Technology at work and domestic labour: A critical exploration of gender, class, and work-life articulation

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Abstract

This thesis explores how reproductive and other domestic labour is managed in work time through personal internet use at work [PIUW]. For parents, PIUW makes it possible to be available to children during the workday and to receive communications from school and nursery. It allows life projects to be managed across the work-life boundary. Managing life projects in work time has widespread wellbeing benefits. However, it is clear from empirical data that technology is not universally enabling in the contemporary office. Analysis of 44 interviews with office workers and managers reveals a dramatic inequality between those in working-class and middle-class jobs. Overall, this study finds that the PIUW of those in working-class jobs is constrained (limiting their ability to manage life-related tasks) while the PIUW of those in middle-class jobs is enabled (allowing them to manage life-related tasks). Furthermore, women in middle-class jobs are significantly more likely than women in working-class jobs to use PIUW instrumentally, to manage home-related tasks. To explain findings, this thesis develops a realist intersectional comparison of gender and occupational class that supports a critical explanation of the interplay between agency and structure through which observed differences in PIUW, relationships between phenomena such as norms, workplace rules, and individual beliefs are explored. Two elements of Lawson's ontological framework are drawn on. These are Lawson's (2012) theory of social positioning and Lawson's (2003) method of contrastive explanation. As a result, an original theoretical contribution is developed via a theoretical model of positionality created from the abductive analysis. The model makes it possible to explain how class manifests itself through the labour process leading to several contributions. Firstly, an explanation is developed of how it is that one group of workers is relatively disadvantaged regarding PIUW. Secondly, through tracing relationships between labour process conditions and collective rule-following practices, an explanation is developed of how inequality is inscribed at multiple levels through the operation of organisational power. Thirdly, by comparing the work-life experiences of those in different labour market positions this research contributes to debates around work-life and inequality, that are otherwise overly focused on the experience of the middle class.

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Glossary

ANT	Actor network theory
CE	Contrastive Explanation
CR	Critical Realism/ Critical Realist
CRs	Critical Realists
DDL	Digital Domestic Labour
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
FPE	Feminist political economy
GBCS	Great British Class Survey
HE	Higher Education
HRM	Human Resource Management
LPA	Labour process analysis
LPT	Labour process theory
ICT	Information and communications technology
MC	Middle class
NI	Narrative interview
NS-SEC	National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PIUW	Personal internet use at work
STS	Science and Technology Studies
TCP	Theoretically constructed position
UK	United Kingdom
VPN	Virtual private network
WC	Working class
WLB	Work-life balance

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introducing personal internet use at work for housework

Recent decades have been characterised by wide-ranging technological developments accompanied by a dramatic diffusion of internet-enabled devices. While technological advances make it possible to do many domestic tasks in work time, thus improving work-life balance [hereafter WLB], this study finds that this potential is often unrealised due to structural inequalities in the workplace. To explore observed differences a materialist, feminist, and realist intersectional analysis of personal internet use at work [hereafter PIUW] is developed. PIUW is a sociomaterial phenomenon enabled through internet technologies. PIUW has many different forms which include: gaming (Reinecke, 2009), sharing web links and jokes, tweeting, listening to music and watching movies (Paulsen, 2015), job searching (Lim and Chen, 2012), banking, gambling (Stratton, 2010), managing auctions on eBay (De-Lara, 2012), shopping, dating and vacation planning. PIUW is reproduced and transformed in workplace practices, and so is visible in institutional structures that are necessarily always gendered and classed.

PIUW matters because of the work-life benefits associated with doing home tasks in work time. For working parents, PIUW makes it possible to be available to children during the workday (for example, with FaceTime) and to receive information through nursery and school apps. Although PIUW has attracted considerable research attention, particularly in survey studies, the phenomenon of 'PIUW for housework' or 'digital domestic labour' [hereafter DDL] is described here for the first time. DDL is a new area of research and thus a definition is needed. Here, DDL is defined as domestic and reproductive labour enabled through internet technology and enabled in work time through PIUW. In this study, numerous examples are provided however DDL is perhaps best exemplified in the case of a parent working full time who supports his partner (at home) by food shopping on the way home (where lists have been

sent via a virtual assistant). Here we see that technologies such as virtual assistants, online food ordering platforms, task apps, baby tech and domestic robots have the potential to address gendered inequalities in the division of domestic labour. However, the work-life articulation advantages of internet technology are not available to all occupational groups which has significant implications for workers and the organisations in which they work.

While organisations shape the conditions that people operate within (Reed, 2009), offices are temporally and spatially dynamic contexts where non-work occurs naturally during the working day (Paulsen, 2014). When internet is used for purposes other than work, PIUW problematises the organisation of work time, a traditional channel of capitalist control. Whilst managerial temporal rationality is concerned with defining the period of work and ensuring that workers are optimally productive within it (Noon and Blyton, 1997), worker subjectivity is constituted by a complex of motivations and responsibilities beyond the realm of work that represents a counter-rationality. Opposing interests demonstrate a nexus of conflict in the employment relationship and internet technology becomes associated with indeterminacy in the labour process. This type of non-work at work, or 'empty labour' (Paulsen, 2014; Paulsen, 2015) illustrates one aspect of effort bargaining where conflicting interests can result in severe workplace sanctions. In the labour process, there are multiple frontiers of control around work time (Noon and Blyton, 1997). This study explores how the organisational regime shapes individual orientation towards non-work, as well as exploring the extent and boundaries of workers' control (Goodrich, 1975 [1920]).

The sanctions regime associated with PIUW, where the routine monitoring of workers is enabled by automatic data storage and web tracking (Hughes, 2016) is illustrated in a 2016 European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) appeal. This case concerned a Romanian national Bogdan Mihai Bărbulescu, an engineer who had been fired for sending messages in work time (ECHR, 2016). The dismissal followed monitoring by Bărbulescu's employer of Yahoo Messenger communications. During the disciplinary process, a lengthy transcript presented to

Bărbulescu included personal messages exchanged with his fiancée and his brother. Bărbulescu appealed to the ECHR, claiming that emails were protected by Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights (right to respect for private and family life, the home and correspondence). However, the ECHR ruled six votes to one against Bărbulescu and in favour of the employer "that there had been no violation of Article 8 of the Convention" (ECHR, 2016) setting an employment law precedent for all EU countries.

1.2 The value of unpaid work in the UK

This PhD research was undertaken to investigate whether gendered inequalities described in the materialist feminist literature of household economy would be visible in DDL. Therefore, analysis rooted in this literature was the point of departure (Danermark *et al.*, 2002). The process of producing an explanation of variations in DDL has involved revising theory from this literature which explains gendered relationships between the domestic realm and the labour market. In so doing, this thesis builds on and goes beyond materialist feminist theorisation of structural causes underlying social inequality.

Women in working class [hereafter WC] jobs already face multiple levels of disadvantage in the workplace (Warren and Lyonette, 2018) and are most likely to experience gendered patterns of segregation related to the gendered division of labour (Bradley, 2013). Work-life accounts have both overlooked the importance of unpaid work such as housework and neglected the experiences of WC women (Warren, 2015). The Office for National Statistics has estimated that unpaid work in the UK – including cleaning, laundry, child care and adult care - can be valued at £1.01tn, or approximately 56% of GDP (ONS, 2016b). Analysis of unpaid work in 2015, found that an average man would earn £167 more per week, while an average woman would earn £260 more per week, assuming this work was paid for (ONS, 2016b). Therefore, on average, women did 60% more unpaid work than men (ONS, 2016b).

Inequality in unpaid work leads, not only to gaps in labour market participation, but also to gendered differences in both the quality of employment and wages (Ferrant;Pesando and Nowacka, 2014). Women are more likely to have part-time and insecure employment and earn less than their male counterpart for the same job (ibid.). Women who combine paid and unpaid work frequently experience a "double burden" (Tepe-Belfrage and Steans, 2016, p. 314). Holding the major responsibility for domestic activities and family life, contributes to gendered patterns of inequality in employment owing to individuals leaving full-time jobs to work part-time or leaving the labour market all together (Crompton and Brockmann, 2006).

Dependency on welfare benefits decreases with labour market participation. When economically active adults provide unpaid care at the expense of labour market participation, the policy objective to increase productivity through labour market participation is undermined (ONS, 2013). More importantly, any hindrance to women's economic empowerment infringes women's rights (UN, 2013). Ferrant et al. (2014) argue that gendered inequality in unpaid domestic work is the key factor influencing gaps in labour outcomes for women:

> Time is a limited resource, which is divided between labour and leisure, productive and reproductive activities, paid and unpaid work. Every minute more that a woman spends on unpaid care work represents one minute less that she could be potentially spending on market-related activities or investing in her educational and vocational skills. (Ferrant et al., 2014, p. 1)

1.3 The field of study

In the mainstream literature, PIUW is considered a problem to be controlled through a standard suite of measures that include training, internet use policies, web tracking and sanctions (Polzer-Debruyne;Stratton and Stark, 2014). This literature tends to elevate organisational goals like productivity above workers' interests. The majority of studies of

PIUW have been carried out using a survey based methodology with the subject often viewed from an organisational psychology perspective (Snider, 2002). Few studies have addressed demographic differences with findings relating to gender limited to descriptions of the differing content of women's and men's PIUW (Ugrin;Pearson and Odom, 2007; Garrett and Danziger, 2008; Ferreira and Esteves, 2016). For example, Garrett and Danziger's (2008) quantitative study found that, whilst men and women write a similar amount of personal emails during the workday, women are less likely to spend time on other types of PIUW and Ferreira and Esteves (2016) found PIUW to be moderated both by gender and home-related motivations. In sum, whereas men spend considerably longer on PIUW for leisure (Garrett and Danziger, 2008), women's PIUW is more likely to include activities related to home and family (Ferreira and Esteves, 2016).

The mainstream literature provides little to orient a study that explores how intersectional forces contribute causally to inequality of access to PIUW. In fact, critical accounts of PIUW are notable by their absence (cf. Paulsen, etc) with exceptions summarised in Chapter 2. Nonetheless, such studies are rare, and none considers gender and class in relation to PIUW within a qualitative paradigm. In contrast, the separate literatures of technology and WLB provide more substantive direction, and these are examined in Chapter 3.

The relationship between unpaid work and gendered gaps in labour market outcomes has been theorised extensively in materialist feminist analysis which sits within a broader feminist political economy [hereafter FPE] literature. FPE offers explanation for causes originating in the structures of capitalism and patriarchy. From an FPE perspective, domestic work (as a form of work) is historically specific; the product of separating "production and reproduction, paid and unpaid labour" (Federici, 2017, p.89). When the relationships between paid and unpaid work (and between household structure and workplace culture) are examined, social relations under capitalism become visible.

To access the social reality of office workers, this study uses a (Marxist informed) labour process lens, which concentrates on workplaces as sites in which workplace practices, including PIUW, are negotiated. Marxist ontology is materialist in that objects of scientific enquiry are real mechanisms and structures (Pratten, 2000). For Marx, the social world is constituted by social relations and human motives and the social realm is viewed as a network of internal relations (Pratten, 2000). Labour process theory foregrounds social relations under capitalism. Throughout this thesis, FPE analysis supports the understanding of classed (Wright, 2005; Umney, 2018) and gendered (Bradley, 2013; Federici, 2017) positions.

Building on these theoretical resources, the intersectionality of class and gender is read through critical realism to create a realist intersectional framework (Martinez Dy;Martin and Marlow, 2014; Mader, 2016). This makes it possible to explore causal factors that explain persistent gendered and classed differences, observed as outcomes in some work settings and not others. Furthermore, categories of class and gender can be viewed "as abstractions and actors as their referents, occupying dynamic, non-deterministic structural positions that constrain or enable them, in concert or in conflict, in intersecting ways" (Martinez Dy et al., 2014, p.463). With a CR positional approach (Mader, 2016; Martinez Dy et al., 2014) as opposed to an inter-categorical, intra-categorical or anti-categorical approach (McCall, 2005) gender is "a *structural category*, namely, a hierarchal ordering of society's array of social positions, roles and identities according to a principle of division. Gender is thereby neither primarily a social position, a social role nor a social identity, but a kind of *meta-positioning* that co-constitutes the shape and content of all of these and at the same time grants differential access to them" (Mader, 2016, p. 447-448, emphasis in original).

With Lawson's (2012) theory of social positioning this study uncovers causal relationships between macrolevel structures (such as gender and class), mesolevel structures (such as organisational rules) and technological entities (such as PIUW). How PIUW, is affected by class and gender, is therefore understood through a social ontology that is informed by

Lawson's (2019) ontological framework which provides a comprehensive theoretical resource with which to understand social phenomena. In Lawson's (2019) relational formulation, there is a "social *position*" and a "position *occupant*" (p. 12). Position occupants (e.g., workers) obtain rights and obligations that are positional (Lawson, 2019). Through social binding, communities are constituted as organised totalities within a relational framework where rights and obligations are always internally related "through a generalised acceptance of the range of position rights and obligations" (Lawson, 2019, p. 15).

To appreciate the impact of home factors on work factors, this study considers the relationship between gendered inequality in domestic labour and women's differential labour market experiences (Federici, 2012; ONS, 2016b). Although existing FPE theory sheds light on the interrelated nature of inequality that links domestic responsibility with negative labour market outcomes, it does not explain how this translates to inequality of access to PIUW. Similarly, existing theories of class shed light on how macro level class structures determine social relations under capitalism but does not explain relationships between micro level structures (like beliefs) and meso level structures (like social rules) in relation to PIUW. To address this deficit in our understanding of workplace social relations, the following research questions facilitate access to intersectional causes of workplace inequality visible in differential levels of access to workplace internet:

1. How do men and women experience PIUW differently?

2. What does a comparison of the PIUW of working-class [henceforth WC] and middle-class [henceforth MC] workers reveal? How do experiences differ? How can these differences be explained?

3. How do class and gender intersect in the experience of DDL? What are the implications of differences for work-life articulation?

1.4 Research design and analytical method: PIUW and social ontology

The structures and causal mechanisms that determine differences of experience normally exist beyond the consciousness of social actors. For this reason, interviews have been used to construct an account of the experiences of those most impacted by inequalities associated with PIUW. Interviews are a method with which to access the situated interests of actors, through their understanding of phenomena in the social realm (Bonnington and Rose, 2014). In this PhD study, data collection combines four qualitative methods: narrative interviews, semi-structured interviews, asynchronous interviews over internet and field observations. Forty-four interviews were conducted between 2018 and 2020. The thesis uses qualitative data about the experiences of office workers to explore how particular generative mechanisms are manifested: "Investigating how a mechanism works in a concrete situation involves tracing the causal power and describing the interaction between powers that produces a social phenomenon" (Danermark et al., 2002, p. 166). Following Danermark et al. (2002), a CR ontological position facilitates access to the inner composition of observed gendered and classed patterns of PIUW. Combined, this dataset facilitates an embedded appreciation of the social construction and impact of organisational policy and practice, and the way in which employee behaviour and managerial action are related.

A full account of the research design and analytical method is provided in Chapter 4.

1.5 Explaining this study's findings: What PIUW means for workers

Data analysis is organised across three chapters (6, 7 and 8) each of which has a different focus. In Chapter 6, the extent to which relative autonomy within the labour process implies freedoms in relation to PIUW is explored. Where control at work is varied, principally along class-based lines, variations are visible, according to supervision and spatiality of the labour process. How such variations afford room to actualise PIUW is considered in relation to managerial practices that enable or constrain individuals' PIUW. Examples demonstrate how

the realisation of life plans that are meaningful to the individual are undermined by organisational controls (Al-Amoudi, 2019). Yet, workers are active subjects who can resist attempts to control PIUW.

Analysis in Chapter 6 leads to the following findings:

1. There is a striking disparity in work time access to workplace internet between those in WC and MC jobs

2: The PIUW of those in WC jobs is limited, constraining their ability to manage life-related tasks on work time.

To explore the first finding, pair comparisons provide insights into causes relating to class and the significance of a rule limiting the use of smartphones by those in WC jobs in worktime becomes clear.

Although all the participants in WC jobs have access to internet in work time, for the majority, PIUW is largely absent. Where PIUW is present for this group there is a marked difference in the volume and quality of PIUW and participants in WC jobs rarely reported using PIUW for DDL. This lack of PIUW is 'surprising' in Lawson's (2003) terms and constitutes a 'special case', worthy of comparison with those in MC jobs.

In Chapter 7, data analysis demonstrates that those in MC jobs tend to have more discretion as to how work is managed and organisational flexibility practices such as flexitime are significant. Mainly associated with MC jobs, flexitime enables temporal flexibility which in turn enables PIUW. Freedoms are also enabled by other forms of temporal flexibility (for example, choices around naturally occurring gaps in worktime). When those in MC jobs are free to use gaps in their workday for PIUW, we see agents transforming social reality as they shape the temporal and spatial conditions that enable their PIUW (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002).

Analysis in Chapter 7 leads to the following findings:

3. The PIUW of those in MC jobs is not limited, enabling them to manage life-related tasks on work time.

4. Women in MC jobs are more likely than women in WC jobs to use PIUW instrumentally, to manage domestic tasks on work time.

In Chapter 8, data analysis focuses on class, technology, and work-life articulation. Data illustrate the structurally embedded freedoms that allow those (mainly) in MC jobs to manage domestic tasks, alongside of paid work. For some in MC jobs, relatively high-level IT competency is a further factor enabling PIUW. Analysis in Chapter 8 leads to the following findings:

5. Men in MC jobs are more likely than men in WC jobs to use PIUW instrumentally, to manage domestic tasks on work time.

6. Technology literacy is a significant factor that interacts with gender and class to constrain the PIUW of those in WC jobs and to enable the PIUW of those in MC jobs.

1.6 Chapter summary

In sum, PIUW for DDL is a new area of research that is theorised here using a materialist feminist and realist intersectional framework. Thus, gendered inequality in the division of unpaid work (see for example ONS, 2016b) is explored in the context of structural constraints (systems of power and structures of discrimination) that are produced and reproduced at work. Using applied theoretical redescription, a sequence of causation within a pattern of events is described (O'Mahoney and Vincent, 2014). Within these patterns intersectional positionalities have been theoretically separated.

This study advances a realist perspective in which unseen structures and conditions are important to an explanation of PIUW where PIUW is understood as an emergent totality whose components include sociomaterial elements such as people, hardware, software, internet, and mobile apps. Within this conceptualisation, a rule is an organising structure that causally affects the emergent causal powers of PIUW. This research is thus concerned with discovering the real causes of social processes (Ackroyd, 2009), wherein social phenomena result from an interaction between the powers of social entities.

Whilst a great deal has been written about how technology facilitates control through, for example, techniques of worker surveillance this study finds, rather that norms and rules (structures at the organisational level) are more important for an explanation of differential experiences. To identify these and other salient causal powers, an effort is made to isolate the prime mechanisms that best account for observed PIUW outcomes. Going beyond the productive sphere (of paid work), to consider how the dynamics of social reproduction (i.e., unpaid domestic and care work) are relevant to variations in experience of PIUW, this study makes visible aspects of workplace inequality related to technology, gender, and class. In the explanation that is developed, inequality is maintained by a complex array of mechanisms, conditions and structures which are not immediately visible.

By seeking to understand how work-life outcomes are differentially impacted because of relative freedom in relation to PIUW, constraints on agency are theorised. This theoretical explanation combines existing theories and knowledge from different disciplines to "explain what we *do not* know" (Fleetwood and Hesketh, 2010, p. 245) explains DDL for the first time.

To explain observed differences in PIUW, relationships between phenomena such as norms, workplace rules, and individual beliefs are explored. Two elements of Lawson's ontological framework are drawn on. These are Lawson's (2012) theory of social positioning and

Lawson's (2003) method of contrastive explanation. As a result, an original theoretical contribution is developed via a novel analytic model comprising 32 theoretically constructed positions. The model makes it possible to explain how class manifests itself through the labour process leading to several contributions. Firstly, an explanation is developed of how it is that one group of workers is relatively disadvantaged regarding PIUW. Secondly, through tracing relationships between labour process conditions and collective rule-following practices, an explanation is developed of how inequality is inscribed at multiple levels through the operation of organisational power. Thirdly, by comparing the work-life experiences of those in different labour market positions this research contributes to debates around work-life and inequality, that are otherwise overly focused on the experience of the middle class.

Chapter 2. Realism, class, and gender

This study of PIUW develops a theoretical framework that is informed by materialist feminism and realism. By situating reproductive labour in the context of household economy a more substantive account of social relations in the UK office context is developed. In this chapter, theories of class and gender are contrasted with labour process theory [henceforth LPT] analyses and thereafter evaluated for their explanatory power. Materialist feminist and realist theories each contribute to explain the intersection of class and gender in relation to DDL. Later in this chapter, Lawson's (2012) theory of social positioning provides an ontological framework in which to explain causal relationships amongst class, gender, and technology. In Chapter 5, this positioning theory forms the basis for a new approach to evaluating positionality. With this novel theoretical framework, we may understand how intersectional forces contribute causally to different experiences of work-life articulation.

This study seeks to explain the most important generative mechanisms and underlying structures that enable and constrain DDL. Phenomena within the social realm are explained through critical realism [hereafter CR]. Therefore, CR causal explanation is chosen as the analytical strategy. CR causal explanation allows us to theorise about phenomena whether they operate multiply or singly in place or time (Porpora, 2015). The CR concepts that are used most frequently in this thesis are introduced next, beginning with the stratified ontology which is fundamental to the philosophy of CR.

2.1 Applying CR Theory and Method to explain PIUW

The philosophical movement of CR was initiated by the English philosopher Roy Bhaskar (1944-2014). Following Bhaskar, CRs believe that reality is stratified in nature and strata are not reducible one to another (Danermark *et al.*, 2002). In Bhaskar's (2008 [1975]) depth ontology, there are three separate domains which are termed 'the real', 'the actual' and 'the

empirical'. The layeredness of the three domains (stratification) implies a particular perspective of causal powers.

For researchers who are new to CR, it is relatively more abstract and harder to access than other philosophies of science. Intellectual goals are specified through ontology and ontological questions are placed ahead of epistemological ones (Ackroyd and Karlsson, 2014). Unlike most philosophies of science, CR doesn't fit into either the subjectivist (interpretive, inductive and social constructionist) or objectivist (empiricist, deductive and positivist) dichotomy:

> In contrast to the positivist ontology, which equates reality with recordable events, and the constructivist position, which collapses ontology to discourse, CRs adhere to a *stratified* or 'depth ontology'. In particular, a distinction is made between the 'empirical' (what we perceive to be the case: human sensory experiences and perceptions), the 'actual' (the events that occur in space and time, which may be different to what we perceive to be the case), and the 'real' (the mechanisms and structures which generate the actual world, together with the empirical). This perspective is important because it facilitates a better understanding of how powers which operate in different locations and/or, often, at different hierarchical levels relate. (O'Mahoney and Vincent., 2014, p. 9, emphasis in original)

In the context of the current research, CR's depth ontology makes it possible to research PIUW as embedded within, *inter alia*, organisational power structures. Furthermore, a generative conception of social causality has particular implications for the study of PIUW where research is directed towards "an explanatory focus on the real, underlying, and unobservable mechanisms that generate certain observable phenomena at the level of the actual and empirical" (Reed, 2009, p. 435). Stratification distinguishes CR from other ontologies:

> Imagine the world as nested clusters of interacting generative mechanisms and the events that these interactions produce, all existing (largely) independently of human thought and activity,

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which must themselves be included among or understood as arising from those mechanisms.

(Callinicos, 2006, p. 161)

Unlike researchers who seek solely to describe phenomena, CR researchers seek explanation: "For CR, there is always a need for an explanatory mechanism, involving some kind of causal powers" (Porpora, 2015, p. 191). In CR, mechanisms rather than experience form the base for the method (Danermark *et al.*, 2002). In CR, mechanisms include social structures, organisations and the ideas and motivations of individuals (Mingers and Standing, 2017). Mechanisms are generative and causal in nature. Whether mechanisms are complex or simple, it is necessary to identify components of the mechanism as well as its liabilities and causal powers (Williams, 2018). Although mechanisms cannot be observed directly: "idealized characterizations of them are created using intuition to interpret the available evidence" (Ackroyd and Karlsson, 2014, p. 24). Following a realist approach, we can understand aspects that govern a phenomenon like PIUW at every level. At the macro level, structures shaping society are as relevant as microlevel structures shaping the interpretation of informal organisational rules or how attitudes are implicated in social positioning (Lawson, 2019).

Mechanisms may be structural (in the case of workplace rules) or agential (in the case of individual beliefs). Workplace rules, such as those limiting workers' access to their own smart phones, are social phenomena. Such rules may cause workers to act in particular ways. Transgressing such rules produces differential outcomes for individuals, depending on structural factors (such as labour market position). In this thesis, Lawson's (2012) theory of social positioning provides the primary ontological framework through which relationships between gender, class and technology are explained with reference to rules. This is described in detail in Section 2.2 (this chapter).

Here, social phenomena are investigated with a depth ontology that facilitates access to causal structures and mechanisms that can explain PIUW. Knowledge is advanced through observing phenomena in the social world which is understood by CRs through a social ontology

(Fleetwood, 2017). Whereas ontology is the general enquiry into being, *social* ontology is "the general enquiry into the way the *social* world is" (Fleetwood, 2017, p.2). Lawson (2019) describes what is implied for method by a realist philosophy, and a realist ontology:

> My own approach is multifaceted, but a central component has been to proceed by first identifying generalised features of experience concerning (aspects of) human interactions and then questioning whether any of their preconditions (i.e., the conditions that must be in place for these experienced interactions and aspects to be possible) include those that are additionally irreducible *outcomes* of human interactions (and if so, to explore their natures etc.). If such human-interaction-dependent features are so identified, then, being causally efficacious conditions of (further) human interaction, they can be accepted as real; and being products of human interaction, they are seen additionally to be social. (Lawson, 2019, p. 33, emphasis in original)

Individual practices are facilitated, through our positioning in "sets of specific structures" (Lawson, 2019, p. 227). In CR, it is essential that the concept of 'structure' is unambiguous, "we abstract, that is isolate, a particular aspect, a set of internally defined social relations: a particular structure. Thus, a structure is defined as a *set of internally related objects*. We can then, should our investigation call for it, continue to isolate more internal social relations, more structures" (Danermark et al., 2005, p. 47, emphasis in original).

In the social realm, humans, acting intentionally according to subjective reasoning, reproduce conditioning structures:

> Put slightly differently, we human beings for the most part do not create social reality, but rather, on finding it given to us at any moment, each draw upon it in acting in always situated ways, pursuing our individual concerns. In so doing, we act in conditions clearly not of our choosing, with understandings that, although necessarily adequate to our going on capably in life in our immediate sphere, are always fallible and extremely partial at best. We thereby each contribute, along with the simultaneous actions of all others, to the continuous reproduction

and transformation of social reality as a whole, in a manner that is mostly unintended […].
(Lawson, 2019, pp. 227-228)

In this view, social phenomena are constituted as features of social systems which "emerge and / or are transformed through processes of *social positioning*, these being developments whereby people and things (broadly conceived) become relationally organised to form components" (Lawson, 2019, p. 228, emphasis in original).

In Lawson's (2019 [2012]) framework, technological phenomena are accounted for, as components, relationally organised, as part of an emergent totality or system "where people and things broadly conceived become incorporated" (Pratten, 2017, p. 1421, describing Lawson's social ontology). Systems are defined thus:

> By a system I simply mean a set of elements that have an integrity considered together as a whole or totality, where the latter is composed out of the (clearly more basic) elements, but, in contrast to an aggregate or a mere collection, is formed via an organisation of the basic elements. The organising structure of any system emerges simultaneously with the emergent totality that comprises the system as a whole, and both renders the (organised) basic elements components of the system and also accounts for any emergent causal powers of the emergent system or totality. A further feature is that this organising structure connects a subset of components to features of the environment; a system always exists in some context. (Lawson, 2014, p. 25)

Lawson's influence in this thesis, on both theory and method, is significant. Lawson's (2009) method of contrastive explanation [hereafter CE] underpins the empirical analysis presented here. CE is a model of social explanation where contrastive observations form the basis from which to initiate an analysis. CE makes it possible to explore why something happens in one place and not in another (Lawson, 2003). Rather than explaining the complete causal conditions of any social phenomenon, the aim is to identify individual sets of causal mechanisms (Lawson, 2020 [1999]). Examples chosen for comparison share a common

'contrast space', a domain across which it is meaningful to draw comparisons (Lawson, 2003). CE is used throughout this thesis as an analytical strategy to explore the situated agency and individual reasoning of participants around their PIUW. CE is introduced in detail in Chapter 5.

Next, two modes of inference that are used by critical realists [hereafter CRs] are described in the context of the *abductive* research strategy.

2.1.1 A CR mode of explanation in stages

Abduction encompasses re-describing the "observable everyday objects of social science (usually provided by interviewees or observational data) in an abstracted and more general sense in order to describe the sequence of causation that gives rise to observed regularities in the pattern of events" (O'Mahoney and Vincent, 2014, p. 17). This is the aim of realist theoretical and applied explanation, to "redescribe some phenomenon under a new scheme of concepts designating the structures mechanisms or agents that are, to some degree, responsible for it" (Lawson, 2009, p. 409). Analysis begins with resolving a complex event by explaining "social 'regularities', 'rates', 'associations', 'outcomes', 'patterns'" (Pawson and Tilley, 1997, p. 71). Having identified a 'regularity', using realist explanatory logic, it is necessary to posit an underlying mechanism that has generated the regularity (Pawson and Tilley, 1997).

