through the night in Nora and Pam's cases) and avoided taking holidays, or if they were taken, took along work and faxes/cell phones/laptops to maintain their availability. The fatigue, illness and emotional exhaustion that Hochschild (1989: 189) observed in her study are further costs of 'cutting back' on the self, and present as concerns for women in this study as recalcitrant bodies resisted the disciplinary practices of the 'docile', 'practised' and 'subjected' self.

Summary: Domesticity as a Burden and as a Source of Pleasure and Power

In the discussion above, the discursive construction of domesticity for the teleworking women in this study and their negotiation of their sometimes complementary, sometimes contradictory, subjectivities and practices as professional women and as mothers and parents, has been explored. This discussion suggests that domesticity both impinges upon and is available to home-based businesswomen as a means of constituting their subjectivity and shaping their practices as teleworkers.

By working at home the women in this study centred their families and homes in their working lives in ways that could not easily be accommodated within more inflexible organisational employment. Domesticity for a number of them was not just, or even predominantly, experienced as a 'burden', but a source of pleasure and power. Although domesticity is undervalued, and although the 'job culture' and marketisation of domestic services and products may further erode its cultural status, women who run home-based businesses were attempting to find a 'balance' between domesticity and career: they were in pursuit of a career *and* of domestic femininity. The discussion of 'cutting back' their paid work, housework and their practices in relation to their children, partners and themselves, suggests how these women's practices and desires were often in tension, experienced ambivalently, and had contradictory outcomes. Although they were positioned differently, each of these women navigated their way *within* and *through* domesticity as home-based business entrepreneurs rather than 'choosing' between 'home' and 'work'.

III. Discourses of Entrepreneurship

In this third and final section of the chapter, the discursive construction of the self-employed entrepreneur is explored as another major discursive axis at play for teleworking women. This material provides a counterpoint to the discussion of domesticity and of employment within the organisation, in terms of teleworking women's positioning as self-employed *business* women *at home*. This section will begin by discussing the incidence of self-employment in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the issue of whether the entry into self-employment at home is 'voluntary' or 'forced'. The discourse of entrepreneurship is then deconstructed in terms of its implicit masculinity and the problematic assumption that telework is a reflection of 'latent' entrepreneurial drive. This argument is then re-examined, this time through the lens of telework as a site of teleworking women's 'autonomous' practice within the context of familial relations and heterosexual coupledom. The discussion will finally pursue the 'spaces' between the two major and cross-cutting discursive axes of domesticity and entrepreneurship to investigate how teleworking women 'take up' business practice through domesticity and the possibilities for renegotiating power, subjectivity and relationships though home-based business.

The Incidence of, and Motivations for, Self-employment

Contemporaneous with the arguments against bureaucracy and Fordist mass production, the 'bad unions' and 'big brother' state, the discourse of entrepreneurship assumes telework is an expression of individual competitiveness, self-determination and the desire to 'own your own business'. As part of the 'enterprise economy', self-employment is viewed as the outcome of the desire for functional flexibility on the part of the organisation *and* flexibility in lifestyle on the part of the entrepreneurial individual.

The *majority* (56%) of New Zealanders in the 1986 census who recorded their place of work as their homes, and who were not farm workers, were self-employed (Schoeffel et al, 1991: 23). Home-based workers were *more than four times* as likely to be self-employed than the general workforce in 1986, where self-employment accounted for only 13% of workers (ibid). Loveridge et al (1996: 23) found this figure had increased slightly in the 1991 census to 58% of all home-based workers, although there was a tendency for there to be slightly less self-employment (53%) in telework occupations. The authors emphasised the striking contrast between the general workforce and homeworkers in this regard, and that homeworking men were particularly likely to be self-employed (75% of the total), with less incidence of self-employment for homeworking women (45%).

Despite the particular prevalence of self-employment for homeworking men, the figure for homeworking women still indicates that they are still almost four times as likely than women in the general workforce to be self-employed. Self-employment for women is generally increasing in Aotearoa/New Zealand, especially amongst Pakeha (Anglo) women. For example, there was a 10.7% increase in Pakeha women's self-employment between the 1986 and 1991 censuses alone, to 64,152 or 12.4% of all Pakeha women in employment. In contrast only 5.4% of Māori women and 3.2% of Pacific Island women were self-employed. This suggests that self-employment is preferred by particularly Pakeha women, Chinese women (48.2% or 1,578 women) and Indian women (56% or 861) in Aotearoa/New Zealand (NACEW, 1993: 11).

What these accounts of prevalence do not indicate is *why* self-employment is increasing, beyond assumptions regarding the circulation of an entrepreneurial 'spirit'. In Aotearoa/New Zealand the high correspondence between self-employment and home-based work is associated first and foremost with the lack of organisational interest and support for home-based work arrangements, as suggested by media accounts and research on telework arrangements in the public sector (Bray, 1994; Henderson, 1997). If workers want to work at home, or feel they can no longer sustain on-site organisational employment, few public sector organisations in Aotearoa/New Zealand offer employees opportunities for home-based work.

Yet clearly organisational conservatism cannot explain the increasing prevalence of self-employment more generally. Granger, Stanworth and Stanworth (1995) argue that more dynamic models of self-employment such as telework are required. This is because of the *complexity* surrounding "*how* individuals realise different labour market states" (ibid: 500, original emphasis) such as the transition from employee, to self-employed, to employer which is a pattern found in the present study in Pam and Tess's cases. The qualitative approach employed in this study is able to provide some depth of material with which to analyse the *dynamic* nature of self-employment at certain points in these individuals' careers, and to discern differences between those who are 'pushed' into self-employment (Jill, Nina), may stay in self-employment as a positive choice (Pam, Nora, Tess), or who will exit from it when they can (Roz).

If 'entrepreneurial pull' is largely rejected as an explanation for self-employment, then Stanworth and Stanworth (1995: 222) explain its increase for women in terms which resonate with the material generated in this study, namely, the 'glass ceiling' effect and the desire to return to employment after child rearing, in addition to increasing divorce rates and the need for independent income. In this study there were similarly those who took up

teleworking as a means to re-enter employment (Nora, Tess), and in all cases there was a desire for some independent income or work status. Rather than a 'glass ceiling' or a block to further *advancement* within organisations, some of the women in this study experienced direct challenges to their continued participation within the organisation *at all,* because of sexual harassment (Nina) and discrimination as a mother (Jill).

Fothergill (1994: 345) argues that a further gendered difference is visible insofar as men may be "pushed" into telework by the process of casualisation, while women "choose" to work at home due to a lack of child care provisions. In this study, this analysis is borne out to some degree by the experience of redundancy by four of the five men (and Jill), but child care was only a *secondary* issue for the women. Even for those who were mothers of infants, all of the women in this research preferred organisational employment but found it too difficult to sustain because of the low pay associated with part-time work (Roz), the harassment or potential harassment of male managers (Jill and Nina), and the difficulty of juggling the competing needs of two careers (Pam). Even baby Grace's special needs for care would not have prevented Pam from re-entering organisational employment had she not *also* had a desire to run her own business, which she cited as the primary motivation for her telework.

A further question that the experience of redundancy for the men (and Jill) raises, concerns whether the rise in self-employment is simply an effect of unemployment. Steinmetz and Wright (1989: 997-8) *did* find a relationship between the increasing unemployment and increasing self-employment, but also that the strength of the relationship between them was declining. Hakim (1988: 431) found that in the United Kingdom, three times as many people transfer from *employment* to self-employment as from unemployment such as did Pam, Roz, Nina and Jill. Hakim also found a significant movement of people from a state of "economic inactivity" to self-employment, as in Nora and Tess's cases.

If unemployment is not the central cause of the rise in self-employment, then the literature on post-industrialisation suggests that teleworking may be one means of achieving the numerical and functional flexibility required within the post-industrial organisation where teleworkers are just one part of the post-industrial organisation's 'flexible' staff (Hamblin, 1995: 474). Increasing international competition, global integration through technological developments, the deterioration of market conditions, and the weakening of protective labour legislation, have together fostered the popularity of the 'flexible firm' as a model of workplace organisation (Armstrong, 1992b: 244). Mitter (1986: 140) suggests that as Japanese systems of management began to gain popularity in light of the 'Japanese economic miracle', so too did the notion of hiring workers, along with stock, 'just in time'

rather than 'just in case'. This flexibility may not always be achieved through voluntary entry into self-employment, and Granger et al (1995: 514) emphasise that 'missionaries' that experience "entrepreneurial pull" toward home-based enterprise of the kind Rank Xerox emphasised in their "networking" scheme, are at best a minority group to enter self-employment. The authors argue that forces of circumstance, such as redundancy, family obligations, changes in a spouse's job and the completion of contracts, "pervade" as movitations for self-employment (ibid). Additionally, they found a variety of motivations for home-based self-employment in their research (n=371), including "refugees" who preferred on-site employment and were pushed into self-employment, and those who "traded off" employment within an organisation against taking a break for some non-work priority which was either temporary or permanent.

If 'empirical' sociological accounts reflect the problematic nature of the assertion that telework is a reflection of 'latent' entrepreneurship, the theoretical analysis of German sociologist Urlich Beck (1992) provides some insight into the trend toward 'vulnerable' forms of self-employment as part of a wider change in the social organisation of work. Beck examines the way that unemployment and the economic crisis has set in motion new opportunities for an "individualisation process with society", especially in relation to the flexibility of labour market relations and the regulation of working hours (1992: 99). These lead to social arrangements based not on class society but on an *"individualised society of employees"* (ibid: 100). These social arrangements are defined in terms of *"labour law and by means of socio-political categories"* (ibid, original emphasis), that is, by categories such as contractual obligations, status, power and gender.

Beck argues that standardised full-time employment has begun to "soften and fray at the margins into flexibilisations (sic) of its three supporting pillars: labour law, work site and working hours" (ibid: 142). As this occurs, individuals simultaneously experience fluidity in the boundaries between what Beck calls "work and non work" (and I would note Beck's problematic assignment of domestic labour and child care as 'non-work') and the movement toward forms of "risk-fraught", "flexible, pluralised, decentralised underemployment" (ibid: 143; Di Martino and Wirth, 1990: 529). It is these macro social and economic forces which for Beck lead to the proliferation of forms of non-standard contract employment such as telework, rather than the 'natural' expression of the entrepreneurial spirit. In these processes the entrepreneurial risk of the organisation can be off-loaded on to individual workers in the process of the "temporal and spatial decoupling of labour and production processes ... of which the much discussed 'electronic cottage industry' represents only *one* extreme example" (ibid: 147, original emphasis).

Self-Employment as a Form of Insecure Employment

The discussion above suggests that the motivation for organisations affiliating with small home-based entrepreneurs may be closely associated with cost-cutting agendas, as well as the support of 'latent' entrepreneurism. Telework is another means of achieving the flexibility required by organisations seeking greater sensitivity to market change, reductions in fixed costs and thus the ability to expand without commitments to a large, permanent labour force (Huws, 1991: 27). Flexibility in this discourse is framed as flexibility *for the employer or contractor* in terms of the timing of work, task allocation and contracts of employment, allowing them to shed or engage staff dependent on demand (ibid). In this study, Roz was aware that short term contract work was in abundance because of the "uncertainty in the economy" and resistance within organisations to taking on permanent employees (16).

The financial pressures that teleworking women and men experience in their home-based businesses as they negotiate contracts with organisations and other small entrepreneurs, does not always fulfil the promise of 'freedom' and 'autonomy' that the discourse of entrepreneurship purports to offer. Of particular concern, as Granger et al. (1995) suggest, is the lack of employment security afforded by self-employment, the high rate of small business failure and the lack of a secure income. Additionally, teleworkers incur a substantial financial loss through the forfeit of fringe benefits because of the adoption of self-employment (Huws et al., 1990). Most of the women in this study, for example, had private insurances or used public social services, and all relied upon the anticipated income from their partner's retirement provision, a problematic assumption in a society where more than a third of all marriages end in divorce (McPherson, 1995: 4). For example, Haddon and Lewis argue (1994: 201) that few teleworkers have ever worked out a balance of costs of being self-employed vis-à-vis forms of direct employment, and there was little discussion of these issues by the teleworkers in this study. In terms of the teleworking women, Jill came closest to making such a calculation and was critical of women who did not do so, although she did not mention factoring in the longer term loss of retirement and redundancy benefits to this equation and was herself subject to the gate-keeping practices and hefty fees of employment agencies.

Most studies record the *lower* pay and poorer conditions of employment experienced by teleworkers. This is supported by the census material that indicated that full-time home-based professional women in Aotearoa/New Zealand earnt less ($20,403) in 1991 than the median income for all female workers ($21,461) (Loveridge et al., 1996: 25). A pan-European study of telework (n=188) found that no less than 46% of men and 44% of the

women underwent periods of between a week and three months without work when they were actively seeking it, leading to financial hardship for 30% of all the men and 39% of the women (Huws, 1997: 213). It is interesting that despite their greater likelihood of economic dependence, it was the women who were more likely to suffer hardship as a result of the precariousness of their employment, underscoring the importance of women's income generation even in cases where they were not the primary earner. Furthermore, contra to the 'lifestyle' entrepreneurship literature, periods without work could not be enjoyed as 'leisure' because of the financial hardship and the "anxiety about where the next job might come from" (ibid: 214).

In contrast to the celebration of entrepreneurship that characterises the Rank Xerox example, very few self-employed people in Stanworth and Stanworth's (1995: 222) study (n=371) went on to become small business owners with their own employees. The authors reflected on the way the 'balance of power' for these self-employed people lay with employers who were able to "bid down wages and dictate terms and conditions" (ibid). Hamblin's (1995: 484) research is helpful in this regard in her investigation of self-employed teleworkers undertaking part-time editorial or research work (n=233). These workers were paid by results, spent all of their working time at home and were not integrated into organisational cultures. Hamblin asserts that the people in her study had more in common with 'sweatshop' homeworkers despite the 'white collar', professional nature of their work. When asked if they would like to work from home, most preferred to do so while remaining under employment contract as *direct* employees, rather than as self-employed, in order to achieve both "labour flexibility *and* labour security" (ibid, original emphasis). Such workers did not want to be part of a "disenfranchised, sub-contracted, self-employed 'periphery'" on the edge of the 'flexible firm', but rather wanted to undertake their respective key duties and "remain at the core of the organisation" under new arrangements in terms of the place of work and the hours undertaken (ibid: 495). Hamblin's study is suggestive of the ways in which such workers are asked to trade-off security of employment *against* flexibility, even where this flexibility is itself significantly circumscribed by payments by results. Hamblin suggests that it is problematic if the needs of organisations for functional flexibility and the needs of employees for flexible work are bought at the expense of the security of work for the latter.

In response to the issue of income insecurity for self-employed teleworkers, Stanworth and Stanworth's (1995) research suggests that some teleworkers attempt to move into exclusive relationships with clients, rather than tender competitively for every contract. For example, Pam described her relationships with clients as "short and intense", requiring her to "go out and prove (herself) again and again and again", a situation Pam experienced as

"disconcerting" and "tiring" (128). Tendering competitively was also an issue in Brocklehurst's (1997) research, where he found that the requirement for contract clerical homeworkers to fill out their own time-sheets guaranteed a certain level of underestimation of the time spent, in part because each woman worked in isolation within a competitive market. Brocklehurst suggests that self-claimed hours, like individually tendered contracts, depress wage rates even more than a piece-rate system: such teleworkers could be almost "relied upon to under claim" according to the companies to whom they contracted (ibid: 18). The parallel to Brocklehurst's analysis in the research at hand was in the way Nora and Nina *prided* themselves on the *low* rates they charged, and the "competition" they provided to large organisations. They saw these low rates as both a reflection of their commitment to their work and part of their support for small entrepreneurs like themselves, who in these two cases constituted a significant proportion of the clientele.

As a response to competition and income insecurity, many of the teleworkers in Stanworth and Stanworth's (1995) research worked for at least two clients at once to try and balance out 'feast and famine' cycles of work and develop their client base, although they tried to make it *look like* they were only working for one client at a time. Only half of those in their study (n=371) received a "living income" due to the low number of "billable hours" they could charge in a strict output-based payment system (ibid: 226). Pam Brody discussed this issue at length and the many hours of work she dedicated to attracting clients and working on proposals for which she could not bill, such that she had an expectation of taking no salary at all in certain trading years.

Remaining Economically Dependent

A further implication of the 'feast and famine' character of Pam, Tess and Roz's contract work and the inability to control the number and frequency of clients in Nina and Nora's businesses, was a tendency for the women to be hesitant to take money out of the business as salary and to be unclear about how much of their annual turnover was 'free' to be taken as such. None of the women made regular weekly or fortnightly contributions to their households, although Nicholas *expected* Pam to do so. Even in Tess's case, where there was an $80,000 salary calculated into her business account, she did not take this money on a regular basis. In Tess and Jill's cases, business development costs were significant in terms of technology in the latter case and travel and communications costs in the former. Both women took irregular, large lump sums out of their business accounts for larger family purchases, while the balance remained to cover the equally irregular but significant costs associated with their businesses.

Marshall (1995: 117) noted that one of the stereotypes of women leaving career employment in organisations is the belief that they have the "luxury of choice because someone else will support them financially". In her study she found many women who were financially self-reliant, and that those in households *not* dependent on their contributions were a distinct minority. Even in the latter case the women were themselves concerned to maintain their economic independence even if their partner's income was sufficient to cover their household's financial needs (ibid: 114). In this study, a somewhat different dynamic for the teleworking women was visible, in part because of the homogeneity of the participants. There were, for example, no financially self-reliant women and all of the couples were in dual-earner households. The somewhat higher incidence of dual-earning where there was not a reliance on the women's incomes was less surprising in this study because of the professional and managerial work engaged in by all of the men. In Jill and Roz's cases, the high incomes of their partners and the presence of two infant children in their care meant that their irregular earnings were used to buy "extras'. In both cases the women were concerned that their contract work be adequately compensated financially; if their partners' incomes meant they didn't 'have' to work, they wanted their time to be appropriately compensated when they did so.

In Nora's case the income generated from her business was seen as significant, but the expectations on her were low because what she did make was compared to what she would have made in the kind of on-site employment she thought she could secure, ie cleaning or working in a supermarket. In this sense, Nora's $15-20,000 per year salary was something she was relatively happy with and which matched Nathan's expectations of her. The dynamic situation of Nathan's own employment may have made this relatively low wage more problematic in the longer term as he himself also moved into insecure and seasonally erratic self-employment. At the time of the final interview Nathan's business was going through something of a slump, with high levels of stress and exceptionally long hours on his part as a response, perhaps signalling that in the future Nora's earnings may have become more of a mainstay of the family's finances.

In the Brody-Sainsbury household, Pam's earnings were also seen as significant and a considerable financial loss was experienced when she made the transition out of both the primary income earner role and lucrative salaried employment. However, given this transition was motivated by Nicholas's desire to have his own 'career', the meaning Pam gave what she did was not orientated around generating money but "running her own business". This gave her some discursive 'space' between the injunction to be an 'income earner' and Nicholas's new responsibilities as the 'breadwinner', to argue that the responsibility for meeting the family's ongoing weekly financial needs were properly his. She

saw her own responsibilities as providing care for the children in addition to making less regular "injections of funds" based on the status of the business account and her assessment of debts due and payments not yet met. Hochschild's (1989: 275) work is apposite in this regard when she observed the dynamic interaction between men resisting demands on them to participate more in domesticity when women kept the income from their work to themselves. In this case Pam in part gave away pressuring Nicholas to participate more at home in favour of hiring Kay to perform aspects of this work, where meeting the financial commitment to Kay's wage was a further means Pam used to resist making regular contributions to the household account.

In each case the discourse of domesticity in part rationalised the women's low earnings or their lack of regular financial contributions to meet household costs. These women were either primarily at home keeping a 'stake-hold' in their careers and maintaining their skills as in Roz and Jill's cases, or for Nora, Nina and Tess, they were women who were used to the experience of complete financial dependence and who saw themselves as supplementing their male partner's 'breadwinning'. Domesticity thus justified and complexly interacted with the discursive construction of their entrepreneurship where both a *general* theme of economic dependence emerged in addition to *particular* ways of understanding this dependence. These particularities ranged from the instrumental engagement in lucrative work in order to periodically boost the family coffers in Roz's case to the serious investment of money into business development, as in Jill's and Tess's.

Economic dependence was also *unavoidable* in these households because the women's earnings from their businesses were often simply not large enough or stable enough. This suggests that the 'freedoms' associated with postindustrial employment may in fact shore up economic *dependence,* because teleworkers' incomes may be neither large nor stable enough to carry the burdens of regular family outgoings. The women in this study were in something of a vulnerable position because of this dependence, where their reliance on partners to pay mortgages, the effect of this on matrimonial property in the event of divorce, and their lack of retirement savings were all problematic. Additionally, if the culture of 'breadwinning' is in decline in Aotearoa/New Zealand, as it is in Europe (Yeandle, 1997) and the United States (Hochschild, 1989), then this economic dependence may become less legitimate and culturally condoned and indeed increasingly into called question.

For the women in this study there was a dynamic interaction between insecure employment, competitive labour markets, isolation, a tendency to 'underbid', a lack of fringe benefits, a forfeit of employment rights and low commitments on the part of organisations to maintain relationships with them as individual teleworkers. A number of the women did not earn a

'living' wage and undertook telework on the basis that other stable incomes were entering their households through partners' salaries. Although the discourse of entrepreneurship was evident in the manner in which participants talked about their businesses, it was also the case that at times their position was economically marginal and dependent on their working extremely long hours, some of which they were not paid for.

The narratives in Chapter Four thus 'story' this contradictory experience of both 'positive' entrepreneurship and 'negative' employment insecurity for the women. There is an interesting *disjuncture* within the narratives between the ways in which the women 'storied' themselves as 'professional' business people and yet were in a relatively weak bargaining position and in some instances, such as those of Nora, Pam and Nina, experienced relatively low levels of pay. Teleworking was thus an experience of being caught between two simultaneous discursive constructions of self, one associated with 'freedom', 'competition' and 'autonomy', and the other with 'dependence' and 'insecurity'. This contradictory positioning was present in the women's narratives of the requirement to provide a secure income for their paid helpers, and households, in a context of employment insecurity, a contradiction within which some experienced themselves as "small fish" swimming in hostile entrepreneurial waters.

Entrepreneurship as 'Masculine' Gendered Discourse

Collinson and Hearn (1994: 14) argue that entrepreneurship is discursively constructed through a peculiarly 'masculine' notion of business, organised around being competitive, working at an intense pace, enduring long hours, being geographically mobile and meeting tight deadlines. Within organisations, the authors argue, the requirements of entrepreneurship tend to exclude women whose families are often seen as "incompatible with entrepreneurial concerns" and some (especially older) men who are not seen as "man enough or predatory enough" (ibid). The entrepreneurship associated with commissioned insurance sales work, discussed in Knights and Morgan's (1990: 371) research, is an excellent example of how masculine gendered subjectivity can become entwined with entrepreneurial perogatives. The recruitment procedures for such jobs overtly screened out women, in favour of young men with families who "needed", both materially and symbolically, to earn big commissions. Women were excluded because employers feared they would not be able to cope with the "rigours" of sales work, the emotional drain of selling, and who lacked the support of 'wives' (ibid: 374).

Kerfoot and Knights (1996: 85) suggest that women "can and do constitute themselves through masculine discourses and modes of behaviour". In the case of the discourse of

entrepreneurship this may be an experienced as something of a struggle for women who are mothers, in the sense that it is a discursive construction organised around being constantly productive, preoccupied with action and 'in control' (Collinson and Hearn, 1994: 14). If women are located within the (masculine) gendered discourse of entrepreneurship, the implications according to Kerfoot and Knights (1996: 68) are that they, along with entrepreneurial men, will be "judged against a single masculine measure of competence" premised on the clear division of 'public' and 'private' and organised around a particular structuring of time.

These contradictory positionings are suggestive of the sometimes ambivalent relationship the women in the study had to the subject position of the entrepreneur and the discourse of 'autonomous' entrepreneurship. In the following discussion the discursive construction of entrepreneurship is reviewed in more detail in relation to the separation of the 'public' and 'private', the gendering of home-work spaces and the use of time.

Entrepreneurship as Premised on a 'Public'/ 'Private' Split

The "discourse of gendered entrepreneurialism" is, according to Collinson and Hearn (1994: 14), strictly organised around the "taken-for-granted masculine discourse of control that separates 'public and 'private' life" where domesticity and responsibilities to children are perceived not only as a hindrance, but as a *threat,* to business practice. This links once again to Acker's (1990: 151) point that women stand in an ambiguous relationship to the qualities of the abstract, bodiless 'universal' self of the organisation who does not procreate. This element of the discourse of the entrepreneur is a particularly challenging one for mothers in home-based business to emulate because of the lack of a spatial or temporal separation between 'public' and 'private' spheres and their imputed primary responsibility for the latter.

In this study, attempts to separate 'public' and 'private' spheres as 'good' entrepreneurs should was reflected in Pam and Jill's resistance to questions about their domestic arrangements from clients. Pam responded angrily to client enquiries about whether they were calling at a convenient time, because they could hear the baby in the background, as an "insult", where she thought it was "none of their business" how she managed child care. Similarly Jill had reacted angrily to an agency that wanted detailed information about 'her' child care arrangements before they recommended her to a client. She said:

> an agency that I had the most problem with, they just said "you're a mother" and I said "yes", "well what about child care?", I said "it's handled" and they said "we need more detail than that" and I said "no you don't". I said "I've just given you my

guarantee that I have quality child care and it's not a problem and that's the end of it". "But we need to reassure the client", "but my child care arrangements are my business, not yours". And then I went on to remind her that "by the way it's illegal for you to ask" (198).

Game and Pringle (1983: 139) observe that such strategies have a contradictory effect. Women "making it in a man's world" resent questions about 'their' domestic responsibilities from employers and want to be treated as a man would be. However such women *do* have domestic and caring responsibilities, so that the consequence of 'masking' domesticity as outside the organisation's legitimate sphere of concern is that the 'double shift' women carry remains intact and unquestioned. Interestingly, Roz did not share this position with regard to clients calling when her child was crying, which she felt indicated clients' lack of sensitivity and knowledge about children that they should expect her to go on talking while the baby was upset. In this sense Roz located herself primarily within domesticity, reinforced by the fact that she, unlike Jill and Pam, was the only one at home caring for the children, where she did not feel obliged to hide concerns related to the children from her business contacts.

The Gendering of the Women's Home Work Spaces

A further implication of the 'public/private' division in this study was the gendering of home work spaces where the women's businesses were located in the 'chinks and gaps' between "masculine public" and "feminised private" space (Rose, 1993: 136). The hardness or porosity of these spatial boundaries were an indication of the women's negotiation of the 'separate spheres' discourse vis-à-vis their responsibilities as mothers and partners. For example, although Nora limited the entry of the children into the home-office after school, she did allow them to call her there, to use the equipment it contained and was visible to the children in a way that none of the men were to theirs.

The women's claims to space were both smaller, such as Tess's "little, tiny" converted closet under the stairs, or Roz's "little corner"; more likely to be used by other family members (Tess, Roz, Jill, Nora, Nina), and/or more likely to be multi purpose rooms such as the work/closet/sewing/play space that constituted Jill's home-office. The spatial organisation of home-offices reflected and reinforced the constitution of subjectivity for women in this study, where women's more *decentred* subjectivities as workers, partners and mothers were reflected by these multi-use, multi-person spaces. In other words, their *work* spaces competed with *other* uses of space just as *other* discursive constructions of subjectivity competed with their *work* subjectivity. The discussion of men's work spaces

which will be pursued in Chapter Seven suggests the ways in which their use of space reflected the centrality of work to their practices and subjectivities. All of the men had spaces reserved exclusively for their own use and dedicated them to paid work rather than a mixture of activities, which in turn reinforced the singularity of work to their constitution of self.

Nina's choice of the open-plan hallway as a work space perhaps most interestingly encapsulated the differences between the men's and women's use of home-office space; it overlooked the 'family room' where the children and Eric often spent time in the evenings, it was not a space that other family members wanted to use, and it allowed her to see and be seen by them. In choosing this space, Nina positioned herself in space a way which mirrored her positioning in the social relations which surrounded her home-based work, that is, as a mother wanting to work and be available to her family, and as a wife in conflict with her husband about resource usurpation who did not want to take possession of a room used by other family members lest that invoke further hostility. She felt she had to be "a little bit remote from the family so the family can carry on", that she could not "encroach upon their living area", and that the hallway was "a little space that isn't theirs" (46). Eric agreed that the work area that Nina had chosen did not colonise space 'owned' by other family members, noting that "it's a pretty dormant area of the house up there, isn't it? The top of the stairs" (29). Eric also suggested that if Nina's business were "plonked down in the lounge or dining room that would be a lot more inhibiting" (61).

Far from seeing this hallway as a disused or "dormant area", Nina saw her work space as highly significant 'personal territory' surrounded by an "invisible line" beyond which the activities of other members of the household could not intrude (46). Soja (1989: 6) provides an insight into this dynamic when he observed the practices by which power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life, where a hall-way office may be perceived as a dormant space by one family member and 'strategic territory' by another. Nina described, for example, the ways in which the children's leggo set would encroach across the "invisible line" that circumnavigated this territory, and that those objects that went "beyond that (line) got thrown away and their leggo sets kept shrinking" (46). Nina's choice of work space thus provided 'independent' space, 'kept the peace' and allowed her to feel that she was 'available' to her family rather than "shut away" in an office working.

Entrepreneurship and the Use of Time

In association with the assumption that the practices of domesticity and business are discrete and separated, entrepreneurship is also predicated upon a particular use of time (Collinson and Hearn, 1994: 14). The emphasis on working long hours, working intensely without interruption and meeting tight deadlines asssociated with the temporal organisation of entrepreneurship (ibid), are also challenging injunctions for teleworking women with children to meet because they cannot always *guarantee* an uninterrupted use of their working time. This link between entrepreneurship and a particular structuring of time has two implications for teleworking women with families. First, they must 'manage' domesticity in order to reduce the ways in which it impinges upon their focus on their businesses in the ways discussed above. Second, the emphasis upon working for extended and intense periods militates against the advantages offered by the 'flexible' use of time within the home workplace. Such women may be caught between "two competing urgency systems, two clashing rhythms" of time, that of the family and the workplace (Hochschild, 1989: 239). For example, contra to the assumption that telework is 'family friendly' because of its time flexibility, some studies suggest that teleworking women may work very long hours. In a pan-European study of self-employed teleworkers (n=188) only 31% of the participants worked part-time (0-30 hours/week) while 21% worked more than 60 hours a week (Huws, 1997: 211). Thirty-three percent of the participants complained about "time pressure" and "anti-social hours" and 5% of the "danger of workaholism" in the "seamless overlap" between work and family life (ibid: 207). If working time is also taken as "proof" of a commitment to business (Apter, 1993: 254) then it may be taxing to sustain, especially when clients live in different time zones. That is, the two clashing rhythms of time may be particularly demanding for teleworking women intent on "signifying a multiplicity of guarantees" (Butler, 1990: 145) to the simultaneous demands to be an 'available mother' and an 'available entrepreneur', where they may not easily be able to 'choose' to address or abandon either.

If commentators are correct that paid work has intensified, and that working long hours are what 'good workers' who want to protect their jobs must do (Apter, 1993: 249), then the implications of competing temporal regimes for teleworking mothers are significant. Schor (1991: 29) argues that there has been a speed-up and an extension of the commitments within *both* the arenas of 'home' and 'work', where she estimates that Americans now work for pay an extra month a year. If this extra month is added to Hochschild's (1989: 3) estimation that domesticity constitutes an additional month of unpaid work per year (primarily) for women, intensification and time pressure for teleworking mothers is predictable.

A parallel although somewhat essentialist argument offered by Kerfoot and Knights (1996: 87), is that "feminine time" is not a "linear process" but embedded in "embodied social relations", which is different to the linear, uninterrupted use of time suggested by the discourse of entrepreneurship. The women in this study both conform to and contradict this claim in the way they tried to manage aspects of embodied relations in order to focus in an uninterrupted way on their work. Expressing breast milk a week in advance was Roz's means of doing this; Pam both participated in and resisted attending to Christie when she returned from school, while Jill crept in through the back door so that the children wouldn't know she was in the house. If anything, these women were more often trying to *discipline* themselves and their families to accept their need to conform to more linear uninterrupted uses of work time. This use of the concept of 'discipline' is associated specifically with teleworking women in the literature, and concerns disciplining oneself *not* to respond to the demands of the household, and to work intensely, in order to deal with the constancy of the dual demands of 'work' and 'home' (Phizacklea and Wolkowitz, 1995: 109; Hamblin, 1995: 485; Soares, 1992: 126). Rather than perceiving their physical presence as an indication of their embodied availability (where for their breastfeeding baby children especially, not just any 'body' would do), the women in this study created temporal boundaries between their 'work' and their families.

A number of women in this study spoke of such temporal boundaries around their working time. Pam described the "precious six hours" when Kay worked beside her which allowed her to "go like a train". Roz similarly discussed the way the day was "so short" that she focused exclusively on her work when she could, aware that any time missed had to be made up at night. Jill also saw the time when she was on contract as exclusively work focused, and hired two women so that the domestic sphere was completely "covered" while she concentrated on her technical writing. This focused use of time is a pattern particularly associated in this study with the younger women who had full-time careers within organisations before they began teleworking. Their narratives suggested their affiliation with the discourse of the entrepreneur more than the other women, and their practices focused on fulfilling contracts and developing their businesses. For Tess, Nina and Nora their orientation to their businesses drew much more on the notion of themselves as workers, mothers and wives within the domestic sphere and this shaping of their subjectivity influenced their organisation of their businesses and their time. In terms of their business practices they were much more likely to speak of themselves as being 'available' to their clients in the same way as which they were 'available' to their families, and of performing some work in their own time with no direct payments for services. This inflection of business practice through the discourse of domesticity is discussed below in relation to the notion of 'doing' business while 'doing' gender.

'Doing' Business While 'Doing' Gender

As the above discussion of time suggests, teleworking women 'do' business through their negotiation of gendered subjectivity and practice. This discussion follows the argument made previously, regarding the ways in which women 'do' aspects of domestic femininity when they 'do' caring labour and housework, which drew on the work of Fenstermaker Berk (1985). In this section of the chapter the parallel argument is pursued in terms of the shaping of *business* subjectivity and practice through the lens of *gendered* subjectivity and practice. As entrepreneurs, the women in this study constituted themselves in and through the act of 'doing' gender in ways which they experienced as powerful and pleasurable, and yet which also positioned them as dependent, boundary-less and exploitable. This discussion is divisible into four interrelated themes, namely: business as relationship, mothering, teaching and 'play'.

In terms of business as relationship, Mackinnon (1991: 118) noted in her study of Australian teleworking women that they valued their 'people skills', something that Tess Flowers reflected on at length in her own business practice. In cross-cultural marketing, Tess felt that communication skills were key and that business was essentially about "relationships", which she thought women were skilled and interested in, compared to men such as Henry who saw business as simply "dollars and cents". Tess also felt that she was able to design products that had a "feminine appeal" for Asian markets, because of her particular positioning as a "woman", the "shopper, the consumer", and that her products reflected "a woman's desire" (67). In contrast to Pam Brody's "non-gender role", Tess thought of her association with domestic femininity as not only a complementary skill for her business, but a source of *strategic advantage* in terms of dealing with clients and designing marketable products.

A second way in which aspects of domestic femininity were played out in business practices concerned the invocation of the notion of the 'available mother' and its transposition and resonance with the notion of the 'available entrepreneur'. Marshall (1995: 141) reflected on one of the participants in her study who described the staff she managed as "hungry babies" who were "clamouring for love, attention and support". Some of the women in this study made similar equations between the business of entrepreneurship and the business of mothering. Tess, for example, found it difficult to resist checking business faxes that arrived in the middle of the night, and felt that as someone who provided marketing services she had to be "available at all times", as mothers are for their infant children. Sometimes maintaining this availability was very demanding for Tess and she reflected on one persistent caller from Malaysia who always telephoned at 2.30 am until she pointed out that this "really wasn't appropriate", although she did sustain these exchanges for some time at this unsocial hour.

Nora similarly felt that in many ways the business had become for her like raising children. Like Tess, she felt her experiences as a mother assisted her in the business, such as helping her to work in the confined space of the home-office with other people talking; to engage in work phone calls in the family kitchen at night because she could "switch off" to the noise around her; and her ability to do "multiple things at once" (784). Nora felt women learned these skills when they became mothers because they had to "mix children and their own lives" (782). Like mothering, Nora found the demands of a home-based business were often constant, at all hours and requiring immediate attention. She said "it's a bit like a baby crying in the middle of the night, there is nobody (but you to do it), you just have to get up and deal with it, it's a similar sort of feeling" (722). The tendency for Nora's clients to make demands on her at any time of the day, night or weekend as would a baby, was something she felt sometimes resentful of, but seldom showed. She never turned clients away when they arrived at an 'unsocial' hour, expressing the same tolerant resignation that many mothers demonstrate with infant children (724).

A third element of the women's business practices within which aspects of feminised working subjectivities were evident, was the tendency for some of the women (three of whom were ex-teachers) to see elements of their business practices as "providing a service" in order to "teach clients". Nina made a specific analogy between her "teaching background" and "gradually teaching (clients) about different things". She noted that one such client had made a "*fabulous* profit" with the same pride with which teachers discuss the exam results of their protégés. She compared the training she offered clients to the more impersonal service offered by large accountancy firms, comparing her services to "simply telling (clients) what their tax commitment was" as a "big firm" might do (20). At the time of the follow-up interview Nina had developed this "service" even further by providing 'pastoral care' to clients at their workplaces, which she did not charge them for. For example she said:

> I have a garage client and I will deliver his profit and loss statement and I will *talk* it over with him, and it's far better to do that and to say "haven't you done well?" and look around his workshop and pick up one or two things we could improve, and you actually do pick some things up, like something they are doing wrong in their office procedure. I just think it's important (23).

Nina felt that providing this service, comprised of both professional advice and the emotional labour of praising business owners' successes, was part of what she thought was best about her business practice and which was the major advantage of her own work compared to the services offered by accountancy firms.

A fourth element of business practice which reflected aspects of the teleworking women's gendered subjectivities was the notion of business as 'play'. That is, the narratives in this study suggest an interaction between the lack of financial responsibility borne by the women in terms of meeting regular family-related costs, the low capital investment in a number of the businesses and the notion of business as a 'game'. Furthermore, if entrepreneurship in part generates its 'masculine' character from the financial risk it entails (Kerfoot and Knights, 1996: 87), for the women in this study the risks were often minimised because of their reliance on partners' wages and their lack of loans or other debt associated with their businesses.

Jill and Tess both used metaphors of 'games' and 'play' to talk about their businesses, and were both working for "extras", where the financial gain of the businesses were not central to the solvency of the family. Jill's discussion of 'toys' and 'playing' was associated with both the technology she used in the business and her personal appearance. In terms of the former use of the language of "play", "toys" and "gadget", Jill talked about being pleased that when she worked at home she had "all the right toys to play with" (119). For example, people assumed the 386 computer at home was "Ian's toy, but it's not it, was bought for Jill, it's Jill's toy" (119). The other way in which Jill 'played' with her work was in terms of her practices as a successful business woman versus her embodiment as an abundantly pregnant woman or the owner of a occupied double pushchair. Jill disliked being judged by her appearance and felt she "played with" assumptions made about her based on how she looked (194). Jill related an example of this in terms of a community organisation she was involved with where she felt she was dismissed on the basis of 'looking like' a pregnant woman dependent on welfare. She said:

> The first time I turned up to one of the community house meetings I was six months
> pregnant with Beth, I was *big* and one guy who was actually the original chairman,
> made the comment that he thought I was a DPB (Domestic Purposes Benefit) mum,
> you know, just looking for something to do ... I was really casually dressed and he
> just totally, he'd just taken one look at the way I was dressed and labelled me and
> that was the end of it. And he got a very rude shock when it worked out that
> actually I was someone who earned four times what he earned ($700/day) ... and he
> was quite embarrassed about it because he'd sort of written me off ... It's not until
> they get me into conversation when they start to realise, my knowledge starts to
> come out that they start to sit back. It's quite funny in that respect, you know I must
> admit *I play on it* to a certain extent, because I don't like people to be too narrow-
> minded in their attitudes (194-6).

The story is interesting in that Jill acknowledges that she consciously 'played' with these assumptions in ways which both *disrupted* and *colluded with* the expectation that she was a 'DPB mum'. This narrative could be said to invoke the practice of 'passing', a theme strongly developed in the lesbian feminist literatures concerning being lesbian or gay and passing as straight (see Raven, 1992) where Jill 'came out' in this case as 'really' a highly successful entrepreneur. The implication of Jill's play was that she both *resisted* being dismissed as a 'DPB mum' as a consultant commanding $700 for a single day of contract work and yet *colluded* with a dominant cultural assumption that being a welfare dependent solo mother is not respectable or valuable.

A different use of the metaphor of 'play' was visible in Tess's narrative, where she used the metaphor of a "game" in relation to the risks of commodities trading. Tess "liked to play the game" and reminded herself when she had problems with the business that it was a game "like snakes and ladders, this is a snake" (81). The low financial risk that Tess maintained in the business helped her to maintain this imagery of "play"; she had no expensive equipment, she sub-contracted the flower growing, her associate in Auckland worked on commission and Henry's income ran the household. The 'stakes' in the 'game' were, in other words, self-consciously kept low. The analogy of playing a game was nevertheless a potent one for Tess, especially in terms of the primary identification she maintained with the 'real' game of caring for her family. Like Jill, Tess also 'played' with her appearance. Tess described never wearing make-up or her contact lenses when she was working at home as "deliciously easy" (241), yet when she went to Thailand on business she "played the lady". 'Playing the lady' included wearing business suits worth more than her air ticket (approximately NZD $1,200 in 1993), and moderating her gestures, hairdo and make-up commensurate with Thai custom and aesthetics. While she noted that she could "play the game" of the immaculately presented business woman, she could not do so "for too long", and she "couldn't wait" to return home and "take it all off" (243). The metaphor of 'play' suggests some of the other 'spaces' created between the discourses of business and domesticity, where the subject position of the mother is 'played off' against the subject position of the business person, or 'played with' in terms of issues of appearance.

All four of these discursive constructions of business as relationship, as mothering, as teaching and as 'play', provided the women with unexpected sources of power and satisfaction in their work which spoke to their experiences as women and mothers. In between these cross-cutting discourses of gendered and entrepreneurial subjectivity and practice emerged 'spaces' for "self-parody" (Butler, 1990: 146) as in Jill's example of 'passing' as a 'DPB mum', and for "reconfigurations" of business practice, such as Nina's provision of (unpaid) pastoral care. The consequences of some of these discursive

reconfigurations, particularly 'mothering' and 'teaching' discourses in business, were also uneven because of the ways in which they ran parallel to aspects of domestic femininity. That is, 'unsocial hours, 'constant' availability, undercharging and unpaid contributions were *also* part of this way of 'doing' business. It is interesting that none of the younger women spoke of their business practices in terms of 'mothering' or 'teaching', although they too sometimes worked 'unsocial' hours. Their construction of themselves when they did so was through the lens of their *business* subjectivities: as the actions of committed, professional, entrepreneurs, not 'motherly martyrs' like "good old Nora", who laboured throughout the night for her clients.

These differences between the women suggest the ways in which discourses offer multiple, often competing and potentially contradictory ways of giving meaning to the world and of constituting subjectivity (Gavey, 1989: 464). The relevance of this insight to the research at hand is that teleworking women's narratives detail *how* different discourses are 'taken up' by differently positioned women. The consequences of doing so for them as subjects located within a variety of competing possible discourses, and the subject positions they offer, signal the importance of examining the "spcificity of the construction of actual subjectivities in the domain of discursive practices" (Henriques et al, 1984: 204).

Business as a Means of Creating New Relationships with the Family

The next section of the chapter reviews the intersection of the discourses of domesticity and business from a different yet parallel angle, focusing on the business as a means to renegotiating relationships with children and male partners. Teleworking women in this study renegotiated the line between 'home' and 'work' in ways that both drew their families into their businesses and kept them outside of it as has been suggested above. At the level of day-to-day practices, women teleworkers' children and partners made contributions to their home-based businesses in a number of ways: from domestic labour, to emotional support, to sharing in the tasks of the business itself. The benefits, costs and ambivalences of these experiences suggest the complexity of these exchanges between family members. These are discussed below in terms of the integration of children into the business and entrepreneurship as a basis for a new alliance with male partners.

Integrating Children into the Business

One of the interesting themes which emerged in this study was the use which home-based businesswomen made of their children to support their businesses, either directly through participation in the enterprise or indirectly through moving some of the burdens of

domesticity on to them. Apter (1993: 156-7) emphasises the lack of serious academic attention to the issue of children's labour in western scholarship, where it is usually consigned to the history books or distanced as part of family practices of 'developing' nations necessitated by economic scarcity. If children's contributions to domestic labour and the support of their mothers' paid labour has "virtually been ignored" in the scholarly literature, Apter (1993: 157) and Van Every (1995: 50) point to the significance of both the practical and emotional work children contribute to running the home. This includes shopping, food preparation and clean-up and the care of younger siblings in the former category, and in the latter, the "strong emotional work" children may perform to make their mother's employment easier, for example, by minimising accidents in order that mothers can leave them in care while they go to work (Apter, 1993: 157).

From the perspective of the children in this study, one way they ensured their access to their mothers was to become involved in the 'project' of their businesses, whether by picking up domestic labour which mothers increasingly had no time for, or through direct involvement in the enterprise. In the Jolly household, one justification the girls were 'allowed' to use for calling the home-office was to ask for cooking instructions; they had taken on responsibility for preparing evening meals from ten years of age. Mara also called to ask her mother if she could bake cakes, and enjoyed cooking for her parents when they arrived 'home' tired, because they would say she was "so wonderful" (9). Additionally, during the school holidays Rose's administrative contribution to the business itself increased to full-time and Nora noted that she and Nathan "probably don't notice how much (the children) do help us" (79), and that the children's labour was sometimes necessary, and the "only way we can get there"(561).

Nora felt that her children thought of the home-based business as "their business too", noting that Mara, like Christie Sainsbury-Brody, used to used to "play" at business, designing her own business cards and dressing up as a "business person" (454). Ursula Huws (private conversation, 1997), the author of more than 100 publications on telework and a teleworker herself, noted that her daughter would also 'play' at being a teleworker, which in her case involved spreading scrap paper across the floor and answering a play phone with the same repeated message, "sorry, busy". It is interesting that eight-year-old Christie had taken this element of 'play' to new levels by suggesting that her birthday present be the registration of her business's company name. Nora felt that both fifteen-year-old Rose and thirteen-year-old Mara were "just so involved" with the business because it was home-based, and she mentioned a number of times the relationship between the proximity of the business and the children's sense of "ownership", contrasting this

experience to particularly fathers' work where the children "haven't a clue" as to what their "disappearing Dad" was doing within the organisation (5).

In this study, as in Apter's (1993: 158) and Van Every's (1995: 50), the mothers believed that the children benefitted from appreciating the work involved in domesticity and in business, in addition to the potential for the children to develop skills in computing and enterprise more generally. Nora felt that the children benefitted from their exposure to computers, and that the skills the girls were developing in the business would assist them in getting work. Nora's feeling is supported by Kirkup's (1992: 275) analysis which suggests that there is a positive relationship between using the computer at home and doing well in school and university. Rose also saw technical skill acquisition as an advantage of Nora's home-based work (14), and at fifteen knew how to set up databases and "basic office procedure". She felt that her mother's business encouraged her to feel she could "do something" in comparison to her friends at school who were "dropping out" (39). Rose had her career planned for the next ten years, in contrast to her friends who she felt "only thought about tomorrow" (39), and she felt strongly that it was "wrong" for men to do all the breadwinning in families and "boring" to be a full-time mother at home (39).

Apter noted in her study that some children felt enjoyment exercising their competence by participating in domestic labour and assisting with their mothers work, while others felt "ignored, used or disempowered" (1993: 158). In this study both elements were visible, the latter especially visible in the testimonies of the younger children and expressed in Christie's "pissed off-ness" at her mother's business and Mara's frustration regarding her access to Nora and the encroachment into the house of the business. It is also the case that all of the children enjoyed aspects of being involved in their mothers' businesses, as each child's account suggests. One of the themes that emerged was thus the *ambivalent* experience of home-based business for the children, perhaps most poignantly expressed by Cleo's drawing of making her mother coffee when she returned from school. Cleo wanted to provide this emotional support and physical nurturance for her mother, and Nina appreciated her doing so and the time it gave her to finish her work, and yet Cleo drew herself in this otherwise detailed drawing without a face. That some of the children had a feeling of 'coming in second' to their mother's work, and that their mothers were physically proximate but nevertheless unavailable to them, emerged as one of the more painful emotional aspects of the relationship between teleworking mothers and their children.

Entrepreneurship as the Basis for a New Alliance with (Male) Partners

A second means through which the discourses of domesticity and business intersected as a means to renegotiate relationships within families, was between the teleworking women and their male partners. This issue has in part been addressed above in relation to the rejection of being a 'just a housewife' because of the presumed effects of this upon power relations within the partnership. An additional element of this renegotiation of relationships between couples was the alliances the women made with their partners once they became home-based entrepreneurs, where like Tess and Henry they began to "speak the same language". If telework can be a site of conflict between couples, then it is also the case that a number of the women used the business as a means to form different, more 'equal' relationships with their partners as entrepreneurs.

Hochschild (1989: 103) suggests that some women in her study were concerned that their partners would be "bored with a typical wife", and gave the example of the husband who introduced his wife to others by focusing on the career employment she had *once* engaged in, rather than the fact that she was no longer so employed. Marshall similarly found husbands who wanted to introduce partners in career terms and resisted having a wife who was 'just' a housewife, a dilemma for women who wanted to 'move on' from the organisation (1995: 114). This dynamic was also visible in Ian East's narrative of Jill's work, which he felt kept up her skills in computing and made her more "interesting" (80). Ian found that Jill could contribute to "good discussions" which were "really enjoyable" when they had friends for dinner, and that teleworking helped Jill avoid the "suburban neurosis" that he thought was affecting the wives of his workmates (80). Jill's simultaneous positioning as both an entrepreneur and a mother allowed her to 'take up' the narrative of the computer specialist while 'managing' domesticity in such a way as it did not affect Ian's contributions to the household. Her positioning was suggestive of both the 'spaces' for change in the negotiation of gendered practice, as well as continuities in the sexual division of labour. Given Jill's management of lucrative but intermittant contract work interspersed with time with the children, Ian's perspective on Jill's telework was "very much on the positive side"; Jill's teleworking gave him an "interesting" wife who contributed to the family's income, with all the advantages of a stay-at-home housewife (80).

The use of home-based business to offset the low status of full-time domesticity was also visible in Tess's discussion of Henry's work-related conferences. In these contexts she resented the transference of his status on to her and the 'pecking order' the women established amongst themselves on the basis of their husband's place in the hierarchy. For Tess, this resentment was not a reaction to Henry's negativity about her being 'boring', but

her own resistance to this subservient role and her desire to "have something of (her) own" outside of the children and the marriage. Having established herself in business, Tess found a new source of shared interest with her husband which provided a context for them to engage in conversation and give and receive support. Tess thus managed to achieve two contradictory positions with the same practice: her business was a source of shared concern *and* an independent venture; it secured her a degree of separateness *and* enhanced the commonality of the relationship.

Nora similarly increased her power and status in the relationship as a business owner, rather than 'just' a housewife or a low paid part-time worker as she predicted she would be otherwise. In the Jolly household, the business was both a source of conversation and one of the only examples in the women's stories of a male partner directly helping on a regular basis with the business. Although Nathan complained about the business and its infringement on family time and space, he still participated in Nora's work in a practical, on-going, weekly basis, not only as a 'silent' business partner as in Nicholas's case. Nora felt that like the children, Nathan was "involved" in the business because it was located at home and that he would see documents she was working on or overhear telephone calls and be interested and supportive of her work (696). In part this reflected the 'close' relationship the couple shared and in part the decline in Nathan's enjoyment of his own work, where Nora's business and the family generally became "more important" to him.

Additionally, this couple quite unselfconsciously thought of themselves as 'workaholics'. Nora's home-based business made this workaholicism something they could *share* at the same time and place, where both would return to the home-office at night to work, spending time together in a shared comradely commitment to their respective tasks. This "workaholism à deux" had different effects than the pattern observed in Hochschild's study, where the focus on work kept couples emotionally, temporally and spatially separate (1989: 209). Despite the fact that Nora's work did impinge upon romantic evenings, family gatherings and leisure time, it did not always come at the cost of time spent *apart*. 'Workaholism à deux' was in *this* case also an opportunity to support each other's work focus, to encourage the children to participate in the business and to shore up a notion of themselves as 'doing it for the family', albeit at the cost of other elements of family life. These issues of renegotiating power relations with partners are taken up again below in relation to women's entrepreneurship as a source of 'autonomy' and 'control'.

Entrepreneurship as a Site of 'Autonomy' and 'Control'

In the discussion above, two kinds of theoretical literature have been used in concert, one concerning pay and conditions of work that is influenced by the 'labour process' debate, the other the poststructuralist theorisation of the discursive constitution of multiple subjectivities and practices. In this discussion the 'labour process' literature (eg Granger et al, 1995; Hamblin, 1995; Stanworth and Stanworth, 1995) offers a profound challenge to the presentation of telework as lucrative, autonomous and 'flexible' work that the discourse of 'lifestyle entrepreneurship' promulgates. Particularly relevant to this study is Stanworth and Stanworth's (1995) argument that the teleworkers in their research were vulnerable to casualisation, low pay and long hours and that the presentation of them as a flexible, autonomous workforce was erroneous. Although they "felt" more autonomous, the authors conclude that the independence of the teleworkers in their study was limited to the control of working hours, the spatial arrangement of work and the removal of direct supervision, the former two in themselves limited by family obligations and client deadlines (ibid: 224).

However, as I suggested in the theoretical discussion in Chapter Two, to exclusively 'write against' entrepreneurship would be to miss its *cultural and symbolic importance* to the women (and men) who ran home-based businesses in this study, despite the purchase of this critique. To dismiss the 'feeling' of autonomy and control, or to suggest it is a form of 'false' consciousness, would be to dismiss the subjectivity of such women as unimportant, in a way that this thesis has consistently argued against. Rather, the theoretical orientation of this thesis is an attempt to move beyond the gridlock of the 'structure/agency' debate or the notion of women's oppression or men's oppressiveness, toward provoking questions regarding the *consequences* of the telework as the crafting of a particular configuration of 'home' and 'work' responsibilities. Such questions might include an examination of how home-based employment opens up 'spaces' for a multiplicity of gendered subjectivity such as that engendered by women's movement back into paid work at home after years of unpaid care giving, or their renegotiation of domesticity as home-based entrepreneurs.

Additionally, while Fothergill (1994), Granger et al (1995), Hamblin (1995), and Stanworth and Stanworth (1995) have much to offer in reminding readers that teleworkers leave (more) economically secure employment when they leave organisations, this assertion is itself more provisional than they suggest. The narratives of some of the women who left or did not re-join organisational employment suggest the very significant difficulty and disadvantages of *standard* forms of employment, as well as the insecurities of 'non-standard' forms of work. Furthermore, the testimonies of some of the women in this study are indicative of the lack of security which characterises some professional work *within*

organisations (such as Jill's experience), in addition to the patterned tendency for part-time organisational work to be low paid and/or insecure (as in Nina, Roz and Nora's case).

Although teleworking women in this research did experience economic insecurity, the practices of self-employment for these home-based entrepreneurs were still centrally organised around the business as a site of 'autonomous' practice and subjectivity. This discourse of autonomy was not just a 'feeling' which masked the 'real' relations of exploitation within which the women were located, as the writers above suggest, although unpaid work, long hours and low levels of pay were also present. Rather, in the context of gendered familial relations and the difficulty the women found maintaining a stake-hold or re-entering organisational employment, 'autonomy' was a highly valued element of teleworking that each woman emphasised in terms of the importance of making their own decisions and *being in control* of their home-based businesses. This is not to romanticise these women's teleworking experiences or to gloss over the difficulties and insecurities of running a business from home, but to suggest, as in Mackinnon's research (1991: 118), that *both* elements were present and existed in tension; discourses of autonomy and control were in circulation *at the same time* as discourses concerning income insecurity and unequal responsibilities for domesticity.

The stimulation of these 'productive' tensions was visible in the women's assertion of their home-based businesses as the bases for their autonomous power and practice, as Pam Brody's struggles with Nicholas over time, space and money provocatively suggest. At other times, the business as a site of autonomous practice was more quietly asserted, as in Roz's resistance to going to bed if she wanted to stay up late working, and Ben's reluctance to insist she do so because these were "her work procedures" and he was "not in a position to dictate those". Perhaps the most significant example of the lever of business being used to resist the power of a husband's authority in this study was Nina's open defiance of Eric's desire for her to remain in organisational employment, her decision to resign without further consultation and the use of "independent" money to establish herself in a home-based business. Although the consequences of this for Nina's marriage may have been less than positive, that she used home-based self-employment as a means to take these actions is indicative of the potentially powerful role teleworking can play in the reorganisation of the household balance of power. At the opposite end of the same spectrum was Tess, the woman in this study who was perhaps most aligned to her husband's wishes and yet dreamed of continuing her entrepreneurship when her husband entered his retirement. Even for Tess, for whom being available to her family was such a priority, the home-based business was nevertheless a sphere of her independent control and an enduring arena for her autonomous activity.

Home-based businesses were also a significant means to renegotiate domesticity. That Tess, who largely avoided cajoling the children to do housework, *expected* Chas to help with the cooking and the business accounts, signalled the power this dual positioning within both domesticity *and* 'career' offers some home-based businesswomen. Perhaps even more strongly, the 'sharing showdown' that Nora instigated with Nathan over the division of domestic labour in their household suggests the significant realignment in power relations that home-based businesses sometimes facilitated. In Nora's case the dual position as a mother/wife *and* a business owner significantly *enhanced* the success of her bid to renegotiate the domesticity, more so than would have her participation in low status supermarket work despite the fact that the pay she would have received might well have been comparable (ie $15,000 to $20,000). Such renegotiations are suggestive of the sometimes powerful positions the women came to hold, based on these two axes of influence: domesticity and entrepreneurship.

Summary: Discourses of Domesticity and Entrepreneurship

The above discussion raises some significant issues with regard to women's home-based entrepreneurship and the connection between it and wider debates in the literature. The above discussion has suggested that home-based entrepreneurship is a means of teleworking mothers having their own businesses *and* a commitment to their families, parallelling the women in Stacey's (1991: 264) research who struggled "quixotically to secure both handles of the postfeminist grail": those of family and career. Stacey argues that "out of the ashes and residue" of the modern traditional family organised around a male breadwinner and a full-time housewife, family and working life are being remade, "selectively appropriating feminist principles and practices and fusing these, patchwork style, with old and new gender, kinship and cultural patterns" (ibid: 16).

Teleworking is a particularly rich area in which to explore such 'new patchworks' and the power and pleasures associated with this *dual* and *simultaneous* positioning within both domesticity *and* 'career'. Many of the women in this study drew upon feminist and liberal discourses of 'freedom', 'individuality', 'equality' and 'achievement' as they crafted their working *and* family lives as home-based business people. Simultaneously they 'took up' aspects of the discourse of domesticity associated with caring and altruism in relation to both their families *and* their businesses. These 'patchwork' subjectivities and practices suggest the creation of new models of what paid work is and can be, more open senses of 'career', and the shaping of new family relationships on the uneven ground of the home workplace.

In terms of feminist theory, the above analysis is suggestive of the ways in which these women's subjectivities are constituted in what Fraser (1995: 162) refers to as the "concrete interplay of constraint and manoeuvre in specific discursive settings". In this sense the argument above has pursued the notion that discourses of domesticity and entrepreneurship constitute the "lived and actual experience" of subjects rather than "report(ing)" on them, that is, that these discourses come to "articulate the possibilities in which subjects achieve intelligibility" as home-based businesswomen (Butler, 1995: 143). As the discussion of Jones's (1997) and Davies's (1997) work indicated in Chapter Two, the position of the thesis argues against the notion of the unified subject positioned *outside* of the discursive construction of gendered subjectivity and practice, and argues instead that such discourses *constitute* the subject as they are 'taken up' by her. In this analysis the subject is neither fully determined by discourse nor an agent 'free to choose' between discourses, but rather constitutive and constituted, in and through the act of 'doing gender'. This chapter has suggested that teleworking women's subjectivities are *"produced* or *generated"* (Butler, 1990:147, original emphasis) in the discourses of domesticity and entrepreneurship, in addition to a range of other discursive possibilities not examined here, such as discourses of religion or ethnicity. In this dynamic process the women represented here are understood as neither fatally determined, foundational or fixed, nor radically free and autonomous, but rather *positioned* within contested discursive fields "open to resignification, redeployment, subversive citation from within, and interruption and inadvertent convergences" (Butler, 1995: 135).

The discussion of entrepreneurship as a means to renegotiate household practices and relationships, or for the refiguring of business as 'mothering' or 'teaching', are indicative of what Butler (1995: 135) refers to as the interruptions and redeployments of discourse by subjects located in the junctures of their multiplicity. In the midst of this discursive flux, such women did "catch a glimpse of themselves as individuals with power in many different ways" (Gibson-Graham, 1995: 182), but 'with' power that was located within the complexity and contradictions of famial and entrepreneurial relations. Rather than 'controlling' and 'choosing' between domesticity and entrepreneurship, these women navigated *across* and *within* the contested ground of 'home' and 'work'. Home-based businesses were for them a source of autonomous practice, a lever of control in their relationships *and* a burden with few temporal or spatial brakes upon it. Located within and between the 'infinite folds' of identification with "both-and" (Lather, 1991: 154) domesticity and entrepreneurship, these women wrestled with a multiplicity of ways of being constituted by and constitutive of discourses, with consequences both profitable, pleasurable and tiring.

In the next chapter these issues are explored again in terms of the teleworking men's stories of home-based entrepreneurship, and the implications of their positioning within domestic dwellings as businessmen.

Chapter 6

'Teleworking Tales': The Men's Stories

The following chapter reviews the major themes that emerged in the narratives of the five male teleworkers and their families. These narratives reflect a continuum of different organisations of time, space and work practices for teleworking men, demonstrated by two families which represent opposite ends of a continuum in this research. At one end is John Sims who was so work-orientated that he laboured 115 hours a week, constructed a home-office which allowed him to operate on a 24 hour basis and took his cell phone to the dinner table. At the other pole of this continuum was Tom Noble who combined his home-based business with the role of primary caregiver for his infant son, worked part-time hours in order to complete caring and domestic work, did not own a cell phone and liked to make the dinners he cooked "special" for his partner.

These two men, who appear to be so diametrically opposed in terms of their orientation to the worlds of 'work' and 'home', in fact suggest similar dilemmas raised in the stories of all five men with regarding the difficulty of setting boundaries, the importance of the work 'ethic', and the management of time, space and money. Additionally, a number of the men talked about the themes of endurance and discipline that emerge in the literature on entrepreneurship and the attempt to transcend the limits of the body physical through working long or unsocial hours (Mulholland, 1996: 134).

This chapter will also review the management of the 'private world' of home and family for the teleworking men. These narratives are shaped by individual circumstances, such as the age of children, the economic dependence or independence of female partners, and the success of the men in generating sufficient income from their telework. Additionally the men's narratives also group thematically around the issue of the boundary between work for money and unpaid work. Two poles of a continuum are visible in these narratives, and are once again represented by the teleworker John whose work schedule was so gruelling that he had no time for leisure, for his wife, or for lunch; and by Tom, who combined his home-based business with domesticity and caregiving and watched daytime television. In each case

other than Tom's, the men's contributions to domesticity were significantly less than their partners, suggesting the relatively strict division of labour in each household between income generation as men's work and domestic and caring work as women's.

In the case of the Gardens, the division of labour in the household was being renegotiated as Sam's 'breadwinning' status became harder to secure and Sara took on paid work outside of the home-based business to keep the family afloat. In this sense the Gardens' stories represent a transitional form of 'home/work' organisation between the relatively rigid division of labour between paid and unpaid work in the Sims, West and Reid households and Tom's primary responsibility for caregiving in the Noble household. Such diversity suggests a variety of responses to the organisation of income-generating work vis-à-vis caring and domestic work in teleworking households, alongside a persistent tendency for all of the men to avoid such labour *where they could,* in favour of pursuing the 'real work' of running a business from home.

In these narratives, as in those discussed in Chapter Four, these 'crafted' accounts use the men's own words as much as possible, where they both 'speak' and are spoken about by wives, children, personal assistants, friends and parents. From this chorus of voices a complex picture emerges of the negotiation of domesticity and home-based business for these teleworking men.

I. John Sims

The narrative of *John Sims* is somewhat different from others in this study in that this teleworker was not able to be interviewed in the same way as the other participants. What interested me about him was the particular configuration of his homeworking environment, which enabled him to engage with international clients at any time of the day or night without being affected by 'local' time. Additionally I was intrigued by John's persistent elusiveness versus his adamantly articulated desire to participate in the study. I set up the interview no less than four times, finally travelling the five hours to his home town to interview his wife, Julia, and personal assistant, Cher, when he once again cancelled at the last minute. I also felt compelled to continue to negotiate access to this family because of Julia's strong desire to be included in the study, which was articulated by John as Julia "having a thing or two to tell you!".

I speculate in Chapter Three as to the links between John's persistent desire to be included in the study, his immense time pressure such that he "didn't have a spare hour in his day", my sense of his ambivalence about my hearing a critique of his work practices from his wife,

and his cancelling of the research interviews. In the event, I did have some time with John in his self-contained home-office when he became aware I was in the house interviewing Julia, but we were still not able to conduct an interview; firstly because he was unable to clear other demands away to do so, taking a long call from the United States in what could have been our interview time, and secondly because he did not want to talk to me about the themes of the study but rather wanted to show me the latest software he had developed. He was unable to do this at the time because he discovered some glitch in the software, and spent time we could have spent talking firstly trying to fix it and secondly by taking the phone call. The interview was displaced in favour of the work, just as other elements of John's practice were displaced, an issue Julia was to discuss in great depth in the course of her interview.

However, these unusual circumstances also led to some unusual opportunities in this family, such as being able to interview John's new administrative assistant who had been hired just six weeks earlier, while John was preoccupied with other tasks. The narrative of John Sims is thus largely a narrative *about* John constructed by his wife Julia and his personal assistant, Cher. It has a different character to the narratives of the other teleworkers in the study but is also somehow appropriate to John's situation. That is, there is a certain congruence between John being *talked about* rather than representing himself, and his *actual absence* in the lives of his family and assistant which emerged in their narratives.

John Sims's Work History

John Sims's teleworking emerged over an extended time period when, in 1983, he left a large city and moved to an attractive provincial town in order to take up the senior management job in a broadcasting enterprise. Not long after he took up the position, the organisation was restructured into a State Owned Enterprise and John could "see the writing on the wall". He decided to move from this job before the inevitable redundancy occurred into an information and communications technology job with a large organisation, 'Entertainment Enterprises', based in another city. John was committed to continuing to live in the provincial town that he had just resettled his wife and teenage daughter to, so began to physically commute to this city located some six hours drive from his home, two days a week. Julia noted that the organisation was initially happy for John to work from their home and be on-site "a couple of days a week" but subsequently wanted to have John on-site more often, so that his time away eventually "grew to five days a week". This in part reflected John's development of a specialist expertise within Entertainment Enterprises in the international transmission of information. In response to his particular role within the organisation and the increased demands it placed upon him, John took a flat for nine months

in the city where the organisation was based with another commuter, and stayed there from Monday to Friday, commuting home on the weekends.

Eventually the organisation issued John with an "ultimatum": the family would have to move if John wanted to maintain the position. John and Julia were "adamant" that they were not going to "move for the job", first and foremostly because "there was still no job security" and indeed the structure of the entire entertainment industry that John was employed in was increasingly characterised by short-term contract work where a guarantee of permanent work was unlikely. Additionally John and Julia felt that they would not have been able to afford a home in the city the organisation was based in of "equivalent pleasantness" to the large, attractive house they currently owned. John stalled the organisation using the disruption of his daughter Kris's schooling as "the first excuse". "After that", according to Julia, "there were no excuses so we made a decision we would not move".

Using such 'excuses' helped John to avoid *directly refusing* to comply with a company edict to relocate, where such refusal would almost certainly had lead to the termination of his contract. The fact that John had already significantly compromised his lifestyle by flatting in another city for the working week was similarly significant in avoiding a direct confrontation of organisational and 'family' needs. However the disadvantages of this strategy were, according to Julia, significant in terms of John's 'narrow' and fragmented life, and for Julia herself in terms of her shouldering of the complete burden of the household as a sole parent from Monday to Friday.

Although he continued commuting, John sought a solution to these problems by negotiating a contract based in the town where the family lived with a regional educational organisation called 'Educorp'. Julia noted that "over a long, long time ... John talked himself as it were, or created himself, a job". Although the transition to the education sector was a difficult one for John who had no background in this area, his "first venture" contracting-out educational services was a success and lead to other "ventures" with Educorp. Simultaneously, John's expertise in Entertainment Enterprises were in continuing demand as evidenced by the fact that they would not accept his resignation. As a new compromise, John accepted a contract with Educorp and they in turn sub-contracted his services back to Entertainment Enterprises. Thus although John's narrative is not one of outright redundancy, his response to job insecurity was to manoeuvre to create 'stable' relationships with two organisations although his employment security was still compromised in so far as he remained on an annually renewable fixed-term contract.

In a second sense John is also unusual in this study in that he did not define himself as a self-employed worker, so much as a contractor for two major clients, where the contracts were for a limited time and for specified services and where John spent all of his time while not travelling in his home-office. John had discussed the prospect of "full" self-employment in his own home-based business "many times on and off over the past few years", and it was an option that Educorp had suggested to him at the time of his last contract negotiation. Julia said:

> We just weren't a 100% sure, and there's lots of costs and doubts and so on and we felt if you have two people willing to employ you half and half, and you go a fair way to dictating, not dictating, but determining your own conditions, that we would stay within the system for awhile (100)[1].

Julia's reflection on this ongoing negotiation between John and his two 'clients' is interesting in that she was aware of the contradiction between John's outward appearance as a confident self-promoter and his desire to retain the security of a connection to organisational employment rather than become self-employed. Despite John's reputation both nationally and internationally, including providing briefings to high-level government officials, executive membership of an international telecommunications association, and his specialist, marketable skills, Julia was conscious that he was anxious about the prospect of "going out on his own". Julia felt that "this often happens with people who perhaps work by themselves, no-one tells them what a good job they're doing" and she felt that a lot of home-based jobs "actually get quite lonely".

'Flexible' Time and the Work Ethic

John thus effectively had *two* jobs with two different organisations and had been in this position for over two years at the time of the first interview. John's experience of having two full-time jobs was that "he literally does not have one spare hour a week" because both jobs had "expanded to breaking point". However, John and Julia's responses to this situation were contradictory, both within and between themselves. On the one side both seemed critical of people who did not appear to be as committed to their work as John and both agreed that John's high standards were commendable. For example, John was critical of on-site colleagues at Educorp according to Julia, because these "educationalists" would "walk out at half-past four when they'd finished their work" while John was used to working

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[1]   These numbers refer to the paragraphs of the original transcript from which this excerpt is taken.

"around the clock" (26). John routinely worked six-and-a-half to seven days a week at 'unsocial' times because he was working across international datelines, an average of 115 hours/week, or approximately 16.5 hour days.

This commitment in terms of time was a reflection of John's desire to provide a high level of accessibility and "service" for the network of people who contacted him. Julia commented favourably, for example, that John was "conscientious to the maximum", that he would "never let a single person down" and that he was "absolutely devoted to doing a thorough job", although in the same paragraph she also commented that:

> Whereas other people would be, settle for a method that was okay, he would work at it over and over until it's absolutely right, every word's right. That's the thing that does annoy me, is that he, I think he's too, I mean, to watch him plant shrubs, I have to walk away.

This contradiction and struggle between John's devotion to the job *and* the sense of being overwhelmed by work were reflected in his resistance to renegotiating his contract and the feeling that he did not want to "agree to anything":

> ... until we found some way of controlling the hours, because they would just say, fit in with you, you are your own worst enemy John, you must say "no", but you can't ... you can't let people down just by saying "no" (25).

Statements such as this reflected the way Julia both colluded with John's heightened sense of commitment to his work and resisted it. The tenor of the eventual negotiations with both organisations, were, Julia felt, an attempt to "rein in" John's hours, although she acknowledged that they "still ha(d)n't got any real mechanism for controlling (them)". For example, there was a clause in John's renegotiated contract limiting his availability to Entertainment Enterprises to five people whom he referred to as the "John User Group". This strategy, while limiting John's contract with Entertainment Enterprise personnel, did not significantly reduce his hours as these five "users" were his primary contacts with the organisation before and after the negotiations.

These new initiatives were in part instigated by Julia herself and her awareness of both John's overwork and his inability to ask for help. When the overload worsened to the point where John stopped opening his mail, Julia decided that she was going to see Educorp to "plead for secretarial help" because the situation had deteriorated to the stage where Julia "was prepared to do the asking". In the event, the very afternoon she had organised to visit

the organisation "they came out and said, look we can see (there's a problem)", resulting in the allocation of secretarial assistance for John of up to 30 hours a week.

'A Massive Workload' from a Secretary's Perspective

John's personal assistant had been at work just six weeks at the time of the first interview. Cher had senior management experience but now wanted to work part-time hours to care for her sick husband. She felt that potential employers looked at her "suspiciously", wondering why a woman with her experience wanted secretarial work. She felt she couldn't "get through to them that my satisfaction doesn't come from the job, that I have all sorts of interests outside of work". Ironically enough for an assistant to such a work-orientated person as John; part time, flexible hours like the ones John demanded suited Cher's responsibilities to her husband, She could take time off in the middle of the week and work Saturday afternoons as she did on the day I met her, freeing time for her partner.

Cher confirmed Julia's sense of John's high standards and "particular" ways of doing things. Cher commented, for example, that John's knowledge of English was "very precise", "not open to anyone's interpretation" and "very specific" so that he was not as easy to assist with his work as other professionals she had encountered. Cher's experience of working with John in her first six weeks was her sense that "not everyone could work with him like this (in the home-office)" and she hadn't realised this part-time job would be "so full on". When I interviewed her, Cher had already formed some clear views about working with John "because it's *intense*, and a one-to-one situation. He's an intellect, an 'up and go' sort of guy. It's a *massive* workload".

Cher's response to John's high standards and the large workload was to create a strong boundary between his stress and responsibilities and her own, and she felt she had 'trained herself' not to "pick up" John's stress. Cher felt she would be able to continue working with John, as long as she too was not required to participate in the work with the same intensity and fervour with which he did so.

John's 'Time and Space Independence'

John Sims represented the most work orientated teleworking man in this study group, and the man who made the least contribution to the caring and domestic labour in his household. This situation was a consequence of John's unique organisation of work *space* and the implications of this for his use of *time*. John had constructed a self-contained, sound proofed, insulated, artificially heated and lit office which had its own internally screened

entrance way but no external windows or natural light. He and Julia both felt that you "couldn't (telework) unless you had a separate space" (108) so a detached home-office was built, funded by the family and in part constructed by John himself, with its own kitchen, toilet facilities, multiple work areas, sofa-bed and library, the "perfect environment" according to John.

Because of this particular home-office environment, issues over the use of time and space converged in the Sims's household, because this particular configuration of a work space facilitated a particularly flexible attitude to work time. The home-office allowed John to work at a "tremendous intensity" (34) in the middle of the night and "around the clock" without being aware of local time and without these odd hours strongly affecting his cycadian rhythms. Julia's perspective on this situation was, typically for this study, shot through with ambivalence; and in some paragraphs, and indeed single sentences such as the first one in the excerpt below, her position shifted from being positive about John's home-office to being quite negative. She said:

> ... it's too accessible, it's only downstairs, it's a perfect environment, I mean you can walk through it and you'll see what a perfect area it is. He works in a room with no windows, so you're not sort of tempted by the sun, or you don't hear the rain or the wind. You don't even know what time it is down there, because you're working under lights all the time. So that would be one of the disadvantages working at home, is that you're too close to it (74).

The ambivalent feelings towards John's use of time and space were summarised by the polarisation of the couple's opinion about the home-office; it made John in his own words "the perfect worker" *and* it made him less available as a husband and father, a less-than-perfect companion and parent. John's use of space and time also figured simultaneously as advantageous and problematic in Julia's narrative. For example, she saw it as advantageous for John's work that he was 'time and space independent', commenting that:

> Time and distance doesn't mean anything because the phone's there and often he would do a lot of his work, a lot of that work would happen through to this time on Saturday afternoon (3.00 pm) because it's their prime time over there (in the Northern hemisphere) and we used to get regular wake-up calls at half-past six on Saturday morning because they would have something they needed to talk about ... you're so accessible in your own home (26).

Although she too is affected by these 'wake-up' calls, Julia was in this excerpt positive about John's accessibility and later related another story with a similar tone of acceptance concerning being woken by faxes being sent between two and five in the morning on a home line which rang "ten times during the night"(60). For a "dedicated worker" like John, teleworking was ideal, Julia felt, because "you're on the spot, you're close, I mean now we have these cell phones ... he's accessible anywhere at anytime".

Getting a Line: Fighting for the Phone

In so far as John's multiple phone links made it easy to contact him, it often meant he tied up the two lines that entered the house with calls, faxes and modem transfers, making it difficult for people to contact Julia or she them. If this happened, and she wanted to call out quickly, she had to go out to the home-office, alert John to the fact that she wanted to make a phone call "in the next five minutes" and call, in the presence of John and later Cher, from the home-office.

People calling in also had trouble reaching Julia, a problem she described as "getting through on a private level" and she felt that callers who did successfully reach the house disliked having Cher answer the phone, that it "threw people"and had "proved a bit of a nark"(62). While Julia seemed to accept this inconvenience with the same resignation she accepted being woken by faxes, their seventeen-year-old daughter Kris entered into more direct conflict with her father and there was "a bit of strife" because "kids want to use the phone at night". In these situations Kris and John would compete to use the phone, and Kris would respond to her father's complaints about tying up the phone by saying "well you've been on the phone", and he'd say "well that's not the point" (68). At the time of the first interview a solution to this problem was in sight in the form of a switchboard, which was to be operated from the home-office so that private calls for Julia and Kris could be diverted to the house.

However, in relation to interruptions by the cellular phone, Julia's frustration was more apparent. This was one of the first topics we discussed and remained a 'hot' issue for the couple because John was interrupting the evening meal by taking phone calls at the dinner table on the cellular phone. Julia had asked John to take the phone 'off the hook' for the two hours around dinner time and left a note that said "telephone off the hook for the evening meal please" which she left on the kitchen bench (12). When I queried Julia about this arrangement I asked whether this 'discipline' had allowed the family the two hours of evening time together that Julia saw as ideal. She replied:

Well it's *really* about one hour. But now of course the cell phone goes half the time, I get a bit stroppy over that (laughs). And of course that rings four times and then it leaves a message, but if it happens to be up here (on the first floor) it still interrupts the meal (laughs). He can't resist a telephone call (14).

Julia's opposition to the cellphone and to John's erosion of all of their 'private' time with work activities was one of the few points in the narrative where she suggested there was open conflict between the couple over the balance between 'home' and 'work'.

Domestic Labour as Julia's Responsibility

One of the significant implications of John's schedule was that the complete responsibility for the domestic labour, care of their teenage daughter Kris and elderly relatives fell to Julia. Early in the interview Julia told me about redoing the house "from top to bottom" and the way in which the responsibility for this job had fallen entirely to her. The implications of this situation for Julia were multiple; she felt she was expected to do all the domestic and caring work herself which she did on the basis that she identified with it as a housewife and mother. Julia enjoyed aspects of these practices and found it satisfying, for example, to provide physical care for her mother and her "lovely elderly neighbours" (6), and described moving furniture around the house as one of her "side hobbies" (92). As John became busier she had also widened her sphere of activity to those tasks husbands would usually perform, like outdoor work, maintenance and finances.

John's home-based work had also increased Julia's domestic labour in terms of her imputed responsibility to clean the home-office. This is one area where Julia was beginning to resist contributing her domestic labour, although doing so had a negative implication for her in that someone else would have to come on to the property to do it instead. This part of the narrative also suggested an interesting distinction in Julia's mind between the rest of the house and the home-office where she felt it "really is two houses" (90): their private home and John's work space. In this sense the home-office was space lost to Julia. She seldom went in there ("I keep right out of it") and she could not control who came into it; it was a space where other people now worked and where strangers entered without her permission or knowledge. Julia spoke of the home-office as "like Piccadilly", that she could always hear "crunching and goings on in the gravel" (102). Cher, for example, had been given a key to the home-office to allow her to check faxes when John was away and found entering it "a bit difficult to start with, a bit intrusive". She felt she was intruding "on someone else's patch" and had taken to calling Julia before she came on to the property.

The level of concern that Julia showed about setting "certain limits" on who was hired to clean the home-office, and the characteristics she required of such a person ("honourable, reliable, careful", "someone you feel 100% happy about" (90), suggested that this aspect of John's location at home was problematic for her. However, Julia's response to the prospect of someone eventually relieving her of 'her' responsibility to clean the home-office, was, like her response to hiring a personal assistant for John, conflicted, but ultimately positive. She said: "if that takes place, that from my point of view, that will be a bonus because I mean, I've had to do quite a bit down there" (90).

Leisure, Lunch and the Erosion of 'Private Time'

If some parts of Julia's narrative text revealed conflict with John, such as the issue of the cell phone at the dinner table, in other parts of the narrative her text is characterised by a sense of irony and acceptance. An example of this was her discussion of the possibility of having lunch with John during a working day, which in effect was every day, suggesting the level of ambivalence she experienced in relation to the possibility of John's proximity leading to a higher degree of contact between them. When I asked Julia what the advantages of John's working at home were for her she initially replied "none". She then modified this and said:

> You see the idea was that he would come up and have lunch. After a week or two it was just a *farce*, so, so now we've set it up ... we're gradually getting the kitchen sort of set up with enough so that he, he can, they can stop and have lunch on the run in the home- office. But, uh, oh there are advantages, but really we, I don't sort of flit up and down, I keep right out of it (32).

The relatively rigid separation of 'home' and 'work' in this home-based workplace was striking: Julia seldom entered John's world nor he hers. Julia felt there was a distance between the rhetoric of telework as a 'lifestyle option' facilitating access to 'the great outdoors' and the reality. She said "although the theory is good that you work at home, you go out for an hour's break around the park at lunch time to get fresh air and a bit of exercise and to give your eyes a break, it doesn't happen" (34). Julia felt that John was receiving "good" money for his work and that for that amount they both accepted that he would not limit his hours to "8 to 5". However Julia felt John was a "workaholic" by which she meant he worked "eighteen hour a day, six-and-a-half days a week" (80) and that the hours did not give him enough time to "replenish" himself, leading her to reflect once again on the rhetoric of flexible work and the reality of overwork.

Julia was aware that John had some recreational pursuits, such as "all sorts of woodworking skills" that he had used in making the home-office, but that he only engaged in these pursuits when they were oriented towards similar work-related goals. She blamed "habit" and the accessibility of John's work for the fact that he did not do these things more frequently, because "you goad yourself into the habit of not being able to *do* anything, and work expands to fill, and of course the other thing is it's too accessible" (74).

When I asked Julia if she ever asked John to take some time off to spend time together her response reflected the difficulty for her of asking ("I might be able to"), and her awareness of John's wanting to make the time "if he could" (72). This part of Julia's narrative articulated the idea that John's conversation had "narrowed" to the point where all he was "able to talk about was (his) work", which from Julia's perspective diminished her prospective enjoyment of contact with him. She said:

> And I do find little, but, umm, (pause) they tend only to be able to talk about their work. I never have yet said anything, but I really don't care, I mean I know now what he does, I don't need to know the details. What letters he's got to send, what problems he's solved with Jack, I don't want to know about that. But, I don't know if this is true of all people who are totally involved in their work, but, umm, they come away from it for a meal, and that's all they can talk about, because they don't have anything else in their day (72).

Although Julia was not reliant on John for company and conversation and herself had an active life in the community and a 10-hour-per-week job with a charitable organisation, this 'flattening' of John's conversation and practice into a primary identification with his paid employment affected their relationship and spilled over into other areas of their life. For example, this couple had not taken a holiday together for some time and conferences were one of the few ways in which Julia could accompany John on his work-related travel. However, the contact they had together during these sojourns was limited by the work, and once again Julia narrated this issue with a mixture of pride in John's "devotion" and concern at the lack of contact the two of them had. She said:

> Some people go to conferences and just swan around, he goes to conferences and I just sort of know that I'm, occasionally we'll meet up with him at one of the dinners at night and otherwise umm, you know, I do my own thing, because he doesn't regard them as a holiday *at all*, they are hard work, and that's where you go to keep up contacts (34).

Other areas of John's practice of "narrowing" his life to his working life which Julia found more difficult focused on areas where in the past they used to pursue leisure activities together, two of which emerged as significant, that is, dinner parties and chamber music. One of the first things Julia talked about in the interview was the way in which she would no longer have people coming to the house for dinner parties because "it puts too much pressure on people", particularly Julia herself, when John would interrupt the meal to attend to work (8). Because John could not predict when the phone would go, or urgent work come into the house, and because of his tendency to attend to work immediately rather than leave it, Julia felt strongly that she was "not going to put my friends through that ... the humiliation of being walked out on" (10).

Another 'public' moment in their lives where Julia was aware of John's absence, was his non-attendance at a season of chamber music that they had subscribed to and paid for two years previously. John had at that point not attended a single concert and Julia had taken a friend in his place twice and otherwise attended alone. She had insisted they both attend a concert the night of the interview, although Julia seemed sceptical about their actually making it: "I might be painting it worse than that, but, no we really, we don't even attempt to make time together" (46). As it happened I also attended the concert that evening and John made a point of seeking me out to tell me he'd "made it" while Julia smiled at me across the auditorium in what I fancied to be a satisfied way.

Julia felt she and John did not "have much of a social life together" and summed up this situation when she said that if she "waited to do things with my husband I would never do them, so I quite, we lead very separate lives" (6). Julia's opinion about the future of John's telework from her perspective was ambivalent, in keeping with the mood of much of her discussion of John's telework. She said:

> (T)he hope is that from now on once we've sorted out logistics of a secretary, and help, and real control of the hours and he's got to do that (ie control the hours) ... I don't know, we'll just have to see how it goes (34).

II. Jim West

Jim West's narrative was closest to John Sims in the sense that Jim also used time flexibly, worked regularly after midnight every day of the week and had a total working week of close to 100 hours. Like John, Jim also participated very little in domestic labour or child care in his household, which he had initially come to live at as a 'boarder'. The woman with

whom he lived, Ann Grey, was a significant participant in Jim's business in addition to caring for her eight-year-old daughter Poppy.

Jim began his teleworking business in 1989 selling software and database services to the television industry, and had been in this home-based business for four years at the time of the first interview. Jim had come to the television industry when he left school, because of his "love of the medium" (3), but had been aware of the insecurity, unsocial hours and low pay associated with working in television from the beginning and had consequently diversified his skills into computer programming. It had been Jim's father who had initially "pushed (him) toward this sound career in computing", suggesting to Jim that "only a few people could get into television" and that Jim shouldn't "get (his) hopes up too high". Jim had responded by working part time as a presenter at a regional television station as a means of "getting into the industry", while he engaged in a year of full-time computer programming training. He said:

> You need something you can fall back on, that will really make television easier for you. You need to have something else, I've seen too many people that have been, had to really change careers completely. In fact there's been a number of presenters who have had a twenty year career and at forty-five reached the peak of their salary, their salary peaked out at thirty five thousand. It's often better money to be made outside of television than presenting, if you're forty-five earning thirty-five thousand (46).

The labour market for presenters was a very competitive one, indicated by the low pay offered to senior presenters in regional television, and the pool of new people "willing to work for peanuts" because they had "this love of television" (40). Jim also felt that the stress and responsibility of the work was not reflected in the wage, yet struggled with his own "love of the medium" which was reflected in the following passage:

> I thought, well the amount of responsibility you have, I have sixty thousand people watching me right now, and I'm responsible for bringing this sort of income into the station and that is not really recognised, for that amount of responsibility you could be getting much better paid doing something else, but at the same time you want to be getting that satisfaction, that challenge, that high (40).

However the cost of the 'high' of presenting was significant for Jim, not only in terms of the insecurity of employment. When Jim reflected on the things about working in organisations that he was pleased to avoid now that he worked at home, he spoke of the difficulty of

coping with night work and split shifts, and of needing to go home and sleep for twelve hours because presenting "was that hard on your body that you were completely zonked out at times" (97).

What finally prompted Jim's movement into a teleworking business was the experience of being made redundant from a small television station, were he had been taken on as a full-time presenter on a one year contract. Just at the point when Jim felt he had begun to 'make it' in the industry, the station decided to replace presenters with machines which ran pre-recorded material automatically. Jim's diverse skills in computing became quite valuable to the organisation during this year as they sought out his programming expertise in order to install the machines that were going to make him and three of the other seven presenters redundant.

In response to this situation and the financial crises that were facing many regional television stations, Jim decided to make a clean break from television presenting and attempt to create a business which combined his knowledge of computer programming with his experience of the industry, to "come up with something new and something nobody else has done" (3). Jim hoped that this combination of skills would meet a need in an industry characterised by "bosses (that) didn't like computers" who were "scared" of the technology (29). This lack of expertise and experience of computers in the television industry appeared to be just the market niche that Jim was looking for to enhance his "control" over his career, but in the short term he had to "go out on a limb" (9) setting himself up as a self-employed entrepreneur offering software and database information to regional television presenters.

As Jim's business, which he called "Infobuzz", developed, he was able to offer two kinds of products. One was a software rental service where Jim would supply four computer programmes he had developed on a quarterly basis. The second involved contracts to send 'tagged' information from a database with 14,000 items to individual presenters on a daily basis for use in talkback and community orientated programmes. This information was customised and gathered by Jim from a number of sources including offshore databases, Internet discussion groups and original library research about local history. Jim could 'tag' the information for various users so that although they "are sent a wad of stuff" he could also send specific information to individuals.

Jim's computer programme gave him exact figures on the division of the business in terms of time, where 62% was spent programming and 28% generating database information. The programming work had proven to be much more attractive: it was lucrative, it was able to be sold-on through presenters to stations and it could be timetabled within a nine-to-five

working day. The database service, which initially had been the bulk of Jim's business, had a relatively low return value, and he chose to send the daily faxes at two in the morning to minimise transmission costs. Additionally Jim had to review the information he was sending to "flag and code those particular ones to go to particular people", a time-consuming job which tended to be done late at night before the faxes were sent off at 2.00 am.

Jim continued to diversify his work and had recommenced 10 hours per week of presenting work at a local television station both because it helped financially and because it was "nice to have a break" from the home-office. When he worked at the station, Jim was reminded of the stress of television work; the need for "solid concentration", being able "to do ten things at once" and of needing to "pick (himself) up quite considerably" if he was "having a bad day" so that his on-air performance wasn't affected. (37). Jim contrasted this to the way he organised his work within his home-based business in terms of his ability to "concentrate on one thing at a time and complete that before I go on", and the "fairly even pace" of the programming work (39). In contrast to work on-air, the pace in the home-office was "less exhausting" than having to build himself up to the "intensity" required to go 'on air' (39).

Separating 'Home' and 'Work' Space

Although Jim had not needed expensive loans to initiate the business, there were some outright costs such as his stationary that had to be met when he established "Infobuzz". In order to keep his overheads low he began the business in the house he boarded in rather than owning his own home and needing to carry a mortgage. While this strategy kept his overheads low it had also proved to be a risk: no sooner had he established elaborate letterhead stationary with this residential postal address, than the owner of the house asked him to leave because she wanted the room for a friend. This relocation cost him telephone reconnection fees and new stationary costs of three thousand dollars, a significant blow for the business in its infancy. Jim was still not in a position financially to buy a house so he responded by seeking board elsewhere and taking a postal box, rather than risk needing to change his stationary again.

Jim was at the time of the first interview living with Ann and her eight-year-old daughter Poppy. Jim and Ann's relationship had developed over time from its beginning as a boarder/landlady relationship. They saw themselves as a family, a situation that had existed for a year when I first met them, and Jim felt that he was a 'father figure' to Poppy (12, 81). The spatial organisation of Jim's work and living space vis-à-vis other members of the household reflected the genesis of the relationship as a 'boarding' situation, where Jim had

a separate space outside and behind the house with a bedroom to which the home-office was attached. This organisation of space suited everyone, it gave Ann the house and her own residential phone line, it gave Poppy the front garden to play in as she wished to and it gave Jim a 'home' to eat and relax in outside of his combined sleeping and working space. The separation of 'home' and 'work' space represented by the backyard was a significant dividing line for the family in that it gave Jim (and increasingly Ann) a separate work space distinct from the house, allowing him to work the irregular hours to which he had become accustomed.

Phone Calls and Broken Sleep

When Jim first arrived at Ann's house he had a separate telephone line installed in the home-office space at his own expense (some NZ$400 in 1993 figures) to which he had linked a toll-free phone number and a fax line. This phone, while operating on a separate line, was connected to Ann's phone inside the house. If Jim was inside the house, Ann's phone would ring letting him know there was a message on his answer phone in the home-office (48). Jim also had a pager service which had an emotional appeal in his opinion, because clients got "a bit of a buzz out of it you know, sending a page, and I'm at their beck and call and that sort of thing" (49).

This availability had an effect on Jim's working time, in addition to his routine of working until 2.00 am. Jim averaged fifteen hour days on every day except Monday and worked every day of the week, on average a 100 hour working week. Jim, like John Sims, was working extremely long hours because he was accessible to his work and his clients were accessible to him. Jim's typical day began when he awoke at ten or eleven am to bathe and eat a breakfast prepared by Ann, beginning work at midday. Most mornings Ann would have collected his mail for him by bike from a post box some 20 minutes from the house and Jim would work uninterrupted from noon until three when he would stop to eat an afternoon tea also prepared by Ann. He then tended to work until six when Ann prepared dinner for the three of them and returned to work in the home-office after this sixty minute break during which he would watch the news and eat. From 7.30 pm to midnight Jim would continue to work, sometimes watching television at the same time if he was doing routine data entry work or 'tagging' the database. At midnight Jim's database reports were ready to send and from this time until 2.00 am he would monitor the faxing while he read computer manuals and gathered materials to input "the next time the computer's free" (34). He would then sleep from two until ten in the morning in his separate bedroom and work space, and begin the process again.

Jim's sleep was, however, frequently broken by Ann's parents' visits and their habit of driving to the back of the house tooting their horn when they arrived in the mornings. Ann's parents had difficulty in taking Jim's work seriously, in part because it was home-based, and in part because of the 'anti-social' hours Jim worked, where he appeared to sleep-in when he "should be up" according to Ann's dad. Ann concluded that they (and she herself) didn't see what Jim did "as work" because all he seemed to do was sit in front of a computer all day "playing". More than any other person in this study, Ann could be identified as working class in the sense that she had no formal qualifications from high school, had work experience in factories and lived off a social welfare benefit which she supplemented with Jim's board and part-time cleaning work. For Ann and her father, 'work' was associated with the labour of doing or making things in an organisation rather than textual information work based at home. In this sense Jim's work did not meet their criteria of "real" work.

This issue came into sharp relief not long after Jim moved in around the issue of "Ann interrupting" him when he came inside for coffee. Ann described this situation in the following manner:

> (I) didn't click that he was working. And he kept popping in and making himself a drink and it wasn't until he started saying "well hey, since I've been here I'm not getting as much work done" and I thought, 'oh yeah, he's working'. And then I started to thinking 'yeah, he's just not sitting out there playing on the computer, he's actually working' (7).

However, Ann also felt that representing these breaks as 'her interrupting his work' were unfair, because their conversations were usually devoted to Jim's monologues about the business prompted by her asking 'how it was going'. Ann felt that in response to this greeting Jim would get "carried away":

> he's the one that should be able to stop and say "oh, it's going fine" and be up, off, out the door, but he didn't. He used to stop and say "oh, I've done this and this and this is how it went" and I'd think "oh no", and then I'd look at my watch and think "I shouldn't have asked" (9).

This process of Jim wanting to talk to Ann about the business increased as time passed, so that he would often come and tell Ann about developments in his work. Jim partly went to Ann because he assumed she was available while other friends were at work and partly because he preferred face-to-face conversations that left the phone lines free for clients (10). These conversations sometimes happened late at night, where Jim would go into Ann's

bedroom and tell her his latest work-related news, after Ann had gone to sleep. This pattern had begun early in Jim's residency where he would not hesitate to wake Ann up because according to her, he "just thinks work, you see he doesn't think, 'oh she's tired and she's sleeping', he just thinks work so he wants to tell me it, so he just comes in and talks" (90). Interestingly, Ann did not allow Poppy to interrupt her sleep in this way.

This support and interest in Jim's work was not reciprocated in their relationship according to Ann, in that Jim very seldom asked her about her 'work' or developments in her day. Jim saw these conversations as "interruptions", and as evidence of the need to "discipline Ann" not to talk to him. However, this non-reciprocating dynamic changed somewhat as Ann began to become interested in the computer herself and curious about what Jim was doing in the home-office. She became "pleased" to listen because she was "learning what he was doing" which was "interesting", beginning the process of her incorporation into his business as an unpaid worker.

Incorporating Ann into the Business

Unlike Julia Sims, Ann had become a significant additional worker in Jim's business. Ann had become incorporated into Jim's work in a central way, but this incorporation was largely invisible in Jim's narrative which emphasised the establishment of the business as a solitary saga of struggle and triumph. Jim's narrative consistently under-emphasised the multiple roles that Ann played in the business and the tasks delegated to her which Jim depended on her to perform, such as collecting the mail, engaging in library research and inputting data. Jim mentioned Ann's input only once at the very end of the first interview when he said "even Ann helps me out and types stuff and she is getting quite good at this now and maybe then she can go onto something else" (51). The brevity of this account and the modifying use of the word "even" belied the daily input that Ann was making into the business and the ways Jim had come to rely on this contribution over time. Ann's interview was revealing in this regard as she reflected on the motivation for her increasing involvement, orientated around her dissatisfaction with being at home and being engaged primarily in domestic and caring labour. She said:

> At first he'd be fine, he's just out there working and then I didn't like it. I thought he's home I can't laze around and watch serials because it makes me feel guilty because he's out there doing something and I wasn't. I was just sitting around waiting for someone to come home, I'd just get up, just do the housework and then sit and wait for Poppy to come home and then sit and wait to make tea. It was

boring and he made me feel really guilty because he was doing things and I was just lazing around (51).