Unlike deductive or inductive research strategies which seek to describe, predict, or deconstruct social behaviour, the objective of the retroductive research design is to explain social behaviour:

> Applied to the study of work organizations, for example, the key is to uncover why it is that certain persistent relations or features of the organization have certain effects or observable outcomes in some settings and not others, and what the factors are – for example, management strategy, employee resistance, sector, nation – that may explain this. Research strategy thus

focuses on the complex interplay between social structure and managerial agency over time and place, linking local changes in organizational forms and control regimes to deeper structural changes within the political economy of capitalism. (Rees and Gatenby, 2014, pp. 138-139)

Al-Amoudi (2010) distinguishes induction and retroduction as follows:

Whereas induction seeks to move from the observation of a property in a few individuals to a statement about all individuals of the same kind, retroduction seeks to uncover the necessary conditions of possibility for an observed event, these conditions of possibility being things of various kinds: (usually anterior) events but also powers, mechanisms, processes, structures, reasons, beliefs, and so on. (Al-Amoudi, 2010, p. 290)

Fleetwood and Hesketh (2010) cite Lawson (1997) to define retroduction, which consists:

in the movement, on the basis of analogy and metaphor amongst other things, from a conception of some phenomenon of interest to a conception of some totally different type of thing, mechanism, structure or condition that, at least in part, is responsible for the given phenomenon. If deduction is illustrated by the move from the general claim that 'all ravens are black' to the particular inference that the next one seen will be black, and induction by the move from the particular observation of numerous black ravens to the general claim that 'all ravens are black', retroductive or abductive reasoning is indicated by a move from the observation of numerous black ravens to a theory of a mechanism intrinsic … to ravens which disposes them to be black. (Lawson 1997, p. 24, cited in Fleetwood and Hesketh, 2010, p. 243)

Retroduction uses conceptual abstraction and theoretical model building to evaluate "concrete phenomena by reconstructing the conditions (generative mechanisms) under which they emerge and become the entities that they are" (Reed, 2009. p. 432). Propositions are then produced to account for the way in which the regularity has been constituted (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). Abduction involves "*working backwards* (from actual social interactions to

their conditions of possibility)" (Lawson, 2019, p. 33). In this thesis, this approach underpins an explanation of the differential experience of PIUW.

In addition to retroduction, retrodiction is second mode of inference favoured by CRs to detect causal mechanisms (Danermark *et al.*, 2002). Fleetwood and Hesketh (2010) describe retrodiction as follows:

> There are times, however, when we are not ignorant, but relatively knowledgeable of the mechanisms in operation that are causing the phenomena under investigation, and we do not have to make use of the scientific imagination. In this case, we use existing theories, observations, claims and other knowledge to *retrodict*, that is, make claims about the way these mechanisms tend to operate perhaps in combination with other mechanisms, and perhaps in important contexts, to bring about *Q*. We use what we *do* know to explain what we *do not* know. (Fleetwood and Hesketh, 2010, p. 243, emphasis in original)

Applying the process of conceptual abstraction (retroduction/retrodiction) is necessarily challenging because it requires the theoretical construction of underlying structures and mechanisms (Rees and Gatenby, 2014).

2.2 A realist theory of social positioning

Lawson (2019) elaborates a realist theory of social positioning that is used here to theorise social relations. This theory has just two *principles* that "can be iterated over and again in processes of social constitution" (Lawson, 2019, p. 12). First, in an emerging system, a space is created "that is structured in a manner to orient any person or thing allocated to it to serving some system function" (p. 12). Secondly, a person or entity is allocated to the space created "thereby becoming incorporated as a component of the totality or system in a manner oriented to serving a function of the wider totality" (Lawson, 2019, p. 12). In this simple relational formulation, there is a "social *position*" and a "position *occupant*" (such as employees in a

workplace, for example, or students in a university). Position occupants obtain rights and obligations that are positional (Lawson, 2019). This is how privilege operates:

> Where, in contrast, it is artefacts or some other non-human objects that are positioned directly as community components (and so are open to use by various community participants), they do not, of course, themselves acquire rights and obligations. Rather, individual participants in the wider community acquire rights and obligations that bear on the manner in which these artefacts etc., *qua* positioned items, are (or are not) to be used. Thus, the way a positioned machine may be operated in a factory will be determined by the rights and obligations accruing to the various (differentially positioned) factory participants. Similarly, the functioning of, say, a car park in the university or a high table in a Cambridge College will be controlled by rights and obligations allocated (differentially) to members of the relevant community. (Lawson, 2019, p. 14)

Lawson's positioning theory provides a model for the empirical investigation of this PhD study. For example, occupational groups are here conceptualised as communities, constituted as organised totalities in a process of social binding which occurs "through a generalised acceptance of the range of position rights and obligations" (p. 15). In the relational framework of the social realm, rights and obligations are always internally related:

> These matched rights and obligations thereby constitute a fundamental form of social relation, organising those so related as components of the community so formed. They work as power relations in that the exercising of a position right by one party leads to another, with a corresponding or matched obligation, doing what is requested or expected, even if the latter feels it is the last thing he or she wants to do. (Lawson, 2019, p. 15)

Where individuals share identical positions (community membership) the accruing rights and obligations are widely shared so that, for example, all employees are expected to attend work on time (Lawson, 2019). In this way, community members' practices are underpinned by

social relations that are constituted in "matched pairs of rights and obligations" (p. 16). Social reality depends on these structures of matched pairs:

> But just as vital, finally, are the requirements that positioned occupants are not only aware of their obligations but also, and in particular, committed to meeting their personal obligations (whether highly specific to an individual or general, explicit or implicit, codified or whatever), and prepared to trust that others will meet their own. Trust and trustworthiness together are, I believe, reasonably thought of as the glue of social communities (see Pratten, 2017). They are generally basic to everything we do as community participants, but are nowhere more fundamental, I suggest, than to our meeting the obligations that derive from positions that we each and all multiply occupy. (Lawson, 2019, p. 16)

For Lawson, the category *social relation* describes "the manner of connection of social positions, or at least those occupied by human individuals (2012, p. 368). In Lawson's conception, "a *social relation* is just (or is first and foremost) an accepted set of rights and obligations holding between, and connecting, two or more positions or occupants of positions" (ibid.). Social relations, therefore, may be understood through processes of social interaction (Lawson, 2012).

The social relation constituted by paired rights and obligations are one sort of social relation. They are "internal or constitutive relations, serving in part to constitute the relational components formed by allocating individuals to the positions" (Lawson and Morgan, 2021, p. 207).

2.2.1 Positioning theory and positioned objects

Although Lawson's positioning theory accounts for the positioning of people *and* objects, person and object positions are distinctly different:

> Let me start with these person positions. These are constituted in terms of a specific package of rights and obligations. Each right (and obligation) in any such package is matched to at

least one obligation (right) of a typically (though not necessarily) different package, constitutive of a (typically different) position. Each such matched right/obligation pair is a social relation, a form of 'power-over' relation. These are internal or constitutive relations, serving in part to constitute the relational components formed by allocating individuals to the positions. These are not the only sort of social relation of course. But they are fundamental to social constitution and central to social positioning theory. (Lawson and Morgan, 2021, p. 207).

The following distinction is made about object positions:

For positioned objects, it is their uses that are subject to the rights and obligations of positioned human individuals in a relevant community. Thus, any specifically object position is characterized in terms of a set of rights and obligations, where each such right or obligation is a member of some or other package of rights and obligations characterizing a person position, one that bears on the uses of the community components formed from objects occupying this position. (Lawson and Morgan, 2021, p. 208).

The 'object position' concept provides a significant ontological resource with which to theorise PIUW (and DDL) from a realist perspective. Lawson presents an example of a Cambridge College dining table (a 'high table') that is used differently to other in the same dining hall. The high table has the same physical properties as the other dining tables. However, the fellows and students who use the dining hall "possess different (but matched) rights and obligations in relation to its use" (Lawson and Morgan, 2021, p. 208). We can therefore conceptualise PIUW (and DDL) in the same way, i.e., when differentially positioned persons in a workplace engage in PIUW, it may appear to be the same thing. However, with Lawson's positioning theory, objects can be viewed as occupying a position "constituted by the set of rights and obligations that bear on the use of an object *qua* positioned object allocated to it" (Lawson and Morgan, 2021, p. 208). For the purposes of the current analysis, Lawson's positioning theory provides a practical means to distinguish the positionality of the

technical components of PIUW (which is a sociotechnical entity). For example, with PIUW, many components are in play whose ownership is not always immediately apparent. A worker may use two smartphones, one of which is owned by the employer. They may access internet in worktime using data that they (or their employer) have paid for. They may use apps for non-work purposes that are theirs (or their employers). And so on.

In Lawson's (2019) theory, social systems are theorised in terms of interaction: "Basic to everyday and indeed all human life is human interaction" (p. 47). Interaction takes place in communities, where community is "an identifiable, restricted, relatively enduring (if typically evolving) coherent organised grouping of people who share some set of (usually equally evolving) concerns" (p. 47). Human interaction is structured 'collective practices':

> By a *collective practice*, I mean a specific way of going on that 1) is recognised, over an interval in time and within some specific community, as the *accepted* way of proceeding with regard to achieving a particular outcome; and 2) involves the *participation* of all members of the community, either through their direct adherence to the given accepted way of proceeding or through their acting in other ways that facilitate, presuppose or otherwise maintain the latter, including avoiding intentionally impeding the actions of those more directly participating. (Lawson, 2019, p. 47, emphasis in original)

Thus, through rough collective acceptance, members of a community recognise particular ways of proceeding:

> So a collective practice, put differently, is precisely a way of proceeding that (implicitly) has attached to it the status of being a (collectively) accepted way of proceeding within a community. It indicates something that is the case. Various ways of proceeding might be imagined that could serve any outcome that (whether or not by design) happens to be facilitated through generalised conformity with the accepted way – that is, with the specific collective practice; but for whatever reason, one way has turned out to be the way that is generally observed. (Lawson, 2019, pp. 47-48)

Collective practices are associated with particular behaviours and "moreover, a collective practice will encompass several components or subpractices" (Lawson, 2019, p. 48). In this study of PIUW, the idea that collective practices can be unpacked with respect to components and subpractices means that connections can be drawn, for example, between individual responses to workplace rules (such as those prohibiting smartphone use) and other components of PIUW phenomena.

Lawson provides an example of shopping in a store where subpractices include the use of a trolley, queueing appropriately and paying in an accepted manner:

> Notice too that as a precondition both for a collective practice to be recognised as such – that is, as a way of proceeding that is accepted within a community – and so for successful participation, individuals within the community must have a sense of the scope or boundaries of the relevant community, and recognise any such practice as in effect the property of that community. (Lawson, 2019, p. 48)

Social interaction therefore involves "widespread conformity to collective practices, where the latter are everywhere to be found in human societies" (p. 48). Relative stability is achieved through coordination termed as "accepted ways of going on" (p. 48). Moreover, social coordination is associated with "normativity. Indeed, collective practices are also referred to as norms" (p. 49).

> Normativity arises because, or when, the noted indicative aspect of any collective practice is also interpreted as stipulative, as indicating how an individual *ought* to proceed. Collective practices, in order to facilitate coordination etc., need to persist, and this usually *requires* that relevant individuals conform to (various interacting sets of) them. (Lawson, 2019, p. 49, emphasis in original)

Through our experience of community, we become acclimatised to collective practices and we "conform to and so help preserve those [collective practices] of the communities we 'inhabit'" (p. 49).

> The normative aspect of collective practices thus gives rise to the notion of *obligations* – a category that, along with the associated category of *rights*, will be seen in due course to be central to the conception of reality being developed. Obligations are accepted ways in which relevant community members are expected to proceed; rights express accepted ways of going on in which relevant individuals may proceed. If we are a part of, or wish to 'enter' or 'join' a community, then when appropriate, we are under the obligation to adhere to its norms or collective practices. (Lawson, 2019, pp. 49-50, emphasis in original)

Participation in collective practices are rights in the sense of "community properties; they allow various individual activities just because the collective practices in question are accepted in the wider community" (p. 50).

> Notice that the role of rights and obligations in structuring social life presupposes the human capacities of being trustworthy and trusting others, of being willing and able to make and keep promises and other commitments, and to believe that others can and will also do so. As is clear in activities such as driving on motorways, any cooperative interaction and ultimately any form of collective action, these human capacities are necessary conditions for the interactions involved to occur, for obligations in particular to be efficacious. As such, these capacities of trusting and being trustworthy etc. qualify as much as anything to be categorised as the glue of social reality, the adhesive that enables the organisational structure to achieve a degree of binding. (Lawson, 2019, p. 50)

Thus, are we all obliged to respect community norms if we wish to "participate directly in, and so benefit from, at least some of the practices of those communities" (p. 50). A key point is the relational organisation of community life through "the collective practices and their inherent rights and obligations that structure human interaction" (pp. 50-51). Collective

practices are processual: they "are both condition and consequence of the individual practices they facilitate" and they are reproduced (or transformed) "through the individual practices or activities they facilitate" with the overall conception termed "organisation-in-process" (p. 51). Later, when data is analysed (in Chapters 6, 7 and 8) social rules are evaluated for what they can explain about organisational structure and the differential operation of organisational power.

All positions are associated with positioned powers, upon which, all social being depends (Lawson, 2012). In this view, rights, and obligations "might be thought of, respectively, as positive and negative powers" Lawson (2012, p. 368). Lawson situates positional rights and obligations in terms of power where it "seems reasonable to refer *both* to rights and to obligations as (positional) *powers*. Moreover, these are "constitutive of what might reasonably be termed social, collective or positional power" (2012, p. 368, emphasis in original).

For the purposes of the current investigation, a final important concept from Lawson's (2012) positioning theory is the 'framework of acceptances':

> In all this, once more, the framework of acceptances is fundamental. Within any community, it is accepted that one set of practices constitutes an accepted way of proceeding for group X, and a second set, perhaps constituted in relation/orientation to the first, is an accepted way of going on for group Y. Similarly, there are usually accepted ways of allocating some individuals to group X and others to group Y; processes of allocation that are themselves clearly each a form of collective practice. Thus, the appointment/allocation of certain individuals to the category of university lecturer in the UK will proceed according to university and nationally accepted ways of making such appointments etc. (Lawson, 2019, p. 55)

Lawson's positioning theory can be distinguished from other realist social theories through its focus on the relational organisation of social totalities:

As a brief summary, social positioning involves both the creation, emergence and/or maintenance and transformation of openings for people and things in 'community' systems of relations, and also processes of allocating people and things to these openings. These openings are referred to as social positions. Relational components are formed by allocating individuals or entities to positions. Positions, whether by design or (more typically) otherwise, orient occupants qua positioned occupants or components in a manner that they are enabled to contribute to the overall workings of the wider community. In this, capacities brought to the positions by occupants are harnessed in ways that contribute to the working of the community. (Lawson and Morgan, 2021, p. 205)

Lawson describes three important features of the relational constitution of positions:

These are first the relational nature of a position itself, second the nature of position occupancy and the manner of the formation of community components out of positioned occupants, and third, processes whereby individuals and other phenomena, but especially individuals, are allocated to positions. The former two are the more interesting or significant from a socio-ontological perspective. However, all three, and perhaps especially processes of allocation, are fundamental from a political and ethical perspective. (Lawson and Morgan, 2021, p. 205)

In Lawson's framework, "sets of community opportunities" are achieved by individuals via a "basic mechanism" of "position construction and allocation" (Lawson and Morgan, 2021, p. 206). Inevitably, the question of allocation connects to concerns that are both political and ethical and which can inform our understanding of social hierarchies such as class and gender structures (ibid.). As Lawson says, "the positioning mechanism works in large part in ways that result in quite stark and, from an ethical standpoint, quite indefensible, indeed outrageous, inequalities of opportunity" (Lawson and Morgan, 2021, p. 207).

In this PhD study, which is concerned with differential levels of access to PIUW, Lawson's (2012) theory of social positioning offers a conceptual resource that is relatively more

applicable than other prominent theories of social relations (such as Marxist or Bourdieusian theoretical resources). Here, Lawson's (2012) theory supports an account in which humans and artefacts are theorised as positional components of a single system with both viewed as having system functions. Lawson's (2012) theory is therefore a sophisticated, flexible and comprehensive theoretical resource for investigating social phenomena such as technology, gender and class.

How class is understood and theorised is discussed next.

2.3 Theories of class and class schema

Different methods exist for measuring social class. The schema that is used may have implications for subsequent analysis and theorisation. In the UK, the National Statistics Socio-Economic classification (NS-SEC) is the most prevalent measure, for example, it is used in the quarterly Labour Force Survey. NS-SEC (officially in use since 2001) is an 'employment relations' approach whose underlying rationale is that class should be measured through an individual's occupation. Based on the Nuffield class schema developed in the 1970s, NS-SEC is a standardised representation of employment statuses and labour market positions (Rose and Pevalin, 2003). Following changes in industry and occupational structure, categories no longer relate to skill or the manual/non-manual division (ibid.). NS-SEC has eight basic categories that make it possible to allocate class according to "occupation-by-employment status" (Rose and Pevalin, 2003, p. 12). Basic categories can be collapsed into three classes: managerial and professional occupations; intermediate occupations; and routine and manual occupations (Rose and Pevalin, 2003, p. 13).

Savage et al. (2013) argue that the occupational basis of Nuffield (on which NS-SEC is based) hinders the analysis of the role of cultural and social processes in producing class divisions. They have therefore produced an alternative schema using data from GBCS (Great British

Class Survey). The largest UK survey of its kind, GBCS attracted 161,400 online respondents. Carried out in partnership with the British Broadcasting Corporation, GBCS included questions on economic, social and cultural capital. After combining GBCS data with data from a much smaller, but more representative, survey, Savage et al. (2013) developed a schema that is significantly different to NS-SEC. In this new schema (of seven classes), an 'elite' class has been identified that is distinct from the existing 'middle class' category in NS-SEC. , Savage et al. (2013) also describe a technical middle class, a 'new affluent' class and a 'precariat' class. The authors argue that this new model "recognises both social polarisation in British society and class fragmentation in its middle layers" and offers "an up-to-date multi-dimensional model of social class" (Savage et al., 2013, p. 220).

However, Savage et al.'s (2013) analysis of GBCS data has prompted widespread debate. Toscano and Woodcock (2015), for example, reject the move by Savage et al. (2013) to combine Marxist and Bourdieusian perspectives (outlined in the following section) arguing that this approach places insufficient emphasis on the political characteristics of class formation: "A shift from a relational analysis of class to a taxonomic one risks, like much of contemporary writing on inequality, however critically intentioned, to sunder the question of class from that of power" (Toscano and Woodcock, 2015, p. 513). Toscano and Woodcock (2015) argue that regardless of whether capital is economic, social or cultural, capital's mobilisation "takes place within antagonistic class relations and is used to enforce systematic exclusion, rather than simply granting advantages to individuals" (Toscano and Woodcock, 2015, p. 519). Umney (2018) contrasts a Marxist view of class with others (like Bourdieu) that focus, for example, on the importance of culture in understanding class:

> The key point is this: when talking about class, our objective should not be simply to provide a comprehensive categorisation of groups of people and the differences between them, but *to consider how the interactions between people with different economic roles affects the working of society as a whole*, from the experiences people have at work, to the development

and application of technology, to the economic and social policies pursued by governments.

(Umney, 2018, p.21, emphasis in original)

The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu [1930-2002] is highly influential in academic sociology where his conceptualisation of class is predominant (Umney, 2018). In Bourdieu's (1986) pioneering work, the question is one of access to different kinds of capital. Different classes have different access to different kinds of capital which can be economic, cultural and social (Bourdieu, 1986). Whereas economic capital "is universally transposable via money and can be derived from assets" (Vincent and Pagan, 2019. p. 190), cultural capital is more complex, existing in three forms (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital may be embodied as skill, cultural goods or it can be institutionalised, for example in education (Vincent and Pagan, 2019). In contrast, social capital exists between individuals and within social formations. It can be thought of as a network of resources: "like cultural capital, social capital is heterogeneous and ontologically various" (Vincent and Pagan, 2019. p. 191). With a Bourdieusian conceptualisation of resources, embodied cultural capital and social capital are "power conferring insofar as they are ultimately translatable into the money form" (Portes, 2010, p. 81). In combination, different kinds of capital can be used to achieve improved class position and status (Umney, 2018).

In an analysis of class that draws on Bourdieusian sociology and moral philosophy (within a realist metatheory) Andrew Sayer (2005) explores the often submerged "moral dimension of the subjective experience of class" (p. 2) in order to understand the subjective experience of people at work. Sayer (2005) is concerned with the moral sentiments of individuals and how these vary according to position in the social field. In this view, moral ideas are a resource with which to evaluate inequality, thus: "class differences, like gender differences, conflict with moral principles and dispositions supporting equal recognition and respect" (Sayer, 2005, p.4). By way of example, Sayer talks about the general sense of embarrassment

surrounding the issue of class, where individuals' life-chances are "objectively affected by factors which have little to do with their moral qualities or other merits" (2005, p. 3).

Class analysis allows us to account for inequalities between different workers where differential location in the labour market produces differences in income and wealth (Bradley, 2000). From an orthodox Marxist perspective, class relations in society are constituted by two classes - the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (Wright, 2010). This view of class relations is conceptualised within the context of capitalism:

> Capitalism is a particular way of organizing the economic activities of a society. It can be defined along two primary dimensions, in terms of the nature of its *class relations* and its central mechanisms of *economic coordination*. (Wright, 2010, p. 34, emphasis in original)

Wright expands on this definition with the caveat that this is a simplified and abstract view:

> Class relations are the social relations through which the means of production are owned and power is exercised over their use. In capitalism, the means of production are privately owned and their use is controlled by the owners or their surrogates. The means of production by themselves, of course, cannot produce anything; they have to be set in motion by human laboring activity of one sort or another. In capitalism, this labor is provided by workers who do not own the means of production and who, in order to acquire an income, are hired by capitalist firms to use the means of production. The fundamental class relation of capitalism, therefore, is the social relation between capitalists and workers. (Wright, 2010, p. 34)

Thus, in the negotiation of working conditions, capital and labour are unequal, with conflicting interests at the centre of the relationship (Umney, 2018). In this view, within the production process, the relationship of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are diametrically opposed: class is "about the position people occupy within the structure of an economy, including the economic function they fulfil and the demands and imperatives they face as a result" (Umney, 2018, p.8).

From this overview, we can see how different approaches to measuring social class may lead to quite different analyses (Portes, 2010). In contrast to an orthodox sociological perspective of class that arranges groups of occupations together, Wright (2005) distinguishes amongst workers through sets of variations in working conditions. In this view, class is a structure that positions people. Similarly, Bradley et al. suggest that: "class should be seen as a complicated set of economic, political and cultural relationships arising from the way societies organize the production of goods and services" (2000, p. 140).

There is common agreement among class theorists that classes are defined in relationship to one another. In accordance with this perspective Wright (2005, p. 14) argues that class locations "designate the social positions occupied by individuals within a particular kind of social relation, class relations" as opposed to a view of class as simply a personal attribute. Like Wright (2005), Umney (2018) views social relations under capitalism from a capital-labour perspective. For Portes (2010), power is embodied in the class structure and is the "basic source of class cleavage" (p. 84). While existing theorisations of class are helpful to explain the relationship between access to power and inequality in society, in this thesis theoretical resources are required that allow class and gender to be considered together.

In the following section, the influence of Marxist class analysis is considered through labour process theory. LPT interpreted through CR, is a powerful analytic device (Fleetwood, 2005) that offers a domain specific perspective on the dynamics of workplace relations and how these are played out in specific contexts (Thompson and Vincent, 2010).

2.3.1 *Labour process theory: A domain specific perspective*

In the twentieth century, Braverman (1974) applied Marx's analysis of capital-labour relations to provide a major contribution in 'Labor and Monopoly Capital'. This served to renew interest in a Marxist understanding of the labour process for the sociology of work. Braverman's work stimulated workplace research in the form of detailed case studies offering

rich accounts of workers' and managers' subjectively lived experience of capitalist social relations (Thompson and Smith, 2017). Within critical management studies, labour process theory (LPT) has provided a popular framework for the analysis of work and work organization (Adler, 2007) and a well-developed account of how workers resist management (Spicer and Böhm, 2007). LPT is underpinned by the idea of the commodity character of labour which requires conversion "in order for the accumulation of capital to take place" (Thompson and Harley, 2007, p. 149).

Thompson and Smith (2017) argue that Marx's tools of analysis remain a vital source for researchers. In Marx's (1976) system of political economy, production relations (rather than market relations) are central "while waged labourers and capitalists meet in the marketplace as sellers and buyers, it is not through these roles as market transactors that value is produced and reproduced" (Thompson and Smith, 2017, p. 117). Rather, value creation takes place in production, which conceals the extraction of surplus value from workers. Only in a capitalist political economy, is production animated to produce exchange value, from which profit is derived (Thompson and Smith, 2017).

The labour process is comprised of "labour, raw materials or an object of production; and the tools, techniques and technology through which objects are transformed into use values" (Thompson and Smith, 2017, p. 118). Potential is converted "into work that is productive of use, and more importantly exchange value" (Thompson and Smith, 2017, p. 118) with control achieved through managerial expertise. Organisation is required, through an authority structure that brings together workers and managers, animating components of the labour process. To realise the potential of labour (its embodied capacity) a control imperative is required (Thompson and Smith, 2017). From a labour process perspective, control is a consequence of indeterminacy whereby "systems of management are utilized to reduce the indeterminacy gap between labor power and actual labor" (Thompson and Harley, 2007, p. 149).

The post-Braverman debate led to influential accounts such as Ackroyd and Thompson's (1999) work on organisational misbehaviour, that highlighted "a control-resistance-consent model of labour processes, where all management control strategies produce worker resistance tactics and strategies" (Thompson and Smith, 2017, pp. 122-123). The focus in the LPT literature "on class *at work*" represented a development of earlier Marxist debates (for example, those about class consciousness). Thompson and Smith (2017) argue that these developments (attributable to labour process debate) have focused research efforts "towards the diverse ways in which labour agency is executed in real labour processes" in the process highlighting "multiple points of resistance in the workplace" (Thompson and Smith, 2017, p. 123). In this PhD study, different labour processes are associated with different degrees of temporal flexibility. These are significant to an explanation of variations in access to PIUW.

2.3.2 *The labour process and personal internet use at work*

In the literature, there is a tendency to categorise PIUW as 'counterproductive workplace behaviour' or 'cyberdeviancy' within the labour process. PIUW is widely pathologised, and routinely considered a "deviant workplace behaviour" (Lim and Teo, 2005). The majority of PIUW studies have been carried out in the US, using a survey-based methodology (see for example, Vitak *et al*., 2011; Anandarajan *et al*., 2011; Betts *et al*., 2014; Jia and Jia, 2015). In management research, a divide exists between North American and North European approaches (Kempster and Parry, 2014). The American literature favours a positivist psychological orientation, often assuming that workers' behaviour can and should be changed. Broadly speaking, European approaches, reflecting post-structural and constructivist approaches, are more likely to be influenced by a sociological orientation (Kempster and Parry, 2014). The majority of the mainstream PIUW literature is underpinned by positivism with an over-reliance on surveys leading to research that is methodologically unidimensional

(Punch, 2005). This literature is written from a managerialist perspective and focuses on strategies for managing behaviour.

Only a small number of qualitative studies in this literature are relevant to a labour process perspective of PIUW. Roland Paulsen (2015), for example, takes a sociology of work approach, to study non-work at work. He proposed the term 'empty labour' to define "everything you do at work that is not your work" (2015, p. 352), targeting those who spend about half of their work time on non-work activities (the extremes of non-work at work).

Paulsen (2015) developed a typology of empty labour during a research study (see Figure 2.1 below). The author carried out 43 in-depth interviews in Sweden with mainly educated office workers aged 22-45 (20 women and 23 men). Interview subjects were recruited through chain referral sampling and through online advertising. Paulsen's (2015) typology of empty labour distinguishes amongst workers for whom 'time-appropriation' is an aspect of defiance and those for whom it is attributable to other factors.

This typology provides a critical framework with which to evaluate workers' motivation to engage in empty labour and the extent to which empty labour is affected by work context and job design. The typology is separated into four categories: 'slacking'; 'enduring'; 'coping'; and 'soldiering'. Each category is associated with either weak or strong work obligation and either high or low potential output. In each category Paulsen gives examples from interviews. Whereas, 'soldiering' is the category where the employee intentionally restricts their labour, the 'enduring' category is involuntary thereby challenging the notion of the individual worker as the only agent of empty labour. When 'enduring', the employee does not have enough work to do. With the category of 'coping', the employee intends to remain productive. For the 'slacking' type, the author introduces data from an interview with a web programmer who only has approximately one hour of work to do each day. The rest of the working day is spent on things such as communicating on MSN and taking turns with colleagues to stream music

to each other. 'Slacking' "signifies the happy marriage between weak work obligations and low potential output (2013, p. 5).

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2" colspan="2">Figure 2.1 Typology of empty labour: empty labour according to work obligation and potential output</td></tr>
<tr></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Low potential output</td><td>High potential output</td></tr>
<tr><td>Strong work obligations</td><td>Enduring</td><td>Coping</td></tr>
<tr><td>Weak work obligations</td><td>Slacking</td><td>Soldiering</td></tr>
</table>

Paulsen (2013)

The concept of coping makes it possible to understand the dimension of work connected to individual obligation. A sense of work obligation comes from "the moral meaning of work" (2015, p. 359). This dimension is "the meaning of work and particularly what purpose it serves" (2015, p. 358). However, Paulsen does not intend to suggest that individuals always fit neatly into individual categories. In fact, empty labour has a dynamic quality and "is rarely static enough to stay within a single square" (Paulsen, 2015, p. 355). Dissent is subjective and the meanings which stem from the substance of dissent remain undertheorized (Paulsen, 2011). The author categorises PIUW in terms of the "vocabularies of dissent" that underlie time appropriation by workers:

> The form of discontent is decided by whether the employees show signs of indignation or of resignation and whether they contextualize their discontent or not. This dimension is deeply linked to the perceived adversary, i.e. whether the employee regards the source of their discontent as a structural or an individual phenomenon, or if they simply conceive of it as an aspect of the job. The perceived deprivation refers to whether the employees speak of their frustration in absolute or relative terms and whether they describe it as a shared experience or not. The intended degree of output restriction is, finally, the level at which one can analyze the

external goals of the act of time appropriation, i.e. what possible changes the employees wish that their actions may lead to. (Paulsen, 2011, p. 63)

Paulsen wishes to challenge widely held beliefs in the organisational misbehaviour literature: "in all scholarly writing on empty labour so far, it is assumed that its agent is the individual employee who, for various reasons, chooses to withdraw" (Paulsen, 2013, p. 3). The author argues that "managerial" literature is characterised by an assumption that empty labour is an effect of "what Taylor called 'soldiering' – the active appropriation of time on behalf of the employee" (Paulsen, 2015, p. 354). This identification of the worker as the cause of the problem implies the organisation is the more rational member of the employment relationship which is not always the case (Paulsen, 2015). Driven by an interest in political narratives, Paulsen's study develops earlier work in the field of organisational misbehaviour (see Ackroyd and Thompson, 1999). By refuting the notion that worker subjectivity can be colonised, Paulsen (2015) makes a provocative contribution to extant literature. This PhD study seeks to extend Paulsen's (2015) contribution through an explicit focus on the intersection of gender and class.