This 'guilt' Ann felt, and her dissatisfaction and boredom with the caring and domestic responsibilities that dominated her day, were the beginning of her gradual transition from asking Jim about his work to participating in it herself. Ann's reasons for wanting to do this work when Jim did not offer her any payment for doing so were inflected by her experience of the daily practices of caring for the house and for Poppy, where she felt by working on the computer she could "hide" from these domestic demands. Going into the home-office was for Ann like "going to work, I don't think about Poppy and making tea, out at Jim's I can kind of hide" (33).

In relation to being paid for the work, Ann insisted that Jim "always says that he's going to pay me" (49) and although he never had, Ann felt that she would be able to ask "for a little bit extra" if she needed it "because of the work I do" (50). Both she and Jim held a belief that doing the work held intrinsic rewards beyond the money it made; for Ann these rewards were having something other than domestic and caring labour to perform and "getting (her) out of the house" (49). For Jim the issue of the financial reward he received for the business was orientated toward the desire to resow whatever profits were made back into the business rather than take them as salary. Jim did see money as a measure of his success in the business (42) but he wasn't "making the big bucks" (43). He was not willing to "work (him)self to the bone to try and make as much money as possible" (121) although his 100 hour/week schedule did indeed appear to be 'working himself to the bone'. Jim had been "putting a lot of money back into the business" (108) and tried to keep his costs low to avoid feeling financially stressed, although he talked at length about the worry of carrying clients who paid late and how the monthly and quarterly flow of cash was difficult to manage against weekly expenses (99). For Jim, there were other rewards that came from the business and he emphasised the satisfaction he received from "seeing the programmes really do good work for other people, seeing them actually grow with having used the programmes" (43).

'Controlling' Family Labour in the Business

Jim managed Ann's participation in the business carefully because although he wanted her to participate, he wanted to control what she did. For example he always set up the software environment for her, so that whatever Ann did, it did not touch his other work and "destroy everything" (11). Ann felt that Jim had been a little shocked when he discovered she typed

with two fingers, but that gradually he had trusted her more and given her more responsibility, although he still always checked her work. After a year of 'helping' Jim, Ann still did not know how to turn the computer on and how to 'boot it up', so that she could not begin working on it at her discretion. She saw this as a primary way that Jim controlled her access to the machine, and at the point of the first interview had taken to paging Jim if he went out and did not leave the computer set up so she could use it. Although he still did not tell her how to 'boot the machine up', this strategy had been effective in Ann's opinion because "now he has to leave it going before he goes out or I'll page him" (36). She also asked me if I could come back and show her how to start the machine up sometime when Jim was away from the house, and when I declined, asked me if I could recommend a book that would tell her how to do this. Ultimately she felt sure that although she had "never, ever seen him start it up" she would "catch him one day" (92).

Another issue of control centred around Jim's attempts to improve Ann's telephone answering skills so that her telephone performances could be of the same high standard as Jim demanded of himself. Ann felt Jim found it difficult that she did not "know how (she) should be, I'm not like a person straight out of school, they know the proper way to speak and do things" and that Jim was "trying to teach me these things and I annoy him, but I'm trying". For example, Jim asked Ann to answer the phone with the name of the business and her full first name, "Annabella". Ann resisted doing this because she felt she couldn't relate to the formality of this unfamiliar name and she tried "not to have this laugh and I feel my tummy does feel a little nervous 'cos I think it's not me" (27). What made her more nervous about this request and almost daily coaching from Jim, was the possibility of Jim himself calling her and finding her performance lacking. She recounted one incident that demonstrated Jim's attempts to 'check-up' on her:

> I think he was coming over to make a cup of tea and I thought 'oh I know what you're going to do, you're going to sneak over there and ring me up and see how I answer' and he did and I thought, I heard the phone going and I thought 'oh, that's him and I'm going to have to answer this properly'. And I go "Infobuzz, Annabella speaking" and he goes "oh, very good" (27).

Ann felt there were "lots of things that (Jim) still controls" with regard to the business and the computer in particular, including not sharing passwords and his habit of checking and modifying everything she inputted. A typical strategy Jim would use if Ann was in the home-office and he was modifying her work but did not want her to see what he was doing was to sit in such a way as to obstruct her view of the screen:

Sometimes if I've typed in a story that he doesn't like he deletes it and then he doesn't like me to know. I think he thinks, 'well she sat here typing this and she's a slow typer' and then he has to delete something so he tries to hide it. He sits up tall and kinds of leans over to one side and sort of quickly looks over his shoulder to see if I'm looking. But he makes it so conspicuous that I know (37).

Excerpts such as this one indicated the delicate balance between the couple around the issue of the work: Jim both relied on Ann and did not want to pay her for the work; he needed her to participate in some activities and he wanted to control how this participation was organised; he wanted her to input data for him and he wanted to control how this work was used. What Jim was less conscious of was that Ann's own desires to work with the computer made her less concerned about how the material was used, as long as she secured her continued participation and especially her access to the machine.

Becoming 'Addicted' to the Machine

When I asked Ann if she felt that Jim was "using" her as unpaid and 'subservient' labour, Ann's response indicated the complex nature of the relationship between the couple and her growing sense of "addiction" (32) to the computer she shared with Jim. Ann felt that she and Jim competed to have time on the machine, although ultimately Jim controlled it so that when he returned from being out he usually "kicked (her) off and sits straight down, he's addicted". When Ann heard Jim's keys rattling as he returned home she would think "oh no, here he comes, he's going to kick me off" and thus particularly enjoyed times when Jim would go the television station because she could "do what (she) wanted on the computer" (51). However, Ann went to some lengths to hide her eagerness to work on the machine; a process which involved some fairly elaborate theatre around pretending to be interested *enough* in working on the computer that Jim would leave the machine set up but not *so* eager that he would make demands on her or become anxious that he was losing control. She said:

> Like when he's away he doesn't know that as soon as he's gone, I'm lazing around saying "oh, I might go out on the computer", I don't like saying "I'm going out there". I just make out I might, if I feel like it, and off he goes out the door and as soon as his car's down there, I'm out there, I'm running out there, I'm all organised, lock the house and I'm off (40).

Ann felt she couldn't stay away from the computer, that she too was "addicted", but she carefully concealed her fascination with the machine so that Jim would not make regular

demands on her time, rendering her positioning delicate. Ann was aware that Jim was working every day and tied to the home-office in a way she was not and this element of compulsion, coupled with the long hours Jim worked, was something she was careful to avoid. She said:

> I am addicted (to the computer), but if had to do it, if I had to sit out there every single day and type, and say "no" to other people, and say "no, I can't go here and there" then, no. But I have a freedom Jim doesn't, he has to, that's his work so he's stuck with it. Yeah like he can't go on holidays, he can't go out on the weekends, where I can. I can say "look, I'm not going to do it tonight" and off I go. So I like that (46).

The subtle movement between Ann's attraction to the computer and her resistance to Jim's compulsion to work was similarly played out in Jim's suggestion that he buy another computer so that Ann could work inside the house, while he continued in the home-office. Ann felt resistant to this idea because Poppy, the television, the telephone, and the house itself would remind her of her domestic responsibilities and increase her sense of being cross-pressured. The separation from domesticity was one of Ann's primary motivations for engaging in Jim's business and she felt if she worked inside the house she'd be "stuck in here" when she liked "going out there to work or out to see him and that gives me a break". In this sense Ann's narrative consistently emphasised the importance of the physical separation of the 'house' from the 'office', so that like Julia Sims, she didn't "see the whole place as just one whole property, I see it as divided in two" (73). Ann felt that if Jim bought a second machine and located it inside the house she'd be "separated" from the hub of the business and that "he'd have me in here typing, I'd feel used then, I'd feel like he was saying 'look you've got your own computer, go inside and do lots of work'" (34). Ann thought that if Jim got a second computer for her inside the house she would tell him she didn't like it and preferred to use his one, in the hope that *he* would agree to work inside so she could continue to enjoy 'going out to work' in the home-office.

On Ann Saying "No" to Others and "Yes" to Jim

Although Ann resisted Jim's attempts to compel her to work, Ann was not immune to his requests to put aside other people or activities to work for him, nor did she welcome all social demands made on her time by family and friends. For example, if Poppy asked her mother to come to school to watch sports, Ann would respond with ambivalence, thinking to herself "I have to go but I could be on the computer" (48). Similarly when she went to a nearby city with a friend for the day she kept thinking "I could be on this computer, I

could be typing ... If I'm not ready for the break it's really annoying if I have to go away and do something else" (38). Ann's friends had grown frustrated with her refusal to attend some social events, but Ann found it "easy to say no" and "preferred" to stay at home and work on the computer.

Ann, positioned between the demands of Jim and her friends and family used these dual responsibilities to resist the demands of both. As time progressed Ann's role in Jim's business was becoming more fundamental in her opinion, and Jim was asking her more directly to say 'no' to others in order to focus on the business. Ann noted that she "quite often (did) say no to other people just for him and he doesn't realise it", and that although she might go out with friends she often limited the time she was away in order to "go out and work" (42). This sometimes led to feelings of resentment on Ann's part, but also to feelings of guilt:

> I don't like it when he says "well look you said you'd do this for me today so tell so-and-so you can't go" 'cos then I feel that "hey, I put a lot off for you anyway". So if I want to go I'll go, but I do feel guilty (42).

Closer questioning regarding this conflicted positioning and Ann's increasingly central role in the business revealed a crisis where Jim's reliance on Ann had become apparent. This particular situation had occurred several weeks earlier, and had developed when Jim had taken on additional presenting work at a regional television station, relying on Ann to input data while he was away. He wanted to come back at three in the morning, check Ann's work and send the faxes for the next day. Ann was feeling quite overburdened herself with Poppy, her part-time cleaning work and providing meals and snacks for Jim and was becoming tired and stressed. One night Jim grew angry at her moodiness and so Ann went to bed and left him to do the work himself. However Jim was too exhausted and subsequently failed to meet his deadline. She said:

> He just couldn't do it. He just couldn't do the work and I felt really guilty. I thought "oh no" I knew he couldn't do it, but he just got angry with me and he really noticed then that he couldn't do it without me and he was stubborn and that was it ... and the next day I just did it. I said that I felt guilty, but it was him that threw a wobbly. He threw a, he just let off his bit of steam and then he was fine, but now I just do it.
> *Nicola:* And did he apologise and say, "actually I need you to do this"?
> *Ann:* No. But that was, I quite like when I think he needs me to do it, because then I think "oh neat" and then I know I'm going to be doing it. I get disappointed at

times when he says "oh no, I don't really need you to come out tonight and help me" and I think "oh, so I can only come in and get bored" (29-30).

This excerpt is interesting in terms of the performance of domestic femininity at its heart: a good woman stands by her man and he "needs" her. If she fails to perform these supportive acts then she feels "guilty". A subtle negotiation of dependence and independence is present in this interchange where Jim needed Ann's labour yet didn't want to acknowledge it, and she needed an escape from the boredom of household responsibilities but didn't want Jim's level of stress and responsibility.

At the time of the final interview the financial position of "Infobuzz" had not stabilised to the degree that the second computer had been purchased, although Ann was clearer than ever that without the bonus of being able to "go out to work" she would not continue to participate in Jim's business on a daily basis. However the pattern of domestic and caring labour in this household remained stable despite the dynamic nature of the renegotiation of the division of the work associated within the business, where Jim off-loaded domestic labour on to Ann, as well as the more routine elements of the business. This division of domestic labour in their household was in part an outcome of Ann's primary role as a home maker and mother and her relative lack of paid work outside the home beyond her part-time cleaning work, and in part because of the historical genesis of their relationship which had obliged Ann to provide 'board' (ie cooking, cleaning and laundry) for Jim. Jim's contribution to the housework was thus minimal. He had a commitment to Ann that he would cook every Monday night and he occasionally fed the cat because he thought she was quite "attached" to him. It was Ann's job to look after the house, the home-office and to care for Poppy.

In this sense Jim West's case, in respect of both paid work and the negotiation of caring, domestic and emotional labour, most closely mirrored the experience of John Sims. As a teleworker who laboured almost as long and hard as John, Jim's working life *depended* upon Ann's unpaid labour, as an unpaid worker in the business and as a source of physical and emotional support for his gruelling seven day work schedule.

Jim as a 'Father Figure'

Poppy was Ann's child from a previous partnership and her relationship with Jim was somewhat complicated by the ambivalent status of Ann and Jim's partnership and its historic background as a relationship between a landlady and her boarder. Both Ann and Jim felt they were "like a family", and Jim felt he was a "father figure" to Poppy; but Ann doubted

that Poppy saw Jim in this way, as she had an active relationship with her birth father and would say to Jim "you're just the boarder" and that "we don't have to do this" (78). Nevertheless Poppy had a reasonably close relationship with Jim, including playing games and wanting to be physically affectionate with him, although Ann felt that Jim often found these demands "annoying" (60-61). Typically Poppy's needs and Jim's schedule were not compatible, such as in the mornings when Poppy wanted a hug and Jim wanted to be left alone or asked first. Ann said:

> When he walks in the door and he's half asleep because he's been woken up because someone's paged him or something she's all ready to jump up at him and he's still half asleep. Yeah, so she just jumps at him and she's quite heavy and he's so kind of thin and like she just jumps at him and I think "oh, she's rough on him" (laughs). Poor Jim, she's rough on him, if he's not watching, he could get hurt (76).

There was often conflict between Poppy and Jim because he would "promise things", like going to the park and then not meet these promises because "he'll think of something work wise and he'll just want to go out and do it" (60-61). Jim would typically get annoyed at Poppy in these situations and complain to Ann that she had to "try and get it through to Poppy that he's busy" to which Ann would think "yeah, but you did promise" (61). Very occasionally on the weekends Jim would take Poppy to the television station to pick up work or mail but this did not often extend to other activities like visiting the park, which Ann observed "hasn't happened in a while" (70).

Ann sometimes saw 'helping' Jim as a way of the three of them doing "family things" together such as helping to wash Jim's car. She was aware that while she and Poppy saw this as a chance to play and splash each other with water, Jim saw it as "fastest with the three of us" and that this was an example of Jim "thinking work wise ... he thinks it's quicker to get back to work" (71). Ann had, after several car wash experiences, encouraged Jim to enjoy the fun of playing with the water, and thought that at these moments another side of Jim was visible that wasn't so "grumpy" because of the demands of work, and that then she could "see both sides of him and I see that he is a workaholic and the other side he's actually fun" (72).

At other times Ann went to some lengths to facilitate Jim's focus on his business by restricting Poppy's use of the house because Jim wanted her to be quiet in the mornings. This included only letting the eight-year-old play in the front garden and preventing her from using the swing in the back garden which squeaked, in case it woke Jim up (74). Imposing

these restrictions on Poppy was sometimes more trouble than it was worth and Ann sometimes left the house until Jim awoke as an alternative strategy in the weekends (75).

Jim could not understand Ann's difficulties in "controlling" Poppy in these situations and held clear views about how children should be brought up because he had "read about this and looked into all this" (78). Ann felt Jim's "theory doesn't work" when confronted with the reality of bringing up an eight year old and that Jim got "a bit of a shock" when Poppy had "a big tantrum" and he would say "she's not supposed to act like this" (78). In contrast to how Ann and Poppy actually were, Jim had constructed an ideal family scenario according to Ann, where he was "going to work and then have this family at the end and only if it's financially wise" (79). It is interesting that in this scenario, the financial rationality of having a family prevailed over other reasons for seeking a partnership and having children, and that 'having a family' was to be kept until after the business was established. In some ways Ann felt Jim's existing situation was an interim arrangement until his ideal scenario unfolded and she was not sure if she and Poppy would measure up to this ideal. She felt they were not "what he has a picture of how everything should be" (81), and that Jim felt he was not in a position to sustain the "risk" of being financially responsible for the three of them.

Time for Talking and Time for Rest

Ann sympathised with her daughter's frustration about Jim's unfulfilled promises in terms of leisure activities; she too had experienced this in relation to longed-for weekend activities which did not materialise because work intervened (61). Ann felt that the couple's leisure time together was "infrequent" and that her requests to "just do something out of the house together" (68) were met with hostility by Jim because he felt they reflected the way that Ann did not "respect his work" and thought he was "out there doing nothing" (68), as indeed she once had. They occasionally went to the movies together or to the local theatre but Ann found these experiences frustrating because "he gets there just on time and then you leave straight away and you come home and straight to work" (86), so that the only time to talk was in the car.

Jim also made little time for friends, who occasionally "popped around" to see him in the home- office although he seldom invited them to visit because of the pressure of work. Jim continued working during those visits and saw this as an unproblematic response to unscheduled callers. He said:

> I have a number of people who just bowl in, they don't tell me they're coming, next minute there is a face at the window and I'm in the middle of something. I'm really pleased to see them but they come in, they'll stick around and they'll chat away and stuff like that and I'll work away while they're there ... I'll be talking to them and typing at the same time (44).

However, Jim sometimes came away from these interactions "uncomfortably drained" because the spontaneous visits "disturbed" him because he hadn't "psyched himself up" for them (45).

Jim did think it was important given the long hours that he worked that he have breaks from the computer, but he framed this concern not in terms of the need for leisure or contacts outside of work, but in terms of preventing eye strain. He felt it was "important that (he) got breaks from this guy here" (the computer) because the colour screen "stimulates your eyes too much, it wears your eyes out" (92). Jim similarly talked about taking a holiday in terms of the affect on the business and the way his clients responded to his refreshed voice on the telephone, rather than in terms of his own need for a rest. Jim was concerned that he had "sounded bad like that" before he had gone on holiday, but felt he was working harder now than he had been before this last holiday, which was two years prior to the first interview and the longest (10 day) break away from the computer that he could remember (39). Because he worked every day and had deadlines to meet each day of the week, Jim found taking holidays extremely difficult and had a number of clients who "were quite happy to have (the database service) running right through Christmas and New Year" (37).

Ann had said a number of times that she thought that Jim was a "workaholic" (55, 72, 92), and he himself reflected at length on what he thought the word meant and whether it applied to him. Ultimately Jim felt that one couldn't call someone a 'workaholic' if they worked "at something they enjoy doing" unless this was to the "detriment of a relationship", or if it was "affecting your health" (115). In terms of the former concern, Jim had found in Ann a person who joined him in his fascination with the computer and who preferred to work than to engage in leisure pursuits. The computer in this case, as in Tom and Dell Noble's, was a source of mutual interest and a source of conversation; it helped build intimacy rather than, as in the Sims household, block it.

In terms of work affecting his health, Jim under-emphasised any physical stress he was under, although he discussed in the course of the interviews missing food, exercise and sleep and of dreaming of his work. His extreme thinness, pallor and the cold sores around his mouth during both interviews suggested he was experiencing some physical stress although

he did not refer to it. For Jim it was enough to sit outside the home-office for a few moments, enjoying the weather, the cat and the occasional swing on Poppy's jungle gym. He said:

> I'll go out there and Ann will say "what are you doing?" because she will hear the swing squeaking and stuff like that, and I'm just taking time out. It's good, there's sunshine out there, there's grass out there, it's very pleasant time out (108).

III. Ethan Reid

Ethan Reid's teleworking practices shared elements with both Jim West and John Sims in that he too was fascinated with his computer programming work. However Ethan more often worked "ordinary time" hours, including a regular contract to provide on-site computer training work two days per week. Ethan's fascination with technology and relatively long hours of work were tempered by the restrictions imposed by this organisational schedule, so that although he might work on any day of the week, he tended to make a distinction between the weekend and the rest of the week and to avoid cutting into sleep time in order to complete his work. Like Julia Sims, Ethan's partner Kim played no direct role in the business, had no paid work but shouldered almost all of the responsibility for the house and the care of their five-year-old son, Ned. In this sense the Reid household had a fairly traditional division of domestic and caring labour, orientated around Ethan's role as the primary breadwinner.

Ethan first experienced teleworking while in Canada in the early seventies, and had engaged in home-based employment for ten years before the first interview. Ethan had short-term contract work before he was offered a permanent contract providing computer training two days a week for a large organisation called Comped. Ethan's home-based business was thus divided into two parts: one part consisted of the on-site training contract and the other the freelance programming and consultancy business orientated toward international clients. Ethan did not consider himself to be self-employed, but like John Sims, thought of himself as a contractor with one stable client and a host of less regular additional clients. The specialist nature of Ethan's programming skills were such that he was much in demand and had no trouble generating work. Additionally, he had been able to command a high salary for his part-time work within the organisation to the extent that he had just enough income to run his household on this contract alone without having to worry about generating money from the freelance business, a flexibility assisted by the family's commitment to living without 'luxuries'.

Increased Productivity and Teleworking Space and Time

Ethan was keen to *limit* and indeed diminish the time he spent with both trainees and colleagues at Comped. For example, when Ethan I asked "what are you missing, if anything, about not working full-time on-site?", Ethan replied:

> Every day I'm, just about every day I have international and work mail and that cuts me off, you feel cut off, and quite often, I will go in of an evening at the end of the day, when I won't get disturbed, I can just go in and read my mail and get out again, nobody's going to stop me and say could you do this or that (42).

Ethan frequently had more contact, often daily, with programming colleagues who worked on the other side of the world via e-mail, than he had with colleagues in the offices next door at Comped. He found this quite unremarkable, noting that one tended toward people with the same interests and that physical proximity and collegiality was "a side issue" (45).

Unlike John, Jim and Tom, Ethan's primary orientation in his work was focused on programming itself and communicating by e-mail, so communicating face-to-face or by phone was not a significant element of his working life. The attraction of teleworking was that it allowed him to "get more done in a given period" (86), and Ethan contrasted this to his experience of working on-site where "you tend to get interrupted by various things. If there are problems, people will know this person can solve those sort of problems, even if it's not your responsibility" (84).

In contrast to this sense of being interrupted and seen as available, Ethan appreciated the isolation of his home-office from both colleagues *and* his family. The home-office was located on an upper storey of the Reids' house, in a dedicated space which Ethan maintained for his own exclusive use and within which he worked with the door closed. Ethan valued this space because it was away from other household members and activities, which he thought was "nice" because he did not "get any distractions from the family" (193).

Ethan did almost all of his work in the home-office, even that which did not require the computer, although the room itself was modest in size (2 metres by 3 metres), had originally been used as a storage space, and was furnished with cardboard boxes that served as shelves and tables (484). The room received no sunshine from the one window at the opposite end of the room from Ethan's desk, so it was necessary to supplement that light with an electric lamp (464). The lack of light and ventilation also meant the room was rather damp, although the smallness of the space allowed Ethan to keep it warm in cold weather. In contrast to

Ethan's appreciation of the room, Kim's opinion of Ethan's home-office was rather low. She thought it was "horrendous" and "smelt musty", leading her to wonder at how Ethan "stays in there all day long, it would drive me crazy" (11).

Ethan used the increased productivity he achieved at home, and his separate space which facilitated his uninterrupted focus on his work, as a means to use *time* flexibly. He sometimes took a break in the middle of the day to watch television, and maintained that his productivity was still higher than it was on-site:

> I think because you fit the time around suitable events during the day, you actually often get more work done, in length and in total time as well ... I would often, when I'm working at home, have a lunch and then a movie. But I'd still get more hours of work in during the day (86).

Typically Ethan would begin working at home later than when he worked at the organisation, starting at 9.30 am or 10.00 am in order to avoid becoming involved in preparing Ned for school. He then worked through until lunch when he would sometimes take as extended break and then continue working until Kim had prepared the family's meal at 6.00 pm. He then usually worked in the evenings after a ninety minute meal break, finishing at "10 or 11 at night, or sometimes later and get told off" (191). Ethan thought he tended to work longer hours at home "because you're continuing doing something" (197), and that if he became involved in a task he tended to minimise breaks in order to "stay in the role and try and solve the problem; I might well come down and disappear straight after tea again" (407).

Kim felt that Ethan had a high level of commitment to his work and that she also was "fairly committed to what he does". Because Ethan was "responsible and wants (the work) done properly" he "had to" work at night and in the weekends (22). Ethan said that Kim complained "there's too much work compared to anything else" (504), but rationalised this complaint as part of the nature of his work and the way it was organised because he had "no fixed working hours". He thought Kim would "probably say I do too much working" but that he "tended" to "be that way" because of the nature of his work: "I just tend to do it, it's enjoyable work" (338).

Ethan's enjoyment of his work was evidenced by his recurrent reference to the "blurring" of the boundary between "work" and "recreation" (516). One of his primary leisure activities included "recreational programming" developed in weekends or holidays, which he sometimes later sold to clients. Ethan would engage in this higher complexity "recreational

programming" work for the challenge of doing so, and made a distinction between "low level, nitty gritty programming" for clients' requirements and this complex work "which is really quite the opposite end of computing". This continuum of complexity kept Ethan "in balance" (288) and heightened his enjoyment of his work, because "my recreation is still intellectually stimulating" and sometimes resulted in outcomes which he could also use commercially.

This blurring of the delineation between 'work' and 'recreation' from Kim's perspective was demonstrated in Ethan's use of weekend time. For example, both Ethan and Kim were clear that Ethan didn't work on Sundays, but both suggested he would go and 'play' on the computer on a Sunday in the home-office, a form of 'recreational programming' which sometimes led to commercially marketable material as the excerpt above indicated. It was also the case that this blurring of 'work' and 'play' made it hard for Kim to effectively complain about the hours Ethan spent in front of his computer, because she could not distinguish if he was 'working' for the family, or when he was 'playing'.

On Saving the Hard Disk in a Fire First, Not the Child

Ethan's narrative contained an interesting minimising of the issue of the role of the computer in his life that belied his strong attachment to the machine. He responded to the question "how would you describe your relationship with your computer?" by saying "I really see it as a tool, not really anything much more" (462). However, it was his usual practice to transport his portable hard disc in his bag as he cycled between the organisation's office and his home-office, so that this somewhat heavy but powerful memory device was always with him.

In contrast to Ethan's seeming lack of relationship to his computer and his focus on it as a 'tool', Kim emphasised the importance of Ethan's work to him and the strategic role the home computer played in this. Two anecdotes she offered demonstrated this point. One concerned the move to Aotearoa/New Zealand they had made some five years earlier, where Ethan prioritised air freighting the computer above any other item. Kim said:

> When we first moved here he managed for a month without it (the computer), but he had some withdrawal. I mean the first thing we had set up, we had no furniture, nothing, but the computer was sent air freight, everything else came on the boat, but the computer was sent air freight, and got here in the first few days, and he had it set up at work and as soon as we moved into the house it came home (41).

The second anecdote concerned the instructions Ethan gave Kim as to how to handle an emergency when he was required to travel overseas to see clients. She asked:

> "What if anything happens?" He said "if there's a fire I was to grab the back-up discs, I mean that was the first thing I had to do" (laughs).
> *Nicola:* Forget Ned?
> *Kim:* Yes! (Laughs) He was joking but he was really serious (laughs). The hardware is not as important as the software that goes on it, that's years of accumulated work ... I should take it away for a fortnight and see what happens. But, um, I think he would have some withdrawals (41).

While Ethan's telework was more clearly delineated in time than John's and his income more stable than Jim's, anecdotes such as these ones suggest his heightened orientation to his work and the importance of the computer to him, a characteristic all three men shared. Additionally, like John and Jim, Ethan's organisation of work meant that his participation in domestic and caring labour did not increase because he was physically in the house, and if anything he was less available to his family for longer periods of the day because he worked 'after hours' more often at home.

Domesticity as Kim's "Job"

Like Jim West and Ann Grey, the Reids had a clear division of domestic labour, such that almost all of this work fell to Kim. Both of them saw the work of organising the house and caring for their five year old Ned as Kim's "job" (351), while providing an income and *not* participating in these other tasks was Ethan's. Ethan described this division of labour in the following manner. He said "my wife has been the mother, it has been her job to feed, buy new clothes etc, so I will not normally do a great deal" (351). For Kim, who had been employed as a clerical worker before their son was born, the decision that she do the "job" of caring for the house and child had been "negotiated", although she did not feel it had ever been a serious option that Ethan give up his lucrative programming work and stay home with Ned while she kept working. She said:

> It was always, when we had children one of us would stay home depending on who would be earning the most, but of course (laughs) in no way was it going to be me (laughs). I had to stay at home. But when I fell pregnant he said to me "oh well maybe if you want to carry on working you know" but we decided that I'd rather stay home (5).

The almost complete responsibility Kim took for the house, garden and child care indicated that in this household, teleworking was not a means of Ethan 'juggling' domestic and paid work, in contrast to the women in this study and to men like Tom Noble. Home-based work had not in Ethan's view changed his participation in housework tasks, nor in Kim's, and she said "he doesn't tend to do any more at home per se, for the home, when he's here" (8). Ethan's presence in the house created some extra work for Kim in terms of the provision of a cooked lunch where "he always wants lunch, whereas I wouldn't bother", although Ethan was "quite capable" of getting his own lunch (8). The only task that either mentioned that Ethan took on when he worked from home was putting the clothes into the washing machine to be washed if he was "asked", and then only infrequently (although he didn't participate in hanging them out, folding them or putting them away). Ethan did not mind doing this job because "you can throw it on and actually go and do something" and it was "not time consuming" (354). Although Ethan talked about using the flexibility of telework time to "mow the lawn" as an "advantage of convenience" of home-based work (130) he did not, according to Kim, perform this task or many others in their household.

Caring for Ned

In terms of the care of Ned, the Reids' five-year-old son, Ethan similarly did not increase his participation in his son's care because he was working at home. Ethan usually left for his work at the organisation at 7.30 am before Ned was prepared for his day, and when he worked at home he avoided getting up early because Kim was "trying to get Ned off to school and I tend to keep out of the way", preferring to stay in bed until "everything has quietened down" (191). Ethan would tend not to say goodbye to his son when he went off to school on these mornings: "if I'm working at home he just vanishes" (235); nor did he pick him up after school.

Ned was not permitted to go into Ethan's home-office unless Ethan invited him to, and the physical location of the home-office on a separate storey of the house facilitated this separation so that "Ned and his friends are normally kept downstairs and that's normally well respected" (227). Kim felt that Ned respected this physical boundary and did not bother Ethan when he was working and said: "he knows pretty much that his Daddy's working, not to bother him, he's not supposed to go upstairs; (Ethan's) at home but he's not necessarily on demand" (21).

Once or twice a week Ethan would take a half hour break with his son when he came home from school, usually to show him something on the computer. Ned had become quite adept at using his father's graphics software and was able to "do it properly", and Ethan attributed

this knowledge of the computer to his own professional association with the technology "where Ned knows about what goes on in there, because Dad works in computers". Ethan found it "amazing how little kids can actually master (software) quite quickly". Kim, in contrast, had little contact with the home computer and felt she understood "about 1%" of what Ethan did with the machine (14).

Kim's usual response when she needed child care for Ned was to ask her neighbours for assistance, as neighbourhood children often played together and the gardens of several of the adjoining properties had connecting gates. This arrangement was not only mutually convenient but sometimes essential, such as when Kim was ill. During one of these times Kim described how she found her neighbour's support, rather than Ethan's, invaluable, noting that this "woman picked him up from school, took him to school, fed him (laughs); it was wonderful" (6). Ethan also appreciated the fact that "the mothers tend to look after each other" and that by doing this the "working partners", meaning the men, were "not being needed to be called in" (281). Even in somewhat exceptional circumstances such as Kim's illness, Ethan's location within the home did not lead to his significant integration into the care of Ned or the house.

Kim's Support Network Versus Ethan's Desire to be "Alone and Quiet"

Kim valued the "strong network of friends" (9) with her women neighbours for both the material and emotional support it provided. This "scene" included an active programme of coffee mornings, exercise classes and social gatherings in addition to practical support. The Reid household had a perfect attic space for the exercise classes, under the roof of the house and above Ethan's home-office. Kim maintained that Ethan could "tune out the sound of people jumping up and down on the attic roof just above his head" (20) although she also felt that "there was quite a lot of thumping on the ceiling". Ethan was somewhat nonplussed about the implications of these and other "get togethers" on his work and said he would "find the house full of women and that can be a distraction simply because of the noise level" (414).

These practices were indicative of the differences between Kim and Ethan's view of their home. For Ethan their home was a place were he could "get down and do (his) work". Home was his "private space" where he could "be alone and quiet" (488). In contrast, home represented for Kim "a social place, a place where I can have people come", where they could "do what they want and make themselves at home" (31). In this sense Ethan's presence in the house was something of a problem for Kim, because his need for quietness and separateness from others was somewhat in conflict with her need for interaction and she

noted that "if he was home every day I think that would be harder, I think that would drive me round the bend ... I mean we both need our own space".

The area where this difference in their needs for interaction had created problems was around the use of the telephone. The Reids had only one telephone but three telephone jacks in the house including one in the home-office, so that Kim would usually answer the phone except when she was going out, when she would take the phone into the home-office. Ethan saw this as the "only impediment" of his teleworking for the household, because Kim "has to answer all our phone calls" (402). Although very little of Ethan's work required telephone contact, Ethan was somewhat concerned at Ned answering the phone in terms of the business sounding "unprofessional", as Ned would often pick up the phone before Kim, greeting callers with "Hello everybody, Ned Reid" (29). When Ethan answered the phone while Kim was out, or did so because he was expecting a call and wanted to prevent Ned answering first, he resented the intrusion of calls that were not for him such that he sometimes asked Kim "to bring the phone back (downstairs)" because "he can't stand it" (28). These issues of separateness and connection, solitude and relationship were played out in the Reid household and in each household in the study; despite his physical proximity to the family, Ethan wanted to remain "alone and quiet".

"Sending Kim Out to Work"

By the time of the second interview the division of labour in the Reid household was due to change because Ned was at school, a change Kim characterised by the statement: "Ethan's sending me out to work" (3). It was Ethan's desire that they increase their household income through Kim returning to paid employment, while Kim felt that she did not want to "rush out and get a job for the sake of it". She preferred to "go back and start a career" than "work in a meat pie factory", hoping that she would end up doing something "more fulfilling to me".

The division of paid and unpaid labour was something that Kim felt quite anxious about when she contemplated returning to paid work, and she said five times during the interview that she did not want full-time work and that even with part-time work she "wouldn't be able to cope with the house and the garden". Kim felt that when she started working, Ethan was "going to have a few surprises" in terms of having to take more responsibility for the housework and for Ned. The implications of this renegotiation were not in place at the end of the fieldwork. It may have been the case that the traditional division of labour which had prevailed in the Reid household continued in addition to Kim's paid work where she "did

it all", or the "surprises" Kim predicted may have taken shape into the kinds of reconfigurations that were present in the Garden household.

IV. Sam Garden

Sam Garden's narrative is something of a 'transitional tale' between the high work orientation/low family orientation of John, Jim and Ethan, and 'role reversal'[2] of Tom Noble. Sam ran a home-based management consultancy business with his partner Sara. Like John and Jim, Sam did very little of the domestic labour and child care associated with his baby son Theo and seven-year-old daughter Daisy. However, over the course of my contact with him he came to take more responsibility for them and domesticity more generally, as Sara took on more responsibility for income-generating employment outside of the home-based business.

Sam began teleworking seven years before the time of the first interview, running a management business from home. Sam's career was atypical of the men in this study in that he did not have a linear career path from training to full-time work within organisations, but rather spent most of his twenties travelling, in military service and taking time out in a classic hippy lifestyle, orientated toward "another day, another drug" (15). Sam had found organisations he worked for "archaic, restrictive and unimaginative places" and his telework was a resistance to the "rule-based structures" (7) of organisational employment. He had not engaged in work within an organisation for eighteen years at the time of the first interview and rejected the use of time, the enforcement of a certain presentation of self, and the politics of organisational employment.

Sam contrasted his experience within organisations with being a "management consultant" at home where he had for three years been engaged as a sub-contractor for a organisation called 'Management Ltd'. This organisation was Sam's major client but also allowed him to work freelance on other projects. In the course of this long-term connection the relationship had never been formalised, they had no written contract between them, and he was not a "full-time employee". He would be called in on projects on a "one-by-one basis" according to the organisation's needs, rather than his own need for a regular income. After three years of this relationship working well, with Sam enjoying flexibility, a relatively high income and an abundance of work, the contract suddenly "got knocked over" because of

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2   I use this term in inverted commas throughout the thesis to suggest my ambivalence about using it, in terms of the dichotomous gendered 'roles' it suggests in relation to parenting.

a downturn in the business economy. Sam's reliance on a single client was suddenly very visible and his position economically insecure; he literally "walked into Management Ltd offices and found (he) had no work lined up for the year" (6).

Sam responded to this drastically reduced income with a partner and two children to support by returning to training on a part-time and, later, full-time basis. What in part made this change in circumstances bearable was the low overheads the family incurred in their living expenses, where their accommodation was provided rent-free by relations and they had two flatmates to assist with the costs. Management Ltd continued to provide *some* contract work at the time of the first interview and Sam was beginning to look for more freelance contract work and was even reconsidering on-site work at the time of the first interview.

On Incorporating Sara into the Business

Like Jim West and his partner Ann, Sara Garden played a significant role in Sam's home business, and as with Jim's narrative, Sara's involvement in the business was largely absent in Sam's account. Indeed I was completely unaware of Sara's role in the business wheen I talked to Sam, because according to Sam her role was restricted to providing domestic and caring labour and listening to him discuss his work:

> I talk a lot about the work with Sara because who else is there? And that becomes frustrating because as intelligent as Sara is, she's *not actually working in the area* I'm working in, so we don't have the same synergy (17).

In contrast to Sam's narrative, Sara's discussion of the home-based business emphasised its status as a joint venture where "*we* were running the business", that is, where she *was* 'working in the area' alongside her husband. Sara's story of the establishment of the business emphasised the joint nature of their decision, "so we decided to take a risk and we decided together that we would start the business" (8), where home-based work was a response to their domestic circumstances. Their first baby Daisy had been conceived while Sara was still finishing her degree, but Sara had still "really wanted to work" (15), so when she and Sam married and had the baby they set up the business at home so Sara could be jointly involved.

Sara thought that the decision to work from home received some mixed reactions from family and friends. Some "thought it was good to work from home and have time with the children" (65), while others:

... thought we were really putting our necks out because we didn't have any money and we had children and we were starting our own business and some people thought it would be better if Sammy got a nine to five job and had a proper salary.

Both felt that given Sam's uneven and dispersed employment history and their need to care for Daisy, home-based work was one way of generating employment. Rather than working at home to be "really trendy and cool" as some of their friends suggested, Sara felt that they "didn't really do it to set up a lifestyle, it was really to create a job" (68). The Gardens subsequently had a second child, Theo, a year and a half before the first interview when Daisy was five, and Sara had once again combined care of the baby with teleworking.

Being 'Bolted on' as a Sub-contractor

Management Ltd's strategy of employing Sam as needed and organising the work informally appealed to his interpersonal 'style'; "we'd just sit down, usually over coffees and carve it up, and away we'd go" (3). Sam appreciated the non-hierarchical nature of this relationship and the deep friendship he formed with the consultant who primarily commissioned work from him. Other aspects of this "ad-hoc" arrangement disadvantaged Sam professionally and he talked about feeling he was "subservient" to Management Ltd because he was not part of the organisation's 'core staff' in a formal sense and was only one of a group of people they could "bolt on ... like clip-on modules" (5). Sam was often asked to perform 'low-level' work like inputting data, database administration and "being a letter flunky", although he was also given (infrequent) opportunities to lead high level negotiations. Sam felt employees within organisations with "very, very specialised" functions lacked this breadth, while he had "done it all" from "project leader upper end stuff, to writing the fax to somebody" (10). He reflected on his enjoyment of the former tasks including "chopping $17,000 off a budget just sitting down talking with a guy, I've done all that" (9).

Sam's sub-contracting relationship was complicated by the de facto sub-contracting that occurred *within* the business between Sara and Sam, where Sara acted as "bolt-on" to Sam's work, in the same way as he acted as a 'bolt-on' to the organisation. Sara "assumed" responsibility for tasks Sam delegated to her, and as in Jim and Ann's case, these were typically the 'letter flunky' work such as inputting data, correspondence, and keeping the accounts. This system had no "set structures" according to Sara, but emerged out of circumstances, "such that when we had the work, I would work ... if the need was there, basically I would do it" (14). Sara and Sam would "talk a lot" about the contracts Sam had received from Management Ltd. and rather than finding these talks unsatisfactory as Sam had indicated in his interview, Sara saw these discussions as the basis for their division of

the paid labour between them, where she would say "right, I'll do the typing, or you know, I'll do the correspondence for that, whatever" (15). Responsibility for the children during their teleworking was almost entirely Sara's, but if they were sick, Sam would look after the baby so Sara could finish her work for the business, suggesting that Sara's contribution was significant to Sam's completion of the contract.

Sara had moved out of the business six months prior to the second interview and had taken part-time work three days a week in a organisation, partly as a response to her dissatisfactions with this situation and partly to provide some stable income for the household. In retrospect Sara did not like to "work for Sam" although she did enjoy their home-based business and thought that "we do work well together" (74). If she was to re-enter home-based employment with Sam, Sara thought it would be important to hire someone else to do the clerical and administrative work freeing her to do higher level "analytical work". Rather than being Sam's 'bolt-on', Sara wanted more equality in any future business they ran together: "I really don't want to work *for* him, but I'm happy to work *alongside* him" (74).

Isolation, Interruptions and the Home-office Space

In contrast to Ethan Reid, one of the elements of on-site work that Sam missed most concerned his isolation from professional colleagues, a situation he described as "the inverse of the office thing in terms of the sheer isolation" (1). Although Sam could call colleagues at Management Ltd, he didn't find telephone conversations "very good for brainstorming or just experimenting with something" (1). Sam reflected a number of times on his sense of isolation and the impact this had on his work, and noted that one of his motivations in agreeing to be interviewed by me was "that I can increase my social circle by one, taking it up to three" (51). For Sam a key issue was people to talk to "in the daytime" because "everyone works", and he felt he "just needed human interaction other than the direct family thing" (16-17).

The inverse of the problem of isolation for Sam was the distractions and noise of the house and his family which sometimes made maintaining his concentration difficult or led to a form of "cabin fever" that dampened his productivity. Sam was aware that his sensitivity to these distractions depended on the level of work stress he was experiencing; if his stress level was high then " a pin drop from five miles away is catastrophically distracting" (20), while if he was focused on his work and producing results "you could let a nuke off in the next corridor and I wouldn't feel a thing" (20).

Although Sam had a dedicated work space, formerly a bedroom, it was located in the very centre of the house off the lounge. In addition to being too small, having no view and feeling "totally claustrophobic" (25), to get to this home-office "you've got to walk past the sink" (25) which was unsatisfactory in terms of clients visiting the premises. Sam's concerns about home-based work were thus twofold. First, the physical space of the house was too small, where Sam felt "everything is so combined" and that there was "no separate space for adults and children" (20). Secondly he was concerned about his separation from professional colleagues such that it felt like he "hadn't had a conversation with anyone other than my wife for the last three years" (21). Sam thought that at times he suffered from "suburban neurosis" because he felt "paranoid, upset and quite neurotic" which he attributed to "just not getting out of the house, I was never getting out of the house" (16).

Sara felt that Sam's work had not 'invaded' their home space because she had been used to Sam being in the house and this situation had existed "ever since we've been married" (38). Sara did however, think the location of the home-office "right bang in the middle of the house" was "not very good at all" because no matter where the children "it's still noisy", a situation that was particularly problematic when it was too wet or too cold for them to play outside (29). Sara also thought it was "terrible, a terrible arrangement" that clients coming into the house had to walk through the kitchen, lounge, hallway and past the bathroom to get to the home-office, both because of the domestic chaos that sometimes prevailed and because "it's a bit of an intrusion as well" (50). Having a separate entrance, but preferably a separate building, was Sara's ideal scenario for home-based work so that the children had space to "play and run around" and the work "wouldn't take over the whole house" (72).

Although Sam wanted the children to remain quiet at times, he felt strongly that he was not willing to compromise his home space for clients, because he thought that "it does change a lot how people use houses" and he did not like "exposing this much of our private lives" (40). Sam resisted people making evaluations of himself or the family on the basis of the appearance of the house and used the interview situation itself to make this point:

> so I am quite happy about sitting here, describing this stuff to you and what have we got? Honey puffs, an assortment of food on the floor from last night's dinner from the children, and I am quite happy about that, it doesn't actually affect my personal self esteem (41).

Sam was *also* aware that when he was tendering for a $50,000 contract, a "series of power relationships come into play" that made certain appearances 'inappropriate' (41). Because he couldn't afford to "set up an office the way I want" in a separate building preferably

outside the house, Sam went "out of (his) way" to see clients in their offices (40). Sam was critical of the practices of organisations but was aware that if "I am trying to get you to spend $50,000 on my ideas, I have to sit there and hold my bladder" (42). Sam provided an extended parody of some of the practices of tendering for a contract including "interested" body language, the need to not smoke or use the toilet, wearing the right clothes and the "minefield" of office layout, with "huge" chairs for the contractor and "a small chair for the interviewee, on different levels" (42). It was these practices that Sam had been pleased to avoid when he set up working from home and yet continuing to work this way depended on him "playing the organisational game", an irony he was acutely aware of.

On the "Rampant Instability of Income"

Money was something that Sam both rejected as an inappropriately materialist (15), focused on as a source of status and worried about because of his fluctuating income. Sometimes these references to money were humourous, so that Sam said what he missed about working in the organisation was "piddly little things like running out of staples, having no money". At other times Sam expressed his sense of anxiety in terms of the family's "rampant instability of income" (47). For example, at the time of the second interview the lack of money in the household was quite stressful. He said:

> I am now at the stage where I have stopped doing the things that I do for myself that I enjoy and we are a bit broke so I can't afford to spend some money I need on the project and now I've just given up smoking as well ... I am in a void at the moment and it's pretty scary. I'm being together about something that's very untogether (34).

Sam responded to the assumption that as a 'management consultant' he would earn "big bucks" as a "joke" (9), reflecting on the family's "very simple lifestyle". For example he noted that the family did not have the "most expensive, high quality furniture and fittings" and "as for the dishwasher over there (points to the pile of dirty dishes in the sink) it's belt driven because I hit myself when I do the dishes" (9). Conversely, Sam also enjoyed the status his 'management consultant' title gave him and the rates Management Ltd would charge clients for his services. He talked of a corporation paying $1,000 per day for his professional time as "a real bonus in terms of that material side" and as "a real confidence booster" because "how many people get to charge themselves out at that rate, at that much?" (18).

The Gardens' financial situation was characterised by a 'boom and bust' cycle that had positive and negative implications from Sam's perspective. It was exciting to earn a lot for a short, intense period and it was worrying to be without a reliable source of money to meet regular bills. Sam encapsulated the positive and negative sides of this situation in the following passage:

> There's nothing like having a fifteen thousand dollar cheque arrive, this month's pay, that's a great buzz too. You sort of feel like you are six months ahead of your mates. I can take five months off and I am still ahead of you bastards. It's the best and the worst (56).

However, like others in this study, Sam frequently sowed what money he made back into the business, in his case into investments in computer technology. Sam had "splashed out" $8,000 on hardware four years before the first interview to replace the "tin pot thing" that he had used for the first three years of the business, in addition to a fax and modem (11). Although Sam was "fascinated" by the computer he would have preferred not to have to spend "$10,000 on technology", but that, like retraining, such technology was an investment in the future, a form of "forgone consumption at the moment, hopefully for greater income later on" (56).

"All I Care About is Deadlines"

If Sam's income generation had a 'boom and bust' quality, then so too did his use of time. Sam's attitude to time was to emphasise his "anathema to the office, (his) aversion to rules-based structures" (7), particularly the structuring of time in organisational employment. At home, Sam would work nights and weekends and yet also potentially take time off mid-week to go to the beach. Sam thus worked no 'core hours' and any day of the week was either a work day or a leisure day, or part of each, for example, going to the beach when the weather was good and then coming home and working (10). According to Sara, taking mid-week breaks to go to the beach or have picnics was their aspiration, but it "never sort of eventuated much" because if they finished the work "in the middle of the week there was always some other reason that we couldn't do things" (31). For Sam, like other men in the study, "weekends didn't mean anything", they had "lost their significance", and he hadn't had paid holiday leave for more than 13 years at the time of the first interview.

Sam's pace of work largely depended on the amount of work he had to do: if he had a lot of work he worked his "butt off and if I didn't, I don't" (10). He saw this use of time as an area of weakness as well as a source of flexibility, where he described himself as "one of the

most unscheduled people I know, I'm bloody useless at time management". Sam was aware that aspects of his flexible use of time were forms of procrastination, noting that it was "amazing how beautiful the weather can get" or "social life can suddenly pick up" when the work became difficult or tedious and "you actually have to sit down and just clunk through things" (13).

Sam's typical day would begin by rising late, "rolling two cigarettes and drinking two coffees" and "slowly grinding (his) way in" to the home-office (14). He was not engaged with the routines of seven-year-old Daisy being transported to school or eighteen-month-old Theo to crèche or picking them up afterwards because he "left all that to Sara" (14). Sam also tended to extend his working time into the night because of the "tranquillity" and the fact that after the family had gone to bed there were "no hassles", allowing him to do some of his "best stuff at three or four in the morning" (15). In terms of how these odd hours affected his sleep patterns, Sam's tendency was to reject the notion of going to sleep because it was the conventional time to do so and found that "working all through the night" was "not stressful, that's something different, night time, that's a nice time, I like it" (15).

Although working all through the night suited Sam's patterns of productivity and concentration, they didn't tend to suit the rhythms of Sara and the children. Sara's approach to the organisation of time was to seek more "discipline" and "structure", and she wanted a clearer delineation between when Sam was working and when he was not (33, 68). Sara expressed this in terms of the "flexibility" required to look after the children versus the being "organised and disciplined enough to stop work" (27). She felt "you have to be able to stop work" and be able to say "right, okay, even though I can tell I've got more work, my work day is five o'clock". She felt Sam needed to be able to say the working day was "finished and I'm going to close the door on that office" (28). Sara was aware that because the work was at home "it can take all day long, everyday" and that Sam's tendency to work at high intensity until he was "burnt out" and "exhausted" did not maximise the potentiality of teleworking time. According to Sara, Sam "would work seven days a week until (the work) was finished and then he would just do nothing" (30). Sam's flexible use of time was thus in conflict with the family's more systematic structuring of time regulated by the organisation of school, crèche and Sara's part-time work.

Sam's soft boundary between 'work' and 'non-work' time also created problems because the work "drifted here and there and went all day", where Sam was never fully available to perform domestic and caring labour (34). Sara conceptualised the difference between Sam's 'unstructured' use of time and the children's need for routine in the following manner:

It's very difficult when you've got children because they're there all the time and whether you like it or not they seem to quite like routines. They like to be fed and have baths and go to sleep at a certain time and wake up and then when they start going to school well you really have to start getting into routines. So it just meant I had to do everything really, carry the load (25).

Sam's tendency to "work late and sleep late" was eventually "screwed up" by family time and Sara's increasing demands on Sam to contribute more to the care of the children. Sam's "unstructured" working time eventually proved to be problematic for Sara and the children, and increasingly for Sam himself, and he emphasised that "it's one of the reasons I got into home-based work and it's one of the reasons I'm thinking of getting out" (13). Sam Garden's use of time and space had both positive and negative implications for himself and his family, where Sam's 'flexibility' and his resistance to 'structure' were ultimately to become a central point of conflict in the Garden household.

"Shutting Out" Domesticity

Sam Garden's contribution to the housework and child care was by his own estimations summed up in the statement "I have literally done fuck all" (38). Sam felt that he and Sara had tended to assume traditional roles that neither were happy with:

Housework, how many hours would I do? Sara would say I do none. I basically shut that side out, it takes so much energy ... Sara kicked back into housework and a whole lot of these sorts of things so I didn't do it and she did do it, so we just sort of messed up like that. Now we're trying to unmess that and do something a little more healthy. So it's not just me being a typical New Zealand chauvinistic arsehole, it's a combination of shades of that with shades of Sara being a typical New Zealand woman, doing all the housework, doing the mothering thing, so shades of that dynamic as well (47).

Sam theorised the inequality in his and Sara's contributions to domesticity in terms of "roles" dictated by social convention (38). Sam felt that Sara had taken up the role of "I'll do it all at home scenario" while he did the "underpaid and overworked scenario on the work front" and that out of this dynamic Sam did very little housework and child care and "left it all to Sara" (14).

Sam was thus atypical in this study in the sense of both candidly discussing the way he did not make a significant contribution to the house and child care *and* his awareness that this

was problematic for his partner. In this sense Sam was something of a transitional figure between the men who made little or no contribution to the housework and caring work and who did not see this as particularly problematic, such as John, Jim and Ethan, and the 'role reversal' engaged in by Tom. For both Sam and Tom there was an awareness that their minimal contributions to the domestic labour were unfair, in Tom's case because he felt uncomfortable with the praise he got for doing something women ordinarily did without acknowledgement, and in Sam's case because he thought this unequal division of labour was unsustainable and incommensurate with his values. He said:

> I basically did fuck all and I almost feel guilty admitting this now because I believe in EEO (equal employment opportunities), acknowledging one's own hypocrisy ... basically Sara did most of the work around the place and I did fuck all ... and I think she has become quite, not bitter and twisted, I don't think she's prepared to live like that anymore and fortunately I am not prepared to either, so we are both changing, so I guess that makes it better (38).

Sara's resistance to this unequal division of domestic labour had initially been stimulated by her unmet expectations that she and Sam would share the child care and housework when they married, as she had in mixed flatting situations when she was single and she had "just assumed everyone would do their bit" (44). Sara felt that "when you suddenly get married, men decide they're not going to do anything anymore and I think, 'cor', it's just ridiculous" (44). Sara had also expected that when they started the home-based business they would share between them the work of the family and the work for money, she had "assumed that because he was at home he would do more (domestic and caring work), which he didn't" (12).

Sara did not think it was the pressure of work which led Sam to resist the work of the house and children, but that "he just chose not to" (12). From Sara's perspective, teleworking was an "excuse" for Sam to avoid the "running of the house, or the children", a logic she found difficult to resist because the teleworking generated income in a way that the domestic and caring labour, although essential, did not. She said:

> (He could) suddenly say at night time "oh well, I've got to work" when it comes to cleaning the house ... because work means money and it suddenly becomes a priority over everything else ... suddenly work took precedence, so it meant that the money came in and you know these other things didn't bring in money (13).

Like Sam, Sara also had a social "role" orientated explanation for this state of affairs as well as an understanding of the particularities of Sam as a father and house mate. Sara felt that both telework and housework shared a 'boundary-less' quality, in the sense that teleworkers, like housewives, could "spend their whole lives" doing the work because "you never actually leave the premises of where you work, it can take over your whole life if you want" (13). Sara more than any other partner in the study had the clearest awareness of the analogies between work at home for 'love' and work for money, and was, like Julia Sims, another example of a partner holding different values and practices in relation to the organisation of time and space from her teleworking husband.

This unequal division of domestic labour and the "sporadic" and "unstructured" (46) use of time by Sam reached crisis point a number of times, where he would become too "exhausted and burnt out" because he had worked continuously for days, doing "even less around the house", and leading to "blow up points". These arguments would usually orientate around one key area of conflict: Sam would tell Sara that "housework ruled (her) life" (42) and that she had "housewives's disease", and Sara would vigorously defend the need for a basic level of hygiene as part of their occupancy of the house and care of Daisy and Theo (41).

This pattern of conflict changed irrevocably when Sara took on paid employment (six months before the second interview) because the couple reached a fundamental crisis in their different approaches to both household cleanliness and the care of the children. Sara felt that once she was in paid work she put more pressure on Sam to help in the mornings, to "get to work, 'cos I make the money". Sara felt that she did "pull the (purse) strings" as a bargaining strategy, reversing Sam's earlier financial justification for avoiding domestic labour by using money-making as a reason for his increased participation (42). Additionally, Sara would use the incentive of having more time together as a means of motivating Sam to do housework, arguing that if he made a bigger contribution she'd "have more time to rub (his) back or whatever he wanted" (42). However these incentives and sanctions were not in themselves enough to instigate change. In addition Sara had set up lists to roster Sam to do certain tasks and activities including cooking an evening meal twice a week, some cleaning, and caring for Theo one morning a week. Sara felt that although she thought Sam *should* do these tasks, she only forced this change when "it got too unlivable for me", and she felt "desperate" and "exhausted". Even with this new arrangement Sara felt she was "very lenient", because most of the time the care of the house and the children remained her responsibility (44).

Being with the Children as an Advantage and a Disadvantage of Telework

Although the majority of the child care fell to Sara for the reasons discussed above, Sam's location at home also resulted in some increased contact between him and the children which both parents thought was one of the bonuses of home-based work. The family would all have lunch together and Sara felt that Daisy was curious about her parents' work and asked them questions about what they were doing (59). Additionally Daisy had become quite "independent" and at age seven usually made her and baby Theo's breakfast, could make her own lunch and "entertained herself" well when she was at home (57). Sara felt their home-based work encouraged such independence because she and Sam were not "totally accessible" to the children or "running around after them" (57).

Sam also saw contact with the children as one of the "advantages" of being at home and talked of enjoying participating in Daisy's problem solving or watching baby Theo develop:

> Theo just strolls in (to the home-office) saying "look at me man" and I think that's one of the joys of working from home, the interaction over a longer period of time. So I'm not an isolated Dad and I've been quite pleased to avoid that (39).

The counterpoint to experiencing greater accessibility to the family as an advantage was Sam's need to keep boundaries between the children and his work, especially when he had pressing deadlines. In these situations Sam would shut the door of the home-office and tell Daisy and Theo he was busy, or redirect them to their mother and would sometimes eat in the home-office and "chop off the social bits" of his life, "depending on the level of urgency" (39-40). Where these strategies became problematic was when Sam wanted to work at times when the children wanted to be noisy in the house. Sara felt quite conflicted as to whether this was a "reasonable" (50) demand or not and related an extended debate between Daisy and Sam. Daisy felt that her father should work while she was at school so that she was free to play in her bedroom with her friends, while Sam found this activity "irritated" him because Daisy's bedroom was very close to the home-office (54).

Although Sam required the children to be separate and quiet at times, neither Sam nor Sara were willing for the children's use of the house to be disrupted by the entry of clients into their home. Sara was aware that on the occasions when clients did come to the house it was her, rather than Sam, who "felt compelled" to go "rushing around madly picking up toys" to "make it look as though (the house) was relatively tidy" (48). While Sara found this "a bit stressful" for herself she was more concerned about the way it infringed upon the children's rights. She did not think it was "really fair on the children", because the house

was "also a place for them too, and I feel when your business is at home it infringes a little bit on their personal space and they have to modify their behaviour as well"(48).

Although neither Sara nor Sam had resolved this issue by the time of the second interview, they both suggested that possible solutions involved separating the work space a little from the house, having a separate home-office entrance or having clients simply accept that they were working at home and "there is going to be toys and dishes or whatever" (49). That is, they did not seek a solution through the modification of the children's behaviour as in the Brody-Sainsbury and Jolly households discussed in Chapter Four.

Similarly Sam thought the children answering business calls was something that was simply part of his working life that he expected his clients to understand, responding in the following way when I talked about other children in this study being 'trained' to answer the phone:

> oh fuck that. If there's kids, let them be kids. If the people I work for or with are so uncool they can't handle the fact that children at five, six or seven are going to fuck up phone calls, then I can't be bothered. What's the point? (35).

However Sam also acknowledged that he didn't work in a "retail market" where he had a lot of calls, so his telephone contacts were "very limited", a difference which was a key motivator for modifying children's use and manner on the telephone in the Brody and Jolly households (35).

Sam's Need to Socialise and Sara "Throwing the Clock at Him"

Although Sam enjoyed the accessibility of his family he also emphasised his need for the 'synergy' of other people, as an outcome of his expressed feeling of "isolation"as a home-based business owner (36). Sara felt that her own needs for companionship were more readily met through playcentre, school and community work contacts and that although she wanted Sam to meet other adults and rely on her less for company and support, doing so was sometimes at the cost of her own leisure:

> Sam is the type of person who really needs, he sort of gets energised from other people as well. So that's a very big disadvantage. I found that draining, he would go out at night ... and that would piss me off (laughs). He'd come home at four in the morning and I'd throw clocks at him, so yeah (17).

The other implication of Sam's isolation was the increasing demands he made upon Sara herself for company and support such as "smokes and coffees and talks, anything (Sam) could justify" (19). Sara felt that while she enjoyed this contact with her partner she also felt that Sam began to "demand more and more" of her:

> I was more than just a wife, his lover and whatever, mother of the children, I was also his sounding board and his social life. And I used to say "now it's too much", you know, "you demand too much out of me", and so even though we worked well together I felt that he, you know, sucked too much out of me really. And that is what I see as the biggest disadvantage of working at home is that you don't have that support network or you just don't have the interaction with other people (17).

Sam also talked about the difficulty of shifting from 'work mode' to 'partner mode', both in terms of boundaries and in terms of connectedness. Sam was aware that the times he was "really switched off" to Sara, particularly when he was "really switched into (his) work" which he felt was a result of the "lack of boundaries" between his work and his relationship. Sam was aware there were "two sorts of extremes", one which made it hard to switch out of "work mode" and one which was orientated toward "any distraction at all, if it's got two legs it's hot today" (24). Interestingly, when Sam thought he was most distractible he conceived of himself "as distracted from my real purpose in life" that is, from his work (24).

Leisure and Golf

Another example of the boundary-making strategies Sam employed to secure leisure time and space were associated with his passion for golf, to which he dedicated a significant amount of money and time. Sam practised his putting skills in a specially constructed room, located in a separate building at the back of the house. This space was significant to Sam and he discussed at length the association between his hobby and his scenario for an ideal home/work mix, indicating that he would ideally like a home-office beside the 'golf room' with separate entrances, "otherwise it would be too easy say I'm going to work now and not get there" (33). The 'golf room' was separate from the house, the children were not allowed to go into it and it was used exclusively by Sam. Sara "couldn't imagine (Sam) taking a break in the study" and thought that Sam preferred to "play" in the golf room because of this separateness. Sam was as likely to tell Sara not to talk to him when he was practising his golf as when he was teleworking, signalling to her that although he was not at his desk he wasn't necessarily available to his family:

If I disturbed him when he was (practising) he would say "don't disturb me I'm thinking about my work" and I'd think 'oh yeah, give us a break'. You know, he'd say "oh, I'm just trying to think through something that I can't work out" ... he'd say "well I don't have to sit at my desk to think you know" (laughs). I just thought it was a bit of an excuse.

Sam saw these breaks as a chance to "refuel" according to Sara, and although she also thought they were important for him, their implications for her were sometimes less than desirable. She did not have any space in the house which she designated for her use alone and had responsibility for the house and children when Sam deemed himself unavailable because he was practising his golf skills. Combined with his late night socialising, Sara felt that Sam had "all the leisure, whereas I didn't have any breaks at all ... I didn't have enough leisure" (63). Sara thought that the reason this dynamic persisted for so long was an effect of her lack of assertiveness and her seeming resilience, that she "came across as a very strong, independent person who could go on and on and on and on" which indeed she did until the changes that followed her resumption of paid work (64).

Sara's Resistance to the "Lack of Structure and Boundaries"

Sara was aware that when she took up work within an organisation again, the "quality" of her work improved because she was "just totally concentrating on (her) work". Sara contrasted this experience to doing the home-based work when she always had "half an ear out for whether someone's crying or you know if someone's going to come down the drive and you've got three days worth of dishes all over the bench".

Sara felt that during the six years that she and Sam ran the home-based business together, they should also have hired care for the children, which they had been unable to do because they were "never in a financial position to afford that" (78). Sara thought that with child care and someone to do the housework, teleworking "would be marvellous" (78) but that they had been forced to rely on house mates (15) or grandparents instead, or on Sara being able to complete her telework when the baby was asleep and/or at night (7). The 'lifestyle' that teleworking promised was not delivered in the Garden household for Sara, both because of the difficulties of managing a fluctuating income and workload and because of the "reality of how much time Sam spent with the children" (68). Sara thought the family got "brownie points" from their friends for working at home, but Sara felt that "it wasn't quite what they thought it would be, but then most of our friends know Sam is a bit of a slack bastard" (68).

In contrast to Sam's flexible use of time and the integration of the home-office into the centre of their house, Sara thought that if they continued to work from home in the future, particularly if she returned to the business as a partner, she would want more strongly delineated boundaries between 'work' and 'home' than those that prevailed in the first six years of the business. These included building a separate home-office on the property or at least a separate entrance, separate business and residential phone lines and a more rigid structuring of 'home' and 'work' time and tasks, so that one was "disciplined" enough to stop working (72).

The 'resolution' of some of these issues following Sara's engagement with paid work on-site was a compromise between her desire for more structure and Sam's "lack of structure and boundaries" (39). Sam had, for the six months before the second interview, begun to work under a new organisation of time forced by the conflict between these two different systems and the way they left almost all of the domestic and caring labour to Sara. Sam agreed to take more responsibility at home, in exchange for two "back-to-back" days to "do whatever I damn well want"; days when Daisy was at school, Theo was in care, and Sara was responsible for both children in the afternoon when she returned from work. Although Sam acknowledged that his previous use of time and his contributions to the house had been difficult for Sara his irritation at this new situation was also present, alongside his acknowledgement that change had been needed. He said:

> Tuesday and Wednesday are my work days so I do whatever I damn well please ... It really annoys me, I don't do kid things, I don't do things for Sara. These are the days when I'm effectively not here. And if I want to go to the pub for a beer after work, so to speak, I will do so. And that's where I'm rebuilding a structure to solve the blur of work and home (18).

It was interesting in this excerpt that Sam asserted a boundary between 'home' and 'work' which reflected aspects of his masculinity. That is, the right to determine his own use of time, not to be called upon by his family, to go out an enjoy a quintessentially male leisure pursuit; in effect not be 'present' in the house. Sara may have secured a compromise in the Garden household, but not without resistance from Sam framed through the lens of masculine subjectivity and practice, and not without the bulk of the caring and domestic labour remaining her responsibility.

V. Tom Noble

Tom Noble's organisation of his telework proved to be the case in this study which demonstrated the highest degree of dynamism amongst the male participants. Tom was, of all the teleworking men, the most involved in the caring and domestic labour of his household and had organised paid and unpaid labour in a variety of ways, including combinations of telework, organisational employment, part-time and fulltime hours. He had also 'role reversed' with his partner Dell for the two years of his first child Kaz's infancy, while he ran a database business at home.

Tom's background was in engineering, and on the completion of his degree in 1988 he was employed by an established firm in the large city in which he lived and worked. Tom faced redundancy when this newly acquired professional employment abruptly ended because "the work dried up", in part reflecting the general downturn in the New Zealand economy following the share market 'crash' of 1987. In response to this instability, Tom decided to become self-employed as a way of buffering himself against further 'restructuring', setting himself up in private practice in an office, with another engineer in order to share expenses. This new situation enabled Tom to continue his professional work, but had the disadvantage of involving an extended commute in addition to relatively high overhead costs during the establishment phase of the business.

As a compromise, Tom began to diversify his contract engineering work in 1989 by selling access to a database of engineering firms that he had created. This work was easily done from home with low costs in terms of equipment, requiring only a computer, a telephone and the use of a fax from a neighbourhood bureau. Tom moved his business home that year and was successful in generating interest from manufacturers who wanted to buy access to the database in order to target potential buyers of specialised engineering products; he had 250 regular clients for the list of addresses contained on the database. Tom would input these addresses and then sell them in disk form to clients wishing to access this niche market, with the option of also subscribing to a quarterly update of the original list at a diminished cost. Tom was quick to off-load the rather tedious inputting work in the first year to the many "hot" businesswomen he found who had stopped paid work within organisations to have children and "were champing at the bit" to have part-time work. Tom thought this group of skilled women were "an amazing pool to tap into" and had two working part-time in different cities on a contract basis. He had been engaged in this home-based business for four years at the time of the first interview.

Loving the Machine for Itself

Like John Sims and Ethan Reid, Tom experienced himself as passionately interested in his work and engaged with the technology he employed in it, which was expressed in his relationship toward what he described as "really my love", his personal computer. Tom had owned a computer since 1983 and felt that he "appreciated" the technology, that it was a challenge to "learn how to use it and get the most out of it", and that he still "really enjoy(ed) getting in front of the computer" ten years later.

During the initial months with the computer Tom spent long periods with the machine "up until three in the morning playing on it" such that he upgraded the capabilities of the software package he had purchased; "it shouldn't actually do that really, I mean it's not that sophisticated". This focus on the computer was something that had first brought Tom and his wife Dell together; Dell worked placing computer personnel, while Tom worked with software and databases, and they were very interested in each other's businesses. They had close contact regarding their respective work (and their baby), calling each other up to six times a day, especially when Tom was working at home and Dell on-site. Dell felt that she knew "every move (Tom was) making in business and vice versa" (56), and they became the subject of a standing joke with secretarial staff about the number of calls they made, such as "oh this is call number four".

For this couple, the fascinations of the computer acted as a means of providing them with something they shared, rather than something that they perceived as coming between them, as in the Sims household. It was also, however, something they argued about in so far as it took up time at night that Dell felt was "private" or "family time", while Tom spent time on the computer playing games. Dell spoke of being "really disappointed" when she caught Tom playing computer games, partly because this was time Tom spent away from her and the baby and partly because this activity did not generate any 'product' in the form of income or new skills. She said:

> He'd disappear off sort of, I thought to work. I thought, "that's ok, I can handle that", because we used to spend a lot of time together and stuff and I'd catch him playing this *game* (laughs). He was like a naughty kid, you know, he was playing with this thing and you know, he'd get eye strain and he'd still be playing this game. So yeah, I got really infuriated with that. I said you know, in my time after hours I don't go off and drink with the girls and do my thing, so I really resented him playing with the games, when he could have been chatting with me, or doing something with me instead (170).

The computer was thus both a source of talk and a means of 'doing intimacy' as well as a means to block or avoid intimacy. I would also note Dell's evocation and reversal of a classic kiwi male leisure pursuit in the excerpt above, when she talks of going off to the pub "with the girls". Dell was aware that she and Tom did spend a lot of time together and that she was very lucky because he didn't "go off and drink with the boys and play rugby" that is, he did not pursue masculine leisure pursuits that took him away from her. However, being a 'computer nerd' had some similar implications, and Dell was aware of being "very jealous" of Tom's time.

Flexible Time and "Cutting Off From Work"

When Tom discussed the advantages *and* the disadvantages of home-based work, the flexibility of work time was the major factor in each case. The chief *advantage* of teleworking in Tom's view, was the way it allowed him to work longer hours, at the weekends and at night. The work at night, which involved printing out the lists he had completed during the day, was a task Tom regarded as "work but it wasn't work" because he could just "set them up and let them go", and he tended to do this most evenings. Given the priority Dell placed on time together at night, particularly after Kaz was born, this kind of task which required monitoring rather than sustained concentration provided a good compromise for Tom between the activities of "work and not work". Tom had made a ritual of stopping work at about 5.00 pm, having a beer, changing into his tracksuit and making "a bit of an occasion about dinner" and saw this as time during which he could relax. After dinner he would "still probably potter around and do things" like the printing work, but "5.00 pm was when (he) used to officially say the day was over".

In acknowledging this flexibility between "time to relax" and "time to do things", Tom was aware of the two sided nature of the flexible timing of his work; it was both its chief *advantage* and *disadvantage*. He had difficulty "cutting off from work", and in response to what he identified as 'workaholic' practices and his awareness of his work beginning to encroach on time with Dell, Tom enrolled (at the cost of NZ$700 in 1990), in a time management course. The fact that Tom was willing to spend the time and money on such a course was a symbol of how much he and Dell felt that having better control of time and "working smart" (that is, having quantifiable results from the time spent) was a priority for Tom.

Dell described Tom's use of time as becoming a problem when he reached a "workaholic stage where he'd sort of be working late at night". She would "really resent" this use of time which she felt did not lead to quantifiably increased output or profit. Despite the course,

Tom still found managing his time problematic; he spoke of "needing" to work into the night and that it was "quite important" to be in his home-office at 8.00 am. Tom also felt that had he worked the hours on-site that he did at home, he would have been there "quite late" and there "would have been problems" at home.

If Tom's long hours at home were undesirable from Dell's perspective, the alternative as Tom saw it was the long hours other men around him were putting in 'at the office'. Tom directly compared his night time home-based work to the men who stayed 'at work' when he had relocated his small business out of his home into to a shared office in the city for a nine month period in 1994. Tom felt it was "a lot better" going into a separate room within the house than being completely away from Dell and Kaz. He resisted combining the two businesses that shared the office more because the other men "worked 'till midnight' and he did not want to be 'disciplined' to work the same long hours as the other men.

Dell's perspective on this situation was to be highly critical of the way that these other men managed their working and home lives, where "the worst part about those guys is that they've all got young children". She related stories which reflected the conflict these men's work practices raised in their relationships, suggesting she would not tolerate such a situation:

> The other (business) partner wants to have children and his wife keeps miscarrying and he missed the miscarriage because he was at work! And there she was in hospital by herself. It was the pits, I really felt for her (16).

Tom was also aware of these tensions, and related conversations that occurred at this workplace which reflected on this dilemma, where these men would "come to work and say 'oh, I'm getting divorced soon' and things like that". It is also interesting that in the other two families in this study where the men had experienced divorce (the Brodys and the Jeffs), there was a greater willingness for the men to take seriously and prioritise spending time as a couple and with the children. However, this prioritising of family was tempered by an awareness on both Tom and Ben Jeffs's part of the attitude of other men, particularly co-workers, toward the "slackness" of men who did not put in long hours. Tom reflected on the difficulty of not feeling "guilty" about taking time out for his family: "your work ethic is quite hard to shake off, you know, the Protestant work ethic".

The Work Ethic and the 'Role Reversal'

This view of time and the work ethic had two dimensions in Tom's narrative. The first was the way that supposedly 'flexible' work time in fact overran into *all* time, where Tom felt real ambivalence about restricting his hours when there were no or few external restrictions on them. Tom's reflection above regarding 'flexible' work time as both the key advantage *and* disadvantage of his telework, and his responses to long hours his work associates were putting in at the office, were indicators of this ambivalence.

The second element of this work ethic was the association between it and being a 'breadwinner', and were played out in this family around the issue of Tom's 'role reversal' with Dell on the birth of Kaz in 1991. This situation did not arise because Tom had a strong value orientation toward sharing the child care of his baby son ("it wasn't so I would spend more time with the kid"), but rather because three months after the birth of Kaz, when Dell was at home with the baby and Tom was continuing with his telework, Dell was offered a partnership in a lucrative computer business. This opportunity was "too good an offer to turn down" according to Tom, and for Dell represented "the pinnacle of what (she) wanted to do".

This negotiation of a change in the Nobles' plans was thus orientated around *circumstances* and an opportunity to make money, such that Tom thought: "it was perfectly logical to just continue what I was doing (at home) and look after Kaz". The couple were thus not motivated by a desire to negotiate a more equal distribution of caring work or to share the disruption to their careers of having a new baby. Rather, both Dell and Tom had expected before the partnership offer emerged, that the care of Kaz would be Dell's responsibility and that she would juggle part-time work and the baby in order to meet this responsibility: the 'contract' between them was, in other words, a fairly traditional one. However, alongside this tendency toward a traditional division of caring labour was also a strong sense of their shared values around entrepreneurial opportunity and the linked beliefs in "pragmatism", "efficiency", "profit" and the desire to "develop their businesses". This added a level of dynamism to their negotiations of paid and unpaid work as exemplified by this change point, beyond their gendered expectations of one another.

Dell had developed a very detailed story of this change point in the couple's life, which she related to me some two years after the event:

> ...to actually work for yourself in this (computer) industry is the ultimate really, I mean it gives you exactly what you want; it gives you everything financially, it gave

me a partner I really respected. I had done some severe sort of "oh no" all the way home in the car, I got home and said to Tom "well this is what he offered" and I, you know, and this is the financial side of things and he says "you can't really turn that down" and I said "no, you're not wrong, I can't, but can we do it?"(34)

Dell moved, during this narrative which continued for some time, between framing this decision in terms of her personal ambition and the financial advancement of the family. She felt ambivalent during this period when they 'reversed roles', because of her conflicted desires to both 'be there' for Kaz and to fulfil a particular career goal. This ambivalence included her negotiation of her secondary responsibility for Kaz (and the implication from others that she was a bad mother abandoning her baby son) and her own fears that she was "missing out" on the baby.

This ambivalence was represented in the interview text by the flow from the part of the story excerpted above which emphasised Dell's willingness to make this decision together with Tom, directly into Tom's parents' negative reaction the next day. Tom's mother "actually thought that (Dell) wanted to get out of the home and took a very negative view toward it and really had a downer on me" (34/9). The thought that Dell might be manipulating the situation to avoid her 'proper' gendered responsibilities as a mother was something Dell was very sensitive to. But if Dell was criticised for wanting to get out of the home, Tom was criticised for being in it; Tom's mother "actually put a very heavy onus on Tom about the fact that he's failed as a provider", a criticism compounded by the fact that Tom's business was somewhat financially insecure. In this sense the couple were faced with some fairly concerted resistance by both sets of parents because "they didn't see Tom as *working*, being at home, they didn't see him *do* the working".

The couple's strategy to deal with Tom's mother was to dismiss her as someone who was unfamiliar with the "business fraternity" because "she has always been a mother at home with children so she didn't really know the logistics of both parents working" (34). However they were also reliant on Tom's parents for financial support with their home-based business, so they managed the relationship carefully, shielding Tom's mother from information about financial difficulties within Tom's business. This strategy "removed the pressure from her because she really did feel it" by only telling "her all the good things" so that when they "did come unstuck" during a cashflow crisis over Christmas, they could go to Tom's parents and they "bailed them out" (104/26).

However this critique of Tom as failing as a 'breadwinner' for the family was also something that Dell participated in at other times when she felt that her income was not going to

"cover" them. That is, she too moved between an innovative and a more traditional understanding of their respective "roles", represented by her success at providing for the family or her expectation that Tom would also make a significant financial contribution in addition to caring for Kaz. One such period was characterised by a high degree of uncertainty in the couple's assumptions about one another and left a residue of guilt for Dell regarding the "pressure" she had put Tom under, having rejected a similar form of pressure from Tom's mother. This "shocking stage" left Dell feeling she had been "dreadful", "really unreasonable" and "quite revolting", although ironically enough Tom's practices during this time indicated his *collusion* with the belief that he should have been contributing more money to the household. One example of this was the way in which he tried to minimise his need to *actively* engage with Kaz and thus get more work done, by taking him on car rides where the motion of the car lulled the baby to sleep allowing Tom to use the car phone to make business calls. It is also during these more turbulent times that Tom took to playing computer games at night, a practice Dell initially tolerated despite her clear preference for "family time at night", because she thought he was going to his office to work and thus generate the additional income she was demanding of him.

The Baby as 'Business' and the 'Baby Business'

If John Sims's story was one of 'time and space independence' and the abandonment, by and large, of family relating and domestic work, and Sam Garden's a 'transitional tale' about the flexible use of time and the redistribution of unpaid work, then Tom Noble's 'teleworking tale' pivoted around his primary responsibility for caring and domestic labour vis-à-vis his commitments to the business during the two years of the 'role reversal'. Because Tom's primary responsibility for domestic and caring work was driven by business considerations and circumstance, these business values inflected the manner in which he understood his role as parent and housekeeper. Tom tended to treat the work of caring for the house and Kaz in the same way as he treated the paid work he performed at home, seeing himself as "managing to do two jobs, which essentially it is".

If Tom treated caring and domestic work as "like a job", a "career", as "like business", then doing so helped him to prioritise this activity as *work*, rather than 'not work' (that is, as not valuable, and not skilled). Both he and Dell saw the home-based business as a means of avoiding the negative connotations of a complete 'role reversal', where Dell's potential positioning as 'emasculating' career woman, and Tom as an 'emasculated' domestic man, would be unattractive to both of them. As an example of this, Tom spoke of the importance of earning some money and continuing to 'work' in terms of his "conditioning" as a man, where it was "important" to him that he was seen as "working and not just childrearing".

Tom nevertheless felt he struggled with his "guilt" about not working in order to care for his son. Kaz's early babyhood was less problematic for Tom because of the long periods of sleep which characterised it. Tom retained his "quality" time for work, where 'quality time' was not time focused on Kaz, but dedicated *work* time while the baby was asleep. Kaz's increasing needs for attention as he got older meant that Tom was forced to be more flexible about time, pushing more work into the evenings. Tom found ways in which he could make up for "time out with the baby" by working in the evenings and early morning, recovering "lost" time by working "extra hours on either end".

Tom felt that "a lot of women" treated caring labour "as a job" in the same way as he did, and that he wanted to be "efficient" and "organised" in his approach to domesticity. When discussing this issue Tom made a list of his major responsibilities ("nappies ... washing ... cleaning up ... looking after the baby"); and noted the importance of the baby's sleeping period in the afternoon as time to "do the (database) business". Tom felt that this time to telework was important because without this, the situation could have turned from his point of view "into a disaster in a way, and if Kaz wasn't a sleeper, it would've been pretty tough". Tom implied that if the baby had not been so "easy" he would not have continued with the 'role reversal' because if "there were problems (Dell) would have (looked after him) I'm sure, because she *should* have been at home looking after him".

This statement clearly reflected the way that Tom continued to see responsibility for Kaz as *properly* Dell's, an issue also signalled by the limited nature of the business contract Dell signed with her partner which was strictly for a period of two years. Tom's commitment to the 'role reversal' was always for a limited duration and not something they considered extending. Dell saw the limited nature of this agreement between them as the reason why she was able to take up the business partnership, because Tom "knew it was a finite time and that was actually sort of why I was able to do it I suppose, that had to be in place to begin with". Without the clarity of this contract Dell was convinced Tom would not have agreed to the 'role reversal' and freed her of 'her' responsibility as primary caregiver.

Dirty Nappies and Domestic Labour

If Tom treated caring work as a limited-term contract "job", then he also took on the job of the housekeeping more generally. Tom rejected some parts of his new responsibilities, such as ironing Dell's clothes (they were too "tricky") or washing the nappies ("I must admit the cloth nappies started to disappear after I started looking after Kaz"), while other parts he embraced with some enthusiasm. For example, he wanted the house to be tidy before he began to do business:

Prior to 8.00 am I like to have the dishes done and everything because working from home it's the pits, having mess, looking at mess all the time. And if you've got to clean it you might as well do it first thing and enjoy having a clean space in the morning yeah, so pre-starting work, do the dishes and hang out the washing.

Similarly with dinner, Tom tended to make the evening meal into something of an occasion, something Dell associated with Tom "overcompensating" for not being a 'good provider':

He took on a full 'role reversal' to the extent that I'd come home and a meal would be on the table, it was unbelievable. I think also his mother really did lay it on him I suppose, "you're not providing" so he really did overcompensate ... I did sort of feel he did go overboard, really did (38).

Tom received a lot of positive attention from his wife and from women peers for taking on the 'role reversal'. Dell "admired" Tom and thought he was "incredible" because he "took on the whole role of being a mother" (21), and Tom was aware of the attention he received from other women; that he was "considered a hero, you get a lot of kudos I guess doing that ... you're suddenly considered multi-talented, a sensitive new age guy" (251).

If being at home made Tom a "hero" in the eyes of some women, he was certainly aware that what he was doing was what many women were expected to do without praise and indeed, from his perspective, the possibility of a high level of criticism:

Um, whereas it's the expected norm for women, you know she just has, and if she doesn't do a good job they're very critical, people are very critical of the way a woman might bring up a child, but a man, well there certainly could be still, but not to your face really (251).

It is interesting that Tom suggested here that others would not be openly critical of a man's parenting. Tom felt that the "kudos" he gained agreeing to do caring work *at all* exonerated him from the social surveillance of the quality of the care that he gave. In this family the unsatisfactory quality of Tom's care of Kaz did become an issue as Kaz grew older, and as Tom's "resentment" of the baby's needs intruding into his working time grew more pronounced. As Kaz began to demand more of Tom's time, Tom responded by trying to limit the child's interruptions of his telework. Tom did not want to reduce his hours of work: the business was thriving and he was "quite a lot busier", and inevitably this resulted in some difficulties managing full-time paid work and caring for a baby in the first year of its life.

On Juggling the Baby in One Hand and the Phone in the Other

The key area where this seemed to affect Tom, given the home-based nature of the work and the limited number of clients that came to the house, was using the phone while trying to juggle the needs of the baby. Tom tried a number of strategies to manage this: asking clients to call at times the baby would be sleeping; screening calls and only picking up for clients who "knew he had Kaz" and where this "wouldn't be a problem"; taking Kaz out in the car and using the car phone; leaving Kaz in another room with the door shut; trying to comfort him while he held the receiver in the other hand:

> I remember some funny cases, juggling Kaz trying, you know on the phone, trying for him not to cry while I was doing business. If they could have seen me (202).

Tom "confessed" that he didn't tell people he was running the business from home in the beginning because "there was definitely a stigma attached to working from home" which he felt reflected badly on the business because if suggested it could be:

> ... a bit 'Micky Mouse', or it could be you haven't the commitment to go and get the premises and put yourself on the line and that sort of thing. Or it just means that your operation is small time (74).

Thus the baby's noise in the background added to what Tom already perceived to be a vulnerable position; making the business successful was not only in competition with Kaz's needs but was potentially jeopardised by Kaz's audible presence. Tom sometimes created physical barriers between the business and the baby so Kaz's presence would not be detected, boundaries that worked effectively because the nursery and the home-office were at opposite ends of the house. He would "drop Kaz and sprint off and he'd start crying and I'd have to shut the door and you'd never (laughs) quite know what was going on, well he was crawling then".

While Dell's interviews reflected on these practices as far as she was aware of them (and in this sense I as the researcher was privy to this knowledge in a way that she was not), her critique of the quality of care Kaz was receiving from his father was muffled by her loyalty to Tom and her sense of how "wonderful" and "fabulous" he had been in agreeing to care for him at all. Although she spent a great deal of time with Kaz (including every lunchtime), did 30% of the domestic work by Tom's estimation, and was the primary income earner for almost two years, she did not feel in a position to challenge Tom in this regard. She did feel

that Kaz's care was being compromised and she felt "guilty", but she did not feel able to act to change this situation:

> Yes I did (feel guilty) because I knew that the input I would have had with Kaz would have been different than that Tom gave him ... I could feel that Tom started to resent him being awake and interrupting his work and yet I couldn't do anything about it (26).

In part this inability to change this situation reflected their shared focus on Tom's business making a profit, as well as the double standard of expectations where Tom felt "there was one set of rules for women and one set for a man doing (child care)" (257). Throughout Tom's narrative he showed an awareness of the labour (and the rewards) of domestic and caring work from his experience of doing it. Additionally, Tom was aware that his 'role reversal' proved to be something of a "mixed bag" for other women and particularly for Dell, because it put such women under pressure to combine caring and domestic work with a home-based business. That is, Tom was aware that by his own example he was reinforcing the expectation that women "have to do it all". When such women were 'at work' they were expected to manage the domestic sphere and additionally, through the example of teleworkers like himself, if they were at home with the children they could be expected to pick up some paid work, or in his case an entire small business.

Tom was aware that what he was doing was seen by other people (particularly women) as "very different, new and exciting", but that from his own perspective he "was just doing what a lot of women would do" (557/83). What Tom saw as innovative was that he combined this domestic and caring work with his business activities, and that in doing so he would place an expectation on Dell to do the same after the second baby was born. That is, Tom expected Dell to at least cover the child care and the mortgage when they 'reversed roles' again and she took up his database business at home in addition to the care of Kaz (then two years old) and the newly arrived baby. Tom had no sense that this might be too great an expectation of Dell and anticipated that like him, she would "show other women up":

> But um I must say I'm proud of being able to look after Kaz and do a business at the same time. It's probably put Dell under a bit of stress too, she'll have more on her plate, but she might put a few women out when I think about it ... the argument is that you know, you're just flat out with the baby all day and you've got no time for anything else, even housework or whatever, and if you *do*, and run a business as well, well.

In practice the way Tom managed these competing calls on his time and attention had proved to be somewhat problematic, particularly in terms of his creation of physical barriers to prevent Kaz from disrupting his work. That is, he did manage both, but only by limiting his accessibility to the baby and at the cost of some resentment toward his infant son. Tom *could* do both his paid and unpaid work, but his example draws attention to the need to examine practices of care and of work alongside the narrative that 'speaks' them.

Summary: The Men's Narratives

The narratives of the five teleworking men and their families reflect some interesting patterns of innovation in work practices and a thematic tendency toward a continuing primary orientation to work. Innovation in the structuring of work at home was present in Tom's 'role reversal', Sam's 'boom and bust' work schedule, Ethan's strategic assertions of independence from the organisation and John and Jim's defiance of the conventional structuring of time in favour of fluid schedules that maximised their potential to work. These innovations in work practices reflected an interesting range of positions in relation to the flexibility of teleworking and a range of responses to it, from working almost all of the time, to 'binge' working followed by rest, to 'juggling' caring and paid labour.

These patterns of innovation were accompanied in the narratives by a tendency toward the continuing centrality of work to the subjectivity and practices of the men. This centrality would appear to be stimulated by a variety of factors such as: a) income insecurity and the need to continually develop businesses, b) a fascination with and enjoyment of the technology and the content of the work, c) the flexible use of time and space which allows 'private' time and home space to be reorientated toward work-related activities, and d) the primary identification of teleworking men as breadwinners and workers. I would suggest that all five cases reflect the primacy of the orientation to the business, even in the Noble household where Tom's telework could be read as an attempt to assert a working self in the midst of his care-giving responsibility for his infant son.

Secondly, the men's narratives reflected the relatively rigid structuring of the division of labour between income- and non-income-generating tasks, a tendency for women partners to provide domestic and other support for the business and a trend toward avoiding or resisting domestic or caring work where possible in order to fulfil business imperatives. In the renegotiation of the structuring of the balance between paid and unpaid work for home-based businessmen there was a tendency for paid work to remain primary, with relatively little change in the division of domestic labour. It seems that changing the spatial and temporal location of work through teleworking is of itself *not sufficient* to secure a new

division of unpaid labour within households. Additionally, these narratives suggest the importance of women's income-generating activities, in concert with the character of couples' relationships, to their ability to renegotiate the division of caring and domestic labour in their households. Both of these points are underemphasised in the existing literature, and furthermore, both are suggestive of the significant differences that exist in the practices and commitments of male teleworkers when compared with their female counterparts.

Clearly telework does provide opportunities for innovation in the organisation of 'work' and 'home', as Tom and Sam's narratives indicated in particular, but it may be that such innovative practices are difficult to secure in the longer term, as in the Noble household, or are negotiated somewhat painfully as in the Gardens' case. Such patterns of convergence and difference are also suggestive of both the *disciplining* tendency of financial imperatives and subjective injunctions to be a breadwinner, which continue to orientate men primarily toward their work. It is these conflicting tendencies which are taken up in the next chapter analysing the men's 'teleworking tales'.

Chapter 7

Men Negotiating Discourses of the Organisation, Domesticity and Entrepreneurship

In Chapter Five an analysis was pursued regarding the constitution of teleworking women's subjectivities as actively *"produced* or *generated"* in discourse rather than fatally determined, foundational or fixed (Butler, 1990: 147, original emphasis). The chapter investigated the complex play of "constraint and manoeuvre" (Fraser, 1995: 162) that characterised the women's positioning between a diversity of discourses, three of which were particularly examined: women's employment within organisations, domesticity and entrepreneurship.

In this chapter, these arguments regarding the discursive construction of subjectivity and practice are reworked again, this time in relation to the narratives of teleworking men in this study. This discussion similarly pursues the notion that for men subjectivity is not fixed but "achieved" (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993: 663); that subjectivity is a "project" to be accomplished, rather than a stable essence (Kerfoot and Knights, 1996: 86). Before beginning this analysis in light of the narrative material detailed in Chapter Six, three points regarding the *different* theorisation of masculine subjectivities vis-à-vis women's bear discussion, acknowledging of course that the categories 'women' and men' are themselves constituted in relation to other axes of difference and are not descriptors of stable or homogenous categories of gender (Gutterman, 1994: 220). These three points are organised around a discussion of *'multiple masculinities'* within the context of *asymmetrical* power relations; the simultaneous expression of multiplicity and *'hegemonic'* forms of masculinity, and the *decentred* quality of women's subjectivities vis-à-vis the ambiguity of 'hegemonic' or 'normative' masculinity.

Multiple Masculinities and Asymmetrical Gendered Relations

The analysis of the male teleworkers' narratives generated in this study in part draws upon the the literature which argues that masculine subjectivities are an "accomplishment" to be worked at moment to moment. Men are located within and draw upon a variety of competing discourses and the subject positions they offer in the course of this 'identity work' (Thompson and McHugh, 1995), which reflect the discursive process of 'selving' in relation to such areas as the workplace or the home (Collinson and Hearn, 1996: 66-72). The utility of poststructuralist theorising to these questions is the way in which such analyses open up for discussion the *fluidity, multiplicity* and *contingency* of masculine subjectivities, and value the exploration of *difference* and *power* (Gutterman, 1994: 224). Poststructuralisms draw attention to the relationships of subordination and domination which exist *between* men, including subordinated gay masculinities or marginalised black masculinities, as well those which exist between men *and* women (Connell, 1995: 78-81).

Collinson and Hearn (1994: 10; 1996: 73) argue further that the dynamism and multiplicity of masculinity must be placed within the overall social context of *asymmetrical* gendered power relations between women and men. This is not taken as an argument for the notion of a stable structure of patriarchy that underpins the *apparent* expression of difference and diversity[1]. Rather, I take Collinson and Hearn to be referring to the *context* of unequal power relations between women and men, which draws upon the notion of masculinity as constituted in a "network of intersecting practices and discourses, an interplay of *non-egalitarian shifting power relations*" (Sawicki, 1991: 80, emphasis added). In the teleworking men's narratives in this study, such power relations are expressed in practices such as women's unequal share of domestic labour or the incorporation of women partners into men's businesses. These practices are not simple or linear, for some women and men do not conform, or openly resist, them, *and yet* the pattern of asymmetry in these exchanges remains. Additionally these practices are nested within the larger social relations such as those of organisations, or the economy, themselves riven by gendered differences and hierarchies and subject to challenges by women and 'other' men. There are thus dynamic, historically and socially specific forms of gendered relations which knit the expression of multiple masculinities within the social fabric of gender inequality.

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[1] See Pringle (1995) for a discussion of the disutility of the term 'patriarchy' in feminist discourse.

'Hegemonic' or 'Normative' Masculinity

The literature theorising men's subjectivities is marked by a second difference from the theorising concerning the subjectivities of women, because it maintains that there are *multiple* masculinities formed and expressed in multiple sites *and* that there is *one* 'normative' or 'hegemonic' masculinity which comes to prevail in particular societies. That is, certain forms of masculinity referred to in the literature as 'hegemonic' or 'normative' shore up, or in Connell's (1995: 77) terms, "guarantee" the dominant position of men, the subordination of women and the institutionalisation of gendered inequality. While masculinities might be analysed as multiple, reflecting spatial, cultural and temporal differences (Carrigan et al, 1985; Hearn, 1994: 195), the literature claims that certain *hegemonic* forms of masculinity persist in relation to femininity and other forms of subordinated or marginalised masculinities (Collinson and Hearn, 1996: 66; Gutterman, 1994: 225). Connell (1987: 183) makes the argument that, unlike hegemonic masculinity, there is "no femininity that is hegemonic in the sense that the dominant form of masculinity is hegemonic among men". This is not to say that there is no clearly defined or "emphasised" forms of femininity which are, according to Connell, orientated around compliance with subordination and the accommodation of the interests and desires of men (ibid). However, in contrast to hegemonic masculinity, femininities are characterised by a degree of contradiction and a "bewildering variety of traits considered characteristic of women by the various authorities" (ibid) where there is no clear correspondence between the cultural ideal and institutional power (Connell, 1995: 77). Strategies of resistance and non-compliance exist in tension with the pattern of subordination and accommodation, such that no single form of femininity could be said to be hegemonic (ibid). It is these uneven patterns which characterised the women's narratives in Chapter Four where women resisted or did not comply with the gendered injunctions associated with the 'good' wife and mother, at the same time as they accommodated others, where patterns of resistance existed in tension with patterns of accommodation.

In contrast for men, Gutterman (1994: 225) argues, "normative" masculinity disciplines men to conform to its requirements, through a constant process of identification and differentiation. In this sense Gutterman distances himself from the Gramscian emphasis on the concept of 'hegemony' by employing a more Foucauldian notion of the 'normative' power of dominant discourse. However, the two concepts are comparable insofar as both are concerned with the relationship between dominant expressions of masculinity and non-dominant forms of sexuality and gender. 'Normative' masculinity, Gutterman argues, is focused on "warding off threats", particularly those posed by femininity and homosexuality, in a "drive to convert difference into otherness" (ibid). His analysis thus focuses on sites of

resistance to the "governing scripts of masculinity", specifically those associated with gay and profeminist men, where elements of the latter were suggested in Tom Noble's case. Hearn (1996: 207) argues further that "policing discourses" which construct dominant models of masculine gendered subjectivity and practice may be used to call into question the normalcy or appropriateness of an individual's masculinity. In this study, an example of this dynamic was the challenge Tom Noble received as a 'failure' as a provider and as a 'threat' to his male peers, suggesting the currency of these normative prescriptions and their 'policing', particularly by other men.