Caroline d'Abate (2005) explores non-work at work in general through a focus on the nature of activities people engage in at work. D'Abate (2005) carried out semi-structured interviews with 30 middle managers (13 women and 17 men, the majority aged between 25 and 39) from a wide variety of work settings. D'Abate's (2005) study is unusual for recognising the value individuals associate with PIUW that enables home-oriented activities. Written before the advent of mobile internet in 2007, the examples of domestic tasks that d'Abate (2005) reports, such as writing cheques to pay bills, family-related phone calls, or making doctor's appointments, are now tasks that might be done online. In d'Abate's (2005) study, a respondent makes a connection between non-work and WLB: "you know it's the only way I've been able to balance a career and a personal life. If I weren't able to do things at work, then I probably wouldn't be able to stay working. For me, it's a necessity .... So, you have to

find a way to balance it. To do personal stuff at work" (participant in d'Abate, 2005, p. 1024).
For this excerpt, the gender of the respondent is not provided. In d'Abate's (2005) article
gender is almost always obscured (excerpts are not accompanied by any demographic or other
facts).

D'Abate (2005) finds that PIUW is meaningful to individuals more often for reasons such as
convenience, the alleviation of boredom, or because of long work hours. It is less often
meaningful for reasons such as reward or autonomy. The need for better WLB was a further
motivating factor. In some cases, people choose to perform leisure and home-related activities
at work because a greater importance is placed upon life realms than the work realm (d'Abate,
2005). Like Paulsen (2015), d'Abate (2005) is interested in the motivations and meanings that
individuals assign to their non-work activity. Whereas Paulsen (2015) designed a typology to
categorise participants in terms of work obligation, d'Abate (2005) has grouped participants
in terms of type of activity and rationale given for PIUW. The author considers both parties in
the employment relationship and non-work at work isn't necessarily a bad thing. Rather it
allows individuals to cross between life realms.

A study by Lim and Teo (2005) explicitly considers PIUW and work-life-balance. Lim and
Teo (2005) surveyed 226 working adults and carried out focus groups with 30 participants.
This mixed-method study found that the internet has caused the boundary between home-life
and work-life to be less distinct with a consequent permeation in both directions "of work into
home and personal activities into the work domain" (Lim and Teo, 2005, p. 1081).
Respondents' justifications for PIUW were frequently connected to job characteristics: "my
boss expects me to put in overtime work practically every day. So it should be OK to
cyberloaf once in a while to relieve stress from too much work". Findings about the
increasing permeability of the boundary between home and work emerged through focus
group data with respondent comments such as "whatever time I used at work to cyberloaf, I
more than compensate for it by working at home" (2005, p. 1088).

Notwithstanding the normal limitations associated with self-selection in survey research, the authors found participants on average spent 4.5 h per week carrying out work related activities at home versus 3.2 h per week on PIUW. One of the areas of the research questions explored an inverse correspondence between PIUW activities perceived as less serious and time spent on PIUW. This relationship was proven in the study.

An Australian multinational telecoms case study by Emily Rose (2015) focuses on a work time flexibility policy. Rose is concerned with how employee autonomy is tempered by constraints that are structural and normative. The use of ICTs by engineers and managers is explored with data collected at three sites where a range of functions were separated (head office, system design, sales and marketing). Demographic characteristics of the participant cohort (of 25) reflects the case study context. Most are male, young, and highly educated. The site was chosen because its family-friendly policies. This meant that the two occupational groups (engineers and managers) were, in principle, entitled to use ICTs to attend to personal matters in work time.

During multiple site visits Rose (2015) collected different types of data including a profiling survey, semi-structured interviews, episode diaries, direct observations and pre-fieldwork discussions with HR staff. The data, on which this paper is based, was collected in 2007. At the time, mobile devices at this telecoms industry site were provided only to the company's more senior employees.

The participants in this study (engineers and managers) enjoyed freedoms with respect to hours worked in a given day (through a flexitime system) and through the regulation and management of the spread of work activities throughout the day. However, the particular demands of the work context (continuous production, 24-hour work cycles involving collaboration with partners in the US and Asia) meant that in reality some workers were often working at 11pm or midnight on a Friday. With considerable pressure to complete work tasks or co-ordinate meetings with colleagues working in a different time zone, the pace of work

would increase according to the approach of deadlines. At this time (when deadlines approached), Rose (2015) found that participants' freedoms regarding their work time declined relative to the increased volume of work. The author terms this situation the "environment of constrained autonomy" which "restricted when employees felt they could use time flexibly" (Rose, 2015, p. 514). In effect, workers often prioritised the goals of the company above meeting their own needs for non-work or family time.

This study is significant for demonstrating the relationship between labour process factors and workers responses. Examples are described where individuals exerted control over inbound communications initiated by personal contacts by using a 'hierarchy of accessibility' to determine which people in their network would be able to gain access to them at work (Rose, 2015). Participants also achieved control through strategies such as withholding particular contacts (mobile numbers and email addresses). One participant shared a personal email address widely but restricted access to his work email. Another participant used their mobile phone to limit personal communications by keeping the phone in a bag where it could not be seen or heard, and by checking it only occasionally. Others took advantage of settings to limit the strength of the incoming communication, for example by switching off phone ring tones and notifications. This study mainly provides insights into the experiences of the occupants of one intersectional position (male workers in MC jobs). Warren (2015) argues that the experience of MC workers are overrepresented in the WLB literature.

These findings confirm those from Wajcman et al. (2010) where it is argued that employees are actively engaged in reconfiguring the relationship between life realms by controlling communication flows between personal and work lives. Rose's (2015) in-depth exploration of autonomy provides valuable insights.

By considering the impact of structural factors (such as gender and labour market position) this PhD study attempts to describe experiences of workers at a greater number of intersections. From a realist perspective - boundary theory, spillover theory and work/family

border theory are all resources that are in keeping with the commitments of a CR ontology. When applied to the phenomenon of PIUW, all three conceptualise the work-life boundary in terms of dynamic processes of structure and agency. Any of these theories might underpin an investigation of structures, mechanisms and conditions in relation to PIUW. Whereas Clark (2000) conceptualises permeability and flexibility as 'qualities' of the work-life boundary, a realist would more likely conceptualise these as 'mechanisms'.

Comparing the potential of these studies to inform the current intersectional study of PIUW, while all contribute something valuable none overlaps the core interests of this PhD. The studies by Paulsen (2015) and d'Abate (2005) demonstrate the quality of data that can be generated through unstructured and semi-structured interviews in terms of method. Paulsen (2015) makes a compelling argument for the use of Narrative Interviewing – an approach that is described in detail in chapter 4 of this thesis. Whereas, Lim and Teo's (2005) study is closest in terms of its focus on WLB, in other respects this research has more in common with the mainstream of PIUW literature described earlier. Paulsen's (2015) analysis is by far the more radical.

2.4 Materialist, realist, and intersectional feminisms

In this study, a definition of femaleness and maleness is adopted that is intentionally broad and inclusive (see Martinez Dy, 2020). The discussion of gender in this chapter is limited to perspectives that support the understanding of gender as a category or position in which occupants express a gendered subjectivity shaped by social and cultural systems that are specific to a society or social hierarchy. From a CR perspective, sex is understood as ontologically prior to gender (Gunnarsson, 2013; New, 2005). In this view, male and female sex categories may be thought of as abstract analytical categories and gender systems are inherently subject to change (see Martinez Dy, 2020).

In feminist theory there are three views of gender: in the first, women and men are essentially similar; in the second, they are essentially different; and in the third, similarities and differences are viewed as socially constructed (Harding, 1987). The term *gender* was introduced by feminist scholars to distinguish between biological and socially constructed sex differences (Acker, 1992). The significance of 'gender' as an explanatory category has been questioned by analysts in favour of an exploration of gender as "more fluid relations of 'difference'" (Bottero, 2005, p. 116). For Bottero, "'gender' refers to a set of relations *linking* familial and labour-market positions, in which women and men have asymmetrical, interdependent, and unequal relations to each other" (2005, p. 110). 'Social' and 'economic' processes are indivisible (Bottero, 2005). Categories such as those of gender and class have real social and material effects (Gunnarsson, 2011). They determine a set of inequalities.

Different perspectives of gender imply differences in how gender can be theorised. Mader takes gender to be "a *structural category*, namely, a hierarchal ordering of society's array of social positions, roles and identities according to a principle of division. Gender is thereby neither primarily a social position, a social role nor a social identity, but a kind of *meta-positioning* that co-constitutes the shape and content of all of these and at the same time grants differential access to them" (2015, p. 447-448 emphasis in original). Gender, as a social structure, conditions agency:

> Gender, unlike social class for example, for its very existence hinges on social attributions which in turn are anchored in the cultural system. Only on the basis of the collective attribution of being a woman/man is an agent positioned in the gender-hierarchy with accordant differences in life chances. But based on the ascribed gender affiliation, gender constitutes, similarly to class, a *strategic position* which provides highly asymmetric access to (almost all) social institutions and organizations, to social roles within these and accompanying socially valuable resources. Gender-positionality thus objectively endows agents with unequal power to act. (Mader, 2015, p. 447-448 emphasis in original)

Beginning with a radical feminist perspective, the roots of this debate can be read through Cynthia Cockburn's (1983) study of technological change in the printing industry. Cockburn (1983) interviewed managers, print technicians and trade union representatives. Participants were asked about their feelings about class, as well as their feelings about women colleagues and their domestic relationships. The author combines a Marxist analysis of class alongside a socialist-feminist analysis of sex (Cockburn, 1983) to produce a feminist historical materialism. In this system, categories of power relations are ordered hierarchically and there exists "a *sex/gender system* which determines the social categories that people of different sexes fill" (1983, p. 6). Citing the interaction of economic, social and ideological forces, Cockburn says: "it is not only class, it is also sex, that determines our chances in life" (1983, p. 6).

For Cockburn (1983, p. 5), the "experience of class cannot be understood without reference to sex and gender."

> We should not, I think, be looking for specific locations of sex power, any more than of class power. To say that patriarchal power is exercised only in the family or in directly sexual relations is as blinkered as to suppose that capitalist power is exercised only in the factory. The sex/gender system is to be found in all the same practices and processes in which the mode of production and its class relations are to be found. We don't live two lives, one as a member of a class, the other as a man or a woman. Everything we do takes its meaning from our membership of both systems. (Cockburn, 1983, p. 195).

Gender and class are interconnected, inseparable and relational: "we are not looking at timeless monolithic structures, capitalism and patriarchy: such a view is indeed unproductive of any insight into the relation between the two" (Cockburn, 1983, p. 7). Cockburn argues that a sex/gender analysis is necessary alongside a class analysis "if we are properly to explain the world" (Cockburn, 1983, p. 196). Using a 'dual systems' theory, "the class relations of capitalism *and* the gender relations of patriarchy are considered separately" (1983, p. 8).

2.4.1 Gender, the social organisation of work and reproductive labour

Up to the mid-1980s, there continued to be a significant difference in the numbers of men and women in the labour market (Durbin and Conley, 2010). Now, levels of participation are similar. This is partly because women, including those with young children, are either choosing to, or have no choice but to remain in the labour market. These changes are eroding the traditional 'male breadwinner' model of family working life. However, women in general are more disadvantaged than men, visible for example, in the experience of gendered pay gaps caused by structural inequalities. In a US analysis of the civilian labour force by Hegewisch and Hartmann (2014), female-dominated occupations are associated with a wage penalty. Both women and men earn less when working in female-dominated occupations, for example, as preschool teachers, dental assistants, librarians and registered nurses (Hegewisch and Hartmann, 2014). These occupations are 'predominantly female' where women account for at least 75 percent of the workforce. Women's entry to predominantly male jobs, such as civil engineering may be barred for a variety of reasons, for example, some occupations emphasise long hours and lack flexible work policies, disincentivising the entry of those with caring responsibilities. In accounting for the slowdown in occupational integration (and thus gender equality more widely), Hegewisch and Hartmann (2014) consider a range of contributing factors. These include the coexistence of gender equal social attitudes towards caregiving alongside more traditional (and gender unequal) attitudes.

Despite new UK government legislation that requires employers with 250 or more workers to publish calculations annually demonstrating the pay gap between female and male workers (Acas, 2018), pay continues to be unequal in a way that is gendered and women are more likely to carry out lower paid work. Women are more likely to work in the care and leisure sectors, and are more likely to have less well paid part-time jobs (ONS, 2017). However, even in the 'professional occupations', men continue to earn more than women in every occupational group (ibid.).

Bottero (2005) highlights the absence of gender within classical explanations of inequality. In conventional theories, inequality was largely produced through economic relations. The author is sceptical about the extent to which women are autonomous from men or the structural constraints that impact women's labour-market participation: "Real and dramatic shifts have occurred, but they can only be understood in terms of the patterning of women's and men's practical engagements with the world in material social locations" (Bottero, 2005, p. 107). According to Bottero (2005), the choices that working parents make are constrained by gendered assumptions that underpin a gendered division of labour. The fact that gender divisions persist in social life is both a cause and effect of gender stratification (Bottero, 2005).

By the early 1970s, family relationships were changing from a patriarchal model and married women were increasingly entering the labour force (Cunningham, 2014). In the 1970s and 1980s, feminist economists (see for example, Himmelweit and Mohun, 1977; Folbre, 1982) argued that workers are produced through household labour, contributing to the production of surplus value in the economy (Davis, 2017).

'Production' and 'reproduction' are important in Marxist-feminist theorisation of domestic labour. The concept of production was central to Marx's worldview (Bradley, 2013). Production was the base for social development, with all other aspects forming around it (ibid.). For Cockburn (1991, p. 7) "patriarchal relations operate throughout society, including production. Everywhere they are in interaction with economic class relations…" Patriarchy has been changed by modes of production throughout history, such as feudalism and capitalism (ibid.), with women perceived as having domestic ties:

> The way women do or do not fit into the schema of paid employment and organizational life is seen primarily as a correlate of their marital status and, more important still, whether they do or do not have children." (Cockburn, 1991, p. 76)

Marx uses the term 'reproduction' to cover the social processes required for the recreation of a mode of production (Bradley, 2013). In simple terms, Marx uses 'mode of production' to mean 'a way of life':

> What they are, therefore, coincides with their production, both with what they produce and with how they produce. The nature of individuals thus depends on the material conditions determining their production. (Marx, 1976 [1846], p. 161)

> Morality, religion, metaphysics, all the rest of ideology, and their corresponding forms of consciousness, thus no longer retain the semblance of independence. They have no history, no development; but men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with this their real existence, their thinking and the products of their thinking. Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life. (Marx, 1976[1846], p. 164)

Here, the term 'social reproduction' is used to refer to activities relating to biological reproduction (Bakker and Gill, 2003). This social reproduction includes both human reproduction and other activities such as the physical nurturing of labourers and socializing and educating children. Reproduction is "the complex of activities and relations by which our life and labor are daily reconstituted" (Federici, 2012, p. 5). Inequalities associated with the unequal distribution of unpaid labour, continue to have significantly gendered impacts (Andrew *et al.*, 2020).

Unlike other feminist approaches, with FPE the totality of social relations under capitalism is foregrounded. From this perspective, social reproduction is contextualised by the logic of capitalist accumulation. Gendered inequalities associated with the work of social reproduction (that exist in a relationship with state sponsored care) are analytically important (Steans and Tepe, 2010). States and institutions, for example, observable in the availability of maternity and paternity benefits are important conditioning structures (Tepe-Belfrage and Steans, 2016). Furthermore, labour market participation is impacted by the steady withdrawal of UK government from providing child and elder care services (Tepe-Belfrage and Steans, 2016).

In the context of unpaid labour and its relationship to labour market participation, the sociology of generations offers a flexible framework for theoretical work about social stratification. This continues to be a popular way to arrive at age-based cohorts of interest within different generations, for example, the terms 'Baby Boomers (for those born between 1946 and 1964), Generation X (for those born between 1965 and 1980), and 'Millennials' (for those born between 1981 and 2000). Focusing on generations in this way has several advantages. Hegewisch and Hartmann (2014) consider the experience of occupational segregation for five key generations of women. For example, researchers often conceptualise as the 'Silent Generation', 'Early Boomers', 'Late Boomers', 'Generation X', and 'Generation Y' (Hegewisch and Hartmann, 2014). Among other things, research by Hegewisch and Hartmann illustrates that while older generations have experienced a decrease in occupational segregation, for younger generations, decreases have been very small. Conceptions of generation (Mannheim, 1970) can help to reveal processes underpinning social inequalities. However, care should be taken to avoid overly reductive uses of generation and it should not replace class analysis (Woodman and Wyn, 2015). Rather it can provide a complementary lens. Intersectional theory can usefully be combined with generational analysis (Woodman and Wyn, 2015) making it possible to distinguish within class groupings to understand generation-based issues (Bengtson;Furlong and Laufer, 1974; Laufer and Bengtson, 1974). For our purposes, where attitudes and expectations of participants is a key area of interest, a generational analysis framework is useful.

2.4.2 Class and gender differences in the division of domestic labour

With 66 time use surveys from 19 countries, Altintas and Sullivan (2016) have investigated 50 years of gendered changes in housework over the period 1961 to 2011. The authors draw on cross-national evidence – in the shape of multinational time use surveys from an international archive - from Europe, Israel, North America, and Australia. Statistical methods

(multilevel modelling) show the process of gender convergence stalling, caused by a levelling-off of women's time spent on domestic labour (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016). The authors measure "core housework" only, describing this as "cleaning, cooking and clothes care […] because these are both the most disliked domestic labour activities and the most traditionally feminine" (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016, p. 456). Analysis accounts for demographic factors (such as declining family size and variation in family structure) as well as socioeconomic variables (such as education and employment). They find that women have two hours more housework each day than men. Variations are negatively associated with education and employment, i.e., less minutes are spent on core housework by educated and employed women (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016). When the 50-year period from 1961 is considered cross-nationally, women's core housework time decreases from an average 250 to 135 minutes, whereas men's core housework time increases from an average 25 to 50 minutes. Marriage, cohabitation and having children at home is associated with more of women's time spent on housework (when single women are compared). For Altintas and Sullivan (2016), a fine-grained cross-national analysis of domestic work makes it possible to consider the extent to which the 'gender revolution' (England, 2010) has stalled.

There are differences in trajectories of change for different countries, for which there are many contributory factors (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016). These include gender ideology and practice by country context (Esping-Andersen, 2009; Evertsson, 2014). The relative impact of public policy is also relevant (Steans and Tepe, 2010), for example, women in Italy do significantly more housework than Italian men, who do considerably less than men from other European countries (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016). Furthermore, the picture varies depending on whether levels of inequality start from a relatively low or relatively high point. However, despite apparent slowing in convergence of housework (and therefore gender equality generally) the authors are ultimately optimistic that, overall, there is a continued movement in the direction of greater gender equality in housework. The authors conclude, in accordance

with other researchers, that the observed slow-down may be due to structural limitations on equality in housework. As well as social policy and gender ideology, these include organisational constraints expressed through managerial discourse.

Classed differences in the division of domestic labour have been found by Brewster and Padavic (2000) and Svallfors (2006) with a detailed picture emerging when relative time spent on housework between single adults and couples with children is considered (Kluwer;Heesink and van de Vliert, 2002; Baxter;Hewitt and Haynes, 2008). In addition, research has established a relationship between social class and gender-egalitarian attitudes (Usdansky, 2011), for example, higher levels of educational attainment (and higher social class) are associated with positive attitudes towards women's labour market participation and men's greater participation in childcare (Bolzendahl and Myers, 2004). Moreover, women with higher educational attainment have been found to do less housework than women with lower levels of educational attainment (Coltrane, 2009). However, Usdansky (2011) has identified a gender-equality paradox, observable in classed differences between attitudes and behaviour captured in the following thesis:

> Although couples with higher class status express more egalitarian views, on average, they also encounter greater structural constraints on egalitarian behavior. Conversely, most couples with lower class status hold less egalitarian views but face structural incentives to adopt egalitarian behavior. (Usdansky, 2011, p. 174)

Usdansky (2011) argues that gendered differences in paid and unpaid work are affected by interrelated sets of social structures, for example, those in higher income jobs enjoy greater choice and flexibility in how they engage in the labour market. This means that higher earning couples might choose that one partner gives up work to focus on childcare. In comparison dual-earner couples in WC jobs are less likely to be able to manage a household on one person's income (Usdansky, 2011).

While those occupying a higher-class status may express commitments to gender-equality, the operation of powerful work-life constraints can explain differences between what people say and do:

> The paradox does not predict that social class will relate inversely to egalitarian practices. It does not. Rather, I argue that social structures work counter to preferences, and that this opposition between desires and circumstances weakens the relationship between class and genderegalitarian behavior in couples' daily lives. As a result, a subgroup of lower SES couples practice lived egalitarianism, and a subgroup of higher SES couples practice spoken egalitarianism. (Usdansky, 2011, p. 164)

Class differences in men's care of children have been identified through studies such as those by Shows and Gerstel (2009) who followed up on Schwartz's (1995) finding that men in high-commitment, high-status careers participate less in daily routines of childcare. Shows and Gerstel's (2009) study in Massachusetts contrasted the experiences of physicians (in MC jobs) and emergency medical technicians (in WC jobs). The authors used a multimethod approach of depth interviews, observations, and mailed surveys, selecting 31 father interviews from a larger dataset of 200 interviews. They found that those in WC jobs were more likely to participate in caring activities such as bathing, feeding, and looking after children who were ill (termed as a 'private' mode of fathering by the authors). In comparison, those in MC jobs were more likely to display a 'public' mode of fathering, for example, by attending sports or music events. Also in the US, using data from a nationally representative 1997 study, Hall and MacDermid (2009) found a higher level of gender equality on average in the division of paid and unpaid work between less educated dual-earner couples. The findings of Hall and MacDermid's quantitative study support similar findings in qualitative research (Usdansky, 2011).

Roberts' (2018) UK study is unusual in considering class in relation to young men's attitudes to housework and childcare. Roberts originally carried out 24 biographical interviews with

white, heterosexual, WC men in England. The research focused on the aspirations of 18-24-year-olds working in retail (Roberts, 2013). This doctoral research of contemporary WC masculinities was further developed with postdoctoral research employing a longitudinal follow up of 14 of the original 24 participants. Later work, which took the form of qualitative interviews and digital ethnography over seven years, provided rich insights into patterns of parenting and housework of participants now in their late twenties. Significantly, the longitudinal design of Roberts' (2018) study allows him to account for participants' ideals in relation to gender equality, expressed before they became parents. As a result, the housework and parenting of a subgroup of six participants who have gone on to live with partners and stepchildren, is available for comparison. This qualitative study found masculinity reshaped by economic factors, for example, when fathers take on full-time childcare because the female partner is the higher earner.

In common with other empirical research where division of domestic labour of WC young men has been compared to MC counterparts, Roberts' (2018) study found positive forms of WC masculinity (Usdansky, 2011; Lyonette and Crompton, 2015). When male participants are called on to defend their choices to leave the labour market in order to become the primary caregiver for children, these WC fathers negotiate gender scripts encountered in the social realm (Roberts, 2018). Roberts' shows that whilst navigating an environment of gendered expectations for men in their twenties, that "emphasis is better placed on the reflexive search for pragmatic and inclusive ways to do what is right for the family and economic circumstances, with gender scripts holding significantly less sway" (Roberts, 2018, p. 284). Roberts (2018) concludes that for young WC men, housework and childcare is a normal feature of contemporary family life. Thus, masculinity is "reconstructed from the ground up in and among this social generation" in ways that may lead to the dismantling of gender inequalities (Roberts, 2018, p. 284). When empirical observation demonstrates inclusive forms of masculinity, such findings help us to avoid stereotyping young WC men.

2.4.3 *The domestic labour debate: Theorising unpaid work in the household economy*

Unwaged housework has historically been accorded a lesser value than waged work (Weeks, 2011). Marxist feminists interpreted this as privileging wage labour at the workplace, over household labour (Davis, 2017). In the late 1960s, the domestic labour debate represented an attempt by Marxist feminists to account for women's oppression in capitalist societies through a materialist analysis of women's unpaid labour (Bubeck, 1995). This struggle was articulated in the women's movement as a demand, by the wageless housewife, for wages (Miles, 1983). Politicising unpaid work enables us to move beyond previous categories of analysis:

> From it we also learned to seek the protagonists of class struggle not only among the male industrial proletariat but, most importantly, among the enslaved, the colonized, the world of wageless workers marginalized by the annals of the communist tradition to whom we could now add the figure of the proletarian housewife, reconceptualized as the subject of the (re)production of the workforce. (Federici, 2012, p. 7)

In Marx's financial circuits, the reproduction of the household is never explicit. Although, Marx has made a major contribution to feminist theory domestic work was under-theorized by Marx (Federici, 2017). Federici is directly critical of Marx on this point:

> [Marx] should have realized that though domestic work *appeared* as an age-old activity, purely satisfying 'natural needs', its form was actually a very historically specific form of work, the product of a separation between production and reproduction, paid and unpaid labour, that had never existed in pre-capitalist societies or generally societies not governed by the law of exchange value. (Federici, 2017, p. 89)

Taking a feminist anti-capitalist perspective, Federici (2017) draws a direct relationship between the technological and social shifts in British and US capitalism that intensified exploitation and "the creation of the working class family and the full-time proletarian housewife [that] were an essential part and condition of the transition from absolute to relative surplus" (Federici, 2017, p. 91).

The question of whether housework can be considered to produce value has consequences for whether the surplus labour produced through domestic labour can be transferred and appropriated as profit. Fine (1992) categorises the domestic labour debate as having two diverse perspectives. On the one hand, domestic labour is viewed as if it produces value: "domestic labour is likened to waged work" (1992, p. 169). On the other hand, it is argued, domestic labour produces no value at all.

Unequally distributed domestic work translates directly into inequality of opportunity (to participate equally in paid activities). Ferrant et al. (2014) recommend that unpaid domestic work should be redistributed between women and men, as well as the State. The authors argue that the same social norms that confine women to reproductive and domestic roles also open up opportunities for men to assume caring and domestic responsibilities (Ferrant;Pesando and Nowacka, 2014).

2.5 Theorising the intersection of gender and class

'Intersectionality' is broadly understood as a knowledge project, a research paradigm, and an analytic approach. A commonly shared starting point is that a gender-only focus is rejected. Generalizing from some to all women, is also rejected. For Patricia Hill Collins, intersectionality is "a broad-based collaborative intellectual and political project with many kinds of social actors. Its heterogeneity is not a liability, but rather may be one of its greatest strengths" (Collins, 2019, p. 5). Furthermore, for Collins (2019) intersectionality is "a critical social theory in the making" which "emerges within a specific context and speaks to that particular context" (Collins, 2019, p. 9).

With an intersectional approach, the complexity of women's differential experiences can be accounted for through an understanding of how structures of inequality shape subjective experiences (McBride;Hebson and Holgate, 2014). This lens makes visible the inseparable nature of categories of social difference (Rodriguez *et al.*, 2016) because not all women

experience the same level of inequality. Through a focus on intersections we can explore, for example, the ways in which a WC woman's experience at work is different to a MC woman's experience. Rodriguez (2018) cites Crenshaw's (1991) metaphor of a traffic intersection that illustrates how "diverse factors flow from different directions and only by looking at the interconnection of these factors is one able to understand causes, characteristics, and consequences of events that happen at the intersection" (Rodriguez, 2018, p. 431).

From an intersectional perspective, WC women experience disadvantage, inequality and oppression in ways that are similar and different to those experienced by MC women and WC men (Crenshaw, 1989). More specifically, WC women can have similar experiences to those of MC women (on account of gender) and similar experiences to those of WC men (on account of class) but still have a different experience to both (MC women and WC men) by experiencing double discrimination from the combined impact of discrimination based on class and gender which neither MC women nor WC men experience simultaneously (Cole, 2009). Rather, the experience of WC women is unique to the subjective experience of being WC women.

Intersectionality may be difficult to grasp initially, referring as it does not "to a single thing but to a set of things interconnected in ways that are not readily visible" (Rodriguez, 2018, p. 431). Moreover, how we conceptualise intersectionality is necessarily influenced by our understanding of social theory and how we view its potential to drive social change:

> Understanding intersectionality as a critical social theory in the making requires a more expansive set of analytical tools that takes both its ideas and its practices into account. Within the academy, political and intellectual resistance occurs in the terrain of epistemology and methodology, areas long seen as unbiased and therefore apolitical. Yet epistemology and methodology both speak directly to intersectionality as a critical theory in the making. They do not stand outside politics but are directly implicated in developing or suppressing knowledges of resistance. How might intersectionality's social theories reflect its

methodological practices and vice versa? The experience of doing intersectionality is praxis, and such praxis informs intersectional theorizing. (Collins, 2019, p. 12)

For Anthias "an intersectional approach emphasises the importance of attending to the multiple social structures and processes that intertwine to produce specific social positions and identities" (Anthias, 2012b, p.106). Moreover, the idea of homogeneous social categories is dispelled with as is the idea of 'women' as a unitary group (Anthias, 2012b).