Phillips (1996: 262-289) employs such an argument when he examines the "bloke under siege" in Aotearoa/New Zealand. While normative discourses of the 'good keen man' continue as a form of 'culturally exalted masculinity' (Hearn, 1996: 206), Phillips argues that there is a greater diversity of masculinities in the public arena which challenge the cultural norm of the "kiwi bloke" associated as it was/is with rural lifestyles, a military role in the 'Empire' and the pursuit of amateur rugby (Phillips, 1996: 277). Phillips suggests that the winning of the America's Cup in 1995 epitomised a cultural shift of Aotearoa/New Zealand toward a more sophisticated, entrepreneurial society 'manned' by heroic, yet decidedly urban, white collar men, typified by the financier and merchant banker, Michael Fay (ibid). But if, as Phillips argues, a greater multiplicity of masculinities are now available and exemplified by the new international corporate style of the 'smooth executive', then these new models are *no less masculine in their values and practices*. While the masculine stereotype of the 'kiwi bloke' may be no longer *monolithic,* older patterns still persist and new ones run parallel to the old in terms of the centrality of work to the construction of masculinity, the primacy of men as earners who are 'the boss' at home, the relative lack of men's participation in domesticity and the prevalence of male violence (ibid: 279).

As support for this notion of *continuities* and *discontinuities* between the patterns of multiple and 'normative' masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand, a study of 2,000 men conducted in 1995 by the Department of Justice provides some thought-provoking material. In this statistically representative sample of men with and without a history of violence toward women, 95% agreed that men should share household tasks and a further 87% that women should have an equal place in business (Leibrich et al, 1995: 43). The majority (65%) agreed that men should not be given preference over women in recruitment and promotion in employment, while 68% thought that women should not focus exclusively on being good wives and mothers (ibid). However, the study also reported on the continued primacy of the role of provider, where 64% of men indicated that they controlled the household finances in order to be in charge (ibid: 127). The study also reported that 16% of the sample had slapped their partners (ibid: 82) and 55% had used one or other form of

physical or psychological abuse in the past year (ibid: 84). As Phillips (1996: 279) has suggested, significant changes have occurred in terms of a "range of male types in the public arena and a quite explicit acceptance of feminist goals for equality", and yet despite changing male opinion, the practices and subjectivities in the 'private' arena lag behind.

In the theoretical literature regarding 'masculinities', the analysis of the 'hegemonic' or 'normative' nature of dominant forms of masculinity clearly exist in tension with accounts which draw upon poststructuralist and psychoanalytic theories. Connell's (1995: 76-81) own work relects this tension where he modifies his theorisation (1995) to speak of hegemonic masculinities in relation to those which exemplify relations of 'subordination', 'complicity' and 'marginalisation'. Connell argues further that the public image of hegemonic masculinity is not what men *are,* but what they *could be,* what they *affiliate to* rather than embody, the normative requirements of dominant hegemonic forms. For the purpose of this thesis a concept of hegemonic or normative forms of masculinity retains a utility despite Hearn's (1996) reservations. This is because of the correspondence between cultural ideals, institutional power and corporate and entrepreneurial displays of masculinity, which have been little affected by feminism or dissenting men (Connell, 1995: 77). But, as Connell suggests, hegemonic masculinity is a "historical mobile relation" rather than a stable structure or a fixed essence, whose ebb and flow speaks to the struggle for power reflected in the men's narratives in this study.

Women's Decentred Subjectivities and the Ambiguity of 'Normative' Masculinity

Kerfoot and Knights (1993: 663) draw attention to another significant difference between the theorisation of women's and men's subjectivities, in terms of the vulnerability and anxiety which is assumed to lie at the heart of the construction of an 'intelligible' masculinity. Theorists suggest that the "drive to attain a *secure* masculinity", to be a 'real man', is a quest characterised by uncertainty and tension for men who on the surface appear "strong, authoritative and self-assured" (Collinson and Hearn, 1994: 8). The source of this uncertainty is, according to Collinson and Hearn, the "irreducible ambiguity" of the process by which *all* subjectivities are constructed and reproduced, through the dual experience of being both 'self' and 'other', both 'subject' and 'object'. In so far as men may attempt to maintain particular ways of constituting the subjectivity, such as through work, there is an attempt to *deny* this ambiguity which runs against the multiple and shifting character of the process of subjectivity formation itself.

The kinds of conflict and contradiction which characterised the women's narratives in this study are an example of the ways in which multiple subject positions lead to uncertainty in

the individual's sense of themselves and their ways of understanding their relation to the world, that is, their subjectivity. For example, the contradiction generated by women teleworking in order to 'be available' as mothers and their simultaneous restrictions on their availability to their children as entrepreneurs, suggests the heterogeneity and "irreducible *scrappiness*" of subjectivity, which is an effect of the multiplicity of discourses through which it may be constituted (Herrnstein Smith, 1988: 148, original emphasis). However, the 'project' of 'selving' may be *less* fragile for women because women's subjectivities are more *decentred,* that is, constructed through and in a variety of discourses, such as through mothering, partnering and entrepreneurism. While men's subjectivities are also constructed through a variety of discursive routes, there is a tendency in this study for them to reinforce the centrality of one particular way of constituting a coherent sense of self, that associated with work (Collinson and Hearn, 1996; Morgan, 1992).

The literature suggests that attempts to reinforce and sustain *particular* masculine subject positions may in fact serve to underscore the "very uncertainty and ambiguity they are intended to overcome" (Collinson and Hearn, 1994: 8). For example, Cockburn's classic (1983) study regarding the defence of the subject position 'craftsman' in the newspaper industry, in light of the 'threat' posed by both women workers and new technology, is suggestive of such uncertainty. That is, masculine subjectivities may be *more fragile* because they are *less decentred* and constituted primarily though work, where redundancy or technology may be experienced as a significant *threat* to the achievement of a stable and 'intelligible' masculinity (Collinson and Hearn, 1996: 65).

All of these theoretical ideas are explored below in relation to the narratives of teleworking men, most specifically the policing of the centrality of work to 'normative' masculinity and its implications for the practices which constitute 'home'. In this discussion these theoretical ideas are pursued specifically in relation to the discursive structuring of three key sites for teleworking men: those associated with the organisation, domesticity and entrepreneurship. The following analysis will offer a parallel argument to that pursued in Chapter Five, examining these three key discourses which emerged in the men's narrative material and which significantly constituted and were constitutive of the subjectivities and practices of teleworking men. Two of these discourses are orientated around paid work (those of the organisation and of entrepreneurship), and the discussion will suggest the continuities and discontinuities between these two *overlapping* sites and their impact upon the practices of businessmen at home. Additionally, the discursive construction of domesticity is explored to examine the contradictory nature of the relationship between the masculinities of the home and those of employment. The argument below will suggest that rather than operating

in a discrete or simple way, these discursive constructions and the interstices between them overlap in ways which are suggestive of their multi-textured complexity.

I. Discourses of the Organisation

A persistent theme that emerges in the narrative material in Chapter Six concerns the centrality of paid work and the role of the 'provider' to the subjectivities of the men in this study, all of whom had employment within organisations before becoming teleworkers. Morgan (1992: 79) argues that work could be said to 'give' or constitute men's subjectivities through the job itself, the occupational setting and the social relations of work, which together form the 'raw material' out of which a sense of self is crafted.

In these processes two contradictory themes emerged in the men's narratives in this study: first, the importance of work to their sense of themselves and their place in the world, and secondly, their ambivalence about their expulsion from organisational employment. John, Jim, Sam and Tom had all experienced redundancy, in all but John's case acting as a direct catalyst to the engagement in home-based self-employment. There is, therefore, an interesting tension in their narrative material between the pivotal nature of work to the 'project' of the self as teleworking men, and the vulnerability of this centring the self on work in the context of rapid changes in the security and stability of employment within the organisation. This discussion below reflects on the centrality of work to the 'project' of the masculine self, the structuring of time, office sociability and organisational process in the workplace and the experience of redundancy as a threat to masculinity.

Work and the 'Project' of Masculinity

If a multiplicity of masculinities are now present in the public arena as the discussion above suggests, then it is still the case that paid work and the 'role of provider' remain central to the constitution of intelligible masculinity for the men in this study. Collinson and Hearn (1994: 6) refer to the importance of paid work as a "central source" of masculine subjectivity, a site where masculinities are constructed, compared and evaluated in relation to personal 'success' in the workplace. In this creation of masculinities 'at work', workplaces themselves, Morgan argues, act as "crucibles" through which the male self is forged and through which it is given shape (1992: 77). Morgan (ibid: 76) contends that work is a "major basis" of "what it means to be a man", including both individual men's occupations and their general status as employed, underscoring the challenge to masculinity of the experience of redundancy and unemployment (ibid: 99-119).

Although the centrality of paid work to masculinities is clearly historically and culturally specific, this tendency is observable across diverse societies, an issue worth considering briefly in so far as it underscores the importance of employment to masculinities in societies with very different cultures and state policies. Two contrasting examples serve to make this point, namely Sweden, a country which is famous for its family-friendly employment and social policy, and Japan, a society popularly characterised by the dedication of (particularly male) workers to their organisations. In these diverse contexts two similar patterns emerge: first, the primacy of paid work to masculinity and second, the difficulty of decentering this primacy because of the 'masculine' character of organisational cultures and the self-disciplining practices of the masculine subject.

Haas (1993: 245) found in the Swedish context that 42% of fathers in contrast to 19% of mothers reported work as their main interest (n=319), and this in a country which leads the world in providing paid leave and employment protection to allow fathers to participate in child rearing. Haas (ibid: 241) found that, despite the generous provisions in Sweden of twelve months paid leave at 90% of full salary in 1991, national figures suggested that the average number of days that fathers stayed home with their baby children was less than 12% of this figure, or 43 days, compared with the women's average of 71% or 260 days. Although 85% of fathers took the ten "daddy days" available after the birth of their children when both parents remain at home, there was less prevalence of extended periods of leave or shortened hours of work by men also provided for under the law, in the latter case because of the loss of income and negative employer reactions to doing so (ibid: 254). Haas found this was particularly the case in the private sector where women constitute only one-third of the workforce; and where men felt 'work' was more important than 'home', participated in child care less and had partners who 'chose' to work part-time (ibid: 255). Haas concludes that 'ideal' workers in Sweden do not have "other imperatives of existence that impinge upon the job", and as a consequence, the 'best' workers are those (men) who centre their lives on permanent, full-time work and who are consequently rewarded with a wide range of positions, authority and material remuneration (ibid: 258). Such an account is interesting in a country where the material costs of participating in child care are largely ameliorated by generous state benefits, suggesting that it is the *organisational* and *cultural* costs of disengaging with paid work which figure significantly in men's reluctance to participate to a greater degree in caring labour.

In sharp contrast to Sweden is Japan, where the heightened orientation of men toward white- collar executive employment is mythical in proportions, including the incidence of *karoshi* or death by fatigue as a consequence of overwork. In Ishii-Kuntz's (1993: 48) work on Japanese fathers she quotes a cross-national study of Japan, the United States and

Germany (n=3,150) which found that 37.4% of Japanese children "never" interacted with their fathers during weekdays, including talking to each other and eating meals together, compared to 14.7% and 19.5% of American and German children respectively. Ishii-Kuntz suggests that masculinity in Japanese society is equated with work and men's roles as providers (ibid: 57; Kondo, 1990), where workplace cultures 'discipline' men's attempts to achieve a better integration of 'home' and 'work'. Mr Watanabe, a Japanese father with two primary-school-aged children ... talked about maintaining an image of himself as a devoted work-orientated man, or risking ostracism by male colleagues, an image which demanded both extremely long hours and the necessity of late night drinking and weekend golf with colleagues and clients. He said:

> I would probably be able to come home before (the children) go to bed at least a couple of times a week. But I'm hesitant to do it. Please don't misunderstand that I don't love my kids or anything like that. I really do. But if I don't go drinking with my colleagues after work or spend the weekend golfing I'm afraid they would tease me for being "My Home Papa" (homebody father) and see me as being less dedicated to my work (ibid: 55).

This conflict between 'home' and 'work' selves described in the Japanese context was also experienced by the men in this study as problematic, not when the 'public' world of work precluded their participation in domesticity, but rather when the 'private world' impinged upon their work within the organisation. This singularity of focus on the world of work was demonstrated in a variety of ways. For example, John Sims had accepted a position in an organisation located six hours from his home before he began teleworking, leading him to live in this city from Monday to Friday with a colleague from the organisation. During these weeks his time, his topics of conversation and indeed his life itself "narrowed" to an exclusive and exhaustive focus on work, where:

> ... there was nothing for them to go home for, so they were getting up at six, they would drive into (the organisation's headquarters) they ate all their meals at the (organisation's) café, they went home, 11-12.00 o'clock. And that was an even more restrictive narrow life (than the teleworking) (74).

This focus on, and commitment to, the organisation was maintained by Jim West even when it appeared to be against his own interests, benefiting the organisation rather than himself. Jim gave the example of becoming involved in automating organisational systems which subsequently made himself and four of the seven other workers redundant. His narrative

suggested his simultaneous enjoyment of being strategic to the organisation in this process, proud of his diverse skills, and aware that ultimately he was 'working himself out of a job':

> Well what was quite funny about it was that the machine was put in and I helped design how it would all work. Because, they really needed, they basically knew I had the computer expertise, so I was actually helping them make sure it was up and running properly and it would replace *my own job*. So when my contract ran out, the very next day they switched the machine on (14-15).

The Organisation of Time in the Organisation

The structuring of work *time* within the organisation, which is suggested in the Japanese case and in John Sims's narrative above, also serves to shore up the centrality of work to 'intelligible' masculinities. As the analysis in Chapter Five suggests, the structuring of time in organisations is often taken within workplace cultures as a critical indicator of work commitment and loyalty, where physical presence is seen as a token of the willingness of workers to prioritise work over other activities and commitments. Apter (1993: 254) comments on the ways in which time becomes a "proxy indicator of performance" where she explicitly links long working hours to masculinity, noting that there is "something tough, nearly macho about the 60-hour work weeks". Mr Watanabe explicitly acknowledges this in the excerpt above, where the lack of this 'commitment', expressed in long hours at work, risks derision as an effeminate "Home Papa". In this context men police each other to conform to these time regimes Mr Watanabe concluded that "when all my work colleagues are still working at 9 pm, how can I alone stand up and say "good night"! You just can't do that" (Ishii-Kuntz, 1993: 55).

Tom Noble was very aware of these dynamics when he returned to on-site employment after a significant period as a home-based worker. Tom was still working for himself, but shared office expenses and a receptionist with men in another small business adjacent to his own. He resisted combining the two businesses further because he did not "want to do the hours they do" (56), as these other men "worked until midnight" and tolerated a high degree of stress within their families as a result, joking with Tom saying "oh, I'm getting divorced soon" (55). Tom experienced these men's long hours as being "really difficult", especially when they criticised other men with different practices who shared their building as "not serious", "breezing in and out", "lazy" and "slack". As a means of avoiding the negative opinion of these associates, Tom's 'solution' was to bring a computer home, justifying his shorter hours on the basis that he was going home to continue working, although he also

used this time to help care for the children. He felt this solution served as a means of "getting around the *stigma* of leaving early" (81).

Tom's narrative suggests the 'performative' element of the link between time, organisational culture and masculinity, where 'appearing' to parallel other men's hours of work is prioritised, rather than productivity or profit. Additionally, Apter (1993: 35) argues that the association between long hours, organisational commitment and masculinity leads to forms of time wastage and the extension of time at work in order *to be seen* to be committed and serious, a form of 'presenteeism' or 'face time'. Although such practices may be seen as advantageous within organisations because of the ease with which extra demands may be made without overtime pay, the long term outcomes may be less positive accrding to Apter (ibid) in terms of 'burn-out' and turn-over. Conversely, for the individual, the costs of *not* conforming to certain uses of time within the organisation may be measured in the lost prestige of being a 'hard' worker, where being a 'hard' man is consonant in Aotearoa/New Zealand with the cultural stereotype of the 'kiwi bloke'. In large firms where it may be difficult to measure individual output, or in occupations which do not have a strictly measurable output, 'presenteeism' may be one means of demonstrating organisational commitment.

In this study, John Sims was very aligned with the notion of long hours at work as a "badge of honour" and as a symbol of organisational loyalty and "professionalism". He was thus critical of colleagues at Educorp who had a "time clock mentality" where they would "walk out at half-past four because they'd finished their work" (26). Although John's colleagues had *finished* their work, they should not leave so early according to his work ethic, because there were always infinite opportunities to perfect one's work, to "go over and over until it's absolutely right". Interestingly John maintained this position in an occupation where his role was to speculate on future uses and applications of technologies, such that being "absolutely right" was in all likelihood unachievable.

However, John's dedication to "working around the clock" is suggestive of the link between middle-class masculinity and the values of competition, personal ambition, duty and self discipline (Segal, 1990: 94). Heward (1996: 38) argues that these values, and the practices associated with them, are a form of masculine 'hardening' that is instituted in boys from their earliest experiences of family and school. In these processes fathers act as role models for the need for prolonged study and examination success to enable boys to enter occupations with high incomes and thus to ensure their place amongst the middle-classes. However these practices, and the use of time associated with them, have implications in terms of their institutionalisation within organisational cultures, which discipline men while

they discipline themselves. To *reduce* one's hours within the organisation is to risk jeopardising one's status and one's influence, to in effect say "I don't want to be part of this club anymore" (Andrews and Bailyn, 1993: 268). In this context teleworking may represent for men such as Tom and Sam, as well as for women, an opportunity to retreat from organisational demands which may be too high or too costly.

Rejecting the Workplace Culture and Practices of the Organisation

All of the men in this study had a considerable degree of commitment and investment in their work within organisations, but each of them were also critical of organisational employment. These critiques were notably different to those offered by the women and discussed in Chapter Five. That is, the analysis offered in Chapter Five suggested that organisational employment and domesticity represented two different, *contradictory* discursive sites, and that women teleworkers could be positioned in relation to these dominant discursive axes of the 'home' and 'workplace'. Subject to the injunction to be 'good mothers' and the injunction to be 'fit workers', the women in this study rejected the structures and practices of the organisation or, because of their extended time out of the workforce and the division of domestic labour within their homes, felt they could no longer rejoin organisational employment. Leaving or not rejoining organisational employment and taking up home-based work was a response to the difficulties some of the women experienced in managing domesticity and paid employment or of continuing to be located within organisational employment, especially when they had more than one small child to parent.

In contrast, the men's critiques of organisational employment focused not on office politics or sexuality in the workplace, but on issues of pay and the interrupted nature of work on-site. They also occurred within the general context of an *affiliation* to organisational employment rather than the ambivalence which characterised the women's stories. That is, men's critiques of organisational employment reflected the pivotal nature of work to the 'project' of the self, rather than their distance from or resistance to it. In the next section their critiques are examined in more detail in relation to the interruption of work by office sociability and the problem of employment insecurity within the organisation.

The Problems of Office Sociability

If a number of the women in this study such as Roz and Pam were concerned about the potential isolation of being based at home, and experienced a form of 'cabin fever' when they worked without leaving the house for days at a time, avoiding the sociability of the office was cited as a distinct *advantage* by some of the men. Ethan, for example, emphasised

the benefits of being able to maintain one's exclusive work focus when teleworking as opposed to the collegiality required of him during his two days on-site. The emphasis within his workplace on attending morning and afternoon tea parallelled the informal but nevertheless required expectation of late night drinking and weekend golf present in the Japanese context (Ishii-Kuntz, 1993). Ethan saw avoiding the sociability and time consumed by these breaks with colleagues as the key "advantage" of working at home, where he preferred to drink coffee at his computer, or to have coffee "delivered" to him by Kim (213).

Ethan similarly tended to come into the organisation after hours in order to check his E-mail so that he could read it and "get out again" without engaging in social "waffle". The literature regarding telework suggests both a concern with the isolation of the home workplace (Haddon and Lewis, 1994: 197), especially for young workers and women with children, while other teleworkers clearly enjoy this isolation, in the sense that it allows an uninterrupted focus and allows them to avoid unpalatable workplace interactions (ibid: 196). For some of the men in this study the avoidance of office sociability in turn reinforced the link between a singular focus on work and an instrumental attitude toward workplace relations outside of this focus.

The Rigidity of Organisational Processes

A second and related element of employment within organisations that the men in this study were critical of was the rigidities of organisational and management practices, but not because of the way that they inhibited the bridging of the 'public' and 'private' spheres which emerged as a concern in the women's stories. For example, Sam Garden gave the example of being a production manager in a manufacturing enterprise where he suggested some innovations to increase the efficiency of one of the factory's processes. Sam described being "taken out the back" by the foreman and being told "in 1960 we developed this system, this is how we do it and don't go fucking with our system, we're not going to change" (2). This experience was indicative for Sam of the lack of innovation and flexibility within some organisations, most specifically, "having to deal with arseholes, or arseholes having power" (2). Sam described some organisations he had worked for as "the most archaic, restrictive and unimaginative places I can think of ... I didn't like their rules-based system, the time clock, the back-stabbing". In this sense Sam demonstrated a "hippy-like hostility" to large bureaucractic organisations (Huws, 1991: 22) where teleworking for him offered the possibility of escaping the "oppressiveness of the dominant work model" (Mitter, 1986: 106).

Sam's experience was atypical within this study because all of the other men found being forced out of the organisation, rather their continued location within it, problematic. However Sam's story is suggestive of some as yet unexplored motivations to setting up home-based business for men whose working lives have not conformed to traditional patterns. Sam's work history included short term work and redundancy, which reflected the qualifications with which he first entered the labour market, his experience of particular workplaces and his personal experience of psychological stress, which made conventional employment difficult to secure and retain. Home-based work in this case was an innovative response to an inability to *fit into* some work cultures within organisations, as Sam's testimony above suggests. It was also a reflection of Sam seeking out home as a 'sanctuary' and the flexibility of home-based time in order to pursue counselling or rest as needed, rather than conform to more rigid time regimes within an organisation.

Despite the atypical nature of Sam's experience, the rigidity of organisational practices were also an issue in a different way for John Sims in terms of the lack of flexibility afforded to workers who wanted to work from home. John confronted this issue in his strenuous attempts to convince the organisation to allow him to work from home, rather than continue to live apart from his family during the working week encountered considerable resistance from his line manager according to Julia:

> (There) really was a boss problem up there. Joe could not accept teleworking, he wouldn't communicate, he could not accept that the job could be done from home, he liked, he obviously liked to see his staff in the office next door, and this was, and it was the early days (1987) and John was right into it from the very beginning and Joe couldn't accept this.

Bray's (1994: 18) research on the adoption of telework in the public sector in Aotearoa/New Zealand identifies the major constraint to its wider implementation as the belief that "face-to-face relations are still required for efficient functioning", irrespective of the character of the work engaged in. Bray found that employee performance was still critically equated with punctuality, sociability and appearance, as well as productivity. Such equations work against the acceptance of telework in New Zealand workplaces, where Isaac argues that "telework is going nowhere" because it "runs in the teeth of New Zealand management practice, which is cast iron hierarchical" (1992, cited in ibid).

Employment Insecurity in the Organisation

Another area of organisational employment that the men in this study found problematic was the lack of employment security they experienced within the organisation, where organisational contracts of employment were experienced as unstable and/or short term. This experience of redundancy, which was a characteristic of all but Ethan's experiences prior to their engagement in telework, in turn curls back to the questions of subjectivity discussed above and the theorisation of the centrality of work to men's subjectivities. If, as Smith (1973: 11) observed, the corporation requires a man to "subject himself and his private interests to the goals and objectives, the daily practices and the 'ethic' of the corporation", then this singularity of focus underscores the threatening nature of employment termination for men. Although the organisation may be experienced as problematic in a variety of ways, being ejected from it was often more threatening still for the men in this study, both in terms of the loss income and in terms of maintaining an 'intelligible' masculine self. John Sims, for example, preferred to take the risk of being on contract and diversifying his employment between clients because of the general tendency toward insecure employment in the entertainment sector, where the organisation was unlikely to offer him permanent work in the future.

Jim West was similarly aware of the employment insecurity that characterised the television industry: presenters were often in a vulnerable position if ratings went down "because they're the ones that get the boot, whereas if ratings go up all the management pat themselves on the back" (44). Jim became aware that he would never be able to have secure, lucrative work in the industry, when such work was limited to a privileged elite who had become "legends". In response to this vulnerability Jim saved money while he was employed because "there is going to be a time, well many times, that you're going to be out of work" (45). It was the experience of finally finding full-time work as a presenter and then being made redundant which finally gave Jim the impetus to pursue his own business, as he accepted the inevitable insecurity of organisational employment in his chosen occupation. For Jim, the vulnerability of 'going out on your own' was little more of a risk than the instability of work within the organisation.

The men in this study found the experience of redundancy from the organisation highly problematic as those with imputed responsibility to support their families and themselves (John, Sam, Tom) and as men with a strong identification with their work (Jim, John, Tom). Furthermore, if work within the organisation demands a mentality of single-minded advancement where men are encouraged to believe that they can only succeed if they devote themselves without question to career and advancement at the cost of home and self

(Thompson, 1992: 282), then the experience of loss of employment is additionally traumatic to the 'project' of masculinity.

Morgan (1992: 78) suggests that while occupation and employment are major sources of a masculinity, this experience is contradictory. That is, men both rely on work at a material and symbolic level, and yet may experience the lack of security in employment as a source of personal trauma and failure. Morgan argues that unemployment may be a "paradigmatic example of masculinity under challenge", involving not only a loss of earnings, but a loss of the 'breadwinning' role and a sense of personal significance and importance (ibid: 100). Morgan warns that this assertion should not be read as underestimating the effect of redundancy on women, but rather that the entwinement of working, breadwinning and masculinity suggests that the termination of employment is particularly problematic for men. Where women are not primary 'breadwinners', and where they are also engaged in caring work, the more decentred character of their subjectivities may mean that there is more possibility for redundancy being seen as an opportunity. For example, in the study Jill saw her redundancy as an opportunity to reorganise the balance of caring and paid labour in her household, rather than primarily or necessarily as a devastating loss of her central affiliation and source of identification. Morgan (ibid: 79) concludes that the relationship between employment and masculinity is thus a complex one, where "what may provide the basis of selfhood in one sense may undermine it in another", and where women may be better able to respond to this rupture of subjectivity and practice represented by redundancy.

Summary: The 'Choice' to Leave the Organisation?

In contrast to the women in this study, the teleworking men discussed above were not located between the discursive construction of the 'good employee" and the 'good father/husband' where the 'choice' to leave or to not re-enter the organisation could be understood as a reflection of their struggles with these simultaneous injunctions and the demands they placed upon them. Rather, the men's practices and narratives of the organisation largely suggest their *alignment* with the discourses of the organisation and of the injunction to be a 'good' worker, and the ways in which they participated and colluded with the notion of work as the central 'project' of the masculine self. While redundancy for Jill East-land was problematic, it was the spectre of resumed hostilities with male managers that precipitated her move into home-based work. In contrast for the men, the experience of redundancy, the expectations on them as breadwinners, in combination with the likely persistence of employment insecurity in their chosen occupations, was what propelled them into home-based work. Self-employment was only marginally more risky than continued work within the organisation and in some ways appeared to offer more 'control' than the

traumatic experience of being 'let go' by the organisation. The experience of the men suggests that telework may be both an expedient 'choice' *and* an attempt to craft a working life where the organisation is no longer in a position to terminate one's employment. If 'being in control' is a key element of the construction of hegemonic masculinity (Kerfoot and Knights, 1996: 85), as the above discussions of 'controlling' the separation of the 'private' from the 'public' in terms of organisational time suggests, then teleworking may offer men more 'control' of their own destinies, in a context of employment insecurity.

'Control' for the women in this study in contrast was most often associated with controlling the interruption of the business by domesticity or controlling the 'balance' of paid and unpaid work. Controlling employment in the event of redundancy was less central to the women because of their partners' employment, their lesser role in breadwinning and their responsibilities to domesticity. Similarly, Haddon and Lewis (1994: 213) draw attention to the ways in which 'autonomy' for teleworkers connoted controlling 'free time' for men, while for women it offered an opportunity to 'manage' the duality of 'work' and 'home' responsibilities more easily.

Interestingly, the men's quest for control through self-employment also raises the spectre of *lack* of control in terms of fluctuating incomes, the bevity of contracts and the lack of boundaries in time and space. This desire for 'control' is worked against by the very character of home-based work and self-employment, where the quest for security and self-determination represented by teleworking are undercut by the nature of the alternative work pursued. These issues of employment insecurity, 'control', and the lack of temporal and spatial boundaries between 'home' and work', are issues which will be taken up again in the final section of this chapter regarding entrepreneurship.

Like the women in this study, the 'choice' to establish a business at home rather than pursue further employment within organisation is 'available' in the "pattern of possibility" for these educated, Pakeha (Anglo), professional men and held up as an ideal in the popular media for many more (eg Frontline, 1992; Henderson, 1997). However, leaving organisational employment is not just a 'personal' choice' but rather part of a wider cultural narrative of 'home' and 'work', albeit a story which is told differently by women and men. That is, women focus on the untenable nature of continued organisational employment as mothers, or the impossibility of organisational employment given their responsibilities to their children and households. For the men their stories of why they left organisational employment echo the economic narrative of declining employment security, restricted job opportunities and the quest for an intelligible masculinity, where unemployment represents a significant threat not only to incomes, but to their sense of self as men and as breadwinners. In the midst of

these different "constituting relations", and the discursive injunction to primarily be a "good worker" (where being a good worker was conflated with being a good 'provider'), the 'space' for teleworking to represent an opportunity for a new crafting of the relationship between 'home' and 'work' for the men was significantly reduced. As the following section will suggest, working from home may not significantly alter men's primary orientation to their work in terms of both their practices and their self, and indeed may shore up the centrality of work to the constitution of subjectivity as the temporal and spatial 'brakes' on this singular focus are removed.

II. Discourses of Domesticity and Fathering

The previous section focused on the ways in which the demands of the organisation, in combination with men's investment in work, militates against their participation in domesticity. This section examines in detail how and why such participation does not increase, and may indeed *reduce,* when men take up home-based employment. This different organisation of domesticity for teleworking men compared to their female peers suggests the significance of gendered subjectivity to the practices which constitute home-based entrepreneurship. This discussion will canvas men's lack of participation in domesticity, women's 'servicing' of men at home and men's withdrawal from participation in child care. It will conclude by critically reflecting on these practices in relation to Tom Noble's case, as a teleworking man who *was* involved in parenting, to explore the continuities and discontinuities between his account and those of the other men.

Men's Lack of Participation in Domesticity

The other side of women's identification with domesticity and the contribution it makes to female gendered subjectivity, pivots off and against men's *lack* of participation. Irrespective of the women's alignment in this study with their responsibilities as mothers and wives vis-à-vis their identification as 'career women', all of them managed 'their' domestic labour in a way that the teleworking men did not. That is, domesticity was a major means of consituting subjectivity and practice for the women teleworkers in a way it was not for the men.

As Chapter Five suggested, a major theme in feminist accounts of the 'management' of domesticity and paid employment for heterosexually partnered women focuses on the issue of men's lack of participation in domestic labour, where men have been less than eager to share the responsibilities and rewards of parenting and housework while women have taken on the greater participation in paid work (Apter, 1993; Hochschild, 1989; Stacey, 1991; Van Every, 1995). If the question that shapes this thesis concerns the management of competing

subjectivities and practices of women and men as paid workers, parents and partners in the home, the degree to which women and men experience this combination as *problematic* would appear to be significantly mediated by gender (Huws, 1990: 104; Phizacklea & Wolkowitz, 1995: 81; Salmi, 1997: 141).

Furthermore, Hochschild (ibid: 24-29) argues that if women have been drawn into paid employment and have less time for domesticity, if the work of raising children and caring for the house have remained relatively constant, and if men have resisted being drawn into domestic labour, then questions of "who does what at home and what 'needs doing'" become critical. However, for teleworking *men* the location of their business at home generally did not raise the dilemma of juggling 'work' and 'family', although it *could* do, as Tom Noble's example suggests. Rather, working from home was more likely for the men to be constituted as an experience of conducting work in an arena where they were *freer* to pursue their businesses without the burdens of office sociability and the strictures of office space and time. Additionally, such men may receive support services from partners, both because women partners pick up domestic and caring labour in order to release the men to pursue their entrepreneurial activity at 'unsocial' times, and also because of partners' more direct domestic servicing of men and in some cases, unpaid contributions to the functioning of their businesses.

The electronic cottage thus fails to deliver Toffler's (1980) promise that as men relocate to the home, so they will become integrated into domestic routines facilitating more egalitarian gender and familial relations. Rather, the men's testimonies in this research suggest the way 'flexible' work time and space may create a more *rigid* sexual division of labour, contra Young and Willmott's (1973: 272) belief that these conditions facilitate a greater symmetry in the division of labour and family life between couples. The material in this study is suggestive of the ways in which the men's businesses may 'take over' not only homes and families but the men themselves, in terms of the centrality of work to their subjectivities, their fixation with technology, their long hours of work, their need to expand their businesses or their earnings. Rather than 'home' and 'work' representing different 'territories of the self', the masculinities of the home may come to "complement", albeit in contradictory ways, the masculinities of employment (Collinson and Hearn, 1996: 67). Men's location in the home may not *decentre* their experience of the 'working self', where fathering, partnering or participating in the household have little opportunity to become more important. The men's narratives in this research suggest the lack of a spatial and temporal 'brake' on working at home, which may allow the work to take over the household and come to dominate the self and family life.

If, as Stacey (1996: 8) suggests, writers such as Toffler portray the Western family as steadily progressing toward a "more democratic and progressive form", then the testimonies of teleworking men in this study rupture this optimistic and self-congratulatory logic. The men and their families in this study struggle with mixed success to navigate new family, gender and work conditions within the context of postindustrial dislocations of work, such as redundancy and employment insecurity. In this context there may be a nostalgia for the "modern family", that is, the male breadwinner with a dependent housewife and children; the rigid separation of 'public' and 'private'; the tendency to stay married; the tendency for men to earn relatively lucrative wages; and the tendency for men to spend more time with their children (ibid: 36). Such fathers, Stacey argues, "stayed around": the men of the 'modern' family that typified the 1950s were the most domesticated generation of fathers America had ever known (ibid: 36). Teleworking fathers, while seeming to return to aspects of the 'modern' fathering in terms of being physically proximate to their families, may not "stay around" and indeed may be *less available* simply because their work can occur at any time of the day or night. In this context, any performance of domestic or caring labour appears to be an *alternative* to working (Finch, 1983: 28), where there is no space and time *after* or *before* work, only a fluid temporal and spatial boundary and a compelling economic logic and subjective injunction to keep working.

Men 'Managing' Domesticity

In Chapter Five an argument was pursued which suggested that women who ran businesses from home are 'caught' by or entangled with the discourse of domesticity and saw these responsibilities as theirs. If male partners were openly resistant or selective in their contributions to domestic labour, then the women used other means to manage 'home' and 'work', organised around the notion of "cutting back" with the housework, the children, the relationship and themselves, in order to juggle these competing responsibilities (Hochschild, 1989: 196-7). Hochschild (1989: 200) suggests that the men in her study used many of the same strategies as the women in order to manage the 'second shift' of caring and domestic labour, but that their 'cutting back' strategies differed in one important respect. The men felt judged not by how much they participated at home, but by their capacity to "support their families and to earn status at work", where the 'second shift' did not fall to them by tradition or cultural expectation and where they received little credit for helping at home (ibid). In Hochschild's study, where 40% of the women and 75% of the men did *not* believe in sharing the 'second shift' (ibid: 153), most men justified their lack of sharing on the basis that their careers were too demanding, their job too stressful, or if these reasons did not apply, that they weren't "brought up" to do housework (ibid: 201).

This study does and does not parallel Hochschild's (1989) findings. The material in this research parallels Hochschild's in the sense that all of the men, including Tom, felt that their priority, and an important source of their sense of self, came from their work and from 'providing' for their families. Yet this study is different to Hochschild's in the sense that Sam and Tom felt that men *should* share domesticity in principle, while all but Tom were resistant in practice. Additionally, contra Hochschild, Tom received a good deal of praise for his contributions to domesticity, and women partners in this study were more likely to be openly (and even frequently in Julia and Sara's cases) dissatisfied with their partner's contributions.

Additionally, the men in this study (with the exception of Tom) prided themselves on how productive they were at home, how uninterrupted they managed to be and the long and 'unsocial' hours they managed to work, premised on the off-loading of domestic responsibilities on to their female partners. In this sense this research parallels Salmi's (1997) study of Finnish homeworkers (n=195) where men 'choose' to work from home because it was experienced as a work site without interruptions, offering opportunities for working "in peace", in a sample dominated by younger men with small children.

Men's ability to work 'flexibly' critically relies on women's time and labour to facilitate this flexibility, a form of professionalism which Connell (1987: 181) suggests requires "for its highest specialist development the complete freedom from child care and domestic work provided by having wives and maids to do it". The particular configuration of 'home' and 'work' space and time that teleworking represents makes Hochschild's (1989: 125) observation that men expect to "receive at home and give at work" particularly relevant in terms of women's 'servicing' of home-based partners. In terms of teleworking, *what women give* is both domestic and caring labour *and* (in some cases) unpaid contributions to the business, and men's location in the home *broadens* the range and temporal breadth of the sphere of women's giving.

In the discussion below the practices of childcare and housework are explored as a means of pursuing Hearn's (1996: 208) argument that the examination of the discursive meanings of masculinities must not neglect the fundamental question of the relationship between masculinities and what men *do,* their "material practices". This position is also suggested in Phillips's (1996) analysis of the disjuncture between the values of equality in the 'public' sphere and the practices of violence in the 'private'. In this study the attention to *practices* in relation to teleworking men is particularly significant with regard to the non-reciprocated exchanges between the men and their partners in terms of domestic labour and ancillary

support services for businesses, in addition to the strategies of 'cutting back' on the relationship and themselves to which this discussion will now turn.

'Servicing' Teleworking Men

While women's integration into their partners' businesses will be discussed in the Section Three of this chapter in relation to Sara and Ann, all the women partners were engaged in practices of 'servicing' the male partners while they worked at home. The direct 'servicing' of men in terms of domestic and caring labour by women is also suggested in Bittman and the Australian Bureau of Statistics's work in terms of their analysis of how Australians use time (Office of the Status of Women/Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1991). They found that when women marry and *before* they have children, they increase their unpaid work by almost 60%, while men's domestic labour decreases by 25% (ibid: 15). I would note that the authors do not remark upon this increased labour women provide exclusively *for men*, in their analysis. In the present study the women's 'servicing' of male partners was an important element of household domestic labour. The provision of food and drinks during the working day was especially strategic, in that it facilitated the men continuing to work without taking breaks away from the home-office. Ann Gray, for example, went "out of (her) way" to make Jim "biscuits and cake and take the stuff out to him and things that will save him time", and was aware that this accessible food was significant to Jim because he sometimes got so "engrossed" that he didn't eat, which he felt was "to the detriment of (his) health" (64). Ann's 'servicing' enabled Jim to focus on his work with the intensity with which he did, in addition to the off-loading of other elements of domestic labour. Ann's role in this regard had increased significantly over time, including washing the linen and making Jim's bed and cleaning the home-office, following an offer she had once made, "and from then on he's never done it" (69). Ann had also come to 'own' tasks that Jim had done "independently" such as washing dishes and cooking, and was aware that although Jim had once looked after himself, "now I do it and I'm stuck with it" (70).

Like Ann, Julia Sims was aware that she had come to "own" domestic tasks culturally marked as 'masculine' that John would previously have performed, like outdoor work, maintenance and finances. Julia felt she was picking up a greater range of 'new' tasks such as home maintenance as John did not have a weekend "ever" to reglaze a window or perform other outdoor work. Julia had responded by approaching Educorp, one of John's clients, for a student to come and help, and felt that John's pleasure at her "having in" these students was "possibly a guilt thing, that maybe he can't come out and spend the time" (58). As if to compensate for her *own* guilt, Julia added that John did do the lawns, that she "won't do the lawns" (58), and then further corrected this account by noting that "I do the

lawns if I *have* to, but he cuts the jasmine. He wouldn't know how to use the washing machine" (58). Julia was thus caught in the classic dilemma discussed in the domestic labour literature (Wearing, 1996: 22-24; Habgood, 1992: 168-9) where the "housework has to be done, but I don't like doing it and I don't like seeing it not done" (90).

A further implication of John's work focus was the way in which the world of 'non-work', the unpaid, supposedly unskilled work of the home, was devalued, an issue Julia found painful in her attempts to 'do' gender through 'doing home' (Bowlby et al, 1997: 346). Julia was aware that this devaluation of domesticity reflected John's singularity of focus on his work, where John both declined to participate in domesticity and failed to notice things she had done to the house. In this regard Julia felt that John saw her domestic and caring work as "unimportant" compared to the world of paid work, and that in this regard there was an alliance between John and their daughter Kris's study habits:

> I sometimes wonder whether John and Kris actually notice what I do around the house ... the little things like that simply don't matter ... they focus on their work and they genuinely don't see things that I've done ... it's just not important, it's just not an important issue (94).

If Julia was 'doing gender' by 'doing domesticity', then John 'did' masculinity by resisting participation in domesticity and diminishing its importance as a support for his working life. That is, by *not* doing household chores or being involved with the children's care, the men in this study (with the exception of Tom) reaffirmed their gendered relationship to work and to the world (Coltrane, 1996: 50). Women's 'owning' of domestic tasks, their higher levels of competence at household activities, their higher standards, and gendered expectations within relationships and the wider society, left them shouldering a disproportionate burden for domesticity.

Men's Lack of Participation in Child Care

If domesticity in the form of housework tended to be organised around non-reciprocated exchanges between women and men, then similarly the teleworking men in this study (again with the exception of Tom) 'passed the buck' of child care to their partners. Jim, Ethan and Sam all had primary-school-aged children in addition to baby Theo Garden, and John left Julia to manage the exigencies of their teenage daughter's life. If, as Apter (1993: 106) argues, what children "need" is far more in the 1990s than it was fifty years ago, contemporary parents meet these increasing needs with increasingly fewer resources. Apter is particularly concerned with the demands paid work places on fathers, where men are more

likely to be work orientated and "see less of their children than their fathers saw of them": she estimates that children have lost ten to twelve hours of parental time per week since 1960 (ibid: 111). In part this 'famine in family time' (ibid) reflects the discursive construction of the 'fit' worker who is not expected to allow parental commitments to interfere with his commitment to his work, and where it is anticipated that he will follow the same employment pattern whether or not he has children, that is, continuous, full-time employment in tandem with a readiness to work irregular or overtime hours at short notice (Brannen and Moss, 1987: 43). Cohen (1993: 16) extends this analysis in his observation that the "dominant influence" over fathers' involvement with their children is their work schedules, in addition to their commitment to fathering and their partners' requests for 'downtime' (ibid: 15).

Like housework, many especially middle-class men think they *should* share the care of their children with their partners, while in practice, most do not (ibid: 44). An indication that some men would like to be more involved with their children, but feel they cannot because of the rigidities of their work schedules is suggested by an American survey (1989, cited in Stacey, 1991: 302) where 56% of men polled said they would forfeit 25% of their salaries to have more family and personal time, and 45% said they would "probably" decline a promotion that involved sacrificing time with their families. Parcel and Menaghan's (1994) work on the effect of parents' jobs on children's lives similarly recommends that fathers consider forfeiting income rather than increase hours and cutting time spent with children. A typical response to this need for time with especially pre-school children is to have *mothers* stay at home, a preference indicated by 40% of the male university students interviewed in Willinger's (1993: 120) study (n=1,120), where less than 1% of the men felt fathers should stay home with their children (ibid: 117)

In this study, being with the children was neither a motivation or an advantage of teleworking for John, Jim and Ethan, and the latter two discussed children only in terms of interrupting work or needing to be kept out of the home-office. Ethan did allow his son short play periods on the computer once or twice a week, although if he was "involved" in his work he "just kept going". He did not spend more time with his son when he was working at home compared to when he worked on-site two days a week and he tended to do more night work when he was based at home. The only significance of Ethan's home-based work to the family's child care was that he felt it helped his partner have more 'down time' to "disappear without Ned". Rather than Ethan "actually being physically fully occupied" with him (245) on those occasions, Ethan's management of this task was indicative of the primary focus he maintained to his work. Typically Ethan would 'look after' Ned by continuing to work in his upstairs home-office with the door open, while

listening for Ned's movements downstairs. Ethan maintained that "if there is any problem he will come and find me" (245). Kim's view of this strategy was that it reflected Ethan's preference for Ned to be somewhere else when he was working. When I indicated that Ethan felt he could be "quite alert to what's happening to Ned", arguing that he could "tune in and tune out, keeping an ear out", Kim replied "I guess so, although he'd prefer not to be able to, he'd prefer to be cut off completely I think, he feels responsible when he's working at home but he'd prefer him to be somewhere else" (20). Kim's sense of Ethan disliking feeling "responsible" for Ned when he 'should' have been working connects to Hochschild's (1989: 113) observation that men avoid the "emotional and social work" of domesticity because of the "clockwork of male-dominated careers". This clockwork includes long hours of work, the importance of work to self-esteem, the 'urgency system' of work and the clear division of 'public' and 'private' life.

In terms of the latter point, controlling the boundary between the 'public' and 'private' plagued teleworking men in this study, particularly in their concern that their 'professionalism' and 'seriousness' was threatened by working in the presence of their children at home. In so far as the men in this study could *not* separate the 'public' from the 'private' in their entrepreneurial endeavours, then children and the 'private' more generally was experienced as highly problematic. For example, Sam's desire to control the boundary between 'public' and 'private' was demonstrated in relation to both working in the presence of the noise of his two-year-old son and the physical confinement to the home-office, which together drove him "bloody nuts". Tom Noble similarly commented that while he did not try to hide the fact that he was caring for Kaz, he "wouldn't go out of his way to make sure Kaz was making a noise" when he was on the phone to a client because of the *"stigma"* of working at home. Coltrane (1996: 3) observed the "steep price" some men pay when they are seen to be committed to caring for their children, in terms of experiencing downward mobility within organisational hierarchies and being evaluated as "less serious". Tom, aware of such associations, thought it was "fine" if clients thought that he was "someplace downtown" and was interested when I told him about a audiotape of 'office noise' that could be purchased from the United States, noting that he "probably would have bought one if I'd known that or get a muzzle for Kaz" (384).

'Cutting Back' on the Relationship

In addition to 'passing the buck' of child care, Hochschild (1989: 197) suggests that 'cutting back' on relationships with partners was a strategy that the women in her study used to manage the 'home' and the 'work', especially after the birth of the first child. In this study with teleworking parents the men also 'cut back' in their relationships with women partners,

but Hochschild's scenario is both reversed and experienced differently. This difference is in part explained by Backett's (1987: 135) observation that from a women's point of view, the viability of relationships is not dependent upon how much men 'help' with domesticity, so much as the emotional and affective ties between the couple. Women get "seriously fed up" with their partners, Backett argues, when men no longer make them "feel good", such as when communication, affection and emotional support are lacking and where women feel their emotional needs are not met within the relationship (ibid). Studies of troubled marriages suggest that women regard communication and affection as of paramount importance in the fulfilment of the emotional 'contract' of relationships, and more readily complain when these needs are not met rather than others (ibid). Collinson and Hearn (1994: 18) make an explicit connection between entrepreneurship and relationship breakdown when they argue that the costs and pressures of entrepreneurship can contribute to divorce, in a context where the importance of romantic love, companionship and personal fulfilment have become much more central to the definition of an adequate marriage.

The relevance of these insights to this research with teleworking men, is that women partners experienced the time-saving strategy of 'cutting back' on the relationship by entrepreneurial partners as particularly difficult. This 'relational' unavailability was especially poignant because the men were physically proximate, but emotionally distant. Women partners complained about the men's preoccupation with their work in time they spent together, the lack of variety in their topics of conversation because of the singularity of this focus, and their lack of time and interest in pursuing leisure activities together as a couple because it diminished opportunities to work. In the most extreme cases of a 'heightened orientation' to the work, represented in this study by John and Jim, Julia and Ann both felt that their relationships were seriously compromised by their partners' focus on their work; Julia especially felt that she and John led "separate lives".

In Ann's case a more complex picture emerged, where she complained about the paucity of time to talk in the relationship or to engage in leisure activities together, and yet spent a good deal of time in Jim's company and was highly integrated into his work. Ann thus 'did' intimacy at the same time as she 'did' work for Jim's business, where the two prerogatives were inextricably entwined. For example, one of the things Ann *required* Jim to do in terms of her continuing participation in the business was to compliment her work:

> If he doesn't say "oh Ann, you did really good today" or comment on something I did, then I say "well I feel used", I do, I tell him. Because he has to say I'm doing well, he has to praise my work, if not then that's it. I feel horrible. He's learnt now

that he has to, if he doesn't I tell him he has to else I'm not going out the next day to work (35).

When I asked if Ann felt that Jim only said this because he wanted her to continue to contribute her time to the business on an unpaid basis, she replied emphatically "no, no, because he means it, he means it, he means it" (35). Although Jim was actively directed to compliment Ann with threats of the withdrawal of her labour if he did not, she was satisfied with his performance of this 'emotional labour' and the authenticity of his praise.

This meeting of Ann's needs for communication and affirmation were in contrast to other situations where their needs were clearly mismatched. For example, sometimes Jim would invite Ann out to the home-office to spend time watching television while he worked, but "he just sits and types and you can't even talk, he just says 'no don't talk I'm really busy' so then you just sit there in silence" (88). This experience of men allowing their partners to be present while they worked as a *proxy* form of intimacy was also part of Kim Reid's experience where she was 'allowed' at night be physically closer to Ethan while he worked, but not actively engaged with him. Because the home-office was too small for them to both occupy it comfortably at once, she would bring the iron or the television up into a room which connected to the home-office, busying herself with these activities which allowed her to "be around" Ethan without disturbing his work.