> We need to think the concept of intersectionality away from the idea of an interplay in peoples' group identities of class, gender, ethnicity, racialisation and so on, to intersectionality being seen as a process. It is important to locate the discussion in terms of structures on the one hand (broader economic and political institutional frameworks) and processes on the other hand (broader social relations in all their complexity including discourses and representations). Intersectionality is a social process related to practices and arrangements, giving rise to particular forms of positionality for social actors. There is also a construction of "contradictory locations" (where dominant and subordinate ones intersect; Anthias 1998a, 2002) thus placing actors as subordinate in some times and places and more dominant in others. (Anthias, 2012, 107)

Clegg (2016) argues that maintaining analytical separation between structure and agency is essential when addressing multiple forms of exploitation and oppression: "although at the level of lived experience the concrete realities of race, class and gender coexist, we need to be able to separate structure and agency to account for stasis and change over time" (p. 501). Radical politics, including those that motivate intersectional theory, "is better served by analyses that can impute agency to actors" (Clegg, 2016, p. 507).

In a discussion of social divisions, Rodriguez (2018) distinguishes between 'additive' and 'constitutive' processes. In the former additive (or 'unitary') approach, categories of difference have distinct social properties. However, using the latter constitutive (or 'multiplicative') approach, the interaction between categories is central. In this perspective, a

WC white woman (for example) is never 'WC', 'a woman' or 'white' but rather social position (and identity) always results from the simultaneous intersection of categories (Rodriguez, 2018). Although both approaches have been criticised, a multiplicative approach "shows how categories of difference are intertwined and mutually constitutive" (Rodriguez, 2018, p. 432).

As yet, there is no consensus on how to do intersectionality (Collins, 2019). However, for the researcher designing qualitative intersectional research, Rodriguez (2018) recommends thinking about (p. 432): "(a) how we understand social categories of difference, (b) what we want from intersectionality, and (c) how we operationalize the intersections between social categories of difference". Significantly, intersectionality requires us to reflect on the operation of power relationships in knowledge production. Yet, social theory and the academic work of theory-building are not neutral activities. Epistemology "is implicated in power relations; it is not a passive bystander during the social construction of knowledge" (Collins, 2019, p. 11).

Limitations with intersectionality theory have been identified. From a realist perspective, key problems relate to ontology associated with positivist and hermeneutic traditions (Bhaskar, 1979). Restrictions are therefore placed on theorisation about that which is not actualised with negative implications for explaining complex intersectionality in subjectively experienced positionality (Martinez Dy;Martin and Marlow, 2014). However, CR provides an ontology and epistemology that can help to address existing limitations of intersectionality theory (Martinez Dy;Martin and Marlow, 2014).

2.6 Chapter summary

The preceding review draws from a diverse range of class and gender-related literatures. Concepts have been introduced that will be employed later to build an analytic method with which to evaluate data. Concepts are accessed via CR, a philosophical metatheory where

inter-paradigm, metatheoretical dialogue is "a register, a theoretical posture that reflects conceptually on theory. It is the theory of theory and as such an analytical level removed from theory" (Porpora, 2015, p. 200). Thus, the concepts of a CR metatheory underpin the investigation of classed and gendered outcomes associated with PIUW (and DDL). Within this framework, other theories (such as those of Marxism and FPE) are combined with observations and other knowledge to create a realist synthesis of existing theory. Combined, this theoretical framework facilitates a depth exploration of experiences and identities, drawing on a stratified ontology that tells us, not only where to look, but what to look for (see Reed, 2009). Because CR facilitates connections between local outcomes, human experiences, and patterns of activities identifiable as PIUW, these can be understood in the context in which they reside (see O'Mahoney and Vincent, 2014). Moreover, CR provides a framework to understand discourses relating to the content and purpose of PIUW. Thus, PIUW is most clearly understood through a realist social theory where a conception of depth can explain outcomes in terms of causes.

In this study, reasons for absences are sought (such as the absence of PIUW in one group of workers). Therefore, a focus on the CR notion of absence (Bhaskar, [1975] 2008) makes it possible to identify discriminatory mechanisms where these are not always actualised: "the transfactuality of mechanisms of privilege and discrimination means that they operate whether or not they are acknowledged to exist" (Martinez Dy et al., p.457, 2014). Relative absence and presence will be explained using conceptual abstraction and theoretical model building supported by Lawson's (2012) social positioning theory. Specifically, Lawson's theory underpins the creation of a novel analytical method (a model of Theoretically Constructed Positions, described in Chapter 5). With this model, it is possible to describe the nature of positionalities observed in this dataset. Furthermore, Lawson's theory makes it possible to identify the generative mechanisms that are implicated in PIUW outcomes. An understanding of normativity in relation to PIUW is read through Lawson's (2012) conceptualisation of

collective practices. This novel realist theorisation of positionality (Martinez Dy;Martin and Marlow, 2014; Mader, 2016; Lawson, 2019) provides an explanation for the operation of categories of gender and class in relation to PIUW. Rather than taking an inter-categorical, intra-categorical or anti-categorical approach (McCall, 2005), this study takes a realist positional approach to the categories of gender and class (Martinez Dy;Martin and Marlow, 2014; Mader, 2016). This realist intersectionality lens enables an exploration of the relations of gender and class (as inseparable categories of social difference). By focusing on the way in which capitalism and patriarchy intersect, findings that relate to gender and class are connected to structural causes in order to explain variations in the experience of PIUW.

Here, an intersectionality lens makes visible the inseparable nature of categories of social difference (Rodriguez *et al.*, 2016) allowing us to account for the complexity of differential experiences through an understanding of how structures of inequality shape subjective experiences (McBride;Hebson and Holgate, 2014). Moreover, through retroductive analysis, the interplay of generative mechanisms and broader sociohistorical factors can be assessed (Reed, 2009). Thus, a realist conceptualisation of the causal categories of gender and class are carried forwards to a method that seeks to understand how these play out, in an abductive/retroductive analysis of data. The role of intersecting structures in producing workplace inequality can then be connected to differential experiences of PIUW. The result is a more adequate explanation of PIUW.

From a materialist-feminist perspective, the social and economic consequences of unpaid work are theoretically important. In the present organisation of waged labour, working lives are impacted by gendered divisions of household labour. Patterns of gender inequality are visible in DDL and form part of an account of the unequal positions of women and men in a western capitalist patriarchy where women, in general, bear a greater responsibility for domestic work (ONS, 2016b). Here, the idea of homogeneous social categories is dispensed with as is the idea of 'women' as a unitary group (Anthias, 2012b). In this study, FPE

approaches support an explanation of how gender inequality is produced and reproduced through a complex of interacting structures, mechanisms, and conditions.

In the next chapter, the literature of technology and WLB is reviewed focusing on theoretical and empirical research in relation to how the domains of work and home have been theorised.

Chapter 3. Technology and work-life balance

Because PIUW makes it possible to remotely manage housework tasks, this technology has emancipatory potential. In order to better understand how technology is implicated in differential experiences of PIUW that are gendered and classed, this literature chapter brings together key contributions from feminist philosophy of technology alongside research that focuses on how information and communications technology [hereafter ICTs] support work-life navigation. Work on gender and technology by Judy Wajcman and Wanda Orlikowski is influential. Whereas Orlikowski (2010) argues that the materiality of technology is largely neglected in organisational research, Wajcman's (2006) technofeminist thesis points to the liberating potential of the internet. In the context of the current research, concepts and theories support the research question: How do men and women experience PIUW differently? Next, theories of technology are considered from a realist perspective.

3.1 Feminist technology studies

The key tenet of feminist technology studies is that gender and technology are coproduced (Faulkner, 2001). Technology may be implicitly or explicitly gendered. Faulkner's (2001) constructivist framework rests on the idea that society and technology are mutually constituting: "just as one cannot understand technology without reference to gender, so one cannot understand gender without reference to technology" (Faulkner, 2001, p. 90). For Faulkner (2001), using a "hard-soft dichotomy", kitchen appliances are examples of smaller scale and therefore "soft technology" (p. 85). This as opposed to the "hard" technology of "industrial plants, space rockets, weapon systems … large technological systems associated with powerful institutions" (ibid.). This latter technology is inert: "this is *real* technology" (Faulkner, 2001, p. 85). However, for contemporary feminists, the digital age provides the context where the connection between male privilege and technology may be severed (Wajcman, 2006). From this perspective, gender relations are interwoven with technology and

culture in workplaces where hierarchies of difference relating to gender have sometimes

relied on mastery of particular technologies to provide power (Wajcman, 2006). Wajcman

(2006) has described her own perspective as 'technofeminist', an approach which treats

technology "as a socio-technical product, enabling us to conceive of a mutual shaping

relationship between gender and technology" (2006, p. 15). Technofeminism (or

cyberfeminism) recognises the internet as containing the liberating potential to overcome

embodied gender difference (Wajcman, 2006, p. 7).

A technofeminist approach highlights the rapidly changing nature of the gender-technology

relationship which the author attributes to feminist politics rather than technology itself.

Wajcman employs a Science and Technology Studies [hereafter STS] perspective that follows

"that people and artefacts co-evolve: the materiality of technology affords or inhibits the

doing of particular gender power relations" (Wajcman, 2006, p. 7). The STS thesis explicitly

rejects a technologically deterministic view. Technological determinism is the dominant

account of the way in which all of our lives are enmeshed with technologies (MacKenzie and

Wajcman, 1999). In the case of computer technology, developments are often viewed as

following trajectories that are akin to natural laws:

> The view that technology just changes, either following science or of its own accord, promotes
>
> a passive attitude to technological change. It focuses our minds on how to *adapt* to
>
> technological change, not on how to *shape* it. It removes a vital aspect of how we live from
>
> the sphere of public discussion, choice, and politics. Precisely because technological
>
> determinism is partly right as a theory of society (technology matters not just physically and
>
> biologically, but also to human relations to each other) its deficiency as a theory of technology
>
> impoverishes the political life of our societies (MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999, p. 5,
>
> emphasis in original).

There is a conceptual commonality in philosophies that consider that society and technology

are mutually constituting (Faulkner, 2001) or that technology and gender are mutually

shaping (Wajcman, 2006). However, implicit in these perspectives of a mutual shaping of humans and technology (regardless of whether each is changed through interaction) is the recognition that each is nevertheless ontologically separate (Orlikowski, 2007).

For Orlikowski (2007) materiality is "constitutive of everyday life" (p. 1435). In the absence of "new ways of dealing with materiality in organizational research" we may fail to comprehend "contemporary forms of organizing that are increasingly constituted by multiple, emergent, shifting, and interdependent technologies" (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1435).

3.2 The neglect of materiality in organisational studies

Orlikowski (2007) introduces the concept of materiality by distinguishing between the two ways in which this is dealt with in organisation research. In the first approach, materiality is taken for granted: "A quick perusal of much organization literature reveals the absence of any considered treatment or theorizing of the material artifacts, bodies, arrangements, and infrastructures through which practices are performed" (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1436). Orlikowski (2007) urges us to consider the role of materiality seriously:

> Consider any organizational practice, and then consider what role, if any, materiality may play in it. It should be quickly evident that a considerable amount of materiality is entailed in every aspect of organizing, from the visible forms — such as bodies, clothes, rooms, desks, chairs, tables, buildings, vehicles, phones, computers, books, documents, pens, and utensils — to the less visible flows — such as data and voice networks, water and sewage infrastructures, electricity, and air systems. Despite such pervasive examples, materiality has been largely ignored by organizational theory, which appears to assume (often implicitly) that it does not matter or does not matter very much in everyday organizing. (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1436)

Orlikowski (2007) contrasts this approach with a second in the organisational literature that limits its focus to a study of "specific cases of technology adoption, diffusion, and use within and across organizations" (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1436). While the latter approach has

generated important insights, it has also generated conceptual difficulties for researchers of materiality in organizations and "loses sight of how *every* organizational practice is *always* bound with materiality" (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1436, emphasis in original). In this view, materiality is integral to every aspect of organisational life:

> Moving beyond these conceptual difficulties and conventional approaches requires a way of engaging with the everyday materiality of organizational life that does not ignore it, take it for granted, or treat it as a special case, and neither does it focus solely on technology effects or primarily on technology use. Such an alternative view asserts that materiality is integral to organizing, positing that the social and the material are constitutively entangled in everyday life. A position of constitutive entanglement does not privilege either humans or technology (in one-way interactions), nor does it link them through a form of mutual reciprocation (in two-way interactions). Instead, the social and the material are considered to be inextricably related — there is no social that is not also material, and no material that is not also social. (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1437)

Orlikowski (2010) concludes that although materiality is integral to organisational activity, it is either overlooked in management research or examined through an 'ontology of separateness' that is unable to account for the dynamic, multiple "ways in which the social and material are constitutively entangled in everyday life" (Orlikowski, 2010, p. 125).

In a review of approaches in the organisational literature, Orlikowski (2010) describes four different types, distinguishing researcher orientations according to the following categories: 'absent presence', 'exogenous force', 'emergent process' and 'entanglement in practice'. In each category, research examples from the 1960s onwards are provided.

In the first of these ('absent presence'), technology is barely acknowledged by organisational researchers resulting in technology that is invisible. Furthermore, ontological priority is placed within social structures and human actors so that "technological artifacts (and materiality more generally) tend to disappear into the background and become taken for

granted" (Orlikowski, 2010, p. 128). In the second perspective ('exogenous force'), technology is viewed as an autonomous driver of change in organisations. Impacts on human and organisational outcomes (for example, information flows, work routines and governance) are predictable and significant. In the third perspective ('emergent process'), technology is historically and contextually contingent and is produced by ongoing human interactions and interpretations. This perspective challenges the idea that technology is external and autonomous. In this approach, technology is materially constituted and socially produced and defined. Here, "understandings of technology are neither fixed nor universal" (Orlikowski, 2010, p 131), rather, they emerge from situated processes of interpretation and interaction with specific artifacts over time. This third perspective has been strongly influenced by 'social shaping of technology' approaches (see, for example, MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999). Finally, Orlikowski (2010) defines a fourth and more recent perspective ('entanglement in practice'). This latter perspective which the author develops through empirical work is perhaps the closest of the four approaches to a realist perspective of technology. Specifically, Orlikowski's (2007; 2010) conceptualisation of a relational materiality is (to some extent) commensurable with a CR ontology.

3.2.1 *An entanglement perspective*

The 'constitutive entanglement' approach is based on earlier work by Law (2004), whose distinction between humans and artefacts "is analytical only; these entities relationally entail or enact each other in practice" (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1438). Law (2004) terms this "a thoroughgoing *relational materiality*" (p. 42, emphasis in original). To illustrate entanglement, Orlikowski (2007) provides empirical examples, evaluating both the Google search engine and mobile communication, in terms of the sociomaterial. The Google search engine, whose everyday usage results in "a constitutive entanglement of the social and the material" (p. 1440) is "dynamic, relational, and contingent" (p. 1440). A second example

relates to a study of the use - by information professionals at a private equity firm – of Blackberry wireless email devices (Mazmanian;Yates and Orlikowski, 2006). While analysing communication practices at the firm, it became apparent to the researchers that conventional perspectives of media usage would lead to the neglect of the ways in which the informational professionals' "communication practices have been substantially reconfigured through their engagement with Blackberrys" (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1441). Through interviews with the users of the technology, the authors conclude that an organisational practice of checking work emails outside of work time became normalised (Orlikowski, 2007). The origin of this practice could be traced back to a sociomaterial configuration, whereby the company continually pushed email: "at any time of the day or night, members' Blackberry devices receive email messages sent to them via wireless networks" (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1441) resulting in a culture in which responding to emails out of work hours became the norm.

Orlikowski (2007) proposes a move away from "our conventional framing of organizational practices as 'social practices'" (p. 1438). Rather, with a 'sociomaterial' perspective of organizational practices, we can "explicitly signify through our language, the constitutive entanglement of the social and the material in everyday organizational life".

If situated within a realist ontological framework, an 'entanglement' perspective (with its relational ontology) can be used to explore the phenomenon of PIUW. In this view, the causal powers of things, such as people and technologies can be known through the way they come together in events. By focusing on the relative importance of particular knowledge and practices, and their consequences it would be possible to avoid attributing agency solely to particular technologies or individual agents (Orlikowski, 2010). Moreover, the sociotechnical object of study is materially and integrally a part of its construction. A relational ontology rejects the idea of a world made up of individuals and objects with separate properties but

"offers the potential to radically reconceptualise our notions of technology and reconfigure our understandings of contemporary organisational life" (Orlikowski, 2010, p. 128).

This ontological framing is exemplified by Actor Network Theory [hereafter ANT], used by organisation scholars to examine sociotechnical relations in the workplace. From this perspective, entities acquire attributes through relations with others and there are no distinct technological or social elements that are mutually shaping. Instead, technological artefacts are symmetrical to humans and participate in a network of non-humans and humans which temporarily align to achieve specific effects (Orlikowski, 2010). Technologies may not be understood in isolation: "rather, technological artefacts take on their properties, characteristics, powers or whatever only in relation to the networks of relations in which they stand" (Lawson, 2017, p. 104).

3.2.2 *Actor network theory and problems of a flat ontology*

Orlikowski argues that ANT exemplifies a post-humanist conceptualisation of the interconnectedness of humans and technology "in the sense that they seek to decenter the human subject – and more particularly, reconfigure notions of agency – in studies of everyday life" (Orlikowski, 2007, pp. 1437-8). In this view, *actor-networks* are one of several concepts that "challenge and transcend conventional distinctions between the social and the material" and which speak of "the social and the material in the same register" rather than reverting to a dualism that treats social and material phenomena as separate (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1437). ANT therefore provides a resource with which to "transcend conventional distinctions between the social and the material" (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1437). Conceptualising sociomateriality in terms of a relational ontology, we can focus on how materialities and meanings are enacted in everyday practices. Citing Barad's (2003) account of sociomateriality to support a focus on 'practices', Orlikowski (2010) suggests "from such a performative perspective, technologies have no inherent properties, boundaries or meanings, but are bound

up with the specific material-discursive practices that constitute certain phenomena" (Orlikowski, 2010, p. 135).

Whereas Orlikowski (2010) subscribes to a conceptualisation of technology that relies on the flat ontology of ANT, Elder-Vass (2017) examines the role that non-human material objects play in social structures from a CR perspective. For Elder-Vass (2017): "social structure is real and causally important" however "we need to rethink our understanding of it" (Elder-Vass, 2017, p. 90). Social structures are constituted from "both human and non-human material parts" (ibid.). Rejecting the wisdom of a social ontology that is overwhelmingly anthropocentric, that has "ignored the important roles frequently played by non-human material objects in social structures" (Elder-Vass, 2017, p. 89) the author argues that, often, social entities are composed both of non-human material objects and human agents and that "both make essential contributions to their causal influence" (ibid.). Elder-Vass (2017) distinguishes between a CR perspective and ANT - where the dualisms of social/natural and human/material are treated as if both sides are the same (Elder-Vass, 2017).

In ANT, conventional understandings of structure and causality are dispensed with. Events are produced by influences from unique but unstable actor-networks. Humans and other objects are simply examples of temporary *nodes* operating in a constantly shifting storm of forces and the causal contributions of social entities within the social world are replaced with a flat ontology that substitutes references to structure, preferring individual–level explanations (Elder-Vass, 2017).

For Latour (1987) agency is not inherent to humans, but is rather "a capacity realized through the association of actors (whether human or nonhuman) and thus relational, emergent, and shifting" (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1438). From a realist perspective, it is possible to support elements of Latour's argument, for example, the argument that social scientists should restore attention to the role that ordinary objects play in producing social events (Elder-Vass, 2017). Whereas Elder-Vass supports Latour's view of events "as profusely multiply determined by

situationally contingent mixes of influences" (Elder-Vass, 2017, p. 92) the author believes Latour to be wrong in denying the "uniqueness of human causal powers and thus the *differences* between human beings and ordinary objects" (ibid.). Furthermore, Elder-Vass (2017) rejects Latour's (1993) denial of consistent causal types and the potential for repetition, inferred by these.

Like CR, ANT shares a commitment to objective social relations (Porpora, 2015). ANT and CR have other theoretical commitments in common, for example, the endorsement of humanist accounts, which Porpora qualifies as "Technically […] ANT does not deny human agents" (Porpora, 2015, p. 195). Unlike CR, ANT is committed to a value-free orientation. Although its individual researchers may have a value-orientation, its research agenda is not associated with social causes (Porpora, 2015).

3.2.3 *A realist view of technology*

From a realist perspective, PIUW may be thought of as a category of activities enabled through a set of technologies. In one example, this set of artefacts would include, for example, hardware (a smartphone), software (an operating system and apps), data access (Wi-Fi), mobile internet infrastructure (including satellite technology and phone masts) as well as an energy source. All such technologies are both human artefacts and social phenomena. From a realist perspective, the set of artefacts described forms a totality or system whose components combine through an organising structure:

> Of course human artefacts usually have a (mind-independent) physicality, including physical capacities, that once formed may be thought to continue in existence largely independently of human interaction. But the specific (always social) identities of these objects always depend on use, and can be transformed even if or when certain physical capacities remain the same throughout. (Lawson, 2014, p. 24)

Like all social phenomena, PIUW is produced by human interaction, and continually reproduced in the same way:

> This is the case of all social phenomena; their continuing existence as specific social items depends, whether in part or whole, upon their being reproduced through human interaction. It follows that they, or aspects of them, are always inescapably contingent as well as processual in nature. Because human interaction is always potentially transformative in nature there is usually some change in continuity, even for social phenomena that turn out to be relatively enduring; all such social reproduction is liable simultaneously to involve some transformation. (Lawson, 2014, p. 24)

Interactions are facilitated socio-materially. Here, Lawson (2014) is talking about social systems generally:

> As already noted, however, aspects of all social phenomena, *qua* social phenomena, are not only produced by human interaction, but continually reproduced by it. Most of these, and certainly the more interesting, social systems are, *qua* social systems, not only produced and reproduced by human interaction, but continually reproduced precisely through the everyday human interactions which they facilitate. In these systems human individuals are amongst the components. And it is through the sum total of their activities, *qua* components, that the system is (where it is) reproduced. (Lawson, 2014, pp. 25-26)

In Lawson's (2019) ontological framework, technology acquires social identity through social positioning. In sum, Lawson's (2019) theory of social positioning provides an overarching theory alongside which to situate other conceptualisations of technology. For example, theorisation developed by Orlikowski (2007; 2010) and Wajcman (2006) support the conceptualisation of technology that is developed here. Elements of ANT may also be useful (Elder-Vass, 2017). In combination, these inform how PIUW is conceptualised in this study. What we can see now is how social entities combine non-human (material) and human parts. Furthermore, we can distinguish the uniqueness of human causal powers (Elder-Vass, 2017).

Following Elder-Vass we may consider: "How can we theorise entities that have *both* people and non-human material objects as their parts?" (Elder-Vass, 2017, p. 98). With a technofeminist approach, we recognise the potential of the internet to overcome inequalities associated with gender (Wajcman, 2006). Rejecting a technologically determinist standpoint - this study focuses on shaping technological change, as opposed to adapting to it (MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999).

3.3 The transformative capacity of technology at home and at work

A great deal of social theory has been written about the potential for ICTs to change the organisation of time and space now mobile phones and other mobile devices have become incorporated into everyday life, and are now more often used for social rather than 'work-centric' communications (Wajcman;Bittman and Brown, 2008; Castells, 2010). Chambers (2016) traces the effects of twentieth century technological developments on the home, arguing that the spread of computers to the domestic realm has challenged the meanings of 'work' and 'home'. The earlier 'smart home' is distinguished from the newer 'connected home' using a three-stage process description. In the early twentieth century (Stage One), innovations in architecture and domestic technology are driven by the domestication of electricity. Between the 1920s and 1940s in Europe and North America, with mass production and the development of electrical infrastructure, commercial imperatives fuel the development of large home appliances (Chambers, 2016). This results in the emergence of a range of new home appliances. In the 1980s and 1990s (Stage Two), computers deliver information communication technology to the home:

> This prompted a further extension of the meaning of home from a place of sanctuary to a technologically efficient space for multiple leisure and work-related tasks. New technologies such as computing and the internet facilitated patterns of home-working, teleworking and flexible working. (Chambers, 2016, p. 152)

In the Third Stage described by Chambers, the smart home has evolved to become the 'connected home', with the arrival in the early twenty-first century of digital interactive technologies. In this era, the 'Internet of Things' has led to home automation.

The general literature in relationship to ICTs and work-life boundary is extensive. The subject area sits at the intersection of two distinct fields of research. On one side are theories elaborating social effects of ICT and on the other, theories analyse impacts on family (Dén-Nagy, 2014). Much of the work-life boundary - information communication technology (WLB-ICT) literature focuses on the extent to which ICTs help or hinder individuals' management of their responsibilities across the domains of work and home. In the following section, several studies are reviewed to introduce important themes from this literature.

Using a qualitative case study method, Frissen (2000) adopts a social shaping of technology approach (see for example MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999). The author studied mostly partnered individuals with young children. In-depth interviews were used in addition to questionnaires and mental maps, the latter to describe the physical layout of ICTs in the home. In this view, not only are household routines and activities shaped by ICTs but also, household life may impact technologies themselves (Frissen, 2000). This research relies on a user-oriented perspective developed by UK researchers (see Silverstone and Haddon, 1996) which views the incorporation of ICTs into everyday household life as a 'domestication process' whereby 'wild' technological objects are 'tamed' and 'house-trained' through a process of adaptation to household rituals and routines (Frissen, 2000). The result is that ICTs are given "a more or less natural and taken-for-granted place within the microsocial context of the household" (Frissen, 2000, p. 67).

According to Silverstone and Haddon (1996), domestication of technology is a three-stage process. These three stages are 'commodification', 'appropriation' and 'conversion'. They represent a variety of interactions between the 'public sphere' (outside world) and the 'private

sphere' (household) and offer a conceptualisation of "the market and the public discourses surrounding technological innovation" (Frissen, 2000, p. 67). In the first stage (commodification), design and consumption are connected: the product is marketed in a particular way which pre-empts to some extent, how a technology will be incorporated into everyday household life. In the second stage (appropriation), a technology is purchased. The new product is brought home, integrated in the household, and given a social place. In the third stage (conversion), technological competence is demonstrated, and users communicate their opinions of products. At this point, the household is reconnected to the outside world. Frissen (2000) finds the domestication concept useful, concentrating on the second (appropriation) stage, to describe sometimes ambivalent and paradoxical processes surrounding ICT acceptance or non-acceptance:

> It provides us with an analytical tool to grasp the agency of users in technological trajectories, and at the same time allows us to remain sensitive for structural limitations to that agency, such as, on a macro level, market push and public discourses surrounding technological developments and, on a micro level, social relations within the household, such as gender differences (Frissen, 2000, p. 73).

With this approach, differences between intended and actual use of a particular technology are highlighted, underlining users' potential to coproduce technology (Frissen, 2000).

The main finding of Frissen's (2000) study is that ICTs are not wholeheartedly viewed as solutions for the communication and co-ordination problems faced by research participants. Rather, there is an ambiguity that generates tensions. Frissen's (2000) other findings resonate with the findings of this study: "the combination of work and caring responsibilities is easier when one has a job that includes a certain degree of autonomy, which allows one to organize one's own time" (2000, p. 68). In Frissen's (2000) study participants were mainly professionals and it was not unusual for them to have domestic staff. The flexibility this created was highly valued. Frissen viewed having paid staff in the following terms: "a new

buffer has replaced the traditional buffer created by full-time housewives in the person of highly flexible housekeepers, nannies, au pairs, or secretaries/administrative personnel" (2000, p. 69).

At the time of this study, the capability to access work computers from home had yet to be developed (only two of the seven households in the study had internet access). Nonetheless, Frissen's (2000) study highlights the ambiguities and tensions that can accompany technology use for boundary management. Since the arrival of digitally networked homes and continuous digital connectivity, this subject is more relevant.

In contrast to Frissen's small-scale qualitative study, an Australian study by Wajcman et al. (2010) surveyed a total of 2,184 people to investigate whether the internet contributes to weakening work/home boundaries. Using a multimethod approach, individuals completed a survey by telephone or internet while 1,332 of these – around 60 per cent – also completed a time diary. The authors found that the internet is used less for work purposes (at home) but is used to a greater extent for personal purposes (in work time). A further finding was that use of internet at home may assist work-family balance because (it is suggested) employees who use the internet at home for work purposes, do so on their own terms. For example, taking work home may prevent an individual missing out on a family activity. However, these authors contend that for the most part (and counter to common concerns about internet technology) the internet is not being used to extend work to the private sphere. Rather a separation is maintained between the two domains: "there is no evidence of family to work spillover resulting from the use of the internet for personal purposes while at work" (Wajcman *et al*., 2010, p. 271).

What we can see now is the value of a user-oriented perspective (Silverstone and Haddon, 1996; Frissen, 2000) for a study of PIUW. The concept of technological coproduction is useful, as is the idea that technologies may be accompanied by ambivalence and paradox

(Frissen, 2000). On the one hand ICTs have the potential to enhance flexibility and control, but on the other hand ICTs are associated with communication and information overload.

3.4 The discourse of work-life balance

Public campaigns for WLB did not appear in Britain until the mid-1990s and the movement for WLB is believed to have begun with a feminist campaign linked to the Working Mothers' Association (Cunningham, 2014). WLB continued to be associated with reconciling work and family life when it was adopted as an EU policy issue. Cunningham (2014) identifies the contemporary political drivers of WLB policies as state-level interests in increasing women's engagement in paid labour without further decreases in the birth rate. The author views these as the underlying reasons for policy objectives aimed at employers (for example, to promote the creation of 'family-friendly' employment practices). For Cunningham (2014), a concealment is taking place when we talk about WLB: "WLB poses a problem, rather than describing reality. It is less a balance than a tension" (p. 194). This concealment refers to important changes that have taken place since the 1970s including the entry of married women to the labour market, increases in hours worked and the intensification of that work:

> The removal since the 1970s of what were regarded as impediments to a flexible labour force, but were actually means of preventing exploitation, have combined to produce the crisis in time use that is wrapped up and concealed by talking about WLB (Cunningham, 2014, p. 194).

Cunningham notes that something is missing in public discussion: "In WLB discourse, leisure is simply absent, or at the very least subordinate" (2014, p. 191).

A materialist analysis of WLB is provided in the work of Stefano Ba' (2017). Ba' (2017) explores issues relating to social reproduction under capitalism, considering both labour and family life in terms of capitalist tensions. The author is interested in the mediation between the spheres of home and work and 'emotional patterns of family life'. Central to this analysis

is the Marxian concept of abstract labour, which the author describes as "how human activity is quantified for profit in a society based on exchange value" (Ba', 2017, p. 2). For Ba' (2017), 'work-family articulation', revolves around abstract labour, weaving "familial forms of life into the fabrics of capitalist market society" (p.15). The author argues that family life (its mediation between public and private) is marginalised by "the development of labour as abstract labour under capitalism" (Ba', 2017, p. 1).

Work-life articulation is set against a backdrop of present-day economic conditions; namely the politics of austerity resulting from the Great Recession. From this perspective, the capitalist economy is responsible for distortions to ways of life and daily activities of family members. However, for Ba' (2017), family members are active subjects who can "create social forms and resist disruptions caused by socio-economic changes" (Ba', 2017, p. 1) and therefore subjectivity is a key concept for Ba'. Ba' (2017) draws on critical theory (early Frankfurt school) and Open Marxism, in order to critique a reductionist approach in the mainstream literature:

> It is about going to the roots of forms of family and work life as imposed by impersonal economic mechanisms and how they are resisted from 'below', by the activities of people. Impersonal mechanisms that distort family and work activities are central; capitalism is the distorting mechanism that reifies forms of life principally at work and also at home. (Ba', 2017, p. 2)

Fundamentally, Ba' (2017) is concerned with the effect of processes that recompose work and family life on "subjectivities, understood as spaces of individual autonomy" (p. 2). Specifically, because family and work life are sites of contestation, it is through resistance that uniformity may be challenged. With gendered division of labour framed through readings of Acker (2004) and Federici (2004), Ba' (2017) produces an explanation that is more complete in terms of structural causes.

Much of the literature of work-life articulation overlooks the significance of the economic context (or other causal factors) and by failing to include the economic, political and social environment, an incomplete causal account is provided (Fleetwood, 2007). Ba' (2017) is similarly critical of research that neglects to analyse WLB in terms of larger social processes such as class dynamics.

Steve Fleetwood (2007) seeks to understand the factors leading to the widespread prominence of WLB as a research subject with particular currency. Fleetwood's (2007) analysis is firmly located within a framework that questions neoliberal economic logic, where "(quasi) commodity labour power is employed as a means to an end, that end being the generation of profit" (p. 388). The author goes on to describe the negotiation over working practices that enable WLB in terms of a contestation:

> This demand, however, brings workers into confrontation with the very nature of capitalism, and this manifests itself in a confrontation with those who buy this (quasi) commodity, namely employers. (Fleetwood. 2007, p. 388)

For Fleetwood (2007), the outcome of any discussion between employee and employer, over WLB is dependent to a far lesser extent on the vagaries of employment relations. To a far greater extent: "limits will exist as long as labour power is employed as a means to an end, that is, as long as capitalism prevails" (p. 388). The author situates more recent discourses of WLB as part of 'flexible working' in relation to the emergence of the contemporary form of capitalism: neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is an aspect of a "renewed ruling class offensive" whereby the issue of WLB is bound up with notions of individualism, freedom and mainly, flexibility. Capitalism is the underlying cause.

3.4.1 *Temporal structuring in organisations*

In the social scientific literature on time, there exists a fundamental temporal dichotomy between objective and subjective realities (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002). Orlikowski and

Yates (2002) have developed a particular notion of temporal structuring which the authors illustrate through a prior empirical study. Thus "how temporality is both produced in situated practices and reproduced through the influence of institutionalized norms" is explored (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002, p. 685). The authors argue that workers' daily engagement in the world is characterised by a process of temporal structuring:

> As part of this engagement, people produce and reproduce what can be seen to be temporal structures to guide, orient, and coordinate their ongoing activities. Temporal structures here are understood as both shaping and being shaped by ongoing human action, and thus as neither independent of human action (because shaped in action), nor fully determined by human action (because shaping that action). Such a view allows us to bridge the gap between objective and subjective understandings of time by recognizing the active role of people in shaping the temporal contours of their lives, while also acknowledging the way in which people's actions are shaped by structural conditions outside their immediate control. (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002, p. 684)

In Orlikowski and Yates's (2002) conceptualisation of temporal structuring' in organisations, "people (re)produce (and occasionally change) temporal structures to orient their ongoing activities" (2002, p. 685).

In the dichotomous perspective, time either exists independently of human action, or it is constructed socially through human action (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002). The authors are careful not to reject either the subjective or the objective approach, recognizing the analytic advantages that each offers. However, they highlight the way in which the role of human action (in shaping individuals' experiences of work time) is overlooked in an objective view. Furthermore, the way human action can be shaped by objectified expectations of work time, in a subjective view, is also highlighted:

> In contrast, a practice-based perspective seeks to show how the recurrent practices of social actors shape temporal structures that are experienced as "time" in everyday life, and how these

practices in turn are shaped by previously established temporal structures that influence expectations of time in organizations. (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002, p. 695)

In an alternative, third perspective, the authors propose, "that time is experienced in organizational life through a process of temporal structuring that characterizes people's everyday engagement in the world" (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002, p. 684). Here, the recurrent practices of individuals are key. They shape, and are shaped by a group of temporal practices (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002). The authors draw on an earlier empirical study to demonstrate the kinds of insights that can be generated through applying a practice-based perspective on work time. In a discussion of "work/family balance", the idea of work and family as two mutually exclusive spheres whose temporal rhythms are distinctive is questioned: "The notion of temporal structuring we have developed here suggests instead that people enact multiple, heterogenous, and shifting temporal structures in all aspects of their lives" (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002, p. 697). Whereas some theorists of work-life boundary argue that different life domains (home, work, leisure) are not easily separable, Orlikowski and Yates (2002) argue that different life domains may have distinct temporal rhythms. In this view, the actuality of daily life is more complex than a simple dichotomy of work and family:

> Instead, it may be more useful to examine the different temporal structures enacted by people as they participate in the varied temporal conditions of their organizations, occupations, families, religious communities, and neighborhoods; and to consider where, how, to what extent, and with what consequences for people's lives such temporal structures dominate, intersect, and conflict. (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002, p. 697)

A consequence of this perspective of domains, is that the rhetoric associated with "work/family balance" may be insufficient, to modify the temporal structures that constrain individuals' work-life articulation.

Temporal structuring takes place through a social process. With this perspective, we can identify the conditions that are relevant to modifying such temporal structures (Orlikowski

and Yates, 2002) and the extent to which individuals may or may not exert control over the temporal schedules to which they are subject. The authors' main contribution is a deeper understanding of organisational temporal conditions. The authors propose questions that may inform the current research such as: "How might groups or communities cooperate to align or synchronize their activities so as to help individuals enact more effective temporal structures?" (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002, p. 698).

Work by Orlikowski and Yates (2002) highlights the role of agency in shaping the temporal contours of our lives, at the same time that action is shaped by structural conditions. In the context of this PhD study, Orlikowski and Yates's (2002) conceptualisation of temporal structuring can be applied to consider work time, work-life navigation and PIUW. Moreover, the subjective-objective dichotomy commonly found in time research in organizations, can be avoided (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002). This conceptualisation of temporal conditions that vary according to different contexts (such as organisations, families, and neighbourhoods) is compelling. Thinking in this way about the potential of temporal structures, provides a sophisticated alternative to a traditional perspective of 'work time' versus 'leisure time'.

3.4.2 *Theorising work-life balance and the work-life boundary*

The literature on WLB and boundary management is underpinned by different conceptualisations of life realms. Clark (2000) for example describes the two domains as 'work' and 'family', viewing these as separate spaces that have influence over each other. In contrast, Hyland and Prottas prefer the domain 'home' (to the social group 'family'), believing it "more inclusive of less traditional families" (2016, p. 2). This field of study is characterised by a broad range of resources that theorise how people variously manage the work-life boundary. The following review is limited to a consideration of influential conceptualisations of work-life boundary (boundary theory, spillover theory and work/family border theory). Research exploring WLB has two competing theories. These are boundary

theory (Nippert-Eng, 1996; Ashforth;Kreiner and Fugate, 2000) and spillover theory (Staines, 1980; Zedeck, 1992). Dén-Nagy (2014) distinguishes between a relatively unproblematic conceptualisation of ICT, contrasted with problems of consistency and operationalisation of theoretical constructs of work-life boundary. This is reflected, for example in the existence of a wide range of terminology for the non-work realm (Dén-Nagy, 2014).

Boundary theory describes the way individuals transit between the roles of work, home and other social realms (d'Abate, 2005). This theory identifies the extent of differences between individuals as a result of preferences that favour either 'separation' or 'integration' (Nippert-Eng, 1996). Individuals who favour separation prefer impermeable boundaries that provide a clean separation between home and work life. Those who favour integration, prefer permeable boundaries that allow home and work to easily crossover (de Man;de Bruijn and Groeneveld, 2008).

Boundary theory focuses on the distinct characteristics of 'flexibility' (relating to physical boundary) and 'permeability' (relating to psychological boundary) which indicate boundary strength and provide an understanding of how and why individuals combine work and home (Daniel and Sonnentag, 2016). In addition, both worker and workplace are involved in the structuring of the physical and psychological boundaries between the two domains (ibid.). In boundary theory, the main connection between work and family domains is human rather than emotional (Dén-Nagy, 2014).

In a critique of Nippert-Eng's (1996) research on boundary work, Warhurst et al. (2008) argue for the inclusion of a wider range of factors than the individual's endeavours at boundary work such as "managerial imposition, work intensification or acts of resistance that arise through the employment relationship and wage-effort bargain" (2008, p. 11). For these authors, material conditions (such as the labour process) are equally important in shaping opportunities and choices that may affect how WLB is experienced.

Spillover theory postulates that behaviours and emotions will carry over from one sphere to another. It describes tensions between the domains of work and family and the process whereby one domain influences another (Wajcman *et al.*, 2010). Work and family domains are separated by a permeable boundary, which depending on the extent of permeability may lead either to more negative or more positive outcomes (Chesley, 2005). 'Negative' spillover is linked to increased dissatisfaction, whether at home or at work (Chesley, 2005). In spillover theory, the demarcation line between work and nonwork is not well-defined and work experiences carry over into the nonwork domain (Dén-Nagy, 2014). Although negative spillover (synonymous with work-home conflict), has been widely researched over several decades, positive spillover is now gaining greater attention.

Positive spillover is associated with 'facilitation' and 'enrichment' one example being an individual with a permeable work boundary takes a short phone call at work from a child seeking help with homework (Hyland and Prottas, 2016). As a result of providing support to the child, the parent feels better emotionally and, it is argued, this creates 'positive affective spillover' into the work role. An example of positive spillover in the other direction (work-home) is given whereby an employee receives a phone call at home with good news about an important work project. In this case (it is argued), positive feelings are invoked that spill over to the home domain. Clark (2000) gives the example of an employee who has had a difficult day at work, returning home in a bad mood. For Clark (2000), spillover theory is an example of the sort of open systems theory that accounts for a shift in research thinking away from the idea that family and work are temporally and physically independent systems.

Although boundary theory and spillover theory have similarities (both provide similar concepts of boundary blurring and perception of WLB) these similarities have resulted in a lack of theoretical clarity that researchers have attempted to resolve (Dén-Nagy, 2014). Responding to gaps in previous theory on work and family, Susan Campbell Clark (2000) developed the influential 'work/family border theory'. This theory is discussed next.

3.4.5 *Work/family border theory*

Work/family border theory accounts for the way individuals achieve balance through their management and negotiation of work and family domains. Individuals who transition between the domains are 'border-crossers' "often tailoring their focus, their goals, and their interpersonal style to fit the unique demands of each" (Clark, 2000, p. 751). Clark carried out in-depth interviews with 15 individuals who combined full time employment with significant responsibility for family members. In addition, stories were collected "in order to understand the cultural meaning attached to 'work' and 'family' and the interaction between them" (2000, p. 752).

Drawing on Weick's (1979) concept of 'enactment' to describe how psychological borders are created, permeability and flexibility are 'qualities' of the work-life boundary (Clark, 2000). The extent to which an individual identifies with the work domain or family domain affects the individual's experience overall, as does the relative strength of borders. A further variable is the degree to which a border-crosser is a central or peripheral participant in each domain (Lave and Wenger, 1991 – cited in Clark, 2000).

Clark (2000) distinguishes between borders that are physically or psychologically permeable. For example, in the case of an individual working in an office at home, family members (also at home) may be accustomed to talking to the individual (who is working) and therefore the physical boundary is permeable. A psychological permeation is described whereby an individual has developed an approach (to team working) in a home setting and is able to transfer the principles of this into the work environment (Clark, 2000). In this example, an individual applied an approach (to combat sibling rivalry) that had been successful with her children, having identified a similarity between the behaviour of her children and members of her (competitive) work group. As a result, she addressed this using the tactic of deliberately focusing on and highlighting colleagues' successes in the workplace (Clark, 2000).

3.5 Chapter summary

This review of the literature of technology and WLB has considered theoretical and empirical research of technology in relation to the domains of work and home (which PIUW often brings together). From the technology literature, studies have been highlighted which foreground user agency. As researchers we should question our own agency of engagement and how the material constitution of technological phenomena entail particular accounts (Orlikowski, 2010). However, characteristics of technology are not deterministic, but rather contingent, in the sense that actors' decisions (for example) can influence outcomes.

Different technological capabilities produce particular effects on participants and the world, and the materiality of specific technologies afford particular modes of interaction (Orlikowski, 2010). Furthermore, technological artefacts have material consequences for objective working conditions (Hall, 2010). Whereas, research on technology has revealed the changing nature of the gender-technology relationship (Wajcman, 2006), there is a clear need for more research that focuses on human choices in technology (Dén-Nagy, 2014) including that which considers individual aspects of PIUW in greater detail (Konig and Caner de la Guardia, 2014).

Organisational flexibility practices emerge as a significant theme in this study. Orlikowski and Yates' (2002) conceptualisation of time as "enacted phenomena" in organisations is useful. In the WLB-ICT literature, findings relating to whether ICTs are used to create WLB are contradictory. For example, workers may actively use ICTs to manage the control of communication between domains (Wajcman *et al.*, 2010; Rose, 2015) whereas others have found that workers may feel ambivalent about using ICTs for boundary management (Frissen, 2000). Other contradictions are visible in research that finds that internet is more often used for work purposes at home than for personal purposes at work (Lim and Teo, 2005; Hyland and Prottas, 2016). Wajcman et al. (2010) found the opposite. In the case where rival

explanations exist, we can "evaluate their relative merits by assessing their explanatory power" (Sayer, 2011, p. 55).

These two chapters of literature review (Chapters 2 and 3) provide a set of conceptual resources that will underpin the analytic model (described in Chapter 5). Given what we now know, this thesis will ask the following questions:

1. How do men and women experience PIUW differently?

2. What does a comparison of the PIUW of WC and MC workers reveal? How do experiences differ? How can these differences be explained?

3. How do class and gender intersect in the experience of DDL? What are the implications of differences for work-life articulation?

In the next chapter, a research design is developed to address these questions.

Chapter 4. Feminist reflexivity and ethical participatory research

This chapter describes how the research design was influenced by many things, of which, the following are the most salient. PIUW is a sensitive subject (Lee, 1993; Paulsen, 2014) placing constraints on which methods may be used. Moreover, organisational case study, requiring negotiated access at a senior level, was considered ethically problematic. Four qualitative data collection methods have been used in this study: narrative interviews, semi-structured interviews, asynchronous interviews over internet and field observations.

In total, 44 interviews were conducted between 2018 and 2020. These were mainly carried out in cafes and ranged in length from 25 to 85 minutes. The average interview duration was 45 minutes, this reflecting the fact that interviews often took place during a participants' lunch break or at the end of the working day. This sample, with roughly equal numbers of women and men, in WC and MC jobs, makes gender-class intersectional contrasts possible.

The chapter is organised as follows. Firstly, the study connects to a feminist standpoint epistemology via a first-person narrative account. Secondly, the research design and methods are described. Thirdly, there follows a discussion of how methods were applied. Finally, the CE analytic approach (Lawson, 1997) - used as a method to explore situated agency and individual PIUW - is introduced and evaluated.

4.1 An autoethnographic perspective

This research began in 2014 when I was studying for a Masters' degree in HRM at Newcastle University. Before 2014 I had worked at a City Council in the northeast of England where a close colleague had been sanctioned for PIUW. My colleague was on 'garden leave' (meaning that they were absent from the workplace) during a lengthy investigation. From time to time, we heard news about the investigation, for example, how, in meetings with HR and the trade union (who provided support), evidence of my colleague's PIUW was presented. The sanction

prompted much discussion in our workgroup of approximately 40 and we thought about our own PIUW behaviour. We reflected on what constituted an acceptable use of workplace internet and most people stopped doing PIUW. After five-months, my colleague returned to the workplace (with internet privileges removed for the following six months). With hindsight, this was a punitive work environment. During the decade that I worked there, others were seriously sanctioned, including three people who were sacked for posting on social media.

My position as someone in a WC job in the public sector is relevant for two reasons. Firstly, it connected me to the world of work. Reflecting on our location in our work influences our research questions and the conduct of our research (England, 1994). Secondly, it enabled me to recruit several colleagues to interview, including (much to my surprise) our service manager. Without the proximity to my colleague's sanctioning, it is unlikely that I would have come to study PIUW. Moreover, my personal connection to the subject plays out through auto-ethnographic threads in the research process, described next.

4.1.1 Insider and Outsider positionality

When I began my PhD in 2016, I had recently returned to work at the City Council where my former colleague was sanctioned. At the time of writing, I have worked in the same customer services setting for six years having worked here throughout my PhD studies on a zero-hours contract. This is salient because, when I comment on the working conditions of colleagues who participated in interviews, I can fill in gaps from my own experience. For example, I am intimately aware of the rules around PIUW in this context. As well as interviewing current colleagues (n=7) I have also interviewed former colleagues (n=5) and others in the same organisation (n=5). Taken together, interviews with past and present work colleagues account for 27 % of all interviews. Although most of my work colleagues don't know I am doctoral researcher, many are aware that I also work at the University. In this context I am an

'Ethnographic Insider' (Giazitzoglu and Payne, 2018). When I carried out interviews with current or former colleagues, there is inevitably a power imbalance. However, when I am working alongside colleagues, and am simply an observer, researcher privilege and status is removed which can be viewed as a positive (Calvey, 2008).

Reflexivity involves thinking about how embodied subjectivity influences our research (England, 1994). Without reflexivity, we risk obscuring how the finished text was made (Burawoy, 1991). Thus, we may choose to produce accounts of research in which the personal is present: "research is a process not just a product" (England, 1994, p. 244). For Sultana (2007, p. 375) ethical research "is produced through negotiated spaces and practices of reflexivity that is critical about issues of positionality and power relations."

While studying I read several compelling ethnographies, some of which relied on covert approaches to study organizational settings. These included Matthew Brannan's (2017) study of misconduct in UK financial services and Jamie Woodcock's (2017) monograph on the call centre labour process. In Woodcock's work, I was struck by the semi-covert nature of data collection. In this study of a high-volume call centre, the author describes the bleak nature of the work, the affective labour component, as well as ethical dilemmas encountered during sales calls. Workers' adherence to phone scripts is closely supervised and there is almost no escaping the script, even in the case where a customer has recently been bereaved. The author's descriptions of place are particularly vivid, whether this is the basement open-plan office with its fluorescent strip lighting and dust covered blinds, or the pub where work colleagues meet to discuss the potential for political campaigning. Through rich descriptions, we learn about the requirement for a dress code and the ageing technology the workers rely on. I could readily relate to the work experience described as I was on a zero-hours contract when I was reading Woodcock's ethnography. Ultimately, the reality of precarious work is brought home when the author is sacked after failing to meet sales targets.

Undoubtedly, these ethnographies influenced both how I thought about data collection and my gender/class positionality. In particular, an ethnography of gym-use and masculinity by Andreas Giazitzoglu (2014) prompted me to consider my relationship to research participants. I learned about this study when Giazitzoglu talked about his ethnography with a group of doctoral students at Newcastle University Business School. The work focuses on upward social mobility amongst a group of young men in the north east of England. Through semi-structured interviews, the meanings that participants ascribe to their identity are explored. In this seminar we learned about a subgroup of seven white, heterosexual men within the interview cohort of 42 participants termed 'the Changers':

> The Changers aim to qualitatively project what they collectively refer to as 'middleclass' masculine identity within their everyday lives and self-presentations. The Changers believe that visually appearing middleclass will help them, to borrow from Elias and Scotson (1994), become 'established' members of a new social class and disassociate themselves from the 'poor' class and community they derive from; in which the Changers are now 'outsiders'. (Giazitzoglu, 2014, p.1).

Reading Giazitzoglu's (2014) study, based on his doctoral research, I was struck by the fact that the participants of the study are users of a public gym, of which the author himself is a member. Moreover, he and his participants are from the same community and class background. At this time, in the first year of my PhD, I hadn't thought about studying class. Despite this early lesson about autoethnography where "the insider and outsider converge" (Chang, 2008, p. 127) several years would pass before the autoethnographic elements of my own study surfaced. Learmonth and Humphreys (2012) trace some of the conceptual controversies and practical challenges surrounding the practice of autoethnography as a research strategy, for example, feelings of duplicity can arise when self-deception is recognised. The authors have described such discomfort within (their own) academic identity, characterising this as "doubleness" or "double dealing" (Learmonth and Humphreys, 2012, p.

99). During my doctoral research, I also read 'A gendered perspective on Learning to Labour' by Heather Höpfl et al. (2017). Höpfl's doctoral research - which compared Grammar school boys and automotive craft apprentices - found that, typically, the Grammar school boys could confidently map out a life-plan up to 20 years into the future. Whereas, for the craft apprentices, life plans were absent and "time horizons were short" (Höpfl et al., 2017, p. 90) with projections of the future rarely stretching beyond a couple of weeks. In the following section, inspired by Höpfl, I reflect on my own early experiences of the world of work.

4.1.2 Researching class positionality from a working-class standpoint

Like Höpfl, I attended a co-educational comprehensive school. The school I attended in Aberdeen was built in the early 1970s to educate children from the surrounding Council housing estates. By the time the school closed its doors in 2018, it was one of the poorest performing secondary schools in the Grampian region.

Here Höpfl reflects on her WC origins in an industrial northern town:

> I grew up in Runcorn, a chemical town in the North West of England: dirty, always light because the ICI works in Weston Point had, at that time, the largest fractionating tower outside of Texas. A Company town before the advent of 'new town' status in the mid1960s: when we turned out to play hockey at school we were all wearing ICI socks; if you visited friends' homes every bathroom had soap marked ICI on one side and Buttermilk on the other. I failed my 11 + examination and I went to a secondary modern school where expectations were low. Brighter girls did shorthand typing and the rest did domestic science. (Höpfl in Höpfl et al., 2017, p. 89)

In Aberdeen, my first memory of the school Career service (aged 14 or 15), was of filling in a Careers questionnaire, after which I was advised, to consider a career in Occupational Therapy. A second memory of career's advice at school was of being taken for a tour of the television studio in Aberdeen. I remember a woman showing us around and saying it was

possible to train to become a camera person. Thinking back, I'm not sure that I believed her, but it stuck in my memory. What is perhaps most interesting about these examples (the only two I can remember) are demonstrable attempts to signpost me towards MC jobs. So, I wonder now if I was viewed as a potential 'escapee' (Höpfl;Hamilton and Brannan, 2017).

Looking back, I am mainly struck, in hindsight, by the high degree of gender segregation in classes, some of which were still either 100% male or female at the time I finished my school education in 1983. In the era before computers, subjects like domestic science and woodwork, were either girls' subjects or boys' subjects. Höpfl describes the choices faced by her WC peers: "Careers visits were to local factories – a cotton mill in Warrington, a trip to the BICC wire works at Helsby, an outing to Gorgeous Bras where we learned about our prospects as machinists or clerical workers" (Höpfl et al., 2017, p. 89). Höpfl's prospects changed dramatically when at 15, she took an exam allowing her to transfer to a Grammar School (where pupils are selected based on academic achievement). Not everyone viewed Höpfl's changing fortunes positively: "my grandparents, who had raised me, were devastated. Their hopes for me had been for 'a nice job in the ICI offices'" (Höpfl et al., 2017, p. 89).

In my own case, and like Höpfl's craft apprentices, I experienced a pattern of expectation related to a relatively short time horizon (Höpfl;Hamilton and Brannan, 2017). Arguably, I was institutionalised in an education system that failed to be ambitious on my behalf (Willis, 1977; Höpfl;Hamilton and Brannan, 2017). While I was in the fifth year at school (the first year of studying for 'Highers' under the Scottish system) and aged 16, I got my first proper job in Aberdeen's newly established Wimpy Bar. Formerly a multinational chain of fast-food restaurants, Wimpy Bars had been introduced in the UK in 1954. At this point (in 1982) Wimpy was owned by a British multinational United Biscuits. However, by the end of the 1980s, partly owing to competition from McDonald's, Wimpy was in decline.

In truth I liked working at Wimpy. If you were serving on the frontline, the till you were assigned to provided metrics of your hourly sales. Fast-food approaches brought changes to

restaurant cultures and, in the case of Wimpy, customers were encouraged to leave within 20 minutes. On googling Wimpy recently, I was reminded of the popular children's parties and the Mr Wimpy character outfit that we took turns to wear (all staff were expected to do any work task including cleaning the toilets). The routinised nature of the work was attractive to me.

The Wimpy store I worked at was on Aberdeen's main street. Later in the evening we were relatively unsupervised and sometimes we gave away unsold food to people at the side door. At home, I lived in a single parent household where I was the only child of an office worker. No one in my family had attended University and no one had what you would call a career. When I left school, I moved onto a local Commercial college for a year. Socially, I met other teenagers attending University (but it did not occur to me to go straight from school to university).

Before the job at Wimpy - I lasted for about a year - I'd been sacked from a long series of part-time jobs (in a beachfront café, in a dress shop, in a shoe shop, at a supermarket checkout, in a hotel kitchen). By the time I was 18, I began working in social care, starting with a job as a cleaner. Although I eventually went to University, I would spend several decades working in low pay social care roles.

Like Höpfl, I wanted to escape the place I came from: "And it was escape that I sought. I wanted to get out of Runcorn. I wanted to escape before I too was pulled down into the sedimentary layers of common sense, before I resigned myself to the power of the habitus" (Höpfl et al., 2017, p. 90).

4.1.3 The ethics of fieldwork: Researcher positionality and the field of study

Keeping a research diary has been hugely valuable (Rose;Spinks and Canhoto, 2015). It was used to record thoughts and feelings around the context of interviews, and it has been the main way in which reflexive insights have been gained during data collection. Furthermore,

the research diary has ensured that methodological details were preserved. Entries in the research diary capture details of circumstances surrounding the practical aspects of interviewing. The diary also includes personal reflections on the messy and harder to control aspects of data collection, such as the challenges of managing the interview process. On one occasion I reflected on how certain discussions might affect participants' feelings. For example, the following entry was made after an interview in March 2018:

> I considered, for the first time, that asking someone whether they have caring responsibilities for children or elders, if they don't, they may feel this a reflection, in some way, on their life achievements. It could for some, feel sad.

Sometimes reflections were recorded on train journeys to and from interviews outside of Newcastle. The following diary entry was written after the tenth interview which took place in the summer of 2018 in a Scottish NHS hospital canteen:

> The venue was [the participant]'s choice. She works full-time and I suspect she wanted to keep the interview within the working day. Starting the interview was impacted by the fact that we hadn't seen each other in the past ten years. This meant we had to catch up first.
>
> [The participant] was able to take an extended lunchbreak because of an arrangement with a colleague who let her have a longer break than usual, meaning that part of the interview was done in work time. Meanwhile [the participant] was watching out for a text from a colleague to alert her if her manager was looking for her.

Fieldwork, for England (1994, p. 249) "is inherently confrontational in that it is the purposeful disruption of other people's lives."

> After the interview, [the participant] said that she would be 60 soon and she couldn't imagine working at this job indefinitely. She described the volume of patient letters that are produced in a single day. She also mentioned having been to the doctor about numbness in her hands. She said that patient files are often not digitised and are generally large and heavy.

Several factors made me reticent to ask work colleagues (and other people in my social network) for interviews. At times, I felt uncomfortable in the interview process, and I worried about taking up too much of participants' time. I was anxious about how the request for an interview might impact our relationship. Also, I worried they might find the request intrusive or unwelcome. By this point in the research, I had read many newspaper reports of sanctions and sackings connected to technology misbehaviour. Knowing how easily people can lose their jobs made me conscious of potential risks if I failed to safeguard participants' anonymity.

Reflexivity should permeate the whole of the research process. Reflexive process is associated with outcomes that are more nuanced for their consideration of the way in which ethical concerns are present in every stage of research (Sultana, 2007). A reflexive process involves reflection on oneself, the research process, as well as a critical examination of power relations within the research process (Sultana, 2007). England (1994) describes reflexivity:

> Reflexivity is self-critical sympathetic introspection and the selfconscious analytical scrutiny of the self as researcher. Indeed reflexivity is critical to the conduct of fieldwork; it induces self-discovery and can lead to insights and new hypotheses about the research questions. A more reflexive and flexible approach to fieldwork allows the researcher to be more open to any challenges to their theoretical position that fieldwork almost inevitably raises. (England, 1994, p. 244)

England argues that (1994, pp. 251-252) "fieldwork is intensely personal in that the positionality [i.e., position based on class, gender, race, etc.] and biography of the researcher plays a central role in the research process, in the field as well as in the final text." As I carried out the research, I almost never mentioned my own gender-class positionality. For example, when talking about the work at conferences, I might say that I worked for the same employer as some of the interview participants. That I never mentioned my positionality is striking considering the findings of this PhD research.