If romantic love, companionship and personal fulfilment have become much more central to the definition of an adequate marriage, then these qualities are also more difficult to fulfil successfully than traditional expectations of partners on one another as breadwinners and housewives (McPherson, 1995: 24). Lasch (1977: 1) makes a further connection between family as the "last refuge of love" and the world of work which is increasingly "savage and warlike", where meeting these emotional needs in the 'private' realm may be increasing complex. This analysis in turn curls back to the issue of hegemonic masculinity, and men's inability to communicate emotion for fear of appearing 'weak' (Phillips, 1996: 289). The psychological costs of the dominant construction of masculinity in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Phillips argues, are aligned with the costs of displays of male bravado that lead men to constitute 70% of all those who die in traffic accidents, and where the excessive use of alcohol and its association with liver and heart disease in part accounts for a male life expectancy six years less than women's (1996: 289). These physical and psychological injuries intersect with questions of subjectivity and affiliations with work, where Phillips (ibid: 282) observes that men have historically been encouraged to take up only the most "utilitarian" of intellectual pursuits in this country, of which computing is perhaps the epitome of the abstract, masculine rationality of the postmodern epoch. Some of the material

in this study suggests that men who work at home on their computers are constituting themselves as the new 'man alone' associated with the unmarried colonial man who focused all his energy on clearing his back-blocks station (James and Saville-Smith, 1994: 36-38). Rather than the archetypal 'he-man' taming the bush of the colonial past, the contemporary 'man alone' of entrepreneurial masculinity slogs it out alone with his machine, in the context of a relative lack of connection to his partner.

'Cutting Back' on Themselves

A final means of managing 'work' and 'home' that Hochschild (1989: 197) identified in her study was that of 'cutting back' on oneself, including such things as leisure, sleep and time to 'refresh and renew' oneself as an individual. In terms of the discussion of teleworking women, there was both a resistance to activities such as leisure as being 'unproductive', and also a 'leisure gap' between the teleworking women and their partners. While all of the male partners had leisure pursuits they participated in on a weekly basis, such as fishing and golf, the teleworking women did not.

In the discussion of teleworking *men* the pattern is more complex, where some men resisted leisure while others took it, but maintained their productivity was the same. The literature suggests that despite these complexities there is a clear gender difference with regard to leisure for teleworkers, where leisure was predominantly cited by teleworking men and family responsibilities by women as the use for 'flexible' non-work time (Olson and Primps, 1984: 104; Haddon and Lewis, 1994: 213). Ethan Reid used the 'flexibility' of teleworking time to watch daytime TV, and he would often "have a lunch and then a movie", but maintained that despite this break of several hours he "still got more hours of work in, during the day" than when he was on-site (86). In Sam Garden's case, his assertion that he *needed* leisure was also framed according to the logic of work. If he had worked late he needed to relax; if he was working on something complex he needed to "work through" it over golf and would ask the family not to disturb him while he did so. Conversely, Tom Noble traded off leisure activities against work, where he would care for the baby while watching televising during the day and then work when the baby was asleep at night. When I questioned Tom about this practice he was quick to point out that he enjoyed appropriately 'masculine' viewing, such as the news coverage of the Gulf War. He emphasised that he "never got into the soaps", with all that such daytime TV evokes in terms of contemptible elements of a domestic femininity unengaged with meaningful work.

For the two most work-orientated men in the study (John and Jim), 'cutting back' on themselves was a more thoroughgoing attempt to clear time in order to continue to focus

on the business. John's narrative was littered with examples of this, and Julia reflected several times on the *rhetoric* of flexibility and the *reality* of overwork:

> there has to be time for renewal of your own personal energy and you've got to have at least one hour off a week ... and preferably a bit longer, so that sure, you can do a 10 hour day, sometimes a twelve hour day, but other days there has to be time to and just do nothing for a change. Because I sort of make the time for myself, but he doesn't ... you can be flexible, you can work to suit your work day, but it doesn't quite happen that way (106).

What is interesting in this excerpt is how little time Julia recommends for process of 'renewal', that is, one hour a week, and how even this very small amount of time was something that John was unable to achieve. In this regard John's case parallels the teleworking man in Andrews and Bailyn's (1993: 270) research who recorded that he spent "zero" hours per month in non-work-related activities outside his home and who had significantly changed his use of time in order to 'fit' his *own* business. The very small amounts of time that Jim West also allowed himself away from his work, epitomised by sitting on the swing outside the home-office and enjoying the sun for a few moments, is indicative of the paucity of leisure time experienced by himself and John. But missing out on leisure was only one of the means by which these two men 'cut back' on themselves, in addition to regularly cutting back on sleep and the tendency to avoid taking holidays. The fatigue, illness and emotional exhaustion that Hochschild (1989: 189) observed that were present as concerns for women in this study, were similarly significant for John and Jim. However their practices of 'cutting back' were not linked to juggling 'home' and 'work', but rather *disciplining* themselves to work against the restraints of their bodies' needs for sleep and relaxation: to achieve what John referred to as the status of the 'ideal' worker.

Tom's 'Role Reversal'[2] and 'Complicit' Masculinity

In the above discussion of the centrality of work to masculine constructions of self, the primacy of business to the allocation of time and the avoidance of domesticity, Tom Noble's narrative stands somewhat apart from the stories of the other men, especially during the two year period during which he took up the primary care giving role for his baby son. In this sense Tom's story is a significant one in this thesis, acting as a 'brake' on the tendency to homogenise the experience of teleworking men into a vision of the headlong pursuit of work

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I use this term in inverted commas throughout the thesis to suggest my ambivalence about it, in terms of the dichotomous gendered 'roles' it suggests in relation to parenting.

and profit. Without the inclusion of Tom's case in this study, the possibility that home-based work might offer *any* opportunity for a renegotiation of masculinity would seem to be not only closed down, but seemingly foreclosed by the lack of temporal and spatial boundaries between 'home' and 'work'.

While I went out of my way to find a man who was pursuing parenting in combination with a home-based business, Tom's narrative does not represent a complete disjuncture from the stories of the other men. He was not, in other words, a 'feminist prince' while they remained untransformed patriarchal 'toads', because he cared for his son, not because he thought it was fair, but because it was economic and expedient to do so. Interesting also was the tendency for Sam's narrative to echo elements of Tom's, in that there was a degree of dynamism present in the Garden household that similarly suggested a renegotiation of the caring and domestic vis-à-vis income-generating work. While also not a 'feminist prince', Sam acknowledged the inequality of the Gardens' previous division of domestic labour, even if he continued to 'win' in terms of the balance of the responsibility.

Tom does not emerge in this study as a hero who charges in to show up the other men as lacking, but rather as a man positioned in a contradictory way between domesticity and entrepreneurship. Although he was *more* involved in the physical care of his children than Sam was, he was also in serious pursuit of the development of his business and resistant to further 'role reversals'. The discussion in Section One of this chapter of Tom's rejection of the 'divorce culture' and punishing work schedules of his peers also suggests that his experience of being a caregiver and a home-based worker had changed what he was willing to negotiate with his partner. He was not willing to participate in this 'workaholic' culture and indeed returned to running the business from home a second time in order to assist Dell with Kaz and their second, disabled baby.

Tom's narrative thus relates back to the beginning of the chapter and the argument about multiple and 'hegemonic' forms of masculinity. As Connell (1995: 79) notes, the character of hegemonic definitions of masculinity are such that not many men *actually* met them, although the majority of men are "complicit" with the project of hegemonic masculinity. Connell suggests that it is not just that such men are "slacker versions of hegemonic masculinity" who cheer rugby matches on TV rather than running out in the mud and making the tackles themselves, but rather that partnership, fatherhood and community life often involve "extensive compromises" with women instead of the exercise of "naked domination" or uncontested displays of authority (ibid: 79-80). While Connell argues that such men still draw the "patriarchal dividend" of asymmetrical gendered relations, where men as a group gain from the overall subordination of women, such men:

also respect wives and mothers, are never violent towards women, do their accustomed share of the housework, bring home the family wage, and can easily convince themselves that feminists must be bra-burning extremists (ibid: 80).

This tension is visible in the Noble household, where Tom did agree to a major renegotiation of the gendered division of labour in the relationship, not because he thought men should share or because he wanted to enhance his relationship with his son, but because it was financially too good an opportunity for Dell to pass up and his location at home made his caregiving appear logical and economic. Tom does not therefore resemble the 'role reversing' men in Van Every's (1995: 100) account who were "completely unattached to paid work as a source of identity" and who were "critical of the conventional worker role and wanted to take time out" (ibid: 101). Nor was Tom wanting to be at home to explore non-business related activities such as art or political activism (ibid) but instead *maintained* his commitment to work when he agreed to take on responsibility for Kaz. That the Nobles eventually hired a caregiver to work in their home when Tom found that Kaz's needs for attention surpassed what he was both willing and able to give, was not surprising given his enduring commitment to work. In the following discussion Tom's practices as a teleworking father are explored in order to tease out the tensions in his experience of the simultaneity of domesticity and entrepreneurship, in terms of domestic labour, childcare and the relationship.

'Role Reversal' and Adjusting to a 'New Job'

As suggested in Tom's narrative in Chapter Six, Tom's attitude to caring for the house and the baby was to treat it as a "job". He needed to 'learn' aspects of how to complete some tasks in this new job, a theme that also emerged in Fassinger's (1993: 199) study of fathers with shared custody of their children following separation. In general, Dell felt Tom did not know how to do some of the work for which he was now responsible, such as cleaning, corroborating Wearing's (1996) suggestion that lower levels of male competence in household tasks contribute to men's lack of participation. However, because they had already agreed that this work was part of Tom's new 'job', Dell's provided the necessary training:

> we went through this sort of, "this is how you clean the toilet" and you know "this is how you really do clean things". Well he's gone fanatical now, he's gone the other way, yeah. When he 'gets to' in the weekends, he gets his bucket and his water and his disinfectant and his Jif (a cleaning agent) and just goes for it, yeah. And he's got a real thing now that his standards have to be at a certain sort of level (192).

It is interesting that in this excerpt Tom did not know how to clean (he was in his mid-thirties), and that once taught he made the work of cleaning into a 'job' too, with its own equipment and standards. This dynamic also emerged in Coltrane's (1996: 16) work, where he found men cleaned less often than their female partners, but when they "got into cleaning mode" they "clean(ed) better" than their female partners. Coltrane (ibid: 17) found a critical factor was if men "owned" domestic tasks, in terms of perceiving themselves as responsible for certain activities, that is, not needing to be reminded to do them, have lists made, or resisting doing them by performing them at an unacceptably low standard. When they 'owned' tasks the men in his study tended to redefine housework in terms they could relate to, one of which was to "use the right tools for the job" as Tom's bucket and disinfectant suggest (ibid). Tom's methods of cleaning, like the men in Coltrane's study, had to be of a certain standard, where that standard was seen as potentially higher than that which Dell might have sought herself.

For Dell, adjusting to her 'new job' of being the family's full-time breadwinner involved a classic ambivalence where she felt both grateful and proud of Tom for taking on the job of Kaz and the house, and anxious about being displaced in her relationship with her first and much longed for child. Russell (1987: 171) found that mothers in 'role reversing' couples in his study had difficulty accepting that children became more attached to their fathers, and would go to them when they wanted comfort or support. Additionally, the women were irritated when they perceived partners to have lower standards with the children than theirs, and resented the status and credit other people (especially women) gave the men for this work which they had performed unacknowledged. All of these dynamics were present in the Noble relationship, where Dell called many times each day to "check in" regarding the baby and the business, came home each lunchtime to be with her son and felt guilty and anxious about the care he was receiving from Tom. Dell's awareness that what Tom was doing was no more than what many men expected from their women partners without question, *and* her discomfort and guilt at these contributions, were captured in the following two excerpts. She said:

> I sort of realised that men have it easy, they really do, they have it easy, and its actually been borne out, since I've been, in the whole two years (of the 'role reversal') it has been, a hell of a lot easier going to work than being at home and looking after children.

But if Dell felt that men had it "easy" and that women had a harder time by staying at home, it did not seem to make it any less difficult to accept the 'role reversal', and she expressed

guilt at the amount of 'servicing' she received from Tom and the burden of domesticity that he had taken on:

> I realised how good men have it (laughs) I thought, "boy, this is hot stuff". I felt guilty, yeah I felt guilty. I felt you know, he got all of the crappy jobs, by sort of, wash, no actually he didn't wash the nappies because he decided there was no way physically he could do it, plus he didn't fancy the idea ... but yeah I did feel quite guilty, I felt guilty when he was doing such a magnificent job.

On Resenting the Baby and the 'Pull' to Do Business

If Tom was doing a "magnificent job" of the house and the baby, then what began to suffer was his ability to focus on the business. Russell (ibid: 167) found that 40% of the 'role reversing' fathers in his study (n=37) initially approached their new responsibilities with enthusiasm, but later spoke of the loss of status and reduced self-esteem associated with unpaid work as a major disadvantage of the lifestyle. In this sense Tom's caregiving role avoided this because he continued to participate in the business, although like the men in Russell's study he was forced to revise his expectations of what he could achieve when he was at home.

This emerged a problem only as Kaz grew older and required more active care which began to impinge on Tom's telework. If Tom found the initial period with the baby a "treat" because Kaz slept so much, and caring for him was a break from work, "it didn't become so much of a treat later on when he was awake". Tom felt that he came to "resent" Kaz when he wasn't sleeping, and that as Kaz made the transition from being "a little feeding machine" to an infant with emotional and cognitive needs, Tom began to find it "quite hard". Tom saw himself as "babysitting" as opposed to "some heavy duty child rearing", suggesting that he was standing in until Kaz's *real* parent came home, while he himself conducted a "full-time business". Despite his responsibility for Kaz and his agreement to perform this caring work, Tom retained a strong and indeed *primary* affinity to his work because he "wasn't really prepared to, no I wasn't particularly good at, playing a lot of games all the time ... because I thought I should be doing work" (192).

This issue of 'resenting' the baby and the level of care Tom was willing to provide was not expressed as an overt conflict between Dell and Tom for some time. Although Dell felt that 'men have it good', she also felt *grateful* to Tom as a "rare" man, both in terms of agreeing to take on the baby and the house and 'rare' in the sense that he undertook these tasks with some energy including preparing special meals and cleaning with a thoroughness that

surpassed her own. But there was no reciprocated sense of Dell as 'rare' for becoming the primary income earner as well as significant contributor to domesticity. Such imbalances in the share of gratitude within relationships tend to be tipped toward men, Hochschild (1989: 157) argues, because the general supply of male commitment to share the responsibility for domesticity is lower than the female demand for it. Asymmetrical gender relations in the *wider* society thus 'tip the scales' *inside* the marriage, according to Hochschild, increasing women's sense of debt to their partners.

This sense of Dell's debt of gratitude in turn inhibited her ability to openly criticise the care that Tom was providing for Kaz. Her growing concern was evident in her questioning of me about his practices, but she could not afford an outright confrontation because her own commitments to her business relied upon this division of labour. Like the women in Hochschild's study who underemphasised the problems in the quality of the child care when they "passed the buck" of the baby on to a minder, so Dell's lack of alternative options stifled her critique of Tom's care-giving. She limited her concerns by frequently monitoring what he did from a distance by phone.

This inequality in the balance of gratitude and the covert conflict over the level of care the baby was receiving were also complicated by the disapproval of the 'role reversal' that the couple experienced from their parents. Hochschild (ibid: 217) notes that men who share domesticity were likely to disaffiliate from detached, absent or overbearing fathers who they felt provided "bad" models of fatherhood. In Tom's case the couple were faced with some fairly concerted resistance from Dell's father, who was "very old fashioned" and "quite nasty" about their 'role reversal', leading them to disassociate for him for six months until he came to terms with their 'new jobs'.

In this sense the couple was like some of those in Hochschild's (ibid: 179) research, for whom neither the "old world of family" or the "new world of work" fitted their experience or aspirations, but they 'fitted' each other and "pulled together against the social tide". As Russell (1987: 173) suggests, such patterns of the division of domestic and caring labour may not last in the face of these contradictory pressures, and in Tom's case came with a definite time limit of two years. There was thus a combination of effects visible in the Noble 'role reversal' which lead to a rapid re-emergence of a traditional pattern: of social disapproval, Tom's improving work situation, and both partner's dissatisfaction with the arrangement in terms of their respective identifications with domesticity and career. Such factors combine, Russell argues, to facilitate patterns reverting more quickly and more frequently to traditional forms than the couples anticipated (ibid: 173-4).

Role Reversal and the Subversion of 'Normative' Masculinity

Whether or not such patterns last, the significance of them may be profound in terms of the negotiation of domestic and caring labour within households. As I suggested above, Tom was unwilling to participate in the 'workaholic' culture that he saw his colleagues creating when he returned on-site. Throughout Tom maintained a level of involvement with his children's physical care even when he worked on-site that was not present for the other men. The experience of being a full-time caregiver gave Tom an insight into the hard work, stress and relentlessness of domestic and caring work, and affected what he was willing to negotiate with Dell in terms of the division of labour, both paid and unpaid, in their home.

Additionally, Tom became a significant figure in the Nobles' friendship circle, in that he provided an example of a man who was involved with his child, who performed the bulk of the housework and who ran a home-based business. In this sense Tom practised a version of what Gutterman (1994: 231) defines as a "politics of ambiguity", in that although he did not identify as pro-feminist in a political sense, he nevertheless was 'walking the talk' in terms of a new configuration of masculinity and fatherhood. He was not "in the closet" as a pro-feminist man passing as "normal" in the way Gutterman (1994: 230) describes, yet Tom did 'cross-dress' as a 'ordinary' man who was engaged in what he described as a "full role reversal". Gutterman argues that such men are in a powerful position in that they can move among other men not as an 'other', as gay men or feminist women do, but as exemplars of normal, or 'intelligible' masculinity. The "slipperiness" of these men's identities may offer them opportunities to be "extraordinarily subversive" (ibid: 229). Their practices of sharing domestic labour and being involved fathers destabilises social demarcations of sexuality and gender and disrupts the governing constructions of 'normative' masculinity. For example, while Tom passed as a 'regular' guy and maintained a focus on his work like 'regular' guys do, he also looked after a baby and cared for the house which most do not.

Tom was aware that women friends considered him something of a "hero" during the 'role reversal', and felt he was doing something "new and exciting". But if his willingness to care for Kaz and perform domestic tasks attracted praise from women in their friendship circle, it opened him up to some hostility from male peers who felt under pressure because they were unwilling to do the same, which Tom spoke of using the metaphor of 'crossing the line':

> Men find it a bit threatening ... because their partners would say "if Tom can do this why can't you?" kind of thing. Most of my friends would *help* a lot with a child, but

they *work*, but for a male to do it all, essentially cook as well, was a bit threatening because it did cross the line (253).

Tom 'crossed the line' beyond what would 'normally' be expected of him as a 'working father', and he was aware that most other men of his acquaintance chose not to cross that line or did so in only a limited way ("helping"). However, Tom was also aware of some diversity in terms of the position of men within their friendship circle; they knew two other families where fathers were at home with babies "so it wasn't out of the ordinary", although they also knew another man who saw his role as "going out to work" and would not 'help' because "women do that". Tom saw it as "a very fine distinction between what one does and what one doesn't do", and that he and Dell had both 'crossed this line'; he by staying at home and she by going out to work.

This awareness of the "fine distinction" between 'intelligible' masculine behaviour and 'threatening' practices policed by other men in turn curls back to questions of the disciplinary nature of the requirements of 'normative' masculinity. Gutterman (ibid: 230) conceptualises the 'threat' of men doing what 'women do', in terms of the images of men in a bar; to paraphrase: 'if the bloke in the corner drinking beer and talking about rugby starts telling you about being a 'working father', how can one tell who the 'real men' are anymore?'

Tom could be defined as one of the "incoherent" or "discontinuous" gendered beings that Butler argues "fail to conform to the gendered norms of cultural intelligibility by which persons are defined" (1990: 17), in this case by confounding cultural presumptions of normalcy and destabilising conceptions of what constitutes a 'kiwi bloke'. Tom could be said to have used both the "fluidity" of subjectivity and the "shield" of cultural assumptions of normalcy (Gutterman, 1994: 231) to 'pass' amongst other men and thereby was participating in the 'rewriting' the cultural scripts of masculinity. This is not to suggest that someone like Tom is one of the caped crusaders of quiet feminism, and at times he chose to be more 'closeted' about his role at home, as the example of telling colleagues he was going home early "to work" rather than help with the children, suggested. However, he also moved out of these closets at other times by encouraging other men to 'rewrite the scripts' of their own subjectivities as workers, fathers and partners, and acted as a mentor to several male friends who were made redundant and to whom he was able to subcontract work.

Furthermore, the case of the Noble family disturbs the literature regarding masculine entrepreneurial selves and their wholesale abandonment of the 'private' sphere (Mulholland, 1996), by introducing new, 'hybrid selves' such as the 'working father'. This study suggests

that the expression of these hybrid selves is a struggle between the ways circumstances, such as those of the labour market and negotiations within couples, allow such innovations to be expressed or dampen their expression. In my final interview with Tom he was enjoying working outside the home again and spoke enthusiastically about appreciating the sociability of male peers, commuting, and the distance between 'home' and 'work'. I asked the couple if they would 'role reverse' again, and their different answers reflect the way in which the division of domestic and caring labour between them had drifted back to more traditional patterns, where Tom, rather than Dell, could now 'choose' *not* to 'swop' again:

> *Tom*: Yeah, we've been playing swopsy alright.
> *Dell*: We may do it again.
> *Tom*: Oh, I don't know, I doubt it now. I don't know that I'd swop again (16).

Summary: Domesticity and the Maintenance of a Primary Commitment to Work

In the narratives above, the primacy of the men's commitment to their work was suggested by the tendency to expect partners to 'service' them at home and their relative lack of participation in child care and domestic labour. Reviewing these themes in terms of Tom's case as a teleworking father with primary responsibility for the care of his baby son, allowed some critical reflection on the tendency to homogenise men's experience of home-based work, invoking a discussion of the *continuities* and *discontinuities* between his account and those of the other men. However, even for Tom, domesticity was a source of ambivalent identification cut across by concerns about doing 'enough' business to maintain his primary allegiance to work. Tom saw himself as a primary caregiver by *circumstance*, rather than conviction, and *in addition* to running his own business, and was ultimately unwilling to engage in domesticity to that extent again.

The discussion of the men and domesticity is additionally interesting as a counterpoint to the material regarding entrepreneurial women who also distance themselves from the domestic and caring work of the family, primarily by organising other woman to perform this work. I use the word 'distancing' deliberately, because their ability to participate in forms of entrepreneurial activity is almost always conditional upon organising some *alternative* person or means to complete this work 'for them', where some of the work-focused practices of the men were simply not *available* to the women while remaining 'intelligible' wives and mothers. The lifestyle of Jim and John are not lifestyles that are viable for women with small children like Pam, nor those with older children like Nora, despite their palpable desire at times to have that kind of 'freedom' to pursue their work. The sense of 'guilt' that accompanied the women's narratives is simply *absent* in the

narratives of the men, where their single-minded focus on their work more often made them feel successful rather than conflicted.

In a context where domesticity is undervalued, and where the 'job culture' is likely to further erode its cultural status, men who work at home do not attempt to find a 'balance' between domesticity and career; they are *not*, in other words, in pursuit of a career and of 'domestic' masculinity. The discussion of avoiding the housework and the child care, and of 'cutting back' on the relationship and themselves, suggests how these men's desires and their practices often reflect the centrality of work to their subjectivity and practice, and the tension this creates with the rhythms and demands of the household and family. Such men can be seen to navigate their way *around* domesticity, rather than *within* and *through* it, and yet they too are faced with the dilemma of what they 'choose' and how they 'control' it, played out on the contested ground of the home workplace.

III. Discourses of Entrepreneurship

In Section One above the centrality of work to masculinity was examined in terms of employment within organisations, while Section Two suggested the continuities of this centrality of work in the context of domesticity. This third and final section of the chapter will review the discursive construction of entrepreneurship, and will begin by deconstructing the assumption that teleworking is a reflection of a 'latent' masculine drive toward autonomous entrepreneurship. The discussion will then review the construction of the boundary between 'public' and 'private' time and space for teleworking men, before moving on to a broader discussion of the 'discipline' and the 'self-regulation' of the masculine entrepreneurial self. The chapter will conclude with some reflection on the multiplicity of possible 'readings' of both masculinities and telework.

Self-employment and Postindustrialisation

If one of the discursive constructions of telework discussed in early chapters emphasises the drive to establish home-based business as a reflection of 'latent' entrepreneurism, the narratives of the men in this study are suggestive of the *compulsion* to take up teleworking when men are *expelled* from organisations. This in turn is linked to the process of casualisation discussed in Chapter Five where secure jobs are transformed into temporary, insecure ones, are substituted for subcontracting and agency staff, or transformed from direct employment into self-employment (Huws, 1991). In this study, as in Fothergill's (1994: 345) and Haddon and Silverstone's research (1993, cited in Fothergill: ibid), most of the men (four out of the five) took up telework as a response to redundancy and

employment insecurity, where home-based self-employment was an alternative to unemployment. In this sense, Fothergill (1994: 345) argues, men may be "pushed" into telework by the process of casualisation in industries typified by short-term employment such as John and Jim's, or in businesses where employment tenure is linked to client demand, such as Sam and Tom's.

An Australian analysis by Lafferty et al (1997: 143) supports the link between casualisation and the increase in teleworking, where the authors note that working from home is a means of former employees securing a livelihood. Lafferty et al note that in the Australian Bureau of Statistics supplementary labour force survey conducted in 1995 of 343,000 people who worked from home, the majority (52.7% or 180,800) were self-employed or unpaid family helpers (ibid: 146). The authors found that the majority of the men were engaged in professional, managerial or para-professional work (52.6%), but that despite the white-collar professional nature of their employment and the "glamourised image" of telework presented in the Australian media, not all of the increase in telework had been the result of "voluntary decisions". Only 30.9% of the men (and 12.1% of women) *wanted* to run their own businesses, where having a home-office was a means to reduce overheads and office rental costs (ibid: 149). Although only 4% of respondents indicated they worked at home because there was no other work available, the authors caution against assuming that the other 96% *chose* to work from home, because the material collected did not indicate the impact of previous employment history on *how* they became self-employed. This underscores Granger et al's observation (1995: 500) regarding the significance of understanding *how* individuals realise different labour market states. They distinguish between those who are 'pushed' into self-employment (John, Jim, Tom, Sam), those who may stay in self-employment as a positive choice (Jim, Tom, Ethan), and those who may exit from it when they can (Sam). In their study Granger et al (ibid: 514) emphasise that "entrepreneurial pull" is at best a minority form of entry into self-employed teleworking, and that forces of circumstance, such as redundancy and the completion of contracts, "pervade" as motivations for setting up businesses from home. Granger et al (1995: 511) further observed that these final 'push' factors were required because the "costs and risks associated with the transition from direct employment to self-employment are considerable and immediate".

As suggested in Chapter Five, if unemployment is not the *central* cause of self-employment then the postindustrialisation process itself may be a contributing factor. Steinmetz and Wright (1989: 1006) found that 55% of the growth in self-employment occurred in the 'postindustrial services' of business and professional services, which were more amenable to self-employment than manufacturing. Crook et al (1992: 178) suggest that the trend

toward *externalisation* of certain key tasks within organisations is a major contributing factor to self-employment, such that:

> the growth toward self-employment is in an important sense nongenuine, the product not of entrepreneurial motivation but of a tendency on the part of large-scale employers to subcontract tasks as a cost control measure.

As suggested in Chapter Five, the postindustrial literature has suggested the model of 'core' and 'periphery' workforces is "destructuring" into a looser arrangements where the core is surrounded by other small-scale economic units characterised by a variety of contractual relationships and serviced by their own employees (Crook et al, 1992: 193). In part this complex and heterogeneous 'periphery' is constituted of small-scale economic units including professional and technical firms operating a fee-for-service basis with a "pronounced petty entrepreneurial character" (ibid), of which the small businesses discussed in this study are one example. Benetton, the Italian garment producing company, is a case in point in this regard, in that they rely upon over 400 small sub-contracted companies (some 18,000 workers) as part of their 'peripheral' workforce, a workforce more than nine times the size of their 'core' payroll of employees (Mitter, 1991: 56). These small artisanal firms are in turn reliant on self-employed operators who recruit family networks of particularly female labour, while the skilled parts of the production process (such as designing and cutting) continue to be completed using advanced technologies by the 'core' on-site.

Three critical comments can be made regarding the link between post-industrialisation and self-employment as they are exemplified in the Benetton case. The first regards the *enduring* prevalence of self-employment in Italy which has been a characteristic of that country's labour force for some time. In her pan-European study of non-standard employment, Yeandle (1997: 13) found that self-employment was a very important sector of the labour market in Italy, where one in every four men and one in eight of all economically active women are self-employed. While other European countries have shown a marked decrease in self-employment, particularly Denmark and France (ibid), in Italy the proportion of self-employed has remained "remarkably stable" over a ten year period. Therborn concludes that the Italian economy is, and has for some time been, marked by a distinctive "petty bourgeois flavour" where there are four self-employed workers for every ten who work as employees (1995, cited in ibid). In Aotearoa/New Zealand self-employment is less prevalent (approximately 13% of the workforce) but is growing, suggesting that the economy of this country also has a significant minority of small entrepreneurs (Schoeffel et al, 1991: 23).

Furthermore, Belussi (1991, cited in Mitter, 1991: 59) questions whether such self-employment is in fact a reflection of postindustrial entrepreneurship promoted by the dispersed organisation. Belussi argues that Benetton's organisational system is not postindustrial, but rather closely related to Fordist systems of mass production, because the principle feature of the Benetton system is the division between the "internal, technically orientated core workers and the externalised, low paid machinists", a typically Taylorist division of labour (ibid). The real innovation of Benetton's production system, according to Belussi, is the geographical spread of their "big, moving assembly line" which, she argues, could more appropriately be called "decentralised Fordism" rather than "post-Fordism" (ibid). Such discussions have an explicit critique to offer of the celebration of the "postmodern configuration of production" and its claims of "disalienation and debureaucratisation", by examining how organisations *actually* or *potentially* use externalised professional workers and what kinds of tasks such workers perform (Crook et al, 1992: 193).

Thirdly, Kondo (1990: 328) offers a further though parallel critique in response to Piore and Sabel's (1984) contention that "flexible specialisation" within small firms, rather than mass production within large firms, is the answer to the problems of contemporary capitalist accumulation. Kondo criticises such writers for romanticising the solidarity, community and familialism of family enterprise and familial styles of management, such as those that typify Japanese entrepreneurship. Kondo argues that solidarity, harmony and community are a "far more ambiguous and complicated matter for the people who actually work in these small firms", as her own study so clearly demonstrates in terms of the conflict, insecurity and gender inequalities that characterise such enterprises (ibid). As the discussion below will suggest, the incorporation of family labour into small business, rather than an 'ideal' model of 'flexible specialisation', can be a source of struggle within families, where issues of exploitation, power and unreciprocated and unpaid contributions highlight the ambiguity of the experience of the family enterprise.

Self-employment as a Form of Insecure Employment

Both of these themes, of the casualisation of professional work and the construction of a diverse field of 'peripheralised' professional workers, suggest the importance of the analysis of the insecurity of employment for self-employed teleworkers. These themes have already been explored in Chapter Five in relation to women teleworkers, and are equally apposite here. However, gendered differences between the women and men are also clearly visible. Although both groups discussed the availability of short-term contact work, the struggle to form more exclusive relationships with clients rather than participate in the 'cold sell' of

single contracts, and the forfeit of employment-related benefits, there was less evidence amongst the men of underbidding and the overall tendency was for them to earn more than the women.

These tendencies are not surprising in a gender-segregated labour market, and Huws et al (1990: 35-44) found that *some* managerial and senior staff in Europe did in fact earn more as teleworkers than on-site counterparts. This situation is paralleled in Aotearoa/New Zealand by the slightly higher annual earnings of professional home-based men in 1991of $28,024, compared with the median income for all men in the workforce of $27,270 (Loveridge et al, 1996: 25). However these relatively higher rates of pay occurred within the context of extremely long working hours, as John's case suggests, and there are three examples of men earning less than the average wage in Jim, Tom and Sam's cases. Additionally, Lafferty et al (1997: 154) found in their study of home-based workers that fully 70% of the sample (n=343,000) were employed on a casual basis and over 60% were paid an hourly rate, a pattern also visible in Jim, Tom and Sam's cases. The insecurity of employment was a concern in a number of the men's narratives, where Jim became self-employed in part because he recognised the lack of employment security and earnings he would *ever* be likely to achieve in regional television. Sam similarly experienced the vulnerability of relying on one client when his work dried-up, with no responsibility on the part of the organisation to provide either a transitional arrangement or a redundancy payment.

If teleworking men experience employment and economic insecurity, then Miller and Rose (1993: 100) argue that the "vocabulary" of the organisation draws increasingly upon the discourse of the individual as a self-maximising subject rather than "a social creature seeking satisfaction of his or her need for security, solidarity or welfare". The experience of the termination of a contract in this discourse assumes not hardship or poverty but an opportunity for the entrepreneurial self to maximise opportunities with other clients. In this study Sam, John and Ethan all relied in whole or part on one stable contract, where the loss of this major client would have significantly destabilised their incomes and the viability of their businesses. Although they each participated in part in the discursive construction of themselves as self-maximising, 'autonomous' entrepreneurs, these constructions depended upon the longevity and security of their relationships with these particular clients, where they sought stability even as they emphasised their autonomy. This quest was not however always successful, as in Sam's case, where despite the friendships that he had established with his colleagues and their three years together, he nevertheless walked away with no compensation when they found they had no more work for him.

John Sims's case was one of the most interesting in terms of his experience of a particular combination of secure and insecure work. John was effectively employed on a limited-term contract by two organisations, but did not see himself as self-employed and felt unsure about the "costs and doubts" of "going out on his own". In many senses John already operated as a autonomous entrepreneur: working at home in his self-constructed and financed work space, determining his own hours and juggling the demands of different clients with different needs, operating as an individual with unique skills and subject to a limited-term employment contract of a specific individualised kind. John's narrative is interesting because of this high degree of 'autonomy' and the relative instability of his employment, although his narrative emphasised elements of continuity and solidity. Such narratives are suggestive of the way the discourses of the entrepreneur both contradict and consolidate the practices of actual entrepreneurs. The practices of 'autonomy', for example, both reinforce the pleasures and freedoms of self-employment and serve to obscure the unenviable employment insecurity these men sometimes faced.

Employment Security and Being a 'Breadwinner'

Further complicating the relationship between the men's narratives of themselves as 'autonomous' entrepreneurs and their experience of employment insecurity, was the responsibilities each of them (with the exception of Jim) had as 'breadwinners'. The predominant family form of a male 'breadwinner' and a dependent 'wife' is declining in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the 1991 census found that 57.1% of partnered mothers with children under eighteen had paid work, where the most common pattern for two parent families with school-age children (28%) was full-time jobs for both parents (Else, forthcoming). However the largest category (43%) of couples with the youngest child *under five* still consisted of men with full-time work and women who were not in the paid labourforce (ibid), a pattern present in the Reid and Garden households. John Sims was similarly the breadwinner in his household, to which Julia contributed the small gratuity of her 10 hour/week job with a non-profit making organisation. Ann Gray was one of the 12% of New Zealand women (excluding superannuatants) whose income largely relied upon a welfare benefit (ibid) supplemented by part-time work and Jim's 'board'. Only in Tom and Dell's case was there a significant departure from the pattern of male breadwinning and female dependency that characterised the other families in the study, where a complete 'role reversal' of female full-time work and (unlike Tom) male economic 'dependence' still characterises only 1.6% of all families with children under eighteen in Aotearoa/New Zealand (ibid). The role of breadwinner was thus an issue in John, Ethan, Sam and Tom's narratives in the study. Although Dell was the 'breadwinner' in the family for the major

period of the fieldwork, Tom still constituted himself through this subject position, of which the two year period of their 'role reversal' was an aberration.

The significance of breadwinning to 'intelligible' masculinity is suggested in Brannen and Moss's (1987: 41) argument that central to the discourse of the 'good' father is the notion that fathers *should* be the main breadwinner, and that breadwinning is the most important part of fathering. Conversely, Cohen (1993: 1) argues against the conflation of masculinity, male subjectivity and the role of the provider, without the provision of evidence to substantiate the assumption that men's primary function in the family is orientated around the "Husband-Economic-Provider-Role". But while too easy an equation between masculinity and breadwinning would be problematic, there is some evidence to suggest the continuing utility of this association.

Yeandle's (1997) work, for example, demonstrated the continuing association for the "overwhelming majority of men" of the attainment and social validation of "full adult status" with securing an income and the male 'breadwinner ideal'. Yeandle identifies 'strong', 'weak' and 'modified' examples of this male breadwinner ideal, with the United Kingdom serving as a 'strong' example. Brannen and Moss (1987: 42) corroborate this notion of the United Kingdom as a strong example of the breadwinner culture, where in the mid-eighties, 80% of British mothers with children under five years old had either no paid work or less than 16 hours/week. Given the postcolonial relationship between Aotearoa/New Zealand and the United Kingdom, the high level (43%) of female economic dependence for mothers of pre-school children (Else, forthcoming) and the relative lack of welfare support based on women's individual entitlement compared to countries such as Sweden, an argument could be put as to the relative grip of a 'breadwinning culture' in this country.

Phillips (1996) corroborates this assertion when he argues that in Aotearoa/New Zealand men still believe they have a primary responsibility to be a provider. In a period of high unemployment such as the late 1990s where one in ten New Zealanders are officially jobless (Else, forthcoming), unemployed men report a sense of failing "as the father or the man of the home" (Phillips, 1996: 278). This sense of 'failure' was present in Tom Noble's experience of redundancy and the relative rise in Dell's employment opportunity. Tom's mother "actually put a very heavy onus on Tom about the fact that he's failed as a provider", where Tom's parents "just wanted Tom to provide for (Dell) in the old-fashioned manner". Tom and Dell's response to this situation was to pull together against the 'social tide' represented by the parents and their (male) friends, but the difficulty of this situation was later complicated by Dell's *own* expectations on Tom contribute significantly to providing for the family. In addition to caring for Kaz, Dell wanted Tom to "pull his weight"

financially and "pressured" him to do so, a period in their relationship which she described as a "shocking stage".

The importance of being a adequate "provider" was also a strong element of John Sims's narrative where the threat of income insecurity haunted John's steps toward full self-employment. Julia felt that John worried "that he wouldn't be able to *provide* enough", that he had to "hang on to his job" and that he didn't "really have a huge amount of confidence that he can stay employed". Although she and Kris maintained that John was too "valuable" to be made redundant, Julia didn't think "in his heart he really believes us" (100). This statement is significant in that it suggests the lack of confidence Julia perceived John to feel in relation to 'going it alone'. Despite his success, his national and international profile and his procurement in effect of *two* jobs, John doubted whether he would be able to generate enough work to "stay employed" and support his family.

The narratives in Chapter Six thus 'story' this contradictory experience of both 'positive' entrepreneurship and 'negative' employment insecurity, within the context of the injunction to be a 'breadwinner'. There is a troublesome *disjuncture* in the narratives of the men between the way they 'storied' themselves as 'professional' business people and yet experienced few protections in terms of income and employment rights, and in some instances, such as Jim, Sam and Tom, relatively low levels of pay. Teleworking was the experience of being caught between two simultaneous discursive constructions of self, one associated with 'freedom', 'competition' and 'autonomy', and the other the anxiety of employment insecurity and the pressure to 'provide' for families. Positioned between these two contradictory discursive axes, the men's narratives traversed the uneven terrain of the requirement to provide secure income in a context of employment insecurity, a contradiction which heightened their orientation to their work and their pursuit of entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurship as 'Masculine' Gendered Discourse

If the teleworking businesses in this study are located within a social and economic context of employment insecurity, then the discursive construction of entrepreneurship itself contributes to a heightened focus upon financial success, expansion and productivity. The discussion pursued in Chapter Five suggested that the discourse of entrepreneurship is constructed through a peculiarly 'masculine' notion of business, organised around being constantly productive, preoccupied with action and resting upon the "taken-for-granted masculine discourse of control" that separates 'public' and 'private' life (Collinson and Hearn, 1994: 14). In the next section these issues are explored in relation to the teleworking

men's narratives, focusing on the separation of the 'public' and 'private' spheres and the men's use of time and space.

Entrepreneurship and the Separation of the 'Public' and 'Private'

The "discourse of gendered entrepreneurialism" is, according to Collinson and Hearn (1994: 14), strictly organised around the separation of the 'public' and 'private' spheres. Reed (1996: 103) argues that the "ascendency and dominance of the public sphere is premised on its separation from, and subordination of, the private sphere", where the linking of masculinity and femininity with opposing sides of this dualism serves to reproduce this separation and to figure entrepreneurship as part of the 'public', masculine domain. The 'public/private' dichotomy thus parallels and reinforces other dualisms apparent in the construction of subjectivity that have been discussed above, such as masculinity/femininity and heterosexuality/homosexuality (Gutterman, 1994: 221), where such dualisms act as boundary markers of difference. Rather than reflecting 'true' or 'essential' relationships, the spheres of 'public' and 'private' cut across and complicate one another, in the same way as multiple subjectivities confound any simple dualism between 'women' and 'men', 'straight' and 'gay'.

Furthermore, Kanter (1977: 15) argues in her review of the literature regarding 'work and family' that the *"myth"* of separate spheres in part persists because it serves the needs of the 'greedy' clients or organisations who, unable to eliminate the particularist demands of the family, marginalise its effects through the injunction that "while you (work for us) you'll *act as though* you have no other loyalties, no other life". Andrews and Bailyn (1993: 273) argue that the discourse of the 'ideal' entrepreneur assumes that men have the 'right' to put work above everything else in their lives, an 'ideal' women are unlikely to achieve unless they remain childless, single and do without the support that is available to men within 'traditional' family structures. Andrews and Bailyn emphasise that men have very little "choice" in these discursive invocations of the 'ideal' entrepreneur because of the practices which limit men's *bridging* of 'public' and 'private' worlds, where renegotiating a reduced schedule, for example, is difficult to secure while maintaining influence amongst other 'driven' men.

Andrews and Bailyn (1993: 269) pursue this argument further in relation to self-employed American men to investigate whether this lack of 'choice' is the outcome of the external constraints of work, or the internal injunctions of the self. They ask: once men are free of the organisation, does this allow different configurations of the 'public' and 'private' to emerge, or do the 'internalised norms' of the men themselves persist even when they are

located outside of the 'disciplining' practices of the organisation? The authors found that male entrepreneurs in their study were very stressed personally and professionally, and suffered from a high degree of work-family conflict (ibid). While two-thirds of the women entrepreneurs in the study structured their working lives around their own personal life and needs, eight of the thirteen men said they had to modify their behaviour to fit into their *own* organisation (ibid, original emphasis). The women in Andrews and Bailyn's study thus chose self-employment as a way of keeping their time flexible, as opposed to continuing in the fast track of the organisation, while the men chose self-employment as a response to a business opportunity, the desire to run their own business or in order to become wealthy (ibid: 270). For example, one man spoke of his wife and two-year-old son as a "constraint" on his progress with his business, where the demands they made on his time and energy were seen as a limit on his ability to "invest all in the new venture" (ibid). As suggested above, the strategies men use to distance themselves from children and household responsibilities are often interpreted in a positive light as evidence of both a commitment to career and of individual power in terms of their ability to 'control' their private lives by keeping them separate from employment (Collinson and Hearn, 1994: 17-18). Given the increasing use of evaluative and surveillance technologies to assess performances, men believe that they cannot afford to be seen as 'out of control' at work, as being unable to separate 'home' and 'work' (ibid: 18). Investing in displays of *distance* from the 'private' sphere, as Mr Watanabe's narrative above suggests (Ishii-Kuntz, 1993), in turn reinforces the "deep-seated masculinity" of entrepreneurial and organisational cultures (Collinson and Hearn, 1994: 18).

John Sim's narrative in this study is perhaps the strongest demonstration of a teleworker creating a complete physical and temporal boundary around his work, to the exclusion of almost all elements of the 'private' world of home and family. His around-the-clock business practices, 'space and time independence', and separation from his family and the routines of the house, left the entire realm of the 'private' to Julia, where she felt that "for the last three or four years I have struggled with the entire house and the finances, *everything,* John has literally done his work and not one other thing because (the work) has grown to that size" (6). John prided himself on his constant availability, his long hours and the intensity of his engagement with his work, as indicators of his achievement of the status of the "perfect worker". That is, John perceived himself to be living a embodiment of the "ideal professional", premised on the complete separation of the 'public' and 'private'. Kerfoot and Knights (1996: 85) argue that this desire to control the separation of the 'public' and 'private' is part of the wider identification of masculinity with a "compulsive desire to be in control", albeit a desire that may take a multiplicity of forms. In this study the desire to be in control is suggested in a number of ways, one of which is the control of the spatial and temporal boundary between 'home' and 'work'. Control of this boundary is, however,

suggestive of other desires for control: of partners and children; of the body and the self; all arenas which are resistant to the imposition of control and contributing (perhaps) to the fragility of masculinities premised upon its achievement.

This study thus provocatively spoke to the tensions of masculinity as 'powerful' and as 'vulnerable', needing to be proved over and over again, as the constancy of John's engagement with his work suggests. In these processes the 'disciplining' character of the discourses of masculinity and entrepreneurship entwined the men in the 'threads of power' associated with both. In these webs of discourse the constitutive and constituted nature of discourse was strongly suggested by the men's quest for control and their desire to discipline their families and themselves in order to achieve the 'ideal' of the competent, competitive, productive entrepreneur.

These questions in turn raise others that will be addressed later in the chapter regarding the 'self-regulation' and 'discipline' of the entrepreneurial subject, in terms of *how* the boundaries between the 'public' and 'private' change when the men worked at home, and whether they too modified their behaviour to *fit their own* organisation.

Entrepreneurship and Men's Use of Time

The relationship between the 'public' and the 'private' for teleworking men and women invokes the complexity of the spatial and temporal organisation of 'work' and 'home', where both occur in the same place at the same time. Drawing a 'sharp distinction' between the spheres may make them "easier to handle" according to Game and Pringle (1983: 139), as the complex juggling acts engendered by the dual responsibilities of the women entrepreneurs in this study testify. Indeed drawing such a sharp distinction between the 'public' and 'private' spheres was something that the men in this study strove to achieve, where the lack of a distinction in *time and space* was experienced as both a major advantage of telework and as problematic in terms of the constancy in the demands of paid work.

Like the discussion of space in Chapter Five, the organisation of time in the home workplaces in this study both reflected and reinforced elements in gendered subjectivities and practice. Women tended to 'juggle' a variety of tasks and timetables in the overlap between paid work and unpaid domestic responsibilities, while men's use of time reflected the subordination of other aspects of their subjectivity and practice to their employment (Collinson and Hearn, 1994: 18). Working long and 'unsocial' hours, unplanned overtime and working for extended periods uninterrupted, are all temporal practices which Collinson

and Hearn argue reinforce the "dominant masculinity" of work cultures and work subjectivities (ibid).

John's 115 hour and Jim's 100 hour weeks were strong, almost exaggerated examples of this dynamic in this study, where a heightened vigilance in terms of their professional practice and a singular identification of themselves as workers was reflected in a vision of *all* time as potentially *work* time. The implication of this was the lack of leisure, sleep and 'family' time which was available for them, something which was experienced as problematic by other family members and *sometimes* by the men themselves. John Sims's 'solution' to the problem of time was to seek to discipline his body to make him more flexibly available to work at any time, particularly to work "around the clock". John's ability to work at any time of the day or night was a source of satisfaction to him and part of what he perceived as his "competitive edge", where he could do business across the globe without being disadvantaged by the time difference between different zones. Time ceased to "mean anything" to John, he was accessible "anywhere at any time".

Jim West's fifteen hour work days similarly reflected his desire to work against the limitations of *embodied time* in order to maximise his work productivity, including working every night until 2.00 am. However, Jim's pattern of working late and rising late in order to get eight hours sleep was quite often thwarted because there was a "fifty-fifty chance" he would get woken by the telephone. Jim had perfected waking himself to answer without indicating to callers that they had disturbed his sleep, and prided himself on his ability to appear alert in these situations. The following excerpt indicates the elaborate processes involved in the presentation of self that these phone call 'performances' required, and the focus upon *appearing* to give good service rather than attending to the content of the request. He said:

> What I tend to do is as I'm lying in bed if the phone is ringing, then I tend to clear my throat and I practice my little introduction and then talk to them like "Infobuzz, Jim speaking". I can actually have a full-on conversation with my eyes closed half asleep on the phone, but when I finally wake up, do I remember what I actually said? (73).

Although Jim could discipline his body to respond to the telephone, there was a critical distance between his ability to answer and his ability to respond, where the priority for Jim was being *seen* to be available, a particular form of "face time" (Apter, 1993: 35). Jim's case suggests the link between "working around the clock" and the discursive construction of middle-class masculinity, which Segal (1990: 94) argues is focused on self-discipline,

personal ambition and duty, where the compulsion to work comes above attention to the body's need for sleep.