There have been some tensions with negotiating my (researcher) identity at work. Where I have interviewed colleagues, I now know more about their domestic arrangements. However, I am careful not to mention these in workplace conversations. So, for example, I do not ask my colleague about her daughter's mental health when we are working together (as the information came via a research conversation protected by ethics). Whereas, if she had told me about her daughter during a worktime conversation, I might mention it.

There were times when I was aware that my snowballing approach was producing a heterogeneous sample of participants who too often looked like me especially in terms of race and age. Discussions of race and sexuality have received insufficient attention in this thesis that draws on intersectionality theory. I had not thought enough about the sameness and differences between myself and the interview participants. Although I consider myself as WC, I enjoy educational privilege that many of the research participants – especially those in WC jobs – have not had access to. Although the research relationship is unquestionably hierarchical and we should develop reflexive strategies to counterbalance this, reflexivity alone will not resolve the asymmetry (England, 1994). Rather, it allows us to identify the potential for exploitation that is inherent in fieldwork. Feminist methodology emphasizes the need to consider power relations when the research process is asymmetric.

England (1994) argues for the centrality of not just reflexivity, but also intersubjectivity:

> The intersubjective nature of social life means that the researcher and the people being researched have shared meanings and we should seek methods that develop this advantage. We can attempt to achieve an understanding of how social life is constituted by engaging in real or constructed dialogues in order to understand the people studied in their own terms (sometimes described as the insiders' view); hence the recent efforts to retrieve qualitative methods from the margins of social science. (England, 1994, p. 243)

intersubjectivity supports the development of mutual respect in the research relationship (England, 1994). Moreover, the conceptualisation of the research encounter, which rejects the

notion of a researcher/researched binary, is commensurate with a realist ontology. In this view, fieldwork is "a dialogical process in which the research situation is structured by both the researcher and the person being researched" (England, 1994, p. 247) where the input of the participant may transform the research. England (1994, p. 251) suggests "we do not conduct fieldwork on the unmediated world of the researched, but on the world between ourselves and the researched". With a standpoint epistemology informed by a feminist reflexivity, it is not my objective to achieve "detachment distance, and impartiality" nor to be an objective observer free of bias (England, 1994, p. 242). In fact I understand that participants in the research process may sometimes have a greater knowledge of the research topic than I do. This approach holds the "potential for dealing with asymmetrical and potentially exploitative power relations by shifting a lot of power over to the research*ed*" (England, 1994, p. 243, emphasis in original).

> The knowledges produced thus are within the context of our intersubjectivities and the places we occupy at that moment (physically and spatially as well as socially, politically, and institutionally). Knowledge is always partial and representations of knowledges produced through field research embody power relations that the researcher must be aware of in undertaking ethical research. (Sultana, 2007, p. 382)

4.2 Sampling procedures

In building a suitable research design to address the challenges inherent in this study, a range of qualitative methodological approaches were considered. Firstly, the subject is sensitive. Therefore, common approaches used for qualitative data collection (such as case study, ethnography, and participant observation) were ruled out for ethical reasons associated with using organisational gatekeepers to gain access. Instead, a 'snowball' approach (non-probability sampling) to recruitment was used. As a result, a broad range of sectors (and occupations) are represented including social work, teaching, financial management, IT, library work and customer services. Secondly, a stratified sample (in terms of gender and occupational class) was required, to enable a comparative analysis. Identifying participants through snowball sampling (non-probability sampling) has made it possible to interview 44 participants in 25 different organisations.

There are several sensitivities relating to PIUW (both for the employer and the worker). Transgressing organisational norms around technology use can result in severe sanctions. For this reason, individuals are understandably cautious about agreeing to discuss their technology 'misbehaviour' with a researcher (not to mention consenting to an audio recorded interview). For employers, negative consequences associated with PIUW include breach of data security and reputational damage. Therefore, there was no intention to access one organisation. Likely, individuals would not wish to participate (knowing that their employer is involved). It is also questionable whether participants would be willing to talk freely in such circumstances. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) suggest that, where access is difficult, recruiting participants without corporate approval is one of a range of options for the researcher. Moreover, approaching workers individually is congruent with a critical research strategy that maintains a distance to managerial perspectives (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008).

With the aim of targeting two distinct occupational groups, two distinct sampling techniques have been employed. In the first group (office workers), the aim was to recruit up to 40 participants (using snowball sampling). In the second target group (managers/HR managers), the aim was to recruit up to 20 participants (using purposive sampling). These two sampling techniques (snowball sampling and purposive sampling) are described later in this section.

Sampling is used to identify a sub-set within a population to meet the purpose of a study (Roulston, 2010). When studying specific groups, issues can make it difficult to access a 'representative' sample of the population: "one in which the same range of characteristics or attributes can be found in similar proportions" (Lewin, 2011, p. 222).

The ways in which participants have been recruited to this research project has varied according to whether participants are in Group 1 (workers in WC and MC jobs) or Group 2 (managers). For recruitment to the Group 1 sample, a broad range of jobs was sought because different types of workers within the same company may have quite different experiences of how ICTs contribute to work-life navigation (Dén-Nagy, 2014). In the Group 1 sample, women and men with WC and MC jobs have been compared. Participants in Group 1 were recruited according to the following criteria. All work fixed hours (whether on a full-time, part-time, or zero-hours basis) and all have access to workplace internet. Participants in Group 2 are all either generalist managers or specialist HR managers.

4.2.1 *Group 1 participants, accessed through snowball sampling*

Snowball sampling, or 'chain referral' sampling, is mainly used for qualitative or exploratory analysis. In certain situations, snowball sampling is the only way to secure a research sample (Sarantakos, 2013). This sampling method is less systematic than most (McNeill and Chapman, 2005). It is a multistage technique that produces a non-random sample (Neuman, 2006). In snowball sampling "a small number of individuals are identified to represent a population with particular characteristics, and they are subsequently used as informants to

recommend similar individuals" (Lewin, 2011, p. 224). The snowball process continues until saturation: "until no more substantial information can be acquired through additional respondents – or until no more respondents are available" (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 165).

In Group 1 (office workers), following a typical snowball process, participants have been approached in person at the start of the process (these participants were already known to the researcher). Following the first tranche of interviews with participants identified through personal contact, individuals were approached who had been referred by participants (at the end of every interview, participants were asked whether they knew anyone else who might agree to participate. As a result, there were four cases in which an individual referred their partner to participate. Because the snowball began with the researcher's own network of contacts, there are a disproportionate number of participants who work in customer services (the researcher's current job) and in adult social care (the researcher's previous job). The snowball approach resulted in 35 interviews with office workers in WC and MC jobs. With this approach, there is a risk of participants sharing characteristics and a lack of representativeness in the sample. However, some efforts were made to minimise this problem, for example with interviews carried out in different cities in the UK.

4.2.2 *Group 2 participants, accessed through purposive sampling*

To access the experiences of managers and HR managers (to get an alternative perspective on the labour process), purposive sampling was used. This data makes it possible to answer the final research question. Purposive sampling is a kind of non-random sampling used to locate a difficult-to-reach or highly specific population (Neuman, 2006). It can be used in field research, or in research that is exploratory (ibid.). For Silverman (2010, p. 141): "purposive sampling allows us to choose a case because it illustrates some feature or process in which we are interested." With purposive sampling, sometimes experts or gatekeepers may be identified who can secure access, for example by providing introductions to prospective interviewees.

According to Silverman (2010), it is important, when using purposive sampling to "think critically about the parameters of the population we are studying and choose our sample case carefully on this basis" (p. 141).

In Group 2 (managers/HR managers), following a purposive sampling process, participants have been approached in different ways. Of the nine managers recruited to this study, three responded to 'cold' emails. The other six were targeted through personal contacts. The managers cohort represents different sectors (public, private, education and arts). Several of the managers are very senior (one is a company director). Two are office managers.

Three of the interviews with managers took place at the managers' workplace, in work time. Other managers preferred to meet away from work. One manager participated in an asynchronous interview (over email).

4.2.3 Introducing the sample

Looking at the prospective sampling frame, the original aim was to recruit a similar number of participants in each of six categories (see Figure 4.1 below).

Figure 4.1 Prospective sampling frame	
Group 1: Office worker (Assuming 40 people were recruited)	Group 2: Manager and HR manager (Assuming 20 people were recruited)
Women Working class 10 10 Middle class 10 10 Men	Women 10 10 Men
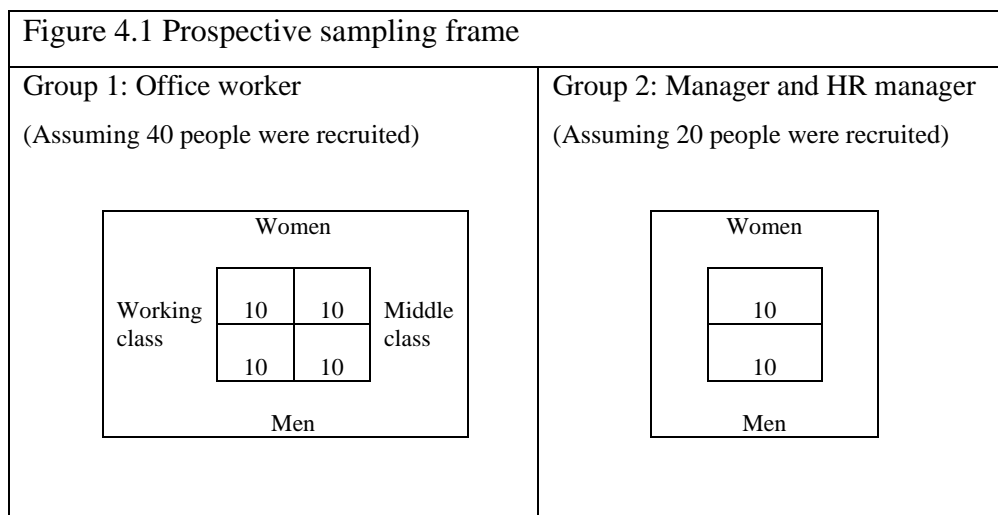
Although the aim was to recruit 60 participants, in fact 44 participants were recruited (see Figure 4.2 below). Looking at the actual sample, we can see that the ratio of women (45%) to men (55%) is slightly uneven across the whole sample but is much more even when looking

only at Group 1 (which is 49% women and 51% men). Within the female cohort, eight have WC jobs, nine have MC jobs and three are managers. Within the male cohort, six have WC jobs, twelve have MC jobs and six are managers. Nine out of 44 participants (20%) are private sector employees. Of the remainder, 16 (36%) work in local government, ten (23%) work in an education setting, five (11%) work for the NHS and three (7%) work for government non-departmental organisations. Sector variation is explained by the non-probability sampling used.

Figure 4.2 Actual sample	
Group 1: Office worker	Group 2: Manager and HR manager

Group 1: Office worker

Women

Working class | 8 | 9 | Middle class
| 6 | 12 |

Men

Group 2: Manager and HR manager

Women

| 3 |
| 6 |

Men
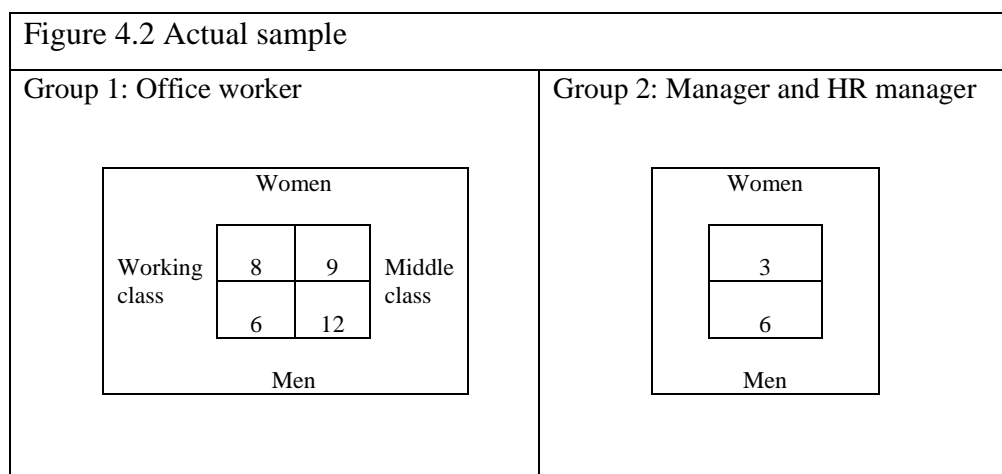
With the first group of participants (office workers), snowball sampling was used. This approach initially produced a sample that lacked diversity, for example, several participants work for the same employer. This is because the researcher began the recruitment by approaching her current and former work colleagues (as well as approaching others through social networks). This sample is also characterised by relationships between participants, for example, eight participants are in (four) couples. Although recruiting couples was unintentional, it has been valuable to be able to compare the experience of partners living in the same household. The sample also includes two ex-partners (i.e., four people were previously married to each other). Two participants are sisters. The sampling and recruitment procedures used here are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

With those in Group 1, interviews followed an unstructured Narrative Interview [hereafter NI] format (except where interviews were asynchronous). Interviews with those in Group 2

followed a semi-structured interview format. Where asynchronous interviews took place (across both Groups 1 and 2) the NI and semi-structured formats were adapted accordingly. Challenges associated with each interview format are described later in this chapter.

The two tables that follow show information about participants' jobs and caring responsibilities. Both list participants in the order in which interviews took place.

4.2.4 *Group 1 participant information (office workers)*

	Pseudonym	Live with	Children	Weekly caring (hours)	Business	Job	Age	Ethnicity	Salary
1	Jason	0	0	8	Health Service	Medical Secretary	53	White British	£10-20k
2	Sarah	2	3	0	Public sector	Library Assistant	60	White British	£10-20k
3	Bruce	0	3	5	Public sector	Health & Social Care Officer	55	White British	£20-30k
4	Jeff	2	0	0	Public sector	Health & Social Care Coordinator	44	White British	£20-30k
5	Wayne	2	2	20	Public sector (zero hours)	Customer Services Asst.	50	White British	£10-20k
6	Melissa	1	1	52	Public sector	Social Worker	48	White British	£40-50k
7	Claudia	1	0	0	Higher Education	Counsellor	53	White British	£30-40k
8	Louis	0	0	0	Public sector	Social Worker	51	White British	£30-40k
9	Joshua	1	0	0	Private sector	Software Developer	29	Indo-Caribbean	£20-30k
10	Mary Kay	1	1	0	Health Service	Medical Secretary	59	White British	£20-30k
11	Andreas	1	2	50	Private sector	Illustrator	52	White British	£20-30k
12	Caitlin	1	0	4	Government Finance	Business Partner	35	White Russian	£50-60k
13	Lenore	1	0	0	Further Education	Teacher	49	White British	£20-30k
14	Jim	1	0	0	Higher Education	Library Assistant	28	White British	£00-10k
15	Julia	0	1	2	Public sector	Administrative Assistant	60	White British	£10-20k
17	Ed	1	0	0	Public sector	Data Analyst	27	White British	£30-40k
18	Walter	1	2	20	Public sector	Customer Services Asst.	57	White British	£10-20k
19	Richard	1	2	2	Public sector	Social Worker	64	White British	£30-40k

Table 4.1 Participant information (office workers)

21	Roxann	0	0	0	Public sector	School teacher	53	White British	£20-30k
22	Camille	1	0	0	Higher Education	Finance Officer	33	White Australian	£20-30k
23	Kenneth	1	0	0	NHS	Advanced Practitioner	56	White British	£50-60k
24	Alexander	1	0	0	Private sector Finance	IT Development & Operations	42	White Canadian	£40-50k
26	Melanie	3	2	80	Private sector	Data quality admin	32	White British	£00-10k
27	Nicole	1	0	0	Health Service/ University	Trainee Clinical Psychologist	29	White British	£20-30k
32	Diana	1	3	21-28 Uni hols	Public sector	CSA / Dental Receptionist	56	White British	£10-20k
33	Shelley	1	0	30+	Public sector	Customer Services Asst.	46	White British	£10-20k
34	Marc	1	0	0	Private sector	IT Business Partner	32	White British	£50-60k
35	Kent	1	0		Public sector	Admin Assistant	29	Asian	£20-30k
36	Wallace	0	0	0	Private sector	Translation Project Manager	26	White Scottish	£20-30k
38	Martin	4	3	26	Higher Education	Technician	42	White British	£20-30k
39	Prentis	2	1	-	Private sector	IT Support Manager	30	White British	£50-60k
40	Marina	1	0	6	Higher Education	Events & marketing Administrator	60	White British	£20-30k
42	Alice	_	_	_	Private sector	HR Advisor	_	_	_
43	Nancy	0	2		Public sector	Neighbourhood Warden		White British	£10-20k
44	Lori	3	3		Public sector	Customer Services Asst.		White British	£10-20k

4.2.5 *Group 2 participant information (managers and HR managers)*

Table 4.2 Participant information (managers and HR managers)									
#	Pseudonym	Live with	Children	Weekly caring (hours)	Business	Job	Age	Ethnicity	Salary
16	Damian	1	1	25+	Public sector	Service Manager	49	White British	£50-60k
20	Robin	_	_	_	Private sector	IT Manager	_	White British	_
25	Barry	1	1	0	Education	Programme Support Co-ordinator	46	White British	£30-40k
28	Rosalind	0	0	0	Higher Education	Programme Support Manager	37	White British	£30-40k
29	Aron	_	_	_	Public sector	HR & OD Director	_	White British	£80-100k
30	Penny	1	0		Third sector	Director of	_	White British	_
31	Max	_	_	_	Private sector	Company director	55	White British	_
37	Frank	_	_	_	Public sector	Service Manager	_	White British	_
41	Jennifer	_	_	_	Public sector	Team Manager	_	White British	_

At the end of each interview, biographical data were collected on a form given to participants (completed on a voluntary basis). Questions included age, relationship status and caring responsibilities. The form also included questions about technology preferences, work context, salary, and home situation (see Appendices A and B for details of all questions asked).

To position respondents within a class-based framework a simple two-class model was used, with those who earn less than £20,000 per annum, pro rata, considered to have working-class jobs and those earning more than £20,000 considered to have middle-class jobs. Income is therefore used as a proxy for class. For reference, in 2018 the average UK salary was £29,588 (ONS, 2018). Other approaches used in qualitative research to measure social class include,

for example, evaluating a participant's educational background (see for example, Ashley and Empson, 2013). Measuring class objectively has made it possible to understand parallel, objective contextual differences in supervision arrangements amongst participants.

Here, the terms 'working class' and 'middle class' are used as two main descriptive options (see Sayer, 2005). Tilley and Evans (2017) argue that people rarely struggle to put themselves into a particular social class, with fewer than ten per cent of people failing to identify as either WC or MC. Gender is here understood to extend beyond the man-woman binary. It is measured subjectively.

4.3 The method in detail

Ahead of data collection, a pilot was carried out (August to September 2017) during which, the NI approach was refined. Three participants were interviewed (without audio recording) and the main 'open question' was developed. Participants were representative of Group 1 (office workers) in that they were all employed in a context providing regular internet access. During the pilot, a supplementary question set was developed with reference to Spradley's (1979) work on the ethnographic interview. This formed the basis for follow up questions. Other elements of the interview process were also tested, including a form used to collect participants' biographical information. After discussion in the supervisory team, it was decided that these should be given to participants at the end of the interview (for self-completion, to allow greater privacy). Overall, the pilot phase established that the NI method was suitable in the context of the research topic.

4.3.1 Using Narrative Interviews

Conceptually, narrative interviewing is motivated to critique the 'question and answer' format of most interviews (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000) with a "narration schema" providing an alternative to the more traditional question-response approach. Consequently, NIs are

relatively unstructured. Also known as the 'autobiographic interview', NIs aim to be more natural, relaxed, and casual than structured interviews (Sarantakos, 2013). They work by enabling the interviewee to have more control over how the interview process develops. The principles of this method originate in phenomenology and the Chicago School's philosophical branch (Sarantakos, 2013) and the theoretical and methodological framing is attributed to Fritz Schütze (1967). According to Maindok (1996), there are three processual elements to narrative interviewing: the *main story*, the *narrative inquiry,* and the *conclusion*. This method attends to the ways in which the individual participant ('the narrator') structures a narrative to achieve overall narrative meaning. The narrative is seen as a language game that relates closely to experiences of the storyteller" and reflects the informants' thought process (Sarantakos, 2013, p. 290). Sarantakos (2013) sets out a detailed five-stage process to guide the interviewer in using the NI method. After an 'introduction' stage (Stage 1), a 'narrative' stage (Stage 2) follows:

> The interviewee is encouraged through a specific stimulus to talk freely about life experiences. The interviewer here does not interfere, but remains an 'interested listener'; only making remarks that encourage the teller to continue, indicating that the interviewer is listening carefully. This is shown in brief verbal expressions and simple gestures. The interviewee chooses the events (s)he considers most relevant, expands on topics considered relevant and important, stops whenever necessary, presents events in order of importance or as the memory dictates, and is free to decide the order of presentation. (Sarantakos, 2013, p. 290)

With NIs, the main challenge is in explaining (in simple terms) what is expected of participants. The overall process must remain flexible so that if an individual responds better to a more structured approach, this is still an option (through moving to supplementary questions). The initial open question makes it possible to free the interview from the interviewer's agenda.

> The NI allows the interviewee full freedom of expression without limits posed by questions, the interviewer, time or set conditions. Not being 'guided' by the interviewer, the interviewee can express any views, opinions and ideas and can concentrate on any points of the topic at will. (Sarantakos, 2013, p. 290)

At the 'questions' stage, (Stage 3), when the interviewee has completed telling their story, questions can be asked by the interviewer, in response to gaps or ambiguities in the information that has been provided. The next stage is 'explanation' (Stage 4). At this point, direct questions can be asked:

> Here the interviewee is asked, first, to establish more general and abstract views of the situation and its regularities, identifying recurring events, and developing abstractions and systematic interconnections; second, to describe more general aspects of the issue in question, being given the opportunity to demonstrate his/her capacity in assessing this as well as to offer a more abstract explanation of the situation; third, to explain motives and intentions; and finally, to discuss with the interviewer the meaning of the story. (Sarantakos, 2013, p. 291)

The current research assumes a realist (as opposed to a constructivist) understanding of the construction of narrative in biographies:

> We bring to the present the objective results of our previous commitments. The "deposited" features are real and impose serious limitations upon narrative freedom because any re-telling of the past has to account for them. (Archer, 2003, p. 16, cited in Svašek and Domecka, 2014)

Whereas in a constructivist approach, biographical narration is treated as pure construction: "it is assumed that biographical accounts can be freely made up and changed depending on the ongoing situations of presentation" (Svašek and Domecka, 2014, p. 110), realism presupposes "depth" beyond narrative. Moreover, from a CR perspective, the potential benefits of NIs are significant. In particular, the initial narrative (delivered through the 'open'

question) provides access to the immediate projects of the respondent, and the information is therefore considered more salient.

Theoretically, NIs operate from the position that experiences and narratives are identical:

> This means that stories about the personal life of the interviewee truthfully reflect life experiences which contain information about basic structures and mechanisms of social life that are pertinent to other people. Following this, the NI is thought to have the capacity to focus not only on life stories of the interviewee but also on stories about collective experiences with social structures and processes, historical events, community experiences and reactions and other community responses to social events of the time. (Sarantakos, 2013, p. 354)

Within an intensive research approach, narrative can uniquely inform a CR explanation:

> Narrative is particularly apt, in fact, for showing the combined effect of structure, culture and agency. On the one hand, the effects of structure and culture show up mainly in the thoughts and actions of individuals. But because those socially structured thoughts and actions remain creative, they do not necessarily follow regular patterns. Given what is perhaps a unique conjuncture of structural and cultural mechanisms, the ensuing thought and behavior may well itself be unique. (Porpora, 2015, p. 210)

The NI approach is therefore highly compatible with a CR conception of the social world, for example, it is a means to access the 'lay normativity' of participants (Sayer, 2011).

4.3.2 *Semi-structured interviews using descriptive questions*

The ethnographic interview approach (Spradley, 1979) has informed interviews with both groups (office workers and managers). For interviews with managers this constituted the main approach (whereas for the office worker group this was a supplementary approach). Ethnographic interviews are co-defined by both interviewer and informant. They are

distinguished by an absence of 'what do you mean' type questions (Spradley, 1979). Two complementary processes are active in ethnographic interviewing: how to develop rapport and how to elicit information (Spradley, 1979). To begin with, the emphasis is less on the interview content, and more on ensuring that the informant is doing most of the talking. Informants' apprehension can be addressed by showing interest and responding in a non-judgmental manner (Spradley, 1979). Thus, an atmosphere of trust is established. If building rapport is a challenge, Spradley's (1979) principles provide the interviewer with a range of resources to establish meaningful dialogue.

Descriptive questions provide the basis for all ethnographic interviewing. They are used to initiate and then maintain a conversation (Spradley, 1979). Questions can be phrased in either personal or cultural terms. Spradley (1979) gives two examples to distinguish these. In the first, a question is phrased *personally*: "Can you describe a typical evening you would have at Brady's Bar?" In the second, a question is phrased *culturally*: "Can you describe a typical evening for most cocktail waitresses at Brady's Bar?" Whereas in most interview formats, questions and answers are distinct, in ethnographic interviewing it is assumed that question and answer are a single element:

> Questions always imply answers. Statements of any kind always imply questions. This is true even when the questions and answers remain unstated. In ethnographic interviewing, both *questions and answers must be discovered from informants*. (Spradley, 1974, p. 84)

With descriptive questions, a key principle is that the longer the question, the longer the response is likely to be (Spradley, 1979). Spradley (1979) describes five main types of descriptive questions, as well as a number of subtypes for example, in the case of 'grand tour' type questions, an informant might be asked the following: "Tell me what you did yesterday, from the time you got to work until you left?" (Spradley, 1974, p. 87). In comparison to 'grand tour' questions, 'mini-tour' questions make it possible to investigate a more discrete

unit of experience. An example of this would be: "Could you tell me how you take phone calls in your work as a secretary?" (Spradley, 1974, p. 88).

Here, Spradley's (1979) supplementary 'example' and 'experience' question types have provided a basis for the design of interview questions. This approach informs the following supplementary question: "Could you describe what you do when you take an e-break at work?" Spradley (1979) recommends saving 'experience' questions (useful for eliciting atypical, rather that routine events) until after several 'grand tour' and 'mini-tour' questions. Furthermore, the author suggests making repeated explanations about the purpose of the interview, as it may be insufficient to introduce the research topic and the nature of the process, only at the outset. Restating may also be helpful. In eh context of ethnographic interviewing, restatement involves using exactly the terms used by the informant and is not to be confused with reinterpreting what someone has said (Spradley, 1974).

For an ethnographic interview approach to be relevant in this study, questions were developed to explore, for example, the influence of macrolevel structures (see Appendix B). To investigate the structures of gender and occupational class, in interviews with managers, the following questions were used: "some research has shown that men and women use the internet for different things - is that something you have noticed?" and "some research has suggested that the more senior an employee is, the more time they might spend on PIUW - is that something you have noticed?" Disciplinary structures were explored with this question: "can you think of any examples when an employee's PIUW has brought them to the attention of the organisation, for example, where sanctions have been applied?" The latter question was unpacked with additional questions designed to allow a deeper exploration. The approach of expanding outwards from the original question signals to the informant that more detail is sought (Spradley, 1979).

4.3.3 *Asynchronous email interviews*

Although it was originally intended to use only face-to-face interviews, asynchronous interviews (in this case, over email, SMS, and voice notes on WhatsApp) have also been used. The researcher was already familiar with their use (having used this approach to carry out interviews for an earlier project). In total, seven asynchronous interviews were collected (six with office workers, one with a manager).

With asynchronous email interviews, advantages are broadly as follows. Firstly, some individuals prefer to answer questions remotely. It seems likely that this option feels a more private context in which to share personal information. A second advantage is the positive impact on time management (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). In this study, most interviews have taken place in the participant's own time (outside of work hours). With the asynchronous interview, the participant decides when to reply (questions are sent one at a time to attempt to maintain a conversational rhythm). A third advantage (with SMS, but not voice notes) is the removal of the need to transcribe interviews (Ellis and Richards, 2009). A fourth advantage is that an alternative (to face-to-face) is offered to participants regarding the style of interview. Here, asynchronous interviews provided the means to reach seven participants who would not otherwise have taken part in the study.

Arguably, it is relatively more difficult to carry out an NI interview over email. However, two distinct elements of the NI approach have been adhered to. Firstly, the same 'open' question has been used. Secondly, in keeping with an NI approach, supplementary questions have been used that respond to substantive issues raised by the participant (even when these may not seem relevant to the researcher). In terms of length of transcript and depth of answers, asynchronous interviews were relatively shorter and less deep. However, one interview - with 'Melanie' – is particularly rich despite the asynchronous format. Arguably, participants may feel freer outside of the restrictions of a face-to-face interview.

Comparing different types of interview (NI, semi-structured and asynchronous over email), undoubtedly the NI is relatively harder to manage. However, as with all data collection methods, there are advantages and disadvantages associated with interviews in general and with certain types of interview. These are discussed later in this chapter.

4.4 Evaluation of the research design and method

This study has several limitations relating to recruitment and sampling. One limitation is the relative imbalance within categories. A second limitation is a relative imbalance between different sectors.

4.4.1 *Advantages and disadvantages of non-probability sampling*

Neither snowball or purposive sampling claim to be representative of any larger population (Thomas, 2017). Non-probability sampling, also known as 'criterion-based selection' (Roulston, 2010), is distinct from probability, or random sampling. The latter is more often associated with surveys which usually aim to collect a large enough sample from which to carry out statistical analysis. However, in small-scale research, non-probability sampling is common (Lewin, 2011). It is sometimes associated with ethnographic studies where it can be used to identify key informants: "individuals who have special detailed knowledge which they are willing to communicate and who can smooth the access to other possible respondents in the social setting" (Hornby and Symon, 1994).

Snowball sampling is preferable to convenience sampling (a common problem in research studies is a reliance on convenient populations). Research that relies on students, teaching or non-teaching staff is a recognised problem, leading to samples that cannot represent a larger population demographically (Dén-Nagy, 2014).

Ellard-Gray et al. (2015) describe some of the challenges relating to sampling when researching populations that are vulnerable, hidden or hard-to-reach (Ellard-Gray *et al.*,

2015). Firstly, the inability to generalize across participants in a non-probability sample is a problem connected to a small sample size (Hornby and Symon, 1994). Secondly, a snowball approach could inadvertently produce a demographically homogenous sample for example, where corporate approval has not been sought, snowball sampling can make it possible (and even likely) to interview more than one individual in the same organisation. However, in the current study, biographical data was collected (for age, ethnicity, class, and occupation) making it possible to evaluate the relative diversity of the sample. Using snowball sampling can impact participant confidentiality, for example when an individual participant is referred by another participant, both participants know that the other has taken part in the research (Ellard-Gray *et al.*, 2015).

Time, costs, and issues of access are common reasons why it is hard to obtain a sample that is representative (ibid.). Achieving a representative sample may be especially challenging in the context of a PhD project with its inherent resource restrictions. Notwithstanding these limitations, care has been taken in designing the current sampling strategy to ensure the collection of high-quality interview data that is relevant to the research topic. With hindsight, using non-probability sampling to recruit participants for this study has been far from straightforward. Arguably, a covert ethnography might have presented a preferable alternative (notwithstanding likely obstacles to gaining ethical approval).

4.4.2 *Advantages and disadvantages of using interviews*

Where the subject of study is considered sensitive, interviews are suitable because the interview process makes it possible to gain participants' trust (Lee, 2005; Myers and Newman, 2007). This is particularly important when attempting to overcome "the cultural scripts that make empty labor a shameful experience that must be defended" (Paulsen, 2014, p. 181). Because there is no standard procedure or format for interviews (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009), the flexible nature of interviewing may be considered a further advantage.

With this method, socially produced knowledge is actively created in the relationship between interviewer and interviewee "in a conversational relation; it is contextual, linguistic, narrative and pragmatic" (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, pp. 17-18).

By removing some of the typical structures of the question-response schema (such as the use of an ordered schedule of questions), with NI the informant's perspective is prioritised while the interviewer influence is minimised (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000). It is argued that high quality of findings are associated with the NI approach (Sarantakos, 2013). Furthermore, for some participants the NI interview process has greater meaning and value. Lupu et al. (2017) used a NI protocol to study professional parents' work-family balance decisions:

> The interviews were for many people privileged instances when they could take the time and piece together the puzzle of their lives and think about important influences. Although some may have remained reticent (especially in the first interview), the research team was often surprised by the raw nature of people's disclosures (e.g., planning to divorce, drinking problems). A number of participants referred to the process as 'cathartic' and many expressed gratitude for the reflection space that the interview process allowed. Many individuals recognized that they do not have the time, given their busy lives, to reflect with such depth on these issues. (Lupu et al., 2017, pp. 15-16).

Svašek and Domecka (2014) make a similar point about NI, which they view as advantageous in generating "a useful reflective space for interviewees" (p. 107). For these authors, a process of deep reflection is more often associated with NIs than with structured and semi-structured interviews. The frequency of questions in semi-structured techniques may hamper the interview subject's capability for deep reflection (Svašek and Domecka, 2014). This is borne out by the positive experience of the NI format in the current project. In one interview, Claudia (pseudonym) spoke for six minutes without pause. Then after gathering her thoughts during a short silence, continued to elaborate on her original answer for a further minute and a

half. It would have clearly been a mistake to interrupt the pause with a supplementary question.

However, it is important to be aware of the potential limitations of interviews as a method. Myers and Newman (2007) highlight a range of potential difficulties inherent in interviews including the artificial nature of the situation and the fact that researcher and interviewee are usually strangers to each other. Added to this are the often intrusive and time pressured aspect of the interview, which "potentially interferes with peoples' behaviour" (2007, p. 3). A further limitation is the self-report aspect of interviewing. Compared to a more structured interview, the NI is relatively more difficult to manage because it requires a higher level of engagement and focus (on the part of the interviewer). One disadvantage of virtual interviews is the negative impact on rapport and spontaneity (Ellis and Richards, 2009).

Power relationships within the interview, are a further potential limitation associated with interviews (Lee, 1993). This can arise as an issue when the researcher is perceived to have a higher status then the research participant. With regards to the study of non-work at work, a specific concern relates to the accuracy of reporting, for example, of duration of own non-work activity (Paulsen, 2015), associated with feelings of guilt or shame when discussing PIUW (Stratton, 2010; Paulsen, 2015). Paulsen (2015) identifies power asymmetry in the interview as a constant potential source of distortion and also acknowledges 'framing' as a concern. As Grbich (2004) has suggested:

> The very act of choosing a research question and selecting participants, documents or events, places a frame around them and lifts them out. This separation may disturb, distort or decontextualise the area of focus and this needs careful management and awareness. (Grbich, 2004, pp. 80-81)

In addition to the above objections, it is necessary to recognise the issue of interviewer effects. Regarding sensitive topics, two kinds are viewed as important:

First of all, it has long been suspected that the social characteristics of the interviewers themselves might have a biasing effect on results. A second source of bias has been sought in the expectations interviewers have about the interview itself. (Lee, 1993, p. 99)

Focusing on a set of criticisms described by Potter and Hepburn (2005), Hammersley (2013) summarises the 'radical critique' of interviews that rejects interview data. Difficulties identified relate to a range of issues that include limits to transcription and limits to the availability of background information regarding the interview set up. Potter and Hepburn (2005) argue that the validity of interview data is negatively impacted both by a lack of detail about interactional aspects during interview, and also by a lack of information regarding the conditions surrounding participation.

Notwithstanding concerns in the literature over the artificiality of the interview environment, issues of intrusion, time-pressure, power asymmetry, the validity of self-reported information and 'framing', in this study, interviewing has proved to be a flexible method that has been used to obtain multiple perspectives. Furthermore, interview data is of a high quality and information has been generated that is relevant to the research topic (Roulston, 2010).

4.4.3 *Other methodological issues and problems*

The sector imbalance in the sample is relevant for several reasons. Firstly, public sector employment is generally associated with better terms and conditions (compared to private sector employment) particularly in lower status jobs. Public sector jobs are historically associated with better conditions than private sector jobs. Process around sanctions also tends to be fairer in the public sector (where, for example, workers are more likely to be members of a trades union). The importance of sector is discussed extensively in the data analysis chapters where it is considered as one condition among many that can influence individuals' experience of PIUW.

The number of interview participants necessary for a qualitative study to be considered credible and methodologically valid differs between scholarly communities (Baker and Edwards, 2012). In a review of top and second tier organisation and workplace studies journals – across such titles as *Journal of Management Studies*, *Industrial Relations*, *Human Resource Management* and *Human Relations* - Saunders and Townsend (2016) found studies to have a median of 32.5 participants (within a norm of 15-60 participants). As the current PhD study is comparative, a minimum number of interviews is needed to execute comparisons. However, the data that has been collected from 44 participants is considered adequate for the following reasons. Firstly, in terms of coverage and quality of data within responses (Alvesson and Ashcraft, 2012), the number of interviews gathered is sufficient. Secondly, in terms of depth and saliency of data (Curtis *et al.*, 2000), this has been achieved within the dataset collected. Thirdly, new insights have been enabled (Patton, 2015) which are evident in the study's findings and contributions. However, there is some unevenness across different categories in the current sample and building a balanced stratified sample has been an ongoing challenge (with the recruitment of men in WC jobs, the most challenging). Strategies to address these issues have been relatively successful with four additional approaches tried. These are described below, with the most successful first.

4.4.2 *Strategies to address slow participant recruitment*

To begin with, it took twelve months to complete 20 interviews. However, it was felt that this data was insufficient to facilitate a comparative analysis across different categories (male, female, manager, non-manager, WC jobs, MC jobs). At this point, a decision was made to continue with recruiting participants for a further 12 months.

Whereas the first 15 interviews took place in near proximity to the city where the researcher is based, in the subsequent 15 interviews, five participants were from Glasgow, Edinburgh or London. In some cases, participants in other cities were previously known to the researcher

and in other cases they were not. So far, seven additional participants have been added by recruiting participants from further afield (accounting for 17% of the current total). Travelling to other cities has clear resource implications. Offering asynchronous interviews over email began after interview number 22.

Identifying individual managers/HR Managers to approach was harder than anticipated, this despite the amount of contact information available (online). Cold emails were sent to 25 individuals whose contact details were found online, for example where contact details were listed on job adverts or on company web pages. This approach led to two positive responses that resulted in interviews.

In the four approaches described above, extending the data collection timeframe has had the greatest impact (more than doubling the number of interviews available). Next most effective was travelling to other UK locations which led to seven additional interviews. While asynchronous interviews and cold-emailing managers did not produce many additional participants (five and two respectively), taken together, these four approaches have made a substantial difference to the volume of data collected.

4.4.3 *Ethics*

The research was conducted according to ESRC and University ethics guidelines. During the Ethics Application for the current research, two issues were highlighted as having potential to impact on participants. Firstly, PIUW is an issue that can be associated with sanction. Many workers have been sacked as a result (Cooper, 2013; Siddique, 2018; Trovato, 2018). Secondly, previous research studies have shown that individuals may access pornography during PIUW. Therefore, risks were identified that could impact both participants and the researcher. The potential for risk of harm means that participants are vulnerable (Ellard-Gray *et al.*, 2015) and it is the researcher's responsibility to mitigate the risks, as identified.

As a result of the issues identified, this PhD project was subject to an extended ethical review process, overseen by a professor from Newcastle University School of Modern Languages. To satisfy University ethical approval, the following aspects have been addressed in respect of the current PhD research project:

- All participants were given a printed Participant Information sheet that describes the level of confidentiality of findings and emphasises the voluntary nature of participation

- Written consent was obtained from all participants

- A debriefing sheet was provided to all participants

In this study the researcher was completely honest about the research topic with all interviewees. The degree to which the researcher is explicit about the topic of research is a question of ethics (Lee, 1993). If a participant is not made fully aware of the kind of enquiry that they are participating in, the consent, gained at the start of the interview is not fully informed (ibid.).

4.4.4 *Confidentiality and data storage*

Due to the sensitive nature of the research topic, care has been taken to ensure individuals could not be identified inadvertently. Therefore, to ensure full confidentiality, and to avoid the risks that might be associated with a loss of participant anonymity (Ellard-Gray *et al.*, 2015) care has been taken so that no potentially identifying details are included in the transcriptions stored by the researcher. As Lee (1993) has noted:

> Telling another about those aspects of one's self which are in some ways intimate or personally discrediting – confessing in other words – is a difficult business. It becomes less so where privacy and anonymity are guaranteed and when disclosure takes place in a non-censorious atmosphere. (Lee, 1993, p. 97)

Audio recordings of interviews are stored as digital files on a secure server which is password protected. Interviews have been uploaded to university file storage as soon as practically possible. All data is stored on the University H Drive in a separate folder. Individual transcripts are identified with a date and number (rather than any identifying factors). Consent forms are stored securely.

4.5 Chapter summary

This study combines CR and mid-level social theories. The resulting critical interpretive paradigm uses narrative research to reveal subjective experience through a four-part data generation method. To access the process and conditions underlying a multi-layered and complex social reality interviews have been carried out with a theory-driven approach (Smith and Elger, 2014). The NI method described, leads to more compelling outcomes through re-telling narratives that are considered to be real (Archer, 2003).

The subject of this PhD study has implied challenges relating to the recruitment of participants. Furthermore, the sensitive nature of the subject ruled out certain avenues for qualitative data collection, for example, case study, ethnography, and participant observation were excluded. The ambition of comparative analysis was initially hampered by the challenges of recruiting a sufficiently large sample. To address these challenges, several strategies have been applied using a 'trial and error' approach with some more successful than others.

Using a thematic analysis, within a comparative framework, it has been possible to build connections between experiences and the context in which they reside. Connections have been made via a stratified sample of respondents that examines how work-life navigation, labour market power and attitudes to technologies, impact on individual PIUW. A comparison of professional and non-professional groups facilitates access to differences associated with occupational class. A comparison of male and female respondents facilitates access to

differences associated with gender. Gendered differences are comparable across professional and non-professional groups. Combined, this dataset facilitates an embedded appreciation of the social construction and impact of organisational policy and practice, and the way in which employee behaviour and managerial action are related. Findings (discussed in Chapter 9) are considered through a standpoint epistemology.

In the following chapter, the CR method of CE as a mode of inference is introduced along with an overview of the key themes developed in this study. Together these two elements are combined into a novel analytic model, also described in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5. A novel method for intersectional analysis

In the causal history of an event, it is necessary to determine from a vast number of causes, those that are explanatorily relevant (Tsang and Ellsaesser, 2011). Initial analysis in this study pointed towards gender and class as important structures in relation to DDL. In fact, the evidence for gender and class-based forces affecting the management of tasks across the work-life boundary appeared to be overwhelming. Therefore, to explore these and other salient causes, an iterative inductive-abductive analytic process has been adopted.

While many realist researchers have called for a greater emphasis on the development of practical methods that are commensurable with CR research, few have described such methods (for notable exceptions, see: Fletcher, 2017; Lennox and Jurdi-Hage, 2017). Addressing this gap, here, a novel analytical method is presented that is uniquely suited to realist intersectional analysis. This method relies on theoretically constructed positions [hereafter TCPs]. The method (see Table 5.1, below) begins with a thematic analysis of data, followed by the pairing of interview data within vignettes to facilitate CE. Thereafter, thematic pairings make it possible to develop 32 TCPs. When applied to data, we see how this novel approach enables analysis that is theoretically grounded.

5.1 Data analysis, first phase

An early task was to transcribe and analyse the first ten interviews. Preliminary codes were developed that related to individual research questions and theoretical concerns generally. Then, initial data was appraised during two supervisory team meetings, and it was agreed that the data collection instrument was satisfactory. Thereafter, a further ten interviews were transcribed and analysed. In this way, interesting features of the data were evaluated in a systematic manner and checked against the research questions.

Table 5.1 A novel method for intersectional analysis (process)			
Phase	PhD data analysis activity	Informed by	Empirical examples
1.	- Realist thematic analysis of first 10 interviews. - Initial 40 codes generated and developed into thematics	Maxwell (2012)	Fletcher (2017)
2.	- Full set of 150 codes generated - Full set of thematics are described - Realist Contrastive Explanation - Using pair vignettes	Lawson (2003) Tsang and Ellsaesser (2011)	Hurrell (2009) Martinez Dy et al. (2018)
3.	- Pairing of themes - Development of theoretically constructed positions	Lawson (1999)	Monroe (2022)
4.	- Identification of four categories of evaluation - Application to empirical data	Monroe (2022)	Monroe (2022)

5.1.1 *The search for repeated patterns of meaning in a realist enquiry*

In the data analysis described here, themes were arrived at following Braun and Clarke (2013) where "a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the dataset" (Braun and Clarke, 2008, p. 82). Thematic analysis is suited to many types of data and can be used to generate significant findings (Riessman, 2008). While acknowledging that individual meaning making can be fallible, thematic analysis allows an assessment of the way individuals give meaning to experience (Maxwell, 2012). As well as offering a standard approach to understanding a qualitative dataset in the first instance, it is compatible with CR (Braun and Clarke, 2006) and supports the realist objective "to explain social 'regularities', 'rates', 'associations', 'outcomes', 'patterns'" (Pawson and Tilley, 1997, p. 71).

Fleetwood (2005) captures the arbitrary quality of the analytical starting point:

> … action is a continuous, cyclical, flow over time: there are no empty spaces where nothing
>
> happens, and things do not just begin and end. The starting point for an analysis of any
>
> cyclical phenomenon is always arbitrary: we have to break into the cycle at some point and
>
> impose an analytical starting point. (Fleetwood, 2005, p. 203)

Using a CR framework, it is possible to identify enduring relationships "that reproduce patterns of social interaction and the associated social practices that link and mediate between different cycles of institutional elaboration, reproduction, and transformation" (Reed, 2009, p. 438). Moreover, to achieve a more complete causal history of interacting mechanisms at different strata, i.e., an account representing *thick causality* (Fleetwood, 2014, p. 209). In this way, connections are revealed between structures that originate in the organisational context and, for example, the agential responses that reproduce and transform these.

Throughout this chapter, thematic categories derived from data coding are presented in several tables. In Table 5.2, the main themes of Absent and Actual distinguish categories where PIUW is either absent or present.

Table 5.2 Themes: Absent and Actual	
Theme	Description
Absent	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk (for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response).
Actual	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy).

Although it is relatively more difficult to identify Absent PIUW, it is as much a focus of interest as Present PIUW. This is because it is important to have the means to distinguish amongst the reasons for an absence where such reasons reveal gendered and classed differences.

5.2 Data analysis, second phase

Whereas, in the first phase of analysis, the focus was on developing codes, in the second phase, a more fine-grained analysis was achieved through expanding an initial 40-code frame to 150 codes. There followed a complete immersion in the data. Interviews were read and re-read and thematics were developed further. Codes were collated under themes, within which all data was ultimately aggregated.

5.2.1 *Themes connecting labour process and PIUW*

In this study, to build a nuanced explanation, other significant factors are identified through thematic analysis. These include, for example, spatial and temporal conditions (see Table 5.2). Here, labour process intensity is among the reasons for some absences of PIUW. In Tables 5.3 and 5.4, themes describe some of the labour process factors that have been found to account for a variance in outcomes. With labour process as a broad lens, this approach has made it possible to explore the relevance, for example, of an intensive work routine to relative access to PIUW.

Table 5.3 Main theme: Temporal	
Sub theme	Description
Intensity (constraining)	PIUW is constrained. Although workers have access to internet, PIUW may be limited by organisational conditions, for example, labour process intensity.
Temporal (enabling)	PIUW is enabled. It is either unlimited or not limited. Organisational conditions (such as style of work) confer temporal flexibility, for example, through Flexitime.
Slack (enabling)	Individuals whose labour process is temporally variable (rhythm of intensity differs at different times of the month or year) have times when they are less busy. At such times, PIUW may be more prevalent.

Throughout this chapter, tables contain sets of related themes, for example, three temporal sub-themes have been described. Grouping themes together in this manner, makes it easier to distinguish amongst them, deciding which are the most salient.

Table 5.4 Main theme: Spatial	
Sub theme	Description
Space (constraining)	PIUW is constrained. Although workers have access to internet, PIUW may be limited by organisational conditions, for example, a lack of privacy.
Agile (enabling)	PIUW is enabled. It is either unlimited or not limited. Organisational conditions (such as style of work) confer spatial flexibility, for example, through agile working (e.g., hot-desking) or travel to meetings.

5.2.2 *The significance of attitudes and expectations*

The following themes describe the conditions of possibility related to expectations and attitudes. In Table 5.5 themes describe the agency factors that comprise conditions of possibility that have been identified through analysis.

Table 5.5 Main theme: Attitudes towards PIUW	
Sub theme	Description
Overt	Individuals do not hide PIUW so, for example, domestic tasks can be managed openly in worktime.
Covert	Individuals hide PIUW. The reasons for this may be related to labour process (as in the case of public-facing customer service work) or because rules exist around smartphone use. Other reasons are, for example, impression-management.
Visible	Most forms of PIUW are acceptable. PIUW is visible to managers but does not attract sanction (for example, in a workplace culture where PIUW is considered unproblematic).
Invisible	PIUW escapes organisational surveillance. Labour process factors may mitigate risks, for example when workers are required to use their own phones at work. A significant factor is individual technology literacy.
Boundary	PIUW is enabled. It is either unlimited or not limited. Organisational conditions (for example style of work) confer spatial flexibility, for example, through agile working (e.g., hot-desking) or travel to meetings.

There is a subtle distinction between PIUW that is Covert (where the reason underlying its hiddenness is agential) and PIUW that is Invisible (where invisibility is due either to labour process or other organisational factors. In the latter case, whether PIUW is Overt or Covert, PIUW is unseen by the organisation.

5.2.3 *Technology literacy and gender*

One of the most surprising findings in this study is the magnitude of the relationship between relative technology literacy and gender. Data shows that those who understand internet technologies are better able to avoid employer surveillance (see Table 5.6). This is not a surprising finding in itself. However, all of the occupants of the Actual-High TCP (in this study) are men who work in tech or IT jobs. Necessarily, these are MC jobs meaning that the finding is clearly intersectional. Owing to gender segregation in UK and IT careers where only one in six specialists is female (Peacock and Irons, 2017; TechNation, 2017; Kenny and Donnelly, 2019; Krchová and Höesová, 2021) men are significantly more likely to work in tech and IT jobs. As far as the current dataset is concerned, women were more likely to occupy the Actual-Low or Absent-Low positions meaning that they miss out on the protection from risk associated with higher levels of technology literacy. Therefore, this section of analysis, has made it possible to locate gendered findings. Specifically, these relate to the importance of technology literacy for determining how individuals behave in relation to PIUW (and DDL).

Table 5.6 Main theme: Technology literacy	
Sub theme	Description
Low (constraining)	PIUW is constrained through a lack of knowledge of technologies that can protect against employer surveillance such as virtual private network (VPN).
High (enabling)	PIUW is enabled through an appreciation of how internet infrastructure works. Individuals with higher level IT skills have a considerable advantage associated with insights into the employers' surveillance capability.

In this study, thematics are influenced by prior and emergent theory whilst maintaining a clear focus on the purpose of the investigation so that outcomes (such as tensions that can be discerned within and between thematics) are understood as causal processes. Moreover, thematic analysis forms the basis of a method which is used to interrogate significant themes in a way that is commensurable with the commitments of CR. Lawson's (2003) CE is the basis for the analytic method adopted here. This is introduced next.

5.2.4 *Contrastive Explanation as an analytical strategy*

CE is a model of social explanation where contrastive observations form the basis from which to initiate an analysis. Although structured comparisons facilitate depth analysis, CE does not aim to explain the complete causal conditions of any social phenomenon even if this were possible (Lawson, 2020 [1999]). CE is therefore distinctly a theory whose core argument "is that we do not explain an entire phenomenon but only aspects of it" (Tsang and Ellsaesser, 2011, p. 404). Explanation is achieved through the identification of "single sets of causal mechanisms and structures" (Lawson, 2020 [1999], p. 27).

In CE, examples (special cases) are chosen for comparison that share a common 'contrast space', a domain across which it is meaningful to draw comparisons (Lawson, 2003). In this study the contrast space is *office workers' PIUW*. Lawson describes the nature of the contrast space as follows:

> Let me refer to any region (of time, or space or culture, etc.) in which we expect outcomes to be roughly the same (because we believe them to share the same or a similar causal history) as a contrast space. The point of applying the approach I am describing is that if outcomes in such a contrast space are expected to be the same, but one (or a small subset) is found, in fact, to diverge from the others, there is a *prima facie* case for supposing that a single (set of) factor(s) is responsible. In this scenario we are effectively standardising for all the factors in

operation throughout the contrast space except the one that makes the difference. (Lawson, 2009, p. 408)

CE is not a new method. Yet, few empirical studies have demonstrated a realist-oriented application of CE (cf. Hurrell, 2009, Martinez Dy et al., 2018). Hurrell studied soft skills deficits in Scotland. Three organisational cases (the contrast spaces) were compared for the presence or absence of "soft skills" to explain their nature and causes (Hurrell, 2014, p. 245). Thereafter, comparisons uncovered generative mechanisms that could be causally linked to the reporting of particular soft skills deficits (Hurrell, 2014). A study by Martinez Dy et al. (2018) with its CR intersectional feminist CE informs this PhD research. With cases selected from 26 depth interviews with women digital entrepreneurs, Martinez Dy et al. (2018) followed a process of retroduction combining thematic, intersectional, and contrastive analytical techniques. Using paired comparative cases, the authors extend the sociological literature on relationships between class background, experience of education, employment, and digital skills development (Martinez Dy;Martin and Marlow, 2018). The authors distinguish their stance on positionality:

> Following Anthias (2013: 129), we assume first that the effect of a position in a certain hierarchy may be stronger and more manifest than another at a particular point in time, and second, that positions in different hierarchies may potentially be mutually reinforcing, or dialogical and contradictory, resulting in nuanced complexes of privilege and oppression. (Martinez Dy et al., 2018, p. 592)

CE is distinguished by the use of a 'dialectical procedure' (Lawson, 2009). Rather than using deduction or induction, causes of empirical phenomena are established through *a posteriori* explanation (Hurrell, 2014). With CE, retroductive inference proceeds as it would otherwise and the hypothesis that is most empirically adequate, is accepted (Lawson, 2003). In this study of PIUW, use of CE has supported the move from an analysis of data patterns to a

retroductive explanation of causes. Similarities and differences are revealed that might otherwise be overlooked.

The goal of CE is to explain a particular contrast '*x* rather than *y*', as opposed to a particular outcome *x* (Lawson, 2009). Where two situations have similar causal histories except for an interesting event occurring in one but not the other, we can produce a contrast based on the two situations. For Tsang and Ellsaesser (2011), the basis for this is John Stuart Mill's (1904) method of difference.

> The contrastive approach to explanation makes sense of scientific experiments as means to acquire causal knowledge. When we use the method of experimental inquiry to look for explanations, we basically work in a contrastive setting that consists of an experimental group and a control group (Ylikoski, 2007). We manipulate a certain factor in the experimental group and compare the results of both groups. If a difference in result occurs, it can be attributed to the manipulation. This logic originates from Mill's (1904) method of difference. According to Mill, one of the most powerful ways to infer causes from effects is to examine contrasting instances, where the effect occurs in one but not in the other. A cause should lie in the difference between a case where the effect occurs and an otherwise similar case where it does not. In other words, the difference in effect points back to a difference that locates the cause. (Tsang and Ellsaesser, 2011, p. 405)

Tsang and Ellsaesser (2011) have developed Lawson's (1997) earlier work theoretically. They describe the role of contrastive analysis in the project of developing deeper theories:

> Explanatory depth is related to the contrasts a theory tackles, because these contrasts determine what causal mechanisms are relevant. Since a theory may include only some of the causes that can be used to explain a contrast, understanding the contrast helps identify additional factors to deepen the explanation. (Tsang and Ellsaesser, 2011, p. 410)

5.2.5 *Using comparison to evaluate interview data*

To explore emerging themes of interest, the use of vignettes was adopted. Here, vignettes comprise paired data from interviews where individuals occupy adjacent intersectional positions meaning there is one aspect of difference. In this PhD study, the aim of each comparison is to identify "a conjuncture of mechanisms" that influence individual behaviour (Porpora, 2015, p. 216). Vignette comparisons are further substantiated with reference to interviews with managers providing perspectives that demonstrate how managerial discourse affects outcomes for individual workers. With gender and class as differences, there are four possible kinds of comparison (see Table 5.6, below). Although, it would be possible to compare a WC woman with a MC man, these positions are too far removed, meaning that it would be unclear whether causes originated in gender or class.

Table 5.7 Four possible comparisons	
Nature of comparison	Actual comparison
Class is the basis for comparison	1. A WC woman is compared with a MC woman
	2. A WC man is compared with a MC man
Gender is the basis for comparison	3. A WC woman is compared with a WC man
	4. A MC woman is compared with a MC man

In each case, two participants are selected whose situations are similar but their experience of PIUW is different. Each participant is introduced (with background information) and excerpts from interviews are used to exemplify sets of TCPs. These are described later in this chapter (see Tables 5.7, 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10). During early data collection and prior to adopting CE as a comprehensive analytic approach, it became clear that asking individuals about their PIUW generally opened up discussions about non-work interests. Examples included politics, sports, dancing, walking, photography, creative writing, reading, music, travel, cooking, gardening, and pub quizzing. Engagement with leisure interests ranged from passive (viewing travel information) to active (administering a community sports group). Observations such as these,

which identified differences in the scale and scope of individuals' PIUW have helped to inform the contrastive questions developed in this study.

Similarly, early observations about participants' domestic circumstances also informed the subsequent enquiry, for example, several participants in this study spend as much or more time caring for children or other family members as they spend on paid work. For members of this group - which includes Walter caring for a parent with dementia and Shelley caring for a grandchild – work-life management were relatively greater as compared to other participants. Therefore, a focus on the significance of DDL in relation to work-life challenge led to the following contrastive questions being developed: *Why does PIUW occur in certain contexts differently?* And: *Why are those in WC jobs more constrained in relation to PIUW than those in MC jobs?* Once contrastive questions had been generated, research followed in order to infer causes that could explain the contrasts (Tsang and Ellsaesser, 2011).

Lawson sets out the value of contrastive questions in the context of contrastive explanation:

> CE is concerned not with questions such as 'why is the average crop yield x?' but with 'why is the average crop yield in that end of this field significantly higher than that achieved elsewhere?' Explaining the latter contrast is much less demanding than explaining the total yield. While accounting for the total yield requires an exhaustive list of all the causal factors bearing upon it, the contrastive question requires only that we identify the causes responsible for the difference. (Lawson, 2020 [1999], p. 26)

Tsang and Ellsaesser (2011) have developed the use of contrastive questions. Fundamental to the contrastive approach to explanation "is that explanation-seeking questions have an explicit or implicit contrastive form" (Tsang and Ellsaesser, 2011, p. 405). Explanation-seeking questions are therefore framed with great care. In the theory of CE, answers address the contrastive question "Why *P* rather than Q?" (ibid.). The authors suggest that contrastive questions have two crucial elements. These are "allomorph" and "fact and foil":

The canonical form of a contrastive question is "Why *P* rather than Q?" where P is the fact to

be explained and Q is the foil, an alternative to *P*. Q can be either a single alternative or a set

of alternatives. (Tsang and Ellsaesser, 2011, p. 406)

Although similar, the "remaining differences" between fact and foil "serves as a starting point

for discussing the interpretation" (ibid.) within the range of possible interpretations. It is then

possible to judge "which sorts of events may represent alternative culminations of the same

process" (Tsang and Ellsaesser, 2011, p. 413).

5.3 Data analysis, third phase

The final stage of this novel analytical method relies on TCPs derived from thematic analysis.