A second important element of the men's use of time was that their ability to work long and 'unsocial' hours was predicated upon the off-loading of domestic duties on to women partners. Rather than home hindering the 'proper' work of the business, in practice the home was often experienced as a less interrupted workplace for the men, where this uninterrupted time was made available by women partners' labour and flexibility (Collinson and Hearn, 1994: 18). Coltrane (1996: 72) found that 'flexibility' of working time was a significant element in the delineation between fathers who shared domesticity and those who did not, where those fathers able to exert a substantial degree of control over the timing of paid work were those most likely to share. In the narratives of the teleworking men in this study, the *inability* to control the ebb and flow of paid work was a significant *disincentive* to participate in domestic and caring work, where time spent in these practices was time lost to the business, and where there was often little respite from the demands of the latter.

Sam's pattern of time use made this relationship between working long and 'unsocial' hours and the link with non-participation in domestic caring and labour most explicit, in terms of the way his exclusive focus on work left Sara to both 'service' his needs (in terms of domestic, caring and ancillary business support services) and to shoulder almost all of the domestic responsibilities associated with the house and family. Sam preferred to work very intensely for several days and then take time off to recover, asserting that this time was his own and that he was "going to do the things that (he) wanted", which did not include domestic and caring labour (25). Sam's use of time was "really sporadic" compared to the rest of the family in that he would "work madly for days", often until 3.00 am to 4.00 am, and then "just not work at all" (36), complaining that he was "so exhausted" (26) that he couldn't engage with the children or the housework (32). This dynamic was a reflection of both clients' deadlines that Sam could not control, and a tendency for Sam to 'choose' to work sporadically so that he had little choice but to work intensely. The implication of these 'boom and bust' cycles of working time were that Sara bore the bulk of the domestic labour: Sam was either "working flat out" or resting, and thus unavailable to provide care and domestic labour.

The organisation of teleworking time in this study thus refutes Toffler's (1980) utopian vision of the electronic cottage, and offers the rather more dystopian spectre of men whose work encroaches into all available time, foreclosing rather than facilitating their increased participation in domesticity. If Salmi (1997: 7) found men whose working time remained rigid and parallelled the working time of men on-site, then the men in this study were more

like those in Massey's research (1993, cited in Collinson and Hearn, 1996: 67) who allowed work time to dominate home and family time, and who resisted their wives' requests to spend more time with the children. The reasons for these patterns of teleworking men's time in the study at hand reflected four key issues: the men's identification with a competitive form of 'constant availability'; the use of technologies that facilitated this (eg cellphones and pagers); the character of the particular occupations in which they were engaged (such as work across different time zones); and the spatial relationship between 'home' and 'work'. The next section will provide a more specific consideration of the latter issue, in terms of spatial boundary-making as it is linked to the persistent centrality of work to masculine subjectivity.

Entrepreneurship and Men's Use of Space

Massey (1994: 5) argues that in attributing *meaning* to particular spaces such as 'home' or 'work', there is a struggle between meaning as "open and porous" and the attempt to stabilise the meaning of particular "envelopes" of space. In this sense, spatiality, like subjectivity, is conceptualised by Massey as a *process*, where the meanings of both are dynamic and constituted through the intersection of multiple, sometimes contradictory, social relations (ibid: 127). The implications of this for home workplaces is particularly interesting, bringing together as they do two spheres which in culture, history and social theory are assumed to be separates and discrete. Home workplaces confound the constitution of the 'public/private' dichotomy and are perhaps by their very nature constituted as 'contradictory space', or in Rose's (1993) terms 'paradoxical space', where the metaphysics of inside and outside are confounded.

But if the practice of home-based work reformulates the spatial separation of supposedly distinct spheres, it is a reformulation where the degree of 'porosity' between 'public' and 'private' is critically affected by gender. The material in this study is suggestive of the ways in which home workplaces reflect elements of *gendered spatiality*, overlapping with the argument above regarding controlling the boundary between the 'public' and 'private' time and activities. Chapter Five suggested that for women, home work spaces were multi-use, multi-person spaces reflecting women's more decentred subjectivities as workers, partners and mothers. In contrast, men's home-work spaces tended to be for their use alone and dedicated to business activities exclusively. If, as Gutterman (1994) argues, masculinity is established through the boundary made between it and femininity, then the boundary-making practices by the men in this study suggest the ways in which the fenceline between 'home' and 'work' is *patrolled* in order to assert a difference between the *spatial* terrain of business and that of the family.

John's separate, climatically controlled and lit, twenty-four hour office was at the extreme end of the separate workplaces used (and in this case custom-built) by the men. However, it was an *emblem* of the strong spatial boundaries they *all* constructed between the 'public' arena of their entrepreneurship and the 'private' world of their homes and families. Sam's narrative explicitly invokes the spatial as part of his complaint about the convergence of 'home' and 'work', where his *spatial proximity* to his "thundering" toddler is constituted as *the* problem of control. He said:

> Home and work blend into one. I'd be trying to write something and Theo would start screaming or be thundering up and down the hall. I'd be trying to work and all this would be going on and sometimes it would drive me bloody nuts.

Sam bemoaned the home-office's location in the centre of the house where the "physical door" to the room was "totally ineffectual" as a means to screen out the noise and activities of the adjacent lounge and bedrooms. Sam's exclusive access to a leisure space at the back of the house which he used as his "golf room" was a compensation for this undesirable work space. If he could not be separate (enough) from his family when he was working, then he could effectively be separate when he pursued his passion for golf. Tom's habit of shutting the doors between the baby's nursery and the home-office, Ethan's separate floor for his home-office and Jim's separate sleeping and work space were similarly suggestive of the spatial boundaries the men created: boundaries that were policed assiduously because of the potential for family members to trespass across them in ways they were unlikely to do on-site.

This policing of the 'home/work' boundary also speaks to the sexualised character of the 'private' arena of the home, a realm culturally associated with femininity, and thus the "intimate, particular, familial, pre-rational, extra civic" (Rose, 1993: 36). It is a spatial arena, Rose argues, which like the subjectivity of domestic femininity itself is "soaked in its sexual being" (ibid). The "stigma" of working at home that Tom alluded to, and his interest in purchasing the tape of 'office noise' that would mask his location at home, is suggestive of how this association with the spatial arena of domesticity *and* femininity is perceived as a threat to the articulation of both 'intelligible' entrepreneurship *and* masculinity. Indeed Cockburn (1983: 134) argues that men's power in households is in part predicated upon their physical *absence* from the home during the working day, where being at home "tarnishes" rather that enhances the exercise of masculine power. Additionally as Ishii-Kuntz (1993) found, fathers were identified as the centre of the Japanese family and the parent whom children perceived they could rely upon, *because* of their *absence* from the house. The lack of a physically *present* father is substituted for by the imposition of the *myth* of the

"thunderous father", a myth that is easier to secure in the minds of Japanese children by their mothers because of the lack of a embodied father to contradict it.

If the home workplace is an example of 'contradictory' or 'paradoxical' space, then the implications of these 'paradoxical spaces' are themselves paradoxical. For example, proximity to the children drove Sam "bloody nuts" *and* allowed him avoid being an "isolated Dad", which he perceived as one of the "joys" of home-based business. Working at home potentially allows contact and new levels of interaction between family members previously separated in space for the bulk of the working week, but it also transforms the home into the locus of the Panopticon-like gaze of the 'public'. Rather than the 'private' realm serving as a haven from the heartless world of business, where men may be "psychologically repaired and the injuries of the daily routine undone" (Finch, 1983: 35), the home may become the site of demands on men by *both* their work and their families. Telework thus constitutes homes as simultaneously part of the 'private' domain and "structurally and experientially" part of the public (ibid: 58), contaminated by the cares of the workaday world from which modernism assumed it was a respite. This has implications for privacy, for the organisation of domestic and paid labour and for the constitution of subjectivity and practice. For example, for men who work from home, the 'impression management' associated with *appearing* to be competent professionals may make this lack of a spatial separation problematic because there is 'no place to hide', as homes become an arena of public visibility and accessibility, rather than a sanctuary from it.

These spatial processes in turn curl back to the discussion of the discursive primacy of work to masculinity which initiated this chapter, where the lack of a spatial separation between 'home' amd 'work' further enforces rather than decentres the primacy of work to these men's subjectivity. If men 'do' business in the same space as they 'do' family, as John's cell phone at the dinner table, Jim's pager in the shower and Ethan's hard-disc in his pocket suggest, then there are no *spatial* markers of *different* territories of the self. Rather, there is only one spatial arena of the subject, and it is dominated by the practices and the subjectivity of the working man. In this context the significance of retaining "psychological and symbolic separations" between the spheres of paid work and home (Collinson and Hearn, 1996: 67) may become important not only as a means of distancing a threatened masculinity from an encroaching feminised sphere, but as a means of carving out a territory of the self not invaded by the 'greedy' tentacles of business.

Home-based Business and New Alliances with (Female) Partners

If 'controlling' the boundary between the 'public' and 'private' is a central theme that emerged in this study, especially for the men, then power within households is another and the location of business in homes is an interesting case in terms of the negotiation of power dynamics between partners. If the women in this study were concerned with the low status of being 'just' mothers, then the men in this study used the power associated with their roles as 'breadwinners' and/or the status and authority of their work, as a basis for power in their households, where the physical presence of work in the house made this power particularly available for use.

This power was demonstrated in a number of ways suggested in the discussion above, such as the men's lack of participation in domestic and caring labour, their expectation that women partners provide domestic services to them when they were working, and their ability to determine when and how participation in non-employment related activities was organised. Additionally, however, men's power in households was demonstrated in the more direct integration of partners into their businesses. This was a significant element of the Jim West and Sam Garden case studies, although the 'servicing' of male partners' businesses was evident in each household with the exception of the Nobles. The large quantitative study of Australian homeworkers (n=343,000) discussed above is strongly suggestive of the *gendered* element of partners' assistance in the businesses of their spouses, where 12% of women cited this as a reason for working from home, compared to only 0.3% of men (Lafferty et al, 1997: 149).

How does the literature account for such differences? Janet Finch's classic (1983) study entitled *Married to the Job: Wives' Incorporation in Men's Work* remains an important contribution to this debate where she argues that the cultural construction of heterosexual marriage, gender relations and the organisation of employment contribute to women's incorporation in men's work. Finch argues that home-based work is a special case of incorporation, because of the physical proximity of wives to their husbands' employment. While few wives would go into their husbands' offices and act as unpaid secretarial support, when women live in their husbands' workplace the question becomes how they can *avoid* incorporation, rather than how they become so incorporated (ibid: 97). Finch argues that there is considerable economic and cultural pressure for wives to support their husbands' home-based work, and in this study both Ann Gray and Sara Garden worked alongside their partners and under their supervision, where the client got both of them "for the price of one" without the man's reliance on the woman's (unpaid) contributions being visible.

While there was evidence in this study of one of the men (Nathan Jolly) working alongside his wife at night, Finch argues that the contributions of women to their husbands' businesses are both more frequent and more often *expected* as part of the marriage contract itself. Business, like marriage, is constituted as a partnership involving a 'team', where the man constitutes a "senior partner" and the woman the "junior partner" (ibid: 104). An interesting consequence of this assertion is the contradiction between the discourse of equality suggested by the notion of partnership in both marriage and business and the *experience* of inequality, and perhaps even exploitation, in *practice*. Sara Garden explicitly used this discourse of "the team" when she talked about her and Sam both taking the "risk" and "deciding together" to start the business, but also indicated that she was not paid as an individual for the work, that she was not acknowledged as a worker in the business and that she only did the lower-skilled "letter flunky" work that Sam chose to delegate to her, rather than having her "own independent area of expertise". However, resisting participating would have been problematic for Sara (even if she had wished to do so) because of the threat it would have posed to the Gardens' livelihood, especially given that Sara had no other paid employment. Furthermore, resisting participating may have been problematic in the Gardens' relationship, where participating in the husband's business may be interpreted as part of "being a good wife" (ibid: 148).

But if these are the pressures which motivate wives' incorporation into husbands' businesses, what of partners such as Ann, who did not rely on Jim as a breadwinner and who was not married to him? In Ann's case the impetus to her incorporation in the business occurred not only through the discourse of 'partnership' but also through the desire to access elements of status and activity conferred by her knowledge of computing. Working in Jim's business gave Ann a 'territory of the self' beyond that attributed to the role of mother and welfare beneficiary, where going to the home-office was like going "out" to work: a source of activity and engagement beyond waiting for Poppy to come home from school or the soporific pleasure of daytime television.

Ann's incorporation into the business was also a means of 'doing' her relationship with Jim, through the dual process of becoming intimate with both Jim's work and with Jim himself. If Jim's 100 hour weeks and passionate interest in his computing and television was pursued to the exclusion of almost everything else, then becoming interested in his business was one (perhaps the only) way of Ann making a connection to him and spending time with him. The business was thus a conduit for the exchange of talk and services between the couple, where Ann demanded praise for her work and physical proximity to Jim by working in the home-office with him, and Jim demanded Ann's unpaid contributions to the business, her prioritisation of working for him over other tasks and his control of what she did and how

it was used. Ann's incorporation into Jim's business serves as a demonstration of Jim's control and power within the household *and* acts as a brake on Finch's (1983) assertion of the seamless fit between the patriarchal structure of marriage and the process of capitalist accumulation, which appropriates women's unpaid labour. That is, it hints at the mobilisation of women's *own* desires and subjectivities in the processes of incorporation. Incorporation of women into their partners' businesses is thus a site for a multiplicity of power moves and attempts to exercise 'control'; a multiplicity that operates within the context of unequal gendered relations, but which also strongly speaks to women's pleasures and desires as well as their 'exploitation'.

'Doing' Business and 'Doing' Gender

Linked to this analysis of home-based entrepreneurship as a site for new alliances with female partners, the following discussion will suggest that teleworking men also experience power and pleasure through 'doing' business in ways that are marked by their gendered subjectivity and practice. That is, this section pursues the notion that men's business subjectivity is shaped through the lens of gendered subjectivity, where the men in this study constituted themselves in business, through and in the process of 'doing' gender. This discussion is organised around the notion of 'business as pleasure', exploring the relationship between the 'men and their machines' (their personal computers) and the notion of work as intrinsically enjoyable.

Loving the Machine for Itself

In Sherry Turkle's *The Second Self: Computers and the Human Spirit* (1984: 210) she describes the "hacker culture" of Massachusetts Institute of Technology as an epitomisation of the male cultural values of "mastery, individualism (and) nonsensuality". It is a workplace culture which is profoundly alien for women according to Turkle; 'hacker culture' is macho culture, because of "the preoccupation with winning and subjecting oneself to increasingly violent tests" which include working non-stop for days on end. These characteristics make 'hacker culture', according to Turkle, "peculiarly male in spirit, peculiarly unfriendly to women" (ibid: 210). These accounts are compelling when run against the interview material generated in this study. The 'violent tests' endured by the men in Turkle's account certainly parallelled the experience of John Sims and Jim West, whose work patterns were characterised by "self-denial, discipline and physical endurance" (Mulholland, 1996: 144), including long hours of work during time usually allocated for sleep or leisure.

Turkle (1984) further suggests that men who participate in the 'hacker culture' use an intimate relationship with the computer as a refuge from and substitute for the more uncertain and complex relationships that characterise social life. Turkle argues that for such men their addiction is not to computer programming but to the issue of control; power and domination can more easily be exercised in the unambiguous world of machinery. In this withdrawal from "animality, the unconscious and ... the feminine" (Pryor, 1991: 589), computers act for some men as automated companions, offering the illusion of companionship without the demands of friendship (Turkle, 1988; Sofia, 1992: 19).

An example of this in this study with teleworking parents was Tom Noble's relationship with his personal computer, which he described as 'really my love'. Dell confirmed Tom's "fascination" with the machine which she associated with the breakdown of his first marriage and the sense of social isolation that he had experienced as a result, as well as his enjoyment of the technology for its own sake:

> (h)e described his time with the computer as a love affair in that his marriage had ended, and that he hadn't lived with his wife for about two years at the time I met him ... and the computer was virtually his only other interest ... so yeah he spent a lot of time with it actually.

Dell observed that the technology was some sort of compensation for 'relational failure'; a source of solace and satisfaction in response to the complex and uneven character of human relating. In this sense the computer took the form of a consuming passion, without the disruption and uncertainty that characterises passion in human relationships. This passion was apparent when Tom talked about the longest period away from his computer, a ten day holiday, where he admitted that:

> In fact I wanted to take (the computer). I wasn't allowed (by Dell). Sounds like a fetish doesn't it? ... If I had a laptop it would have gone, but I didn't. I'd love a laptop now, but it will come.

It is interesting that Tom sustained the sexualised imagery in relation to the computer throughout his narrative, from figuring the computer as "his real love" to in this case a "fetish", suggesting a passionate relationship where the machine is encountered as a thing in itself, related to as a quasi-human entity, a position favoured by computer 'nerds' according to Ihde (1990). Here the need to relate to this quasi-human entity is directly opposed to the need to relate to a fully human entity; or more specifically, for Tom to meet his wife's needs for him to relate to her. At stake were the complex negotiations that

occurred between this couple (and each couple in this study) about how they would share time together, time to work, time with the children and time alone.

An interesting inversion of this idea was the way Tom discussed the work of parenting his baby son Kaz as a "job", including metaphorically figuring Kaz as "just a little feeding machine" that had to be kept "warm and fed and changed etc". If Tom's computer was his "real love" then the baby was symbolically related to as like a modernist massified production system orientated toward inputs and outputs. There was thus an ironic element to Tom's narrative, where the machine was metaphorically related to like a person while the baby was symbolically figured as like a machine. Turkle's (1984) point concerning the substitution of a relationship with the computer for the rather more complex and uneven relationships that characterise social life, is apposite in this regard; passion for the machine is contrasted with a certain automaticity in the relationship with the baby.

Loving the Work for Itself

If some of the men in this study 'loved' their computers, then they similarly 'loved' their work, and it was through work that they felt skilful, engaged and experienced themselves as 'innovators' and as 'in control'. For them, work was not a 'grind', despite the long hours and the forfeit of meals, sleep and leisure they may have endured in order pursue their businesses. Nor did they work primarily for profit or for a chance to enjoy the 'good life'; rather, the work *itself* was experienced as pleasurable. John Sims demonstrated both his enthusiasm for his work and his sense of himself as an "innovator", when he asked me what kind of telecommunications technologies I commonly used. When I mentioned an interactive video experience I had recently had, his response was to describe me as a 'conservative' reliant on 'old' references to face-to-face contact, positioning himself in contrast as a "futurist" who interacted with "international experts", where his only contact would ever be via the screen or the phone line. In this sense Turkle tempered her original critique of computer nerds as isolated, asocial beings in an interview she gave, by providing a more optimistic view of such men as those committed to understanding, innovation, and as demonstrating a love of learning about new things and solving problems, all of which have an "aesthetic quality" (Else, 1996: 40).

This issue of 'loving the work' and the 'aesthetics' of programming was also evident in Ethan Reid's tendency to extend work time because he found it both absorbing and "enjoyable". Although Ethan found aspects of his work for the organisation boring and routine, he, like John and Tom, was extremely involved in his computer work which he described as "intellectually stimulating" (288) and which engaged him in a way that

encouraged him to work the long hours that were typical in this study. He said "I think about solving problems ... in some ways my recreation *is* solving problems, you tend to blur the line between recreation and work". Kim confirmed Ethan's enjoyment of his work and the 'blurring' of the boundary between 'work' and 'recreation' and said:

> well he does get immense fulfilment, I mean he's very lucky I think, that he does enjoy his work so much. When he's planning and developing things, he really enjoys it. You know I think that's really wonderful. It's enjoyment as well as his work (40).

Teleworking thus offered the men in this study work experiences both *pleasurable* and *dangerous*. That is, although teleworking men face the 'dangers' of income insecurity and overwork, they also experience new *pleasures* of engagement, control and a sense of mastery engendered by their work. Such pleasures were signalled by the sense of exhilaration and engagement suggested by John and Jim's testimonies, pleasures likened by one software programmer in Wajcman and Probert's study (1988: 61) to taking heroin:

> I would say quite honestly that the prime consideration in my life is my work .... and that has caused all sorts of problems, personal problems and I am the first to admit that I don't spend enough time doing the normal things that people do. I tend to think, live and breathe my work, um [notices something come up on computer screen] ... I mean, to stay away from the computer for any length of time is like withdrawing from heroin.

The narrator in this account invokes drug addiction as the same kind of 'risky pleasure' as work addiction: compelling, mind altering, compulsive. It is this quote which most sparked my interest in this area when I began writing about telework in 1991, because of the intriguingly addictive behaviour it suggested. In this sense there are a number of people in this study who are 'addicted' to their work. Some are more like addicts too hooked to the drug to really enjoy it (Hochschild, 1989: 115), where Nora for example, had lost the 'taste' for her work but did not see any alternative to the 'treadmill' she was on. For others, such as Jim and John, the 'addiction' was maintained in part because of the way their partners facilitated the continuation of a particular focus on their work and partly because the discipline of working at this pace was in itself experienced as pleasurable, and as a confirmation of self.

Telework and the Disciplined Self

The issue of 'addiction' to work, or a 'heightened orientation' to work, emerges throughout this thesis as both a *pleasure* of home-based work and a *concern,* and is something which all of the teleworking men and women in this study participated in to some extent. It is, however, perhaps most particularly visible in the narratives of John Sims and Jim West, where the heightened orientation of these men to their work, their lack of participation in domesticity and the disciplining of the bodies in time and space to facilitate their constant availability, suggests an extreme form of work intensification. It may be that the 'flexibility' of teleworking time and space, and the porous boundary between the 'public' and 'private', opens up the home to become the "new frontier of capitalist and patriarchal colonization" (Hennessy, 1993: 90), a frontier where the 'greedy' organisation is invited to take up residence in the heart of the 'private' arena, the home.

Yet, contra to Hennessy, it is also the case that the men in this study, particularly, actively *pursued* and *participated in* this heightened orientation to their work. The notion of the *pleasure* of their work was so dominant in the men's narratives that it could not be ignored, and is so different to the exploitation thesis of a Marxist analysis of modernism where Marx argued that:

> (T)he worker does not affirm himself in his work but denies himself, feels miserable and unhappy, develops no free physical and mental energy but mortifies his flesh and ruins his mind. The worker therefore feels at ease only outside work, and during work he is outside himself. He is at home when he is not working and when he is working he is not at home (1967: 292).

Clearly the experience of men in this study contradicts this account on a number of levels. They did feel affirmed by their work, happy in its execution and stressed when separated from it, intellectually engaged with it, at ease in its pursuit, and 'at home', literally and figuratively, when they were working. The men in this study were not 'alienated' from their labour or its products in Marx's terms, and yet they exploited *themselves* with an intensity that paralleled the demands of the fourteen hour shifts of the nineteenth century factory upon which Marx was commentating.

Miller and Rose (1993: 100) argue that such practices reflect not the alienation, but the *self-regulating* capacities of the worker. The desire of the worker for personal goals, discursively constructs the subject as actively seeking to shape or manage their own lives in order to maximise returns in terms of success and achievement. The psychological striving

of individuals for autonomy and creativity, channelled into a search for excellence and success in enterprise, suggests an alignment between the self-regulating capacities of individuals and the requirements of the enterprise. The self-actualisation of the worker *and* the competitive advancement of the enterprise are one "where the practices of work and the practices of subjectivity are aligned" (ibid: 101).

This kind of analysis suggests the utility of self-regulation and self-discipline to strategies of management control in organisations (Knights and Morgan, 1990: 371). It also provides an insight into the 'management of the self' more generally, and how the individual's sense of "subjective competence" generates "internal discipline". This process does not require the organisational 'other' to have its affect, but can be secured through the dual processes of normalisation and the surveillance by the Panopticon-like 'gaze' of the client. For example, the practices and discourses of normalisation to which teleworking men are subject include the norms regarding the centrality of work to the construction of an intelligible masculinity and the control of the separation between the 'public' and 'private' discussed above. Foucault (1965; 1995) has made clear the truth/power relations inscribed in the classification of the 'normal', where the desire to pass as a 'normal' businessman is particularly significant for those engaged in 'non-standard' work at home, as the men's disciplining of themselves and their families suggest.

The processes of self-surveillance reflect a similar pursuit of the 'ideal' of masculine entrepreneurship which John Sims explicitly identified as the perpetually available professional, such as he himself embodied. Like the rising sales targets of the insurance sales personnel in Knights and Morgan's (1990) study, the men in this study strove to reach and maintain targets they themselves set: about the hours they worked, their contactability and/or the contracts they secured. In this sense the 'project' of masculinity and the 'project' of the working self merge, because:

> masculine subjects control not least themselves. The self acquires the status of a project to be worked upon, policed for weaknesses, fought against, pushed and honed to meet the refinements of the ideal (Kerfoot and Knights, 1996: 91)

Additionally, the home-based work place may meet Foucault's (1995: 201) criteria of a "state of conscious and visually visibility" he associates with the Panoplicon's disciplinary power. Although they are not permanently "visible" to the eye, home-based workers are often permanently 'accessible' aurally and electronically, arming themselves with a flotilla of technological aids to facilitate this accessibility. This accessibility, and the requirement of constant vigilance and monitoring of the professional self lest one be called upon, link to

the 'project' of control detailed above, such as the control of time or space. These practices bring into being a "new individuality" where the subject is both disciplined and disciplinarian (Bartky, 1990: 79), where, as Foucault suggests:

> he who is subjected to the field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection (1995: 203)

A "subjected and practised" individual is produced, Foucault argues, where the individual, knowing they may be observed (contacted) at any time, takes over the job of policing themselves. Disciplinary practices are internalised, rather than imposed from without, in the production of "isolated and self policing" (Bartky, 1990: 79) subjects, of which the 'wired' individual within the electronic cottage is a prime example. Disciplinary power gains its distinctive character for Foucault because it is "everywhere and always alert, since by its very principle it leaves no zone of shade" (1995: 177). This analysis resonates with Nora's complaints about having to leave home to be 'free' of the business, where the 'treadmill' of the work left no 'zone of shade' either temporally or spatially when she was physically present in the house. The disciplinary power to which the entrepreneur is subject is everywhere and nowhere, it is "visible and unverifiable" (ibid: 201), it is in the *potential* for the next phone call John takes at the dinner table to be a major client, or the next fax Tess receives at two in the morning to be the longed for lucrative contract.

The home-based business thus becomes a site where subjectivity becomes "impregnated with the job" (Knights and Morgan, 1990: 379), and where a sense of self is both sustained and threatened (ibid: 385). However, this transformation of discipline into an internal system of self-improvement is not just a negative and constraining process, but positive and productive because work represents the experience, for both the women and men in this study, of *being in control* of their lives, in contrast to the less controllable experience of marriage, family or redundancy from the organisation. Whatever its ultimate effect, Bartky (1990: 77) argues, discipline can provide the individual with a sense of mastery, and potentially a secure sense of self where subjectivity is generated in the sense of skill and competence associated with the practices of the disciplined self.

Additionally, for the men, the experience of a *dichotomy* between 'home' and 'work' suggested by Marx (1967), or work and leisure, is a false one. It is through work that these men felt engaged, stimulated and enjoyed themselves; through work they experienced themselves as powerful, talented and masterful. Throughout Julia's discussion of John's

"overwork" as a 'problem' there was a clear sense of her awareness of his enjoyment of the work, of his "sharpness", his "tremendous intensity". For the men particularly, work was not a drudge: they did not work for the money or for the weekend, where neither income or leisure time were often in large supply. Rather, their work was intimately entwined with issues of subjectivity, power and control, where the success of the business was not just about material advancement but critical to questions of an intelligible self.

The harshness of these regimes on their bodies, on their relationships and on their children, were endured in part because they were perceived as "necessary or inevitable" (Bartky, 1990: 81). Their bodies or their families were perceived of as a constraint, thwarting the disciplinary 'project' of the self bent on a single-minded focus on the work. Jim's feeling that Ann's talkitiveness was a "problem" that he had to "discipline", Sam's sense that the merging of home and work was a "mess" he needed to clearly separate out, and John's temporal and spatial separateness from the rhythms of his family, were all suggestive of the different practices the men used to pursue the working self. If Apter (1993) fears that home-based work may become a new form of 'house arrest', then this image is provocatively suggested in Nora's awareness that she hadn't gone out the front gate in five days or Pam's 'wondering what the sky looked like' after long periods of working inside without a break. This notion of 'house arrest' has a further metaphoric utility, in that teleworking women and men become their own 'jailers', imprisoned not by a disciplinary institution but by the stimulation of productive forms of power where the rewards of compliance are a sense of control, of competence and of a coherent sense of self.

Summary: Shifting Selves vs. the Persistent Centrality of Work to Masculine Subjectivity

This chapter, and Chapter Five concerning the teleworking women, make a specifically sociological contribution to the analysis of home-based work by focusing on the micro-politics of families, the gendered subjectivities of teleworkers, the restructuring and externalisation of professional work and the reconfiguration of the timing and spatial location of employment. In doing so this discussion has suggested that telework is a form of work organisation which resists unitary or monodimensional analyses, particularly ones that suggest that technology or 'latent' entrepreneurism alone shape this phenomenon. Telework is both 'pleasurable' and 'dangerous', 'libratory' and 'enslaving', or indeed elements of "both-and" (Lather, 1991: 154) a range of ambivalent and contradictory positionings between these poles.

This emphasis on the 'multiple readings' of telework as an employment practice in turn curl back to the issue of 'multiple masculinities' with which this chapter began. Turkle (1995: 261) suggests that an appropriate metaphor for the notion of multiple selves (masculinities) is suggested by the self as 'multiple drafts', analogous to the experience of having several documents open on a computer screen which the user moves in and between. In this negotiation of multiple subjectivities and practices by teleworking men, Turkle's metaphor of the computer is an apposite one, suggesting as it does multiplicity, dynamism and creativity in the constitution and reconstitution of self. This sense of dynamism and multiplicity is evident in practice within the Noble family and in Sara Garden's participation with Sam in the home-based business, where both families suggest the ways in which teleworking may open up new opportunities for the negotiation of gendered relations and subjectivity and of the reconfiguration of the intersection of 'home' and 'work'.

And yet what the analysis of masculinities also suggests, and what the narrative accounts generated in this study point to, is the coexistence of a tendency toward *one particular* version of the self to predominate for men, that associated with the working self. To redeploy Turkle's metaphor, a number of 'drafts' of the self may be open and available, but the disk operating system that lies beneath them signals a continuing allegiance to a version of masculinity associated with work. It is this primacy of paid work, and an ability to clear space and time in order to practice this primacy, which so differentiates the women's narratives in this study from the men's. This in turn suggests deeper differences in the constitution of gendered subjectivity where the decentring of women's subjectivities as home-based parents, partners and professionals is contrasted to the singularity of work to the practices of self associated with the men. The implications of these issues for the theorisation of subjectivity, for telework research and for policy, are shaped into the discussion which will conclude this thesis.

Chapter 8

Concluding Thoughts: Negotiating 'Home' and 'Work' Selves

In considering the implications of telework for gender relations Huws (1997: 204) suggests that teleworking is a complex work practice, equally able to reinforce existing inequalities between women and men or challenge them:

> there is no simple answer to the question, 'does teleworking promote equality of opportunity between men and women?'. The answer to such a question must be a conditional one beginning with the words 'it depends'. What it depends on includes the family and life-cycle circumstances and living situation of the teleworker, his or her skills and abilities, the attitudes and practices of employers and the attitudes and practices of spouses or partners as well as his or her personal inclinations.

The argument this thesis similarly pursued has suggested that telework is a form of work organisation which resists unitary or monodimensional analyses, particularly ones that suggest that technology or 'latent' entrepreneurism alone shape this phenomenon. This thesis has suggested that teleworking is both 'pleasurable' and 'dangerous', 'libratory' and 'enslaving', and indeed elements of "both-and" (Lather, 1991: 154), represented by a range of ambivalent and contradictory positionings between these two poles.

In the following chapter, the central arguments of the thesis are summarised in order to illustrate their implications for research regarding home-based employment, feminist methodology and theories of subjectivity, drawing together the different foci pursued in the research into one dedicated discussion.

The Research Questions

The thesis began by firstly exploring teleworkers' narratives of employment insecurity engendered by organisational restructuring, in addition to the place of gendered hierarchies and practices within work cultures which may push (particularly women) employees out of organisations, or which make their continued occupation within them untenable. Additionally, the structuring of domestic and caring labour and its effect upon women's and men's engagement in paid employment was also pursued in order to explore how this contributed or not to their movement into home-based work. These questions were addressed through an examination of the teleworkers' paid and unpaid work histories in order to understand *why* they did not re-enter or left the comparative security of employment within organisations for the more immediate costs and risks of home-based self-employment.

The second and most central question the thesis then addressed concerned the practices and subjectivities of home-based entrepreneurs in terms of the question:

> *how do women and men negotiate the discourses of paid work, parenting and domestic labour when these occur in the same place and at the same time in the site of domestic dwellings?*

That is, the thesis set out to explore how teleworkers negotiated the discourses of entrepreneurship and domesticity when these both occurred in their homes, with a particular focus on the congruences or dissimilarities of these negotiations on the part of women and men. The thesis further investigated the effect of the making and crossing of boundaries between 'home' and 'work' and the 'public' and 'private' represented in home-based work, and how this was shaped by the constitution and reconstitution of the gendered subjectivities and practices of the family, heterosexual coupledom and entrepreneurship. In order to both shape and address these questions, elements of poststructuralist and socialist feminisms, in addition to Foucauldian thought and aspects of the labour process literature, were taken-up. These were used to theorise the contradictory positioning of teleworkers within a complex matrix of discourse, potentially experienced simultaneously because of the lack of the usual spatial and temporal boundaries between them.

These two questions provided a framework to structure the analysis of home-based entrepreneurship for women and men in terms of the discursive constitution of the teleworking 'self' through and within domesticity and entrepreneurship, while

contextualising these teleworkers' narratives within the organisational employment that they had left behind.

Key Insights

The following discussion groups the key insights which emerged in the course of the research in the analysis and theorisation of the teleworkers' narratives of 'home' and 'work'. These occur in the following sequence, parallelling the focus of the research questions, namely: why the *women* left or did not re-enter the comparative security of organisational employment and took up home-based work, how they negotiated *domesticity* as home-based entrepreneurs, and how they negotiated *entrepreneurship* as teleworking mothers; followed by a parallel discussion for the men. These central ideas which emerged from the analysis of the narratives are evocative of the relationship between the discourses of the organisation, entrepreneurship and domesticity and the construction of gendered subjectivity. These discourses both 'constituted' and were 'constitutive' or productive of teleworkers' subjectivities and practices, as they negotiated within and between the realms of 'home' and 'work' as home-based businesses people. The discussion of both the women and the men concludes with a reflection on the contribution the thesis makes to the theorisation of gendered subjectivity and practice to particularly feminist scholarship.

Why the Women Took Up Home-based Entrepreneurship

The analysis of the women's narrative material suggested two clear pathways into teleworking, one directly from professional work 'inside' the organisation into self-employment at home, the other 'out of' full-time domesticity within the home into paid employment in the form of home-based entrepreneurship. Both pathways were suggestive of the discursive construction of the 'good mother/wife' and the 'fit worker' and the ways in which the women struggled with these simultaneous injunctions and the demands they placed upon them.

For the women who entered telework directly following engagement in professional work within organisations, leaving the organisation was 'chosen' over struggling to remain within it. These women's narratives suggested that their transition from on-site employment into home-based work was not simple or unproblematic, in contrast to the assumption that women 'choose' teleworking because it is 'family friendly'. Rather, the women's transitions out of on-site employment were marked by histories of conflict with organisations, a sense of futility in attempting to remain within 'alien' workplaces and a high degree of ambivalence about the implications of leaving in terms of career advancement and income.

These women's narratives emphasised their search for an alternative work culture to those which they had experienced as inflexible, politically hostile and/or as problematically riven with discourses of the family and sexuality, such that they stepped out of the organisation into the relative 'safety' of self-employment at home. In a labour market where men are paid and rewarded more for their working time, where more work time is increasingly demanded of all workers and where work cultures remain inflexible, this study is suggestive of how changes in the structure and character of organisational employment are occurring at a pace that is slower than that desired by the women such organisations employ. As home-based entrepreneurs, the women in this study faced employment insecurity and financial risk, and yet they played off these risks against the desire to more actively craft and control their working lives.

In contrast, for the women who had been out of the paid workforce for some time, home-based self-employment appeared to be more 'family friendly' and attractive than the low paid, low skilled, part-time work they felt was available to them within organisations. The consequences of years out of the paid workforce on their qualifications and subsequent labour market position, in addition to the continuing limits domesticity placed on their participation in career work, made flexible work that continued to locate them at home an attractive 'compromise'.

For both sets of women, the implications of this compromised and compromising movement out of, or away from, organisational employment and into home-based work were contradictory. For example, although *apparently* 'flexible' in terms of 'being their own boss' and thus seemingly able to set their own hours, the kind of home-based businesses all of the teleworking women in this study set up entailed extremely long working days subject to client demands and deadlines. The businesses also operated in a context where the women did not experience the benefits and protections as employees they might have enjoyed if they had returned to organisational employment. It may have been the case that if more 'family friendly' workplace policies had been enshrined in the law and in the organisations that had or could have employed them, the women may have been better enabled to retain or re-enter organisational employment.

'Choosing' to telework, rather than rejoining organisational employment or continuing within it, was read as an example of the constituted and constituting nature of two simultaneous and contradictory discursive injunctions, that is, that these women be 'good' mothers/partners *and* 'fit' workers (Butler, 1990: 145). This analysis emphasised both sides of this dynamic where the women actively *resisted* the inflexibilities and sexualised hierarchies of organisations, while *accommodating* the expectations of partners and children

that they would continue to perform the majority of unpaid work at home. That is, they acted and chose, but they did so within the contextualising discourses and practices of asymmetrical domestic arrangements and the inflexible structures of organisational employment which continued to *constrain* their actions and choices.

However they were not entirely so constrained, as in a structuralist reading, because their home-based businesses indicated what could occur in the spaces *between* these two contradictory discursive positionings: that they be the primary caregivers/housekeepers in their households and that they generate income. In this analysis the subject is neither fully determined by discourse nor is an agent 'free to choose' between discourses, but is constitutive and constituted, in and through the act of 'doing gender'. In this dynamic process the women represented here are understood as neither fatally determined, foundational or fixed, nor radically free and autonomous, but rather *positioned* within contested discursive fields "open to resignification, redeployment, subversive citation from within, and interruption and inadvertent convergences" (Butler, 1995: 135).

It was significant that leaving or not re-entering organisational employment and setting up a business at home was available in the "pattern of possibility" (Marshall, 1995: 160) for these Pakeha (Anglo), educated, professional women and the presentations that I have given on this topic suggest it is attractive to many more (see Armstrong, 1997a and b). Telework was chosen over continuing within organisational employment which was experienced as problematic, or recommencing it which was perceived as inflexible. While in itself telework was problematically 'risky' in terms of fluctuations in client demand, income, employment benefits and relatively low levels of pay for the hours invested, nevertheless it spoke to these women's desires and subjectivities. Their narratives also expressed the dynamism of non-standard work practices which are transforming "who does what work, when and how" (Huws, 1997: 201).

Negotiating Domesticity as a Home-based Entrepreneurial Woman

Leaving or remaining outside the organisation was not only a personal 'choice', but part of the wider set of practices by which these women were actively reconstructing the relationship between 'home' and 'work'. In the 'spaces' *between* these two spheres emerged possibilities for innovation, pleasure and productive forms of power. Such possibilities for new narratives and practices of the self were suggested by the women's negotiation of domesticity within the context of home-based entrepreneurship.

Domesticity, in the form of domestic, caring and emotional labour, emerged as both a burden and a source of power and subjectivity, for these home-based businesswomen. Their

negotiation of the sometimes complementary, sometimes contradictory, subject positions of professional women and mothers/partners, suggested the complexity of these multiple locations. These women simultaneously rejected the stereotype of the 'boring mum' and yet affiliated with domesticity as a significant source of subjectivity and practice.

By working at home the women confronted and/or embraced the recentering of the importance of their families and homes in their working lives, because their very proximity brought the two together in a very immediate way. While all of them negotiated boundaries between their 'work' and their 'homes', domesticity for a number of the women was not 'just' (or even predominantly) experienced as a constraint on their business practice, but as a source of pleasure and identification. Although domesticity may be increasingly undervalued in Aotearoa/New Zealand as the 'job culture' and marketisation of domestic services erodes its cultural status, these women who worked at home attempted to hold in dynamic balance a commitment to both their families and their work. Their practices of eating lunch with their partners, breast feeding throughout the working day or stopping to be with children after school in order to enjoy shared activities, suggested the ways in which they were in pursuit of a career *and* of domestic femininity. Yet the discussion of the practices by which women 'cut back' on their time and engagement with their children, their partners and themselves, suggested how these desires and practices were often in tension with the prerogatives of business, experienced ambivalently, and had contradictory outcomes.

For example the promise of "time sovereignty" (Huws, 1997: 207), held out as a major advantage of telework in the literature, was *in practice* a much more ambiguous experience. A sense of being in control of time existed alongside a sense of being constantly interrupted and/or interruptible in the overlapping realms of 'home' and 'work'. In these ambiguous moments teleworking women navigated their way *within* and *through* domesticity as home-based entrepreneurs, rather than *around it* as did the men. A single-minded preoccupation with the business was not possible for them (although sometimes desired) while maintaining an 'intelligible' subject positioning as a mother and partner, in the way that it was for the men in this study.

Negotiating Entrepreneurship as a Teleworking Mother

This discussion of domesticity suggests that teleworking was a means for the mothers in this study of maintaining their commitment to their children, partners and their homes, while simultaneously achieving an independent sphere of activity in the form of a home-based business. Although teleworking women in this research may have experienced fluctuating

employment or economic insecurity in their businesses, or felt they were in a weak position vis-à-vis client demands and deadlines, the discursive construction of being self-employed entrepreneurs was still centrally organised for them around the business as a site of 'autonomous' practice and subjectivity. This discourse of autonomy was not just a 'feeling' which masked the 'real' relations of exploitation these women were located within, as the labour process literature tends to suggest (eg Granger et al, 1995; Fothergill, 1994), although unpaid work, long hours and low levels of pay were also present. Rather, economic relations were not the *only* locus of power that was at play in these teleworking women's lives. In the context of gendered familial *and* organisational relations, 'autonomy' from both was a highly valued element of these women's narrative constructions of themselves and each of them emphasised in different ways the importance of making their own decisions and *being in control* of their home-based businesses. This is not to romanticise teleworking or to gloss over the difficulties and insecurities of running a business from home, but to suggest, as in Mackinnon's research (1991: 118), that *both* elements were present and existed in tension; discourses of economic dependence and unequal responsibilities for domesticity were in circulation *at the same time* as discourses of autonomy and flexibility.

The discussion of entrepreneurship as a means to renegotiate household practices and relationships, or for the refiguring of business as mothering, or as teaching, were indicative of what Butler (1995: 135) refers to as the interruptions and redeployments of discourses by subjects located in the junctures of their multiplicity. In the midst of this discursive flux, such women did "catch a glimpse of themselves as individuals with power in many different ways" (Gibson-Graham, 1995: 182), but 'with' power that was located within the complexity and contradictions of family and entrepreneurial relations. Rather than 'controlling' and 'choosing' between domesticity and entrepreneurship, these women navigated *across* the dynamic and contested ground of 'home' and 'work', where their home-based businesses were a source of independent activity and identification, a lever of power in their relationships and a burden with few temporal or spatial brakes upon it. Located within and between the 'intricate folds' of identification with 'both-and' domesticity and entrepreneurship, these women wrestled with this multiplicity of subject positions and the demands they simultaneously placed upon them, with results both profitable, pleasurable and tiring.

Theorising Women's Subjectivities and Practices

The thesis pursued the argument that discourses of domesticity and entrepreneurship constitute the "lived and actual experience" of subjects and that these discourses come to

"articulate the possibilities in which subjects achieve intelligibility" (Butler, 1995: 143) as home-based businesswomen. That is, the theoretical impetus of the thesis argued that the teleworkers were positioned *inside* of the discursive construction of gendered subjectivity and practice and that these discourses *constituted* and are *constitutive of* them as they are 'taken up' (Butler, 1990: 145). In this model teleworkers were understood as neither fully determined by discursive configurations, nor agents 'free to choose' between discourses, but rather subjects constituted in and through the act of 'doing gender'.

In this framework, teleworking women's subjectivities were understood as produced in 'both-and' the discourses of domesticity and/or entrepreneurism, in addition to a range of other discursive possibilities not examined here, such as religion or ethnicity. These "patchwork" subjectivities (Stacey, 1991: 16) are suggested by the emergence of the 'home-based entrepreneurial mother', and the power and desire associated with the women's dual and simultaneous positioning within both domesticity *and* entrepreneurship. Moreover, the effect of the multiplicity of discursive routes which constitute teleworking women's subjectivities is evoked by the imagery of 'patchwork' itself, and the sense of sewing together incongruous and competing practices into the fabric of everyday life. For example, the contradiction for women of teleworking in order to 'be available' to their children as mothers and their *simultaneous* restrictions on their availability to their children as entrepreneurs, suggests the heterogeneity and "irreducible *scrappiness*" of subjectivities that is an effect of its multiple and dynamic crafting (Herrnstein Smith, 1988: 148, original emphasis).

However, if such subjectivities are 'scrappy', more like unravelling rag rugs than neatly appliquéd patchworks, they may also be more 'secure', in the sense that such women may be less vulnerable to the rupture or cessation of any one particular element of subjectivity, such as that associated with work. Because of the investment and identification with a number of discursive sites through which subjectivity is constituted, the 'project' of the 'intelligible' self for teleworking mothers may be *less* fragile *because* it is more *decentred,* that is, constructed through and in a variety of discourses, such as mothering, partnering and entrepreneurship. While men's subjectivities are also constructed through a variety of discursive routes, the present study and the 'masculinities' literature provocatively suggest the tendency for one particular aspect of subjectivity to emerge as central, that associated with work. In so far as men may attempt to construct and maintain this particular sense of self, this singularity of focus may also be a source of fragility in the process of "selving" (Davies, 1997), threatened by changes in work or the cessation of employment. The teleworking women's narratives in this study suggested that they more readily coped with and integrated changing 'work' and 'family' circumstances and shifts in emphasis in the

balance between 'home' and 'work', while the men's narratives suggested the shoring up of the centrality of work to their sense of self and the problematic nature of doing so in a context of both employment and income insecurity and their proximity to domesticity.

Why the Men Took Up Home-based Entrepreneurship

In contrast to the women in this study, the teleworking men were not located between the discursive construction of the 'fit worker' and the 'good father/husband' where the 'choice' to leave or to not re-enter the organisation could be understood as a reflection of their struggles with these simultaneous injunctions and the demands they placed upon them. Rather, the men's practices and narratives of the organisation largely suggest their *alignment* with them and the injunction to be a 'fit' worker, and the ways in which they participated and colluded with the notion that the subject position of the worker is the central masculine 'project' of the self. Because of this, redundancy was the primary impetus for the engagement in home-based work for all the men but one in this study. While the practices of the organisation were experienced as problematic for the men, including the structuring of time, the rigidities of organisational practices and the persistence of employment insecurity in their chosen occupations, these were only a *factor* in the decision to take up home-based work in combination with their subsequent redundancy.

The experience of the four men who established home-based businesses directly following the experience of redundancy, suggests that setting-up a business at home was both an expedient 'choice' of employment *and* an attempt to craft a working life where they had more *control* as their own boss, particularly in terms of an organisation no longer being in a position to terminate their employment. If 'being in control' is a key element of the dominant construction of masculinity (Kerfoot and Knights, 1996: 85), and paid work a central 'project' of the masculine self, then teleworking offered the men more 'control' over their working lives in a context of employment insecurity. It also *simultaneously* raised the spectre of the *lack* of control in terms of income, longevity of contracts and temporal and spatial boundaries. Thus the desire for 'control' was worked against by the character of their employment as home-based and self-employed, where the quest for security and self-determination represented by teleworking was undercut by the very nature of the alternative work pursued.

Like the women in this study, the 'choice' to establish a business at home was 'available' to these men and held up as an ideal in the popular media for many others (eg Frontline, 1992; Henderson, 1997). For both the men and the women in this study, leaving organisational employment was not just a 'personal' choice' but rather part of a wider

cultural narrative of 'home' and 'work', albeit a story which is told differently by women and men. That is, the women focused on the untenable nature of continued organisational employment as women and mothers, or the impossibility of organisational employment given their responsibilities to their children and households. The reasons the men gave for establishing a home-based business echoed the economic narrative of declining employment security, restricted job opportunities and the quest for an 'intelligible' working self, where unemployment represented a significant threat not only to incomes, but to their subject positioning as a men and breadwinners. In the midst of these different constituting relations, and the discursive injunction to primarily be a 'good worker' (where being a good worker was conflated with being a good 'provider'), the 'space' for teleworking to represent an opportunity for a new crafting of the relationship between 'home' and 'work' for the men was significantly reduced. Home-based employment did not, for example, necessarily lead to greater participation in fathering or domestic labour, and in a number of cases led to the significant curtailment and containment of these practices as being in competition with the prerogatives of business. Working from home did not significantly alter men's primary orientation to their work in terms of both their practices and subjectivities, and in all but Tom's case shored up the centrality of work to the 'project' of masculinity as the temporal and spatial 'brakes' which may have limited this singular focus were removed.

Negotiating Domesticity as a Home-based Entrepreneurial Man

If the central question that shapes this thesis concerns the management of the competing subject positions of paid worker, parent and partner in the home, then this research suggests that the degree to which women and men experience this combination as problematic is significantly mediated by gendered subjectivity and practice. That is, irrespective of the teleworking women's alignment with the subject positions of mother and partner vis-à-vis that of businesswoman, all of them managed 'their' domestic labour in a way that the teleworking men did not.

In contrast to the women, domesticity was not a major source of subjectivity and practice for the teleworking men, where the location of their businesses at home did not raise the dilemma of juggling 'work' and 'family' although it *could* do so, as Tom's example suggested. Rather, working from home was more likely to be constituted as an experience of conducting work in an arena where the men were *freer* to pursue their businesses without the burdens of office sociability and the strictures of office space and time. Additionally these men tended to receive support services from partners when they worked at home, both because these women picked up domestic and caring labour while their partners pursued their entrepreneurial activity at 'unsocial' times, and also through the direct domestic

servicing of men, including in some cases women's unpaid contributions to the functioning of the business.

The 'electronic cottage' in this study failed to deliver Toffler's (1980) promise of men's integration into domestic routines and the more equitable organisation of gendered relations within households, when their work became home-based. Rather, the men's testimonies in this research suggested the ways in which 'flexible' work time and space created more *rigid* sexual divisions of labour. The men's businesses had a tendency to 'take over' elements of households and families, and indeed the men themselves in terms of their fixation with technology, their long hours of work and/or the need to expand their businesses or their earnings. In this context, men's location in the home did not *decentre* their experience of the 'working self'. Their proximity to their children, partners and households did not necessarily make these elements of their subjectivities as fathers, partners or household members more important; but rather the lack of spatial and temporal boundaries around paid work at home allowed the work to take over aspects of the household and come to dominate the self and family life.

For example, the men in this study (with the exception of Tom) prided themselves on how productive they were at home, how uninterrupted they managed to be and the long and 'unsocial' hours they managed to work. This singular focus was premised on the off-loading of domestic responsibilities on to their female partners, where the men's ability to work 'flexibly' critically relied upon their partner's time and labour. Hearn (1996: 208) argues that the analysis of the discursive and multiple meanings of masculinities must not neglect the fundamental question of the relationship between masculinities and what men *do,* their "material practices". In this study the attention to practices in relation to the men was particularly significant in terms of the pattern of non-reciprocated exchanges between the men and their partners in the form of domestic labour and ancillary support services for businesses. If Hochschild (1989: 125) observed that men expect to "receive at home and give at work", then for teleworking men *what women give* is both domestic and caring labour and (in some cases) unpaid contributions to the business where men's location in the home *broadened* the breadth and temporal range of the sphere of women's giving.

In the context of telework there may be a nostalgia for the man of the 'modern' family, that is, the male breadwinner with dependents, the rigid separation of 'public' and 'private', the tendency for men to stay married, to earn relatively lucrative wages and to spend more time with their children; a nostalgia, in short, for fathers who "stayed around" (Stacey, 1996: 36). Teleworking fathers, while seeming to return to aspects of the 'modern' father in terms of being physically proximate to their families, may not necessarily "stay around". Such men

are perhaps even *less available* to their families because their work could occur at any time of the day or night. In this context, any performance of domestic or caring labour appears to be an *alternative* to working, where there is no space and time *after* or *before* work; only a fluid temporal and spatial boundary and a compelling economic logic and subjective injunction to continue to labour.

Reviewing these themes in relation to Tom's case as a home-based businessman and primary parent, allowed some critical reflection on the tendency to homogenise the men's experience of home-based work, invoking a discussion of the *continuities* and *discontinuities* between his account and those of the other men. The discussion suggested that Tom's practices of sharing domestic labour and being an involved father destabilised social demarcations of sexuality and gender and disrupted the governing constructions of 'normative' masculinity. However, even for Tom, domesticity was a source of ambivalent identification cut across by concerns about doing 'enough' business to maintain his primary allegiance to work. Tom saw himself as a primary caregiver by *circumstance*, rather than conviction, and *in addition* to running his own business, and was ultimately unwilling to engage in further 'role reversals' with his partner. Tom's case disturbs the literature regarding masculine entrepreneurial selves and their wholesale abandonment of the 'private' sphere (Mulholland, 1996), by introducing new, hybrid subject positions such as that of the 'home-based working father'. But the expression of such hybrid selves is a struggle between the ways circumstances, such as those of the labour market, negotiations within couples, and issues of subjectivity, allow or dampen the expression of these innovations.

The analysis of the men and domesticity was additionally important as a counterpoint to the discussion of the teleworking women distancing themselves from domestic and caring labour, primarily by organising other woman to perform this work. The word 'distancing' was important in this context because the women's ability to participate in entrepreneurial activity was almost always conditional upon organising some *alternative* person or means to complete this work '*for* them'. Some of the extremely work-focused practices of some of the men were simply not *available* to the women while maintaining an 'intelligible' positioning as a 'wife' and 'mother', despite their palpable desire to at times lead these kinds of lives. The sense of guilt, of conflict and of 'failure' as entrepreneurs and mothers/wives that accompanied the women's narratives, were *absent* in the narratives of the men, where the men's single-minded focus on their work more often made them feel powerful and successful, rather than conflicted.

The men in this study who ran businesses from home were not looking for a balance between domesticity and career they were *not*, in other words, in pursuit of a career and of

'domestic' masculinity. The discussion of off-loading the housework and child care and of 'cutting back' on the relationship and themselves, suggested the singularity of the men's focus on their businesses and the tension this created with the rhythms and demands of the household and family. Such men could be seen to navigate their way *around* domesticity, rather than *within* and *through* it, and yet they too were faced with the dilemma of what they 'chose' and how they 'controlled' it, played out on the contested ground of the home-workplace.

Negotiating Entrepreneurship as a Teleworking Father

In terms of negotiating entrepreneurship as a teleworking father, the narratives in this study 'story' the men's contradictory experience of both 'positive' entrepreneurship and 'negative' employment insecurity, within the context of the assumption of male 'breadwinning'. For example, there was a *disjuncture* between the way the men 'storied' themselves as 'successful' business people and yet were vulnerable to sometimes extreme fluctuations in income and demand for their services, and in three instances, experienced relatively low levels of pay. Teleworking was thus the experience of being caught between two simultaneous discursive constructions of self, one associated with freedom, competition and autonomy, and the other the anxiety of employment insecurity and the pressure to 'provide' for families. Positioned between these two contradictory discursive axes, the men's narratives traversed the uneven terrain of the requirement to provide secure income in a context of employment insecurity, a contradiction which heightened their orientation to their work and their pursuit of entrepreneurship.

The issue of the men's 'heightened orientation' to work emerged throughout their narratives as both a *pleasure* of home-based work and a *concern*. Their lack of participation in domesticity and the disciplining of their bodies in time and space to facilitate their constant availability, suggested the intensification of their experience of work in home-based businesses. This research is suggestive of the ways in which the 'flexibility' of teleworking time and space, and the porous boundary between the 'public' and 'private', transformed the home as 'sanctuary' from paid work into the home as the locus of the 'public' world of business. Time and space were thus key markers in this study of the making and crossing of boundaries, where the 'private' realm as haven from the heartless world of work became the site of demands for both the women and the men in terms of their work *and* their families, contaminated by the cares of the workaday world from which modernism assumed it was a respite. Telework constituted homes as simultaneously part of the 'private' domain and "structurally and experientially" part of the public (Finch, 1983: 58), with implications for the teleworkers in terms of the loss of privacy, the organisation of domestic and paid

labour and the constitution of gendered subjectivity. Additionally, the impression management associated with *appearing* to be competent professionals made this lack of a spatial separation problematic because there was 'no place to hide'; homes become an arena of public visibility, rather than seclusion, where the 'greedy' organisation was invited to take up residence in the very heart of the 'private' arena, the home.

For the men, these spatial processes in turn curled back to the discursive primacy of work to their subjectivities, where the lack of a spatial separation between the realms further enforced rather than decentred the primacy of work. When the men were 'doing' business in the same space as they were 'doing' family, there were no *spatial* markers of *different* territories of the 'self'. Rather, there was one spatial arena of the self, and it was dominated by the practices and subjectivity of the working man. In this context the significance of retaining "psychological and symbolic separations" between the spheres of paid work and home (Collinson and Hearn, 1996: 67), such as separate work spaces, became important not only as a means of distancing a threatened masculinity from an encroaching feminised sphere, but also as a means of carving out a territory of the self not invaded by the 'greedy' tentacles of business.

Theorising Men's Subjectivities and Practices

The thesis suggests that the emphasis within the literature on the 'multiplicity of masculinities' must be tempered by an awareness of the asymmetrical gender relations within which this multiplicity is contextualised and by the tensions within masculinities (plural) and 'normative' prescriptions of masculinity (singular). The notion of the self as 'multiple drafts', analogous to the experience of having several documents open on a computer screen within and between which the user moves (Turkle, 1995: 261), was a helpful one in this regard, suggesting the dynamism and multiplicity evident in, for example, Tom's case. The theorisation of the multiplicity of discourses which constituted and were constitutive of the 'self', and the multiple masculinities that may emerge from these processes, engagingly speaks to the ways in which teleworking may open up new opportunities for the negotiation of gendered relations, masculinities, and the reconfiguration of the intersection of 'home' and 'work' given the proximity of men to their children, partners and households.

Yet what the analysis of masculinity also suggests, and what the narrative accounts generated in this study point to, is the coexistence of a tendency toward *one particular* version of the self to predominate for men, that associated with the working self. To redeploy Turkle's metaphor, a number of 'drafts' of the self may be open and available, but the disk operating system that lies beneath them signals a continuing allegiance to the

version of masculinity associated with work. It is this primacy of work, and an ability to clear space and time in order to practice this primacy, which so differentiates the women's narratives in this study from the men's. If subjectivities are multiply constituted in discourse, this study reinforces the emphasis in the literature regarding the ways in which certain gendered discourses, such as those surrounding paid work for men or mothering for women, may have a "stickiness" to the self (Hanson and Pratt, 1995: 227). Claims about the multiplicity and dynamism of subjectivity thus exist in tension with the "resting places" of the self and the social and institutional forms which function to fix certain subjectivities in certain times and places (ibid: 21).

Unpacking this interchange between the multiplicity *and* "stickiness" of subjectivity was pursued in relation to the primacy of paid work to the constitution and reconstitution of teleworking men's subjectivities. The thesis suggests the utility of the Foucauldian literature concerning the disciplined 'self' to the ways in which the self-regulation and self-discipline associated with work can become entwined with the striving of the subject for autonomy and creativity, channelled into a search for excellence in enterprise. That is, work may become primary for men, despite the multiplicity of discourses through which subjectivities are constituted, because of the alignment between the self-regulating capacities of individuals and the requirements of the enterprise, such that the self-actualisation of the worker *and* the competitive advancement of the business are one.

In this sense the home-based workplace for both the women and men in this study may meet Foucault's (1995: 201) criteria of a "state of conscious and permanent visibility" that he associates with the Panopticon. Although they were not permanently "visible" to the eye, these home-based workers were often permanently 'accessible' aurally and electronically. This accessibility, and the constant vigilance of the professional self lest they be called upon, linked to the 'project' of control by which teleworkers were both disciplined and disciplinarian (Bartky, 1990: 79). Disciplinary practices are internalised, rather than imposed from without, where the 'wired' individual within the 'electronic cottage' may be a prime example of the "isolated and self policing" self (Bartky, 1990: 79). If disciplinary power for Foucault (1995: 177) is "everywhere and always alert, since by its very principle it leaves no zone of shade", then the disciplinary power to which the home-based entrepreneurs in this study were subject was similarly everywhere and nowhere. It was "visible and unverifiable" (ibid: 201); it was in the *potential* for the next phone call at the dinner table to be a major client or the next late night fax to be a major contract.

This transformation of discipline into an internal system of self-improvement was not just a negative and constraining practice for these teleworkers, but positive and productive,

because for them work represented the experience of *being in control* of their lives, in contrast to the less controllable experience of marriage, family or redundancy from the organisation. Whatever its ultimate effect, Bartky (1990: 77) argues, discipline can provide the individual with a sense of mastery, and potentially a secure sense of self, where this sense of self is generated in the skill and competence associated with the disciplinary practices.

Additionally, for the men, it was through work that they felt engaged, stimulated and enjoyed themselves; through work they experienced themselves as powerful, talented and masterful. For the men in this study, work was not a drudge; they did not work for the money or for the weekend, where neither income or leisure time were always in large supply. Rather, their work was intimately entwined with issues of subjectivity, autonomy and control, where the success of the business was not just about material advancement, but critical to questions of 'intelligible' subjectivity. The heightened orientation to work some of them demonstrated was evocative of the complexity of the operation of productive forms of disciplinary power, where the rewards of compliance were a sense of control, of competence and of a coherent sense of self.

This notion of disciplinary power thus captured the constituted or constitutive character of the home-working self succinctly. That is, these practices of *self-regulation* were both an effect of the insecurities of self-employment and the 'disciplinary' imperatives of clients' demands (constituted relations), and *also* the effect of the entrepreneurs themselves actively seeking control, autonomy and creativity channelled into a search for excellence and success in enterprise (constitutive relations). Furthermore, the notion of disciplinary power is evocative of how one might theorise the teleworking self as 'both-and', constituted and constitutive, through the discursive flux associated with the practices of 'home' and 'work' in which these teleworkers were multiply, fluidly and complexly located.

The thesis thus moves toward Davies's (1997: 275) position that in the 'intricate folds' of 'selving' or subjectification, the dualistic logic of the self as located within the relations of *either* 'absolute compulsion' *or* 'absolute choice' must be abandoned in favour of the analysis of the complexly layered strata of the 'constituted' and 'constitutive' self and the "concrete interplay of constraint and manoeuvre in specific discursive settings" (Fraser, 1995: 162). In these processes it was the primacy of paid work, and an ability to clear space and time in order to practice this primacy, which so differentiated the women's narratives in this study from the men's. This in turn suggested deeper differences in the constitution of gendered subjectivity where the decentring of women's subjectivities as home-based parents, partners and professionals was in contrast to the singularity of work to the practices of self for the men.

In the analysis of these phenomenon, this thesis is offered in the spirit of an intellectual *bridge*. It is a 'bridge' in the sense that it attempts to move between a richly textured 'empirical' account of gendered practices *and* the connection of this to theories of subjectivity. Writing such a bridge is especially urgent in the area of telework research, which has tended to be atheoretical in nature (with some notable exceptions, for example, Mackinnon, 1991; Salmi, 1997) and often unsatisfyingly 'thin' in regard to the connection between organisational and entrepreneurial practices and those of the home and family. The image of a 'bridge' of course suggests the notion of interconnection *both* ways, and the further bridging this thesis endeavours to facilitate links back to poststructuralist theorising, by detailing the "*specificity* of the construction of *actual* subjectivities in the domain of discursive practices" (Henriques et al, 1984: 204, my emphasis). In this context it is strategic to explore the multiple strands of teleworking women's and men's subjectivities as they are constituted in concrete times, places and practices (Pratt, 1993: 60), more specifically in the home workplace in the latter part of the 1990s. In the multiple 'crossings' between these different foci, this thesis makes one contribution amongst a plethora to the scholarly 'project' of bridging literatures, politics and disciplines which characterise academic practice at the close of the millennium.

Methodological Contributions: Inquiring in Practice

In the discussion above the key analytical insights of the thesis have been explored in relation to the negotiation of 'home' and 'work' selves. Another focus of this research has been the methodological contribution it makes to the telework literature and feminist research more generally. This research contained a strong emphasis on qualitative, multi-method techniques and on refining the criteria for inclusion of participants in order to find a similarly positioned group of women and men. That is, a key contribution this research makes to telework literature is that it explores the practices of women and men positioned in a similar way within 'work' and 'home' relations. The telework literature usually concerns *either* women or men but not both, *or* assumes the experience of telework is undifferentiated by gender. This comparative element to the present research significantly enriched the analytical reach of this study because it allowed for a more detailed and dynamic picture of the gendered relations of 'home' and 'work' to emerge. In a thesis enlivened by questions of gendered subjectivity and practice, exploring telework through an examination of *both* women and men who were home-based entrepreneurs allowed the multiple strands of women's and men's narrative accounts to be explored without references to highly abstract or totalising categories.

A second key methodological contribution this research makes to the telework literature concerns the inclusion of partners and children in the study, in order to *contextualise* home-based entrepreneurship within both domestic dwellings and family relationships. Although teleworkers' location in the home is seized upon as a key innovation of this work practice, much of the literature still fails to investigate the perspectives of *other* family members on the impact of home-based business on their relationships and households. One of the advantages of eliciting narrative material from families was that the multiplicity of voices affected by the telework had an opportunity to 'speak' in the research, where the families' narratives could be located *with* the teleworkers' stories, enhancing the polyvocality of the account.

These multiple family narratives allowed the telework to be further contextualised vis-à-vis domestic and caring labour, and different family members, reflections on and participation in the organisation of domesticity. For example, dividing the research between those families with older children who could themselves be included in the study as participants, and families where the children were infants under two years old, allowed a number of questions to be posed regarding juggling the demands of older children and meeting the needs of babies whose demands are not easily deferred. These inclusions allowed themes not often discussed in the literature to emerge, including the incorporation of the older children into the business and the boundary-making strategies of teleworking parents with infant children. All of these elements in the research spoke to the importance of feminist contributions to debates regarding the potential of 'new' forms of employment such as telework. That is, neglecting these familial contexts in favour of discussions of burgeoning entrepreneurship or technological wizardry fail to sufficiently attend to the importance of gender, the 'private' realm, and the micro-processes of power (Gunnarsson, 1997: 7).

The richness of the qualitative material that was generated in the multi-method, longitudinal approach taken in this research, engagingly speaks to the importance of such methodological approaches to understanding the processes of social formation and change. For example, the 'longitudinal' character of the research as it developed articulates with the poststructuralist analysis which shaped the research questions, in so far as it emphasises the construction and reconstruction of the 'self' within narratives that draw upon discourses that are available in specific places and times (Jackson, 1993: 217). The temporal 'spaces' between interviews with the teleworkers, and the encouragement of the participants to reflect on transcribed narratives spoken in the past, made follow-up interviews an opportunity for reflection on a familiar yet different 'self'. Participants were able to regard this narrative with a certain degree of critical distance and thus to more easily theorise their relationship with the practices and identifications of this earlier storying of themselves.

While, unsurprisingly, the intensity of the research process limited the number of people it included, it is also the case that such a 'thick and deep' approach may be significant in progressing research in fields such as telework dominated by larger, quantitative, self-reporting, postal questionnaires. That is, smaller qualitative studies 'stir' literatures that rest on broad social patterns by suggesting the 'lumpiness' and contradictoriness of practices such as telework when they are explored in depth, over time and in context. While all of these qualities of the research also lengthened the account offered here and indeed the workload of the research itself, it is nevertheless the case that the study makes perhaps a unique contribution as a family-orientated, longitudinal, multi-method research project. It is able, by these very methods, to explore the complexly layered constitution of 'home' and 'work' for teleworkers, in a way that larger, quantitative, self-reporting questionnaires may not. Most significantly perhaps, studies such as this one may go some way toward theorising telework and teleworkers in relation to this complexity and multiplicity; analyses which may only have an opportunity to emerge in detailed and extended exchanges between research participants and researchers.

The Implications of the Research for Policy

In terms of employment and other social policy, this study is suggestive of wider changes in the structuring of 'home and 'work' and their implications for the state and the economy. There are three issues I will briefly canvass here: employment insecurity, 'family friendly' workplace policies and community care.

A key issue the research has drawn attention to is the lack of employment security that teleworkers experienced and the effect of this on their incomes, their access to work-related benefits and the wider implications of both of these to their standards of living. This study is suggestive of the ways in which the flexible post-industrial professional worker may be simultaneously subject to long hours of work, difficulties in finding work, a lack of employment security and low and/or fluctuating incomes. The precariousness of income and employment in these teleworkers' lives emerged as a worrying theme in this study. While gender has been the "entry point" (Gibson-Graham, 1996: 209) for understanding teleworking women's and men's subjectivities in this study, another key 'entry point' and axis of influence are class and economic relationships, to which considerably more serious scholarly attention is required in the context of 'non-standard' forms of work in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Hamblin (1995: 484) perhaps best articulated this dilemma in her analysis of teleworkers who were paid by results and who were not integrated into organisational cultures. Such

workers did not want to see themselves as part of the disenfranchised, sub-contracted periphery on the edge of the 'flexible firm', but rather wanted to undertake their work and remain at the 'core' of the organisation under different working arrangements in terms of place and time (ibid: 495). Hamblin thus called for models which enhanced the 'functional flexibility' of firms in ways which meshed with the needs of workers for flexible *and* secure work. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, where increasingly large numbers of workers are employed in 'non-standard' forms of work, and where organisational work is increasingly governed by short-term contracts, these issues will become ever more urgent and important.

A second and related point regards the structuring of organisational practices and policies in terms of 'family friendly' workplace procedures. As Chapter Five suggested, the women in this study found the singular focus on their employment within organisations difficult to accommodate as the mothers of infant children, where those employees (usually men and dependent-free women) able to devote all of their intellectual, emotional and temporal resources to the organisation were those regarded as ideal and thus most prized (Andrews and Bailyn, 1993: 273). 'Family-friendly' workplace policies may be *conceded* as a response to the new demographics of the workforce, Andrews and Bailyn argue, but they are concessions nevertheless and may not be thorough-going enough to significantly ameliorate the problems of parents in the paid workforce, or extensive enough outside of public sector, white-collar workplaces. In order to open up a multiplicity of models of the connection between 'work' and 'family' a radical change in the structure of the workplace would be required, in terms of the demands of organisations on people's commitments and time and on the assumptions underlying occupational rewards for both women and men (ibid). For women especially, as Mackinnon (1997: 224) reminds us, combining marriage and professional work was 'The Problem' earlier in this century. The present study concurs that it is "the problem of our time also" (ibid: 229), especially given the irreversibility of women's participation in paid employment. Additionally, what contemporary research on men's participation in organisational work, and what this research with teleworkers, also suggested was the need for the availability of such flexibility to be extended to men as well as women, particularly as women move away from domesticity and demand more of men as fathers, and as separated and divorced fathers respond to sole-parenting in the context of shared custody arrangements.

The third and final issue which has implications for economic and social policy concerns the problematic linking of women's supposed availability to provide community care and home-based employment. The economic recession of the 1980s and 1990s and the concomitant cuts to social spending that have occurred especially since 1984 in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Armstrong, 1990: 124-130), suggest the displacement of caring for the aging, disabled and

ill on to families and particularly women. As this study suggests, home-based entrepreneurial women had little enough time to attend to themselves and their immediate families and themselves relied upon organising others (women) to perform 'their' domestic and caring labour. Yet such entrepreneurship may still be seen as the epitome of the self-responsible 'flexible' family caregiver, available to provide the services once secured through the auspices of the welfare state. In practice, telework may not be an ideal means of juggling care arrangements and business imperatives as this study has suggested, and indeed may prove problematic for not only the caregiver but to those requiring care (Opie, 1992).

Future Research

Research projects always beget other research projects, as the seed of this thesis grew out of different yet parallel work on industrial homework completed in 1984-5 (Armstrong, 1991a). Beyond what I have suggested above with regard to telework research and the necessity of gendered and socially contextualised accounts, I would make the following suggestions in relation to future research in the specific area of home-based employment and beyond.

The first concerns the *intensification* of work, both within organisations and outside of them, and the effect of increasing working hours on caring relationships. Else (forthcoming) refers to the 'crisis of care' in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the context of eroding labour legislation, the decline of unions, the casualisation of work and the demise of the welfare state. The effect of these combined factors may be a decline in particularly the care of dependents, raising concomitant issues about social cohesion and the future of 'families' in their diverse forms. This intensification of work both at home and in organisations is an area requiring urgent attention in a country where the demands of work are increasing at the same time as the public provision of caring services are significantly decreasing, but where the time and effort required to give care remains the same.

A second area of research would concern other contexts in which home-based work is being taken up beyond those which include individualised, self-employed teleworkers. One example in a preliminary stage in Aotearoa/New Zealand concerns the use of regional networks of Ngāi Tahu Māori exploring home-based, electronically linked, employment initiatives for tribal development purposes, in a context where these Māori are spatially dispersed across a large area in the South Island. Such initiatives parallel schemes operating in Sweden, where networked households within both the Swedish archipelago and the Arctic Circle are using telework as a means of maintaining communities in regions with low employment opportunities. While Huws (1997) warns that such initiatives may further

polarise regional opportunities, it is also the case that maintaining dispersed rural communities may critically rely upon new configurations of economic development, including telework.

It is my hope that the study of non-standard forms of work, gendered and familial relations, theorisations of subjectivity and feminist methodology, will come together in other research projects to map out the rapidly changing terrain of 'work' and 'family' relations in contemporary societies.

Concluding Note

While concluding a thesis of this size and temporal duration is not easy, I would note that conducting this research has been enormously enriching in ways I could not have imagined when I began in 1991. It speaks to me so evocatively of the complexities of contemporary life and of the struggles of women and men to construct 'intelligible' subjectivities and relationships at 'work' and at 'home'. It is also sobering that a work practice held up in the literature as potentially libratory, should prove such an ambiguous experience in practice. This ambiguity suggests the contingency of the social relations of 'home' and 'work' and the entwinement of teleworkers within the 'threads of power' that they may think they leave behind when they exit the organisation.

Additionally this thesis suggests the ways in which discursive formations "grab on to or into people" (Flax, 1990: 231), and how these productive forms of power encourage them to regulate or watch over themselves. In this sense the research unfolds as both a warning and a promise with regard the 'choice' to telework, in terms of what is 'chosen' and how that is 'controlled'. It is particularly a window into the complex patterning of gendered and familial practices which continually fragment the freedoms promised by the discourse of entrepreneurship. In this sense I hope the study proves to be evocative reading for the teleworkers, scholars and/or policy makers who may read it and that my own engagements with this arena inspire alternative readings, productive practices and emergent subjectivities.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Participant Information Sheet

16 December 1992

Dear

My name is Nicola Armstrong and I am a Lecturer in Sociology at Massey University. I am contacting you regarding PhD research I am currently conducting. I would like to request your participation in this research. The purpose of this research is to look at what happens when people perform paid work at home. It is focused on *teleworkers*, that is people who work at home using computers, modems, fax and/or telephone, at a distance from employers and/or clients. It also focuses on the effect of home-based work on other household members and household activities.

The research looks at:

- The time and space such work is performed in.
- The relationships between teleworkers and employers/clients.
- Other work which is done in households, such as housework and childcare.
- The feelings and attitudes of teleworkers to their home and their work.

At present very little is known about telework in New Zealand and its implications for other activities which occur in households. This study is designed to go some way toward investigating these issues.

The research would involve you in *one* taped interview which will take approximately three hours. This interview will consist of a structured discussion about the nature of the paid work performed at home, when and where this work occurs and the effects of this activity on family life and routines.

You would also be asked to make brief notes on household activities in a time diary, for *one* work day of your choice. If you agree, a photograph will be taken of your workplace to aid in the analysis of the kinds of physical contexts in which telework occurs in.

I would also like to approach your partner to see if they would agree to be interviewed for approximately one hour. This interview would examine the effects of home-based work on other family members and routines. I will approach them separately to negotiate this interview.

This project has been approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. If you agree to participate in the study, the following procedures would be followed. That:

1. You would tell Nicola Armstrong, the researcher, when it is convenient *for you* to see her.

2. Your confidentiality will be kept through the following measures:
   - All names and any special characteristics that would lead to your identification will be changed.
   - Interview tapes will only be listened to by Nicola Armstrong and an assistant who will transcribe the tapes. The assistant will sign an agreement that she or he will treat the tapes as confidential and will not discuss them with anyone other than Nicola Armstrong.
   - The interview tapes will not be released to anyone.

3. You will be shown the transcript from your interview and will be given the opportunity to indicate material that you do not wish to be used, or that can be used but not connected with the false name you will be given. You will be given a typed transcript of this material to keep.

4. You will be given the opportunity to view all visual material and be able to say under what conditions it may be seen.

5. If you request access to publications from the research these will be supplied.

6. You are free to withdraw from the research project at any time.

7. At any time during the research you can renegotiate this agreement with Nicola Armstrong.

Funding for this study has been provided by the Massey University Research Fund. Professor Graeme Fraser, Professor of Sociology, Massey University and Dr Robyn Munford, Social Policy and Social Work Department, Massey University, are supervising the project.

I hope you consider participating in this research and I will call you in the next few days to discuss this matter further.

Nicola Armstrong
Lecturer - Sociology

Appendix 1

Consent Form

I, ..., consent to participate in the research project *Home-based Work in New Zealand*.

I understand and accept the reassurances detailed in the Participant Information Sheet concerning:

- the protection of my confidentiality

- my ability to withdraw from participating in the research

- access to a typed copy of my interview.

I give my permission for Nicola Armstrong to use the information gained during the research of her PhD thesis, and any other published and unpublished papers.

Signed: .... (Participant)

.... (Date)

Signed: .... (Researcher)

.... (Date)

Appendix 2

Teleworker's Interview Schedule

A. WORK HISTORY

1. What circumstances led you to work at home? When was that?

2. What job did you used to do five years ago? Is your current work derived from this job?

[If No On-Site Work Experience Go To Section B]

3. What do you miss most about working on-site? What parts of on-site work are you pleased to avoid? (eg., office politics, dressing for the office, commuting)

4. Do you notice that you now lack the support services you used to get at the office?

5. Was harassment an issue at your on-site workplace?

B. TELEWORKING

6. Can you tell me in some detail what kind of work you do at home?

7. How do you describe what you do? What word do you use?

8. What is the first thing that springs to mind when you think of teleworking?

9. What advantages did you expect from telework?
   What disadvantages did you expect from telework?
   What has been your actual experience of these things?
   Do you prefer to work at home?

10. In terms of your work, what employment status would you say you have? Are you:
    - self employed?
    - employee of your own company?
    - contractor?
    - casual employee?

11. Do other people help you with this work? (eg. partners in business)

12. Do you think that your professional status has been affected by your decision to work at home?
Is being successful in your career important to you?

13. Do you control the pace of your work?
What happens if you don't meet your deadlines?
How do you discipline yourself so that you do your work at home?

C. TIME

14. How many hours/day do you typically work at home?

15. How many days/week do you typically work at home? On-site?

16. Do you work at night? weekends?

17. Do you work 'core' hours? Why do you work these hours?

18. Is there any one day when you don't work?

19. When do your normally start? finish?

20. Do you work longer hours when you work at home?

21. Do you think you are more/less productive at home? Why?

22. Do you look at the clock often, trying to cram something into every minute?

23. Review time diary: was this a typical day? How did it differ or conform to a typical day?

24. Do you sleep longer hours now that you work at home?

25. How do you start the day? Do you have a ritual way of starting the day?
How do you end the day? Do you have a ritual way of ending the day?

26. Are you interrupted? Often? By what/whom?

27. How often and for what do you take breaks?

28. How do you use idle moments, like when you are waiting for a phone call or a document to print?

D.   BODY/DISCIPLINE

29.   What are the typical feelings you experience when you are working? (eg. boredom, stress, juggling, competing demands, loneliness)

30.   What are typical physical conditions you experience when working? (eg. pain, tiredness, sensitivity to noise)

31.   If you become really absorbed in your work, do you forget about your body?

32.   Do you indulge yourself more when you work at home with food, drink or sex?

33.   Is RSI an issue for you? Do you experience any other work related health problems?

34.   Do you dress differently when you work at home?
       For women: Do you wear your hair or makeup differently when you work at home?
       For men: Do you wear your hair differently or shave less when you work at home?
       For both: Do you dress differently when you go to on-site workplaces or clients?

E.   ORIENTATION TO WORK

35.   In what ways is your work creative and intellectually stimulating?

36.   Do you find your work personally meaningful?

37.   Can you tell me about the aspects of your work you find boring and routine?

38.   Have you experienced any change of attitude toward work? Has work, for example, assumed more or less importance in your life? Is work your central life interest?

39.   Do you ever receive information at night? (eg. fax or e-mail)

40.   Do you receive work phone calls at night? Do you limit the times you will make or receive data or phone calls?

41.   How would you respond if you could hear that you had received a fax in the middle of the night - would you answer it?

42.   Do you ever feel overwhelmed by the amount of information you receive?

43.   What do you do to unwind from work? Do you spend time *alone, not* working, on a regular basis?

44. How does it feel to have your work ever-present in your home?

45. Do you find that home-life and work-life tend to blend into one? (eg., doing the washing is a break from work, working during weekend)

46. Is your work taking over the household? What does the word 'workaholic' mean to you? Do you think you are becoming a 'workaholic'?

F. HOME

47. What does your home represent to you?

48. Do you think of your home as a place where you can be emotional or self-expressive? Does having your paid work at home limit this?

49. Do you find working in the house itself distracting?

50. What would you describe as your ideal home/work combination? In what ways have you achieved this ideal?

G. HOUSEWORK

51. Who does most of the housework in your home? (eg. cooking, washing, house cleaning, ironing, gardening)
    - you?
    - your partner?
    - shared?
    - another person - who?

52. How many hours a week do you spend on housework? Your partner? Another person?

53. Do you do more housework since working at home?

    If yes:
    Where have you increased your input?
    - cooking (at least 1 extra meal/day)
    - cleaning (if work creates a mess, who cleans it up?)
    - washing
    - gardening

    How do you stop yourself doing housework when you 'should' be doing your paid work? Does housework ever become a form of work avoidance?

    If no:
    How do you feel about this? What has been the reaction from your family?

54. Does your family wonder, if the house gets messy, why you didn't clean it up if you're home all day?

55. Are there any areas of the house that must be kept neat for client visits? How do you manage this?

56. Who is responsible for managing household events when you're working?

57. *For the women:* Do you think that other people expect you to do everything a full-time housewife would do, plus your paid work?

H.   CHILDREN

58. How many children do you have? What ages?

59. Do you look after the children or dependent adults when you are working? What does this involve?

60. Who does most of the childcare in your household? How many hours/week are you solely responsible for childcare?

61. Which person in your household would be responsible for the following domestic situations:
    - Taking a sick child to the doctor
    - Taking child/ren to school/day care
      Picking child/ren up from school/day care
    - Minding a sick child at home

62. *If not then ask:*
    Have you *ever* had to take a day (or part day) off work to attend to any of the above?

63. Do you use child care services?
    If yes
    what form does childcare take? How do you find this arrangement?

64. Could you indicate the cost of childcare? Who pays for this?

65. Did you negotiate doing home-based work with your children?

66. How do you handle interruptions from your children? How do you indicate to your children that you are working?

67. Are there any problems with your telework impinging on family space eg. needing the children to be quiet at certain times?

68. *For those with older children ask:*
   Some teleworkers experience frustrations because they don't want to become a continuous police officer to the children. Is this an issue for you?

69. Was wanting to be at home and look after your children, one of the reasons you chose telework?

70. Have you found that working at home has in fact meant you have more contact with your children than before? What has been your experience of this increased contact? (eg. do they know more about your work?) What has been the reaction of others to your increased involvement?

71. Do you think that 'good' mothers/fathers should be at home with their children when they're young?

72. Have you experienced any increased pressure from schools to be involved now you're in home-based work?

I. PARTNERS

73. Does your partner have paid employment?

   If yes:
   Do they work at home also? Are you and your partner employees of your own company?

74. Has your home-based work affected their paid employment in any way?

75. What advantages or disadvantages did they see in your home-based work?

76. Did you negotiate taking on home-based work with your partner? Was it a joint decision?

77. *For those who work at home with partner:*
   How do you feel about sharing your work space and private space with your partner? Does this affect your work?

78. *For those whose partners go out to work:*
   What do you feel about your partner's ability to get out into the business world each day and socialise with others?

79. What affect would you say working at home has had on your relationship? (eg. do they know more about your work? Do you have more time together? Does your work interfere with your time together?)

80. Have you fitted your hours of work to suit your partner or vice versa? (eg. do you juggle your working hours around one another's needs?)

81. How do you signal to your partner that you're working?

82. If you have been working intensely do you find it difficult to talk to your partner?

83. Do you find you need to get away from one another sometimes?

84. Can you think of an example of your partner asking you to stop work to spend some time together? What was your response to this request?

J.   FRIENDS/NETWORKS

85. Has being a home-based worker had any effect on the amount of calls or visits you receive from friends, neighbours, relatives?

86. Has working at home had a major effect on who your friends are? (eg., are your friends the same as when you worked on-site? Is it harder to meet people?)

87. Do you find you have to 'get out' of the house more when you work at home? Do you feel isolated?

88. *For women:*
Some writers have suggested that women who work from home have difficulty in getting family, friends or neighbours to take their work seriously. Is this an issue for you?

    For men:
Some writers have suggested that, while a women's place is no longer necessarily at home, a man's place is still at the office. Have there been any reactions from others to your working at home?

K.   EQUIPMENT/OFFICE SPACE

[*I have asked other questions about equipment in the self-administered questionnaire*]

89. How was your equipment obtained? (eg. is it leased, on loan or purchased by yourself?)

90. How would you describe the nature of your relationship with your computer? Would you say that you had a personal relationship with your computer?

91. Do you have an office at home?
    - Where in the house do you work?
    - How big is the room?
    - Was the room converted or built for this use?
    - What other use is made of this space? Do these other activities occur at the same time as your work?

- Do you have to move your work in and out of the space to accommodate its other uses? Do you ever have any problems of your work materials cluttering family space?
- Does the room have windows?
- Do you eat in your workplace?

L   INCOME/BUSINESS OPERATION

92.   If you performed sub-standard work that harmed the organisation in some way or caused them to realise a loss, would you experience a financial loss yourself?

93.   Compared to what you earn now, did you earn more or less on-site? Why?

94.   Who pays for regular weekly outgoings in your household?

95.   How is the money from your business generally used?

96.   How do you find work for yourself?
- via agencies
- word of mouth
- via contract tendering
- newspaper advertisements
- other?

97.   Could you describe some typical clients?

98.   How are your rates/charges set? (Eg., are they pegged to contractor rates of agencies?)

99.   How do you send out finished work?

100.   Do you belong to a Trade Union? Professional Associations?

101.   What channels would you pursue if you were dissatisfied with a contract or contractor?

N.   CONCLUSION

102.   Do you see homework as a transitional stage in your life?

103.   Do you think you will be doing homework in 5 years time? Why?

104. Do you think there is a growing tend towards telework in our society? Do you think it is linked to the future of work in New Zealand?

105. Do you ever get together with other home-based workers?

106. Are there any other comments you would like to add about your work, this questionnaire, your answers etc?

Thank you for assisting in this research project.
NB: Remind them of transcription they will receive.
Query re: photographs
interview of partners

Appendix 2

Children's Interview Schedule

1. How old are you? What school and what class are you in? And what place do you come in family?

2. What is the first thing that springs to mind when you think of (your parent) working from home? What advantages did you expect from them working at home? What disadvantages did you expect from them working at home? What has been your actual experience of these things?

3. Did having (your parent) work from home change how you were able to use this space?
   eg do you need to keep part of the house looking neat? Do you need to be quiet at certain times?

4. Does having a parent working from home effect the amount of visits you had from friends? Or what you could do when they visited? Do your friends ever ask you about what your parent does? What do they say when you tell them?

5. Does it affect the way you can use the telephone?

6. Do you feel you know more about your parent's work now they work at home?

7. Do you think that because they work at home they known more about what is happening for you? Can you give me an example?

8. Do you do more housework since they started working at home?

   If yes:
   Where have you increased your input?
   - cooking (at least 1 extra meal/day)
   - cleaning (if work creates a mess, who cleans it up?)
   - ironing
   - shopping
   - washing
   - gardening

9. Who manages household events when your parent is working?

10. Are you able to interrupt your parent when they are working at home? For what? How often does this happen?

11. Can you think of an example of when you asked (your parent) to stop working to spend some time together and what happened?

12. Do you think your parent works hard? Do you work hard too?

13. What do you think comes first for your parent - their work or your family?

14. What do you want to do as a job? Is home-based work an option for you?

Appendix 2

Partner's Interview Schedule

1. What job did you used to do five years ago? Is your current work dervied from this job?

2. What is the first thing that springs to mind when you think of your partner's teleworking?

3. Did your partner negotiate taking on home-based work with you? Was it a joint decision?

4. What advantages did you expect from your partner's telework? What disadvantages did you expect from your partner's telework? What has been your actual experience of these things?

5. Has your partner's home-based work affected your paid employment in any way?

6. *For those who work at home with partner:*
   How do you feel about sharing this space with your partner? Does this affect your paid work and/or domestic work?

   For those who go out to work:
   How do you feel about your ability to get out into the business world each day and socialise with others while your partner stays at home? How do you think they feel?

7. Do you work at night? weekends? Does your partner? Why?

8. Do you work 'core' hours? Does your partner? Why?

9. Is there any one day when you don't work? Your partner?

10. When do you normally start? finish? Your partner?

11. Does your partner limit the times they make or receive data or phone calls? Do they receive them at night?

12. How does your partner signal to you that they are working?

13. How often and for what does your partner take breaks? (eg family? leisure?) How often and for what do you interrupt your partner?

14. Have you fitted your hours of work to suit your partner or vice versa? (eg do you juggle your working hours around one another's needs?)

15. Can you think of an example of asking your partner to stop work to spend some time together? What was their response to this request?

16. What affect would you say your partner's home work has had on your relationship? (eg do you know more about their work? Do you talk about their work more now?)

17. Do you find that home-life and work-life tend to blend into one?

18. Do you think your partner is becoming a 'workaholic'? What does this word mean for you? What is the greatest priority for your partner - their family or their work?

19. What does your home represent to you? Has your partner's home-based work affected this meaning of home for you?

20. Are there any areas of the house that must be kept neat because of your partner's home-based work? How do you manage this?

21. How does it feel to have your partner's work ever-present in your home?

22. Would you say that your partner's work is taking over the household?

23. Have you noticed any changes to your connections to your network of friends or relatives since your partner began homeworking?

24. *For Men:*
Some writers have suggested that women who work from home have difficulty in getting family, friends or neigbours to take their work seriously. Do you think this is an issue for your partner?

For Women:
Some writers have suggested that, while a women's place is no longer necessarily at home, a man's place is still at the office. Have there been any reactions from others to your partner working at home?

25. How would you describe your partner's relationship to their computer?

26. What is the longest period you can think of that your partner has spent away from the computer?

27. Who does most of the housework in your home? (eg., cooking, washing, house cleaning, ironing, gardening)
   - you?
   - your partner?
   - shared?
   - another person - who?

28. How many hours a week do **you** spend on housework? Your Partner? Another person? Who pays for the cleaner if you use one?

29. Do you do more housework since your partner started working at home?

   If yes:
   Where have you increased your input?
   - cooking (at least 1 extra meal/day)
   - cleaning (if work creates a mess, who cleans it up?)
   - shopping
   - washing
   - gardening

30. How many hours/week are you solely responsbile for child care? Has this changed because of your partner's home-based work?

31. Do you think that `good' mothers/fathers should be at home with their children when they are young?

32. What have been the advantages in your partner's home-based work for the children? (eg knowledge of their parent's work?) What have been the disadvantages?

33. What have you done to prepare your children for your partner's home-based work?

34. Are there any practical things you have done? (eg instructing the children how to answer the telephone).

35. Are there any problems with your partner's telework impinging on the children's use of the house? (eg needing the children to be quiet at certain times)

36. Do you see your partner's home work as a transitional stage in your lives?

37. What would you describe as your ideal home/work combination? In what ways have you achieved this ideal?

38. Do you think there is a growing trend toward telework in New Zealand?

39. Are there any other comments you would like to add about your work, this questionnaire, your answers etc?

Thank you for assisting in this research project.

NB: Remind them of transcription they will receive.
    Query re: photographs

Appendix 3

Time Use Activities

Below are a list of activities that may assist you in filling in the time diary.

Paid Work

- writing or reading documents or screen text
- telephone calls, E-Mail, voice mail
- meetings
- job searching for further work
- work related travel

Unpaid Work

- performing unpaid work in family business
- performing unpaid work in non-family business

Domestic Work

- food preparation and cleaning up
- indoor cleaning, eg. vacuuming/sweeping
- laundry, ironing and other clothes care
- shopping
- outdoor cleaning/pet care
- gardening
- motor vehicle and house maintenance

Childcare/Caring for Other Household Members

- physical care of children eg. feeding, dressing, washing
- physical care of other household members
- playing, talking, reading to children
- driving or accompanying children/other household members

Unpaid Work in Community

- unpaid work in schools, marae etc
- informal services for non-household members eg. physical care, childcare, practical support

Personal Care

- washing, dressing
- sleeping, resting
- eating, drinking

Social Participation/Leisure

- education, homework
- sports and hobbies
- attending social or cultural events
- other leisure activities eg. watching TV, relaxing with partner, talking
- visiting, making phone calls

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Time Diary 5.00am - 9.00am

	Where are you? or if you are travelling, How are you travelling?	Who is with you?	Who are you doing it for? If it is for someone outside your household, tell us who eg. Kahanga Reo, friend, neighbour, marae, church, hockey club, school, Red Cross, Plunket etc.	Office Use Only					
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Appendix 4

Equipment, Income and Personal Information

Please find below a brief questionnaire regarding equipment, income and personal information which will assist in the analysis of your interview. Thank you for participating in this study.

1. The following is a list of equipment. Please tick the box if you have any of this equipment in your home office. If you have more than one of any item please indicate how many:

    How many?

    - Portable computer ☐ _____
    - Computer ☐ _____
    - Modem ☐ _____
    - Printer ☐ _____
    - Desk ☐ _____
    - Office Chair ☐ _____
    - Ergonomic Chair ☐ _____
    - Filing Cabinet ☐ _____
    - Shelves ☐ _____
    - Answering Machine ☐ _____
    - Phone in Office ☐ _____
    - Separate Business Phone Line ☐ _____

2. Could you please estimate the total cost of your equipment?

    _____

3. Do you use electronic mail or electronic bulletin boards?

    Yes ☐   No ☐

    If yes: what kind?

    _____

    _____

    _____

4. When working from home do you charge for any of the following items? Please tick the appropriate boxes.

- Electricity ☐
- Equipment Maintenance ☐
- Stationary ☐
- Phone Calls ☐
- Data Transmission ☐
- Floor Space ☐
- Travel ☐
- Equipment Line ☐
- Childcare ☐
- Training Expenses ☐

5. If you do not charge directly for any of the above, do you cover these costs indirectly through, for example, tax deductions?

_____

_____

_____

6. Do you receive or are you covered for any of the following items? (Please tick boxes of those you are covered for and explain, briefly, how you are covered eg. self-insured)

		How?
• Sickness	☐	_____
• Holidays	☐	_____
• Compassionate Leave	☐	_____
• Annual Leave Loading	☐	_____
• Long Service Leave	☐	_____
• Superannuation	☐	_____
• Workers Compensation	☐	_____
• Professional Indemnity	☐	_____

7. What type of payment system do you work under?

- Piece Rates ☐
- Fixed Price ☐
- Hourly rates ☐
- Wages/Salary ☐
- Other (Please specify) _____

Does your employer take tax out?   Yes ☐   No ☐   Not Applicable ☐

8. Into which of the following categories would *your* income from all sources *before tax* for the past year belong?

$0 - $5,000	☐
$5,001 - $10,000	☐
$10,001 - $15,000	☐
$15,001 - $20,000	☐
$20,001 - $25,000	☐
$25,001 - $30,000	☐
$30,001 - $40,000	☐
$40,001 - $50,000	☐
$50,001 - $60,000	☐
$60,001 - $70,000	☐
$70,001 - $80,000	☐
$80,001 - $90,000	☐
Don't Know	☐
Rather Not Say	☐

9. Could you please estimate your total yearly **household** income?

10. Could you please indicate which of the following best describes your **highest** level of education qualification?

•	No Secondary Schooling	☐
•	Secondary School up to School Certificate	☐
•	School Certificate	☐
•	6th Form Certificate/UE etc	☐
•	7th Form (Bursary, Higher School Cert etc)	☐
•	Technical/Trade Certificate	☐
•	Trained teachers Cert/Diploma/Equivalent	☐
•	University Degree/Equivalent	☐
•	Post-Graduate qualification	☐
•	Other (Please specify)	_____

11. Could you please indicate which of the following age groups you are in?

Under 21 years	☐
21 - 29 years	☐
30 - 39 years	☐
40 - 49 years	☐
50 - 59 years	☐
60 - 69 years	☐
Over 69 years	☐

12. Which of the following categories do you belong to?
    Never Married ☐
    Widowed ☐
    Separated/Divorced ☐
    Married/Living with Partner ☐

*Thank you for participating in this survey.
It will be collected when a copy of your
interview transcript is returned to you.*

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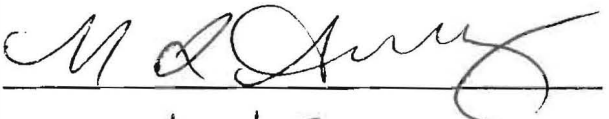
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