In the table below, positions are organised according to whether they substantively relate to

structure, culture, or agency. This model is a practical means to explore data with reference to

Lawson's (2012) theory of social positioning.

Table 5.8 Matrix of all theoretically constructed positions (TCPs)							
Structural TCP			Cultural TCP		Agential TCP		
[1] Absent-Intensity	[6] Absent-Temporal	[11] Actual-Risk	[12] Actual-Trust	[17] Actual-Normative	[19] Actual-Overt	[24] Actual-Invisible	[29] Actual-Low
[2] Actual-Intensity	[7] Actual-Temporal		[13] Actual-Mistrust	[18] Absent-Discipline	[20] Actual-Covert	[25] Actual-Cautious	[30] Actual-High
[3] Absent-Space	[8] Actual-Slack		[14] Absent-Mistrust		[21] Actual-Attitude	[26] Absent-Cautious	[31] Absent-High
[4] Actual-Space	[9] Absent-Surveillance		[15] Absent-Sanction		[22] Absent-Attitude	[27] Actual-Carefree	[32] Absent-Low
[5] Actual-Agile	[10] Actual-Surveillance		[16] Actual-Sanction		[23] Actual-Visible	[28] Absent-Boundary	

To date, 32 TCPs are described, all of which are prefixed 'Absent' or 'Actual'. Positionality is established through paired comparisons. Participants might occupy any number of TCPs. However, in the vignettes, analysis is tightly focused by concentrating on examples where up to six TCPs are discussed at any one time. In this way, examples clearly demonstrate how occupation of sets of TCPs (micro-positionality) lead to the findings described elsewhere in this thesis.

The conditions of possibility that have been established are empirically substantiated in this analytical framework. Within this, variations make it possible to identify classed and gendered causes. Use of TCPs underpins an explanation of why PIUW is only actualised under certain conditions. Throughout the analysis, variance in PIUW is explored in relation to reasons for differential positionality.

Below, three tables contain descriptions for all the TCPs that have been developed so far.

Table 5.9 Descriptions of theoretically constructed positions (Structural)		
Position		Position description
1.	Absent-Intensity	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response. PIUW is constrained. Although workers have access to internet, PIUW may be limited by organisational conditions, for example, labour process intensity.
2.	Actual-Intensity	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). PIUW is constrained. Although workers have access to internet, PIUW may be limited by organisational conditions, for example, labour process intensity.
3.	Absent-Space	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk (for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response). Organisational conditions (such as style of work) confer varying levels of spatial flexibility, for example, through agile working (e.g., hot-desking) or travel to meetings.
4.	Actual-Space	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). Organisational conditions (such as style of work) confer varying levels of spatial flexibility, for example, through agile working (e.g., hot-desking) or travel to meetings.
5.	Actual-Agile	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy).

		PIUW is constrained. Although workers have access to internet, PIUW may be limited by organisational conditions, for example, a lack of privacy.
6.	Absent-Temporal	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk (for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response).
		PIUW is enabled. It is either unlimited or not limited. Organisational conditions (such as style of work) confer temporal flexibility, for example, through Flexitime.
7.	Actual-Temporal	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy).
		PIUW is enabled. It is either unlimited or not limited. Organisational conditions (such as style of work) confer temporal flexibility, for example, through Flexitime.
8.	Actual-Slack	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy).
		Individuals whose labour process is temporally variable (rhythm of intensity differs at different times of the month or year) have times when they are less busy. At such times, PIUW may be more prevalent.
9.	Absent-Surveillance	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk (for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response).
		Workers are acutely aware of PIUW being monitored. Individuals may have direct or indirect experience of warnings or sanctions.
10.	Actual-Surveillance	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy).
		Workers are acutely aware of PIUW being monitored. Individuals may have direct or indirect experience of warnings or sanctions.
11.	Actual-Risk	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy).
		Managerial discourse in relation to PIUW is shaped by business concerns. Managers higher level technology literacy informs their understanding of organisation-side impacts of technology which in turn informs managerial practice.

Several TCPs (Actual-Normative, Absent-Discipline and Actual-Risk) are derived from
manager interview data. These micro-positionalities illustrate how, for example, managers'
attitude towards PIUW has been informed by their involvement in disciplinary process. By
including managerial positionality, we can better understand workers' positionality. For
example, the Absent-Surveillance TCP is the mirror position of Absent-Discipline.

Table 5.10 Descriptions of theoretically constructed positions (Cultural)		
Position		Position description
12.	Actual-Trust	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy).

		PIUW is enabled through the lack of an organisational rule about smartphone use. Relationships with managers are more often characterised by trust with the result that organisational power is diminished.
13.	Actual-Mistrust	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). Smartphone use for PIUW is constrained through an organisational rule that prohibits PIUW. Those with caring responsibilities are negatively impacted when work time work-life navigation is limited.
14.	Absent-Mistrust	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk (for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response). Smartphone use for PIUW is constrained through an organisational rule that prohibits PIUW. Those with caring responsibilities are negatively impacted when work time work-life navigation is limited.
15.	Absent-Sanction	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response. Knowledge of the likelihood of sanctions relating to PIUW results in individual PIUW behaviour that is adjusted accordingly.
16.	Actual-Sanction	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). Knowledge of the likelihood of sanctions relating to PIUW results in individual PIUW behaviour that is adjusted accordingly.
17.	Actual-Normative	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). Managerial discourse frames PIUW positively and practice is supportive of individuals managing domestic tasks in work time.
18.	Absent-Discipline	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response. Managerial discourse in relation to PIUW is shaped by inside experience of disciplinary procedures and sanctions. This experience informs managerial practice.

Above, the Actual-Normative TCP describes a managerial positionality whereby a manager actively supports PIUW. This positionality mirrors the Actual-Trust TCP. Furthermore, cultural TCPs underpin an explanation of normativity in the context of PIUW, where social rules "are representations of norms, interpreted as *generalised procedures for action*" (Lawson, 2012, p. 365, emphasis in original).

Table 5.11 Descriptions of theoretically constructed positions (Agential)		
Position		Position description
19.	Actual-Overt	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy).

		Individuals do not hide PIUW so, for example, domestic tasks can be managed openly in worktime.
20.	Actual-Covert	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). Individuals hide PIUW. The reasons for this may be related to labour process (as in the case of public-facing customer service work) or because rules exist around smartphone use. Other reasons are, for example, impression-management.
21.	Actual-Attitude	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). Gendered reasons underpin inequality in unpaid work at home. Reasons given include gendered attitudes and generational differences.
22.	Absent-Attitude	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response. Gendered reasons underpin inequality in unpaid work at home. Reasons given include gendered attitudes and generational differences.
23.	Actual-Visible	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). Most forms of PIUW are acceptable. PIUW is visible to managers but does not attract sanction (for example, in a workplace culture where PIUW is considered unproblematic).
24.	Actual-Invisible	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). PIUW escapes organisational surveillance. Labour process factors may mitigate risks, for example when workers are required to use their own phones at work. A significant factor is individual technology literacy.
25.	Actual-Cautious	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). Organisational power is stronger when a belief in the likelihood of sanction is present.
26.	Absent-Cautious	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk (for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response). Organisational power is stronger when a belief in the likelihood of sanction is present.
27.	Actual-Carefree	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). Organisational power is weaker when a belief in the likelihood of sanction is absent.
28.	Absent-Boundary	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk (for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response). PIUW is enabled. It is either unlimited or not limited. Organisational conditions (for example style of work) confer spatial flexibility, for example, through agile working (e.g., hot-desking) or travel to meetings.
29.	Actual-Low	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). PIUW is constrained through a lack of knowledge of technologies that can protect against employer surveillance such as virtual private network (VPN).

30.	Actual- High	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy).
		PIUW is enabled through an appreciation of how internet infrastructure works. Individuals with higher level IT skills have a considerable advantage associated with insights into the employers' surveillance capability.
31.	Absent- High	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk (for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response).
		PIUW is enabled through an appreciation of how internet infrastructure works. Individuals with higher level IT skills have a considerable advantage associated with insights into the employers' surveillance capability.
32.	Absent- Low	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk (for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response).
		PIUW is constrained through a lack of knowledge of technologies that can protect against employer surveillance such as virtual private network (VPN).

In the context of this study, agency relates to themes such as belief, expectation, attitude, behaviour, and skill. In this thesis, three chapters of data analysis (Chapters 6, 7 and 8) follow a similar structure. Firstly, each data analysis chapter contains three extended vignettes. Pair vignettes form the centre of the analysis. Each vignette is followed by a comparative analysis that draws on extant theory. Therefore, there is a significant focus on data from 18 office worker participants (along with data from three partners, also participants) as well as manager data that provides context. The result is that more than half of the interviews are closely scrutinised via CE with the remainder of data evaluated through attribution to individual TCP tables (in data analysis chapters). Throughout the data analysis, theoretically constructed positions are presented in tables alongside data from participants (to show who occupies the position and how widespread the positionality is within the dataset). Looking at the position occupancy by gender and class shows whether occupancy is particular to one intersection (for example, a woman in a WC job).

5.4 Data analysis, fourth phase

As compared to a standard approach to thematic analysis, the current study takes additional steps to understand whether themes are mainly structural, cultural, or agential in nature. From this perspective, outcomes (such as tensions discerned in themes) can be explored and

understood causally. In the second phase of analysis, individuals' PIUW was compared as follows. By the end of the first data analysis phase, patterns became visible that demanded further investigation, for example the tendency for those in MC jobs to spend more time on PIUW. Therefore, it was inductively identified that labour market position was a key determinant of whether an individual would engage in PIUW. By using labour process as an assumed proxy for class experience, the assumption was, for example, that variance in pay would result in variance in PIUW. Whereas class was examined by looking at labour process, gender was examined by looking at division of domestic labour. Having identified rough patterns in the empirical data, the next step was to explore which causal mechanisms could be responsible for observed outcomes such as those occurring in one context rather than another.

In this study, the generation of themes made it possible to unpack participants' workplace social relations. In Table 5.3 Here, significant themes relating to the operation of organisational power are described.

5.4.1 Rules and the exercise of power

During data analysis, participants often framed PIUW in relation to social rules with striking differences in the extent to which individuals felt constrained by rules. Here, variance in individuals experience of social rules is read through Lawson. Lawson's definition is adopted where a rule is "an expression or formulation of a normative aspect of a collective practice" (Lawson, 2019 [2012], p. 53). Rules can be established or emergent and "may be broken or never codified, or conformed to without acknowledgement" (Lawson, 2019 [2012], p. 54). Rules may also be misinterpreted (Lawson, 2019 [2012]). In the first set of sub-themes (Mistrust and Trust), the significance of social rules and their relationship to smartphone use are described. This set of sub-themes is a good example of how these can be theoretically informed. For Lawson (2014) our capacity to trust is the 'adhesive' that binds organisational structure. Moreover, trust is a major theme in relation to the operation of rules.

Table 5.12 Main theme: Relations of power	
Sub theme	Description
Mistrust (constraining)	Smartphone use for PIUW is constrained through an organisational rule that prohibits PIUW. Those with caring responsibilities are negatively impacted when work time work-life navigation is limited.
Trust (enabling)	PIUW is enabled through the lack of an organisational rule about smartphone use. Relationships with managers are more often characterised by trust with the result that organisational power is diminished.
Surveillance (constraining)	Workers are acutely aware of PIUW being monitored. Individuals may have direct or indirect experience of warnings or sanctions.
Sanction (constraining)	Knowledge of the likelihood of sanctions relating to PIUW results in individual PIUW behaviour that is adjusted accordingly.
Cautious (constraining)	Organisational power is stronger when a belief in the likelihood of sanction is present.
Carefree (enabling)	Organisational power is weaker when a belief in the likelihood of sanction is absent.

Organisational structures such as rules shape and are shaped by other forces resulting in different regimes. Whether rules are declared formally or are more spontaneously emergent they:

> […] not only are specific collective practices limited by the stretch or jurisdiction of the community of which they are the properties, but within any community, specific practices are typically limited further and differentially allocated. In short, *there is a division of collective practice*. It is accepted that certain practices can be followed by some, but not by others. To follow particular practices, it is necessary to belong to specific subgroups within a community. (Lawson, 2019 [2012], p. 54, emphasis in original)

By exploring the role played by rules in internal relationships within a social collectivity (such as a group of workers in an office) outcomes in PIUW behaviour can be explained. Rules are an organising structure. Through a general adherence to rules (collective practices) coordinated interaction is facilitated where human interaction is "a unique mode of being"

(Lawson, 2012, p. 346). Rules provide a level of stability in workplace social relations that would otherwise, in the absence of rules, be unavailable (Lawson, 2012).

Helpfully, for the purposes of the current analysis, Lawson codifies social rules as (2012, p. 365): "*In C, if X, then Y*. Here, *C* is the relevant community or context, *X* is type of activity and *Y* is the content of a collective practice". In the context of the current study, Lawson's expression supports precision. Firstly, when we think of community or context, we are prompted to be more specific than, for example, 'workers in organisation A' when 'workers at a certain grade, in a particular office, in organisation A' may lead to a more fine-grained analysis. Secondly, when we consider the 'type of activity' under investigation, the issue is still one of precision. Therefore, it is necessary to stipulate the type of activity (collective practice) that is to be regulated by the social rules, in which we are interested. Lawson (2012) describes rules thus: "These, as I interpret them, are basically expressions of the content of acceptances under their purely indicative aspect, *interpreted as stipulations*. They are representations of norms interpreted as *generalised procedures for actions*" (Lawson, 2012, p. 365).

In the context of this study, participants' activity (broadly) is paid work. Therefore, the analysis presented here includes participants' (workers and those who manage them) descriptions of the type of activity in which they are engaged. Thirdly, participants' descriptions, we encounter examples of the experience of workplace rules from the perspective of office workers and their managers. In this case, *Y* "indicates the accepted way of doing it" (Lawson, 2012, p. 365). Therefore, while undertaking paid work (in organisation A), PIUW is allowed (or not) for a range of reasons such as the likely impact on productivity, company bandwidth, or customer-impression. Thus, social rules which are ontologically distinct from practices, facilitate collective practice in a coordinated way (Lawson, 2012).

Within the context of our common contrast space of office workers' PIUW, four categories are identified as being significant for the purposes of causal explanation. These categories were discussed within the research team, and it was agreed that the patterns in the data changed within the contrast space as a consequence of variance in the following: [1] Labour process [2] Housework [3] Rules and [4] Expectations. Each category is derived from literature. The first (labour process) is informed by the LPA literature, for example, Paulsen's (2015) typology of empty labour. The second (housework) is informed by the FPE literature which provides theoretical resources relating to household economy. The third (rules) and fourth (expectations) categories are informed by Lawson's (2019 [2012]) ontological framework where rules are structures of power which are deeply implicated in producing and reproducing social position (Lawson, 2020 [1999]).

5.5 Chapter summary

In this thesis, a synthesised framework is activated via CE so that the effects of causal mechanisms, conditions and structures may be identified "through formulating interesting contrastives at the level of actual phenomena" (Lawson, 2020 [1999], p.27). Where different interpretations of the same event exist, CE is a method that can shed light on differences in interpretation. Classed and gendered dynamics are revealed through a systematic comparison of the way office workers use technology at work to manage home responsibilities across the work-life boundary. With an intersectional focus, it is possible to explore the ways in which, for example, the experiences of a WC woman and a MC woman differ. The method described in this chapter illustrates a process that builds outwards from a realist thematic analysis. A realist CE is the context for comparison using vignettes.

This culminates in a novel method comprising 32 TCPs. Thus, an original theoretical contribution is provided. With this method it is possible to demonstrate how class manifests itself through the labour process leading to several contributions. Firstly, an explanation is

developed of how it is that one group of workers is relatively disadvantaged regarding PIUW. Secondly, through tracing relationships between labour process conditions and how collective rule-following practices play out, an explanation is developed of how inequality is inscribed at multiple levels through the operation of organisational power. This novel method supports a critical explanation of the interplay between agency and structure (Martinez Dy;Martin and Marlow, 2018). Moreover, CE makes it possible to account for both structural and cultural mechanisms *and* agential powers in order to weigh the relative impact of these.

Chapter 6 focuses on labour process factors, and we begin to see how inequalities result from interacting structures and conditions. For example, where workers occupy multiple Absent TCPs (such as Absent-Intensity and Absent-Normative) they are multiply constrained. Similarly, where workers occupy multiple Actual TCPs (such as Actual-Temporal and Actual-Trust) they are multiply enabled. Thus, a detailed intersectional analysis is achieved.

Chapter 7 develops the findings from Chapter 6, in particular through an exploration of how unpaid work in the home and paid work in the labour market are fundamentally entwined. Here, it becomes apparent how intersectional forces contribute causally to different experiences of PIUW for work-life articulation. When we understand labour relationships between both domains, we achieve a better understanding of gendered social relations under capitalism (Federici, 2017). A focus on managerial discourse highlights the significance of individual managerial practices. Overall, the analysis is richer for the inclusion of managerial positionality especially where mirror positions have been identified. For example, the Absent-Surveillance TCP is the mirror position of Absent-Discipline, and the Actual-Normative TCP mirrors the Actual-Trust TCP. Moreover, we can consider how managerial perspectives vary according to the occupational class of those they manage. For example, interviews with managers highlight the variability of rules within organisations as well as their contingent nature. This close examination of managerial discourse in terms of organisational rules allows us to understand relationships between social structure and managerial agency. This

secondary analysis accounts for the role of managerial discourse in relation to normativity underpinning workplace social relations.

Chapter 8 develops the findings in Chapters 6 and 7. In Chapter 8 most participants have a MC job. This group enjoys considerable in-work autonomy. However, differential levels of freedom in relation to PIUW (and DDL) are visible when TCPs are considered (almost all of which are Actual). Here, everyone is relatively free, so exploring the differences between them produces a fine-grained analysis. Additional layers of analysis are available by drawing on data from partner interviews and we see how control at work is varied, principally along class-based lines with variations in control visible, according to occupation of TCPs. Variability within workplace regimes is explored in relation to individual attempts to balance domestic commitments with workplace expectations. The extent of privilege associated with MC jobs is examined through hierarchically sanctioned organisational rules and individual beliefs. Moreover, a surprising variability in technology literacy emerges that is gendered.

In the following three chapters of data analysis (Chapters 6, 7 and 8), a series of vignettes are assembled to explore four categories of interest.

Chapter 6. Labour process and the possibility of PIUW

This chapter is concerned with how labour process factors interact with the structure of class to enable or constrain PIUW. Data analysis is organised as follows. In each of three sections, data is assessed via three pair vignettes with TCPs used to explore workers' differential experiences. Then, through applying these novel categories of analysis explanations are developed. In the first vignette, the experiences of two women, one in a MC job and another in a WC job, are compared. In the second, the experiences of two women, one in a MC job and another in a WC job, are compared. In the third, the experiences of two men, one in a MC job and another in a WC job, are compared.

Next, class rather than gender is the basis for a contrast that considers the relationship between social rules and PIUW.

6.1 Absent-Intensity, Absent-Sanction, Actual-Temporal and Actual-Trust

In this vignette, the experiences of Julia (in a WC job) and Melissa (in a MC job) are compared. Both work for the same local authority employer. This contrast illustrates how flexibility in the labour process confers freedom in relation to PIUW.

Julia is in a WC job. She is a 60-year-old admin worker based in a shared office where she has a desk allocated to her. She has lived on her own since her adult son left home. Julia has caring responsibilities for her mother who has a serious health condition. She shares this responsibility with her sister (both Julia and her sister work full-time). Julia supports her mother once or twice a week for a couple of hours at a time, for example, accompanying her mother to medical appointments.

Julia's admin role involves reception duty (signposting customers with housing enquiries). Her work is routine, and she has little control over the volume and pace of work activities. During the working day, she has few opportunities to take care of home tasks:

> So, I would go online for half an hour, perhaps during my break. Very occasionally people might show one another a house we'd stayed in that weekend or something. But it would only be minimal, a couple of minutes, if that. Because the expectation is that … Working for [employer] now in most [roles at this grade], is that you work all the time. You're on the treadmill. It's like you're on the treadmill. And you would feel guilty, and you would feel people were looking at you. (Julia)

Julia has partial flexitime arrangements in place, but she is frustrated at having to complete flexi-related admin during her lunch break:

> In my current role we're understaffed. Have been historically. So, we don't have time to even do the priorities… work related priorities, on systems. So, internet use is absolutely minimal. Thinking about lunch breaks. I only take half an hour. And I usually end up catching up on my flexi. Sorting out when to book my holidays. So, although it's about me, it's something really, I should be doing in work time, I think. Very occasionally I have time to nip onto Freecycle [a non-profit where people give and get stuff for free] to see what's on offer that day. But that would just be a five-minute nip in and nip out. As for internet use that's on my phone. Again, that's minimal through the day. (Julia)

As well as looking at Freecycle, Julia enjoys searching for recipes online but opportunities in worktime are limited: "the way things are there, you can't do anything else but work".

Julia describes an aspect of the labour process:

> So, it's like, if somebody comes in that's homeless. We have to record their details. Their name, their date of birth, what time they came in, on a recording sheet. Then fill in a little piece of yellow paper, again with their name, their date of birth and who they're going to

> … which Housing Officer. And you have to physically take it round and put it on their desk. […] then you have to come back. Then the next person. You end up with a flurry of little yellow pieces of paper to give people. And you don't email through messages. You've got a message pad. It's like going back thirty years. This pink message pad, saying 'Message Pad'. And you fill in a message and go and put it on their desk. So, it looks like they're drowning in paperwork! (Julia)

Julia had received a warning about her use of internet and the workplace printer:

> And people do monitor your use now, as I found out when I tried to send myself a recipe from the Guardian there. Yes. So, I've sent it from home, and I was going to print it out at work. Whoops! And they picked me up on that. And I had a one-to-one. So, very, very strict. I know! (Julia)

This issue was raised formally during Julia's probationary period in a new role. The feedback from her supervisor was enough to shape Julia's future behaviour: "Ok, well if that's how it is, that's how it is."

Julia's experience can be contrasted with that of Melissa.

> Melissa is in a MC job. She is a 48-year-old senior social worker. She is the parent of a school-age child, sharing childcare with her ex-husband. Melissa also provides support to her parents.
>
> Melissa is based in an office where she has her own desk. Her work is varied, and she is responsible for managing her own diary. Melissa's role involves regular travel to meetings, sometimes with overnight stays. With flexitime Melissa can 'flexi out' in work time. Using this flexibility resource, she clocks out at various points in the working day, for shorter or longer periods of time:

Because I do have quite a lot of overlap, we have flexitime, so sometimes I might go and do things for my parents during the day. Or, I might go to the school. I can plan those in my diary at work. So even if I was at home, I can add them in from home. [Non-work] internet use at work? I'm not a huge user of it, but I will use it. So, things like I might look onto school, if I've forgotten about… school, say a play or something like that, I might go onto the school website and see what's there. If I'm pushed to put appointments in way ahead, I can go onto the internet and see when the school timetable is. (Melissa)

This temporal flexibility allows Melissa to complete home-related tasks without the risk of doing anything in work time that she should not: "If it's a big thing, then I do flexi out. If it's a small thing and I know it's only going to take a minute or so, then I don't always flexi out." Melissa was asked if she is free to have her phone on her desk:

Nobody's mentioned it. I think if I was picking it up all the time, or. I think it's different to picking up a phone and looking at it. If you're on it, it's more visible, if you were taking a phone call. But actually, it's much easier to use it for email or for checking things or for texting or WhatsApping, than it is to pick it up. Because you could be checking anything. I use my phone as a calculator at work. So things I might use it for… if I had an email open at work, I might go on my phone to check something on the internet for work, to check the internet for work rather than open up the internet, so I can have two things open at once. (Melissa)

Melissa has a work-provided laptop:

Regarding, also things like having the mobile technology with the laptop, if I'm going to a meeting in the morning, I don't have to come up to the office first, I can log on if I haven't read the papers at work before I leave. And I can check Calendar, although I do still keep a paper diary, I've got an electronic calendar as well, so I can see where I am with things like that. (Melissa)

Melissa is aware of the potential for monitoring Wi-Fi and is generally cautious:

> I don't use the [employer] Wi-Fi. So, when I get offered it, say, on my phone at work. I've never used the [employer] Wi-Fi. I use over my phone signal. (Melissa)

In this vignette the experience of a woman in a WC job is compared with the experience of a woman in a MC job. To understand their experience, the contrast is assessed in terms of [1] Labour process [2] Housework [3] Rules and [4] Expectations.

[1] Whereas for Julia an intensive work schedule leaves her with little free time, for Melissa, temporal flexibility facilitates the combining of paid and unpaid work (Frissen, 2000). Moreover, Julia is subject to a labour process that is inefficient (she describes handwritten notes that are passed to colleagues). Although Julia can identify solutions to inefficient communication (such as the use of email) she lacks the autonomy to implement such changes. Arguably, such improvements might lessen the intensity of the labour process, potentially creating gaps in Julia's work schedule that could be used for non-work.

[2] Melissa, who estimated 52 hours unpaid work per week, experiences the "double burden" (Tepe-Belfrage and Steans, 2016, p. 314) of paid and unpaid work that is more frequently experienced by women than men (Ferrant;Pesando and Nowacka, 2014; ONS, 2016b). However, internet access that is unrestricted, means that Melissa can carry out home tasks whilst at work. Thus, some of this double burden can be absorbed into the working day. By comparison Julia's PIUW is limited and doesn't support WLB.

[3] Rules are collective practices that are "interpreted as stipulative … indicating how an individual *ought* to proceed" (Lawson, 2019 [2012], p. 49, emphasis in original). For those in Julia's position (i.e., admin workers in this office) PIUW is constrained which is apparent from her example of receiving a warning. Although Julia and Melissa work for the same employer, Julia's job denotes a community membership (or position occupancy), which

attaches different rights and obligations as compared to Melissa (Lawson, 2019 [2012], p. 59). Whereas Julia is subject to a rule that limits PIUW, Melissa is not subject to such a rule. Melissa's freedom to use her smartphone in worktime is a 'positioned right' in a social reality comprised of "a multitude of interrelating multicomponent collective practices, processes and events" (Lawson, 2019 [2012], p. 61). In this example, we see how social coordination and normativity operates when individuals in a particular community conform to a collective practice through its reproduction or transformation (Lawson, 2019 [2012].

[4] Melissa and Julia have different expectations of PIUW. Julia says that she would feel guilty if she were seen to engage in PIUW (Paulsen, 2014). In contrast, Melissa realises the potential to manage domestic tasks in work time (for example, when she co-ordinates her own schedule with her daughter's school calendar).

Whereas Julia occupies the Absent-Intensity and Absent-Sanction positions, Melissa occupies the Actual-Temporal and Actual-Trust positions. This means that for Julia, PIUW is absent due to labour process intensity (Absent-Intensity) and her PIUW behaviour is adjusted owing to perceived risk of sanction (Absent-Sanction). In Melissa's case, PIUW is present and enabled by temporal flexibility (Actual-Temporal) and she is not subject to rules about smartphones, in a job that is associated with greater autonomy (Actual-Trust).

To further consider the positions occupied by Julia and Melissa, the tables below illustrate which other participants occupy each TCP. Like Julia, Mary Kay occupies the Absent-Intensity position. Mary Kay was unusual amongst those in WC jobs in that she can have her smartphone on her desk. However, her opportunities for PIUW are limited by an intensive labour process.

Table 6.1 Theoretically Constructed Position: Absent-Intensity	
Position description	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk (for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response). PIUW is constrained. Although workers have access to internet, PIUW may be limited by organisational conditions, for example, labour process intensity.
Participant	Example
Mary Kay, Medical Secretary (WC job)	I'm very, very busy doing my job. The phone rings constantly, interrupting everything else I do. So, you know. I don't have time to check my phone every two minutes. I have, on my internet, I've got a list of Favourites. So, if I'm having a short break, or my lunch, sometimes I go to, like, the BBC website and read the news. It's usually BBC. I like science pages. I check out Scottish news and affairs, the weather. I have maybe a fifteen-minute break in the morning. If there's something I need to know or maybe to look up, I might do it then. You know, usually I put the news on.

Whereas Mary Kay (in a WC job) was unusual in reporting a greater degree of freedom for PIUW, owing to the absence of a rule about smartphones, most participants in WC jobs (12 out of 14) said that they did not engage in PIUW beyond checking news and weather. Diana and Sarah below, are typical of those in WC jobs who have a strong sense of boundaries in relation to PIUW. In Lawson's terms, this is "*a division of collective practice*" (2019 [2012], p. 54, emphasis in original) whereby members of one subgroup (but not another) are required to adhere to certain practices. However, rules must be understood in context because collective practices "cohere and interrelate with others, and indeed are constitutively interdependent" (Lawson, 2012, p.365).

Like Julia, participants in Table 6.2 occupy the Absent-Sanction position where PIUW behaviour is adjusted in accordance with perceived risk of a negative organisational response.

Table 6.2 Theoretically Constructed Position: Absent-Sanction	
Position description	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk (for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response). Knowledge of the likelihood of sanctions relating to PIUW results in individual PIUW behaviour that is adjusted accordingly.
Participant	Example
Diana, Customer Services Assistant (WC job)	There's been many a time that all of us, including myself, might sit when there's nothing to do and quickly, sort of 'Oh, I'll just have a quick look at Google' about whatever it is. Yeah, we've all done that. [--] BBC website is a brilliant website and I often look at that. [--] What's wrong with looking at the news? Absolutely nothing. Surely, that's part of our job, isn't it? To know what's going on. [--] Well, I mean, it is taking a chance, what if, I don't know, one of the supervisors walked onto the floor. It's not a chance I would take.
Sarah, Customer Services Assistant (WC job)	The thing was, that when I went for my training… It was [manager], and I can remember him saying that he'd got rid of two people. And one of them had been on… He'd been at [place of work] and he'd been on, it was [web]mail. But actually, I think what happened is, he had his email open on the toolbar. He hadn't been on his [web]mail for like two hours. And then another one who'd been on the betting site. Well, I thought that is the normal probably. But …I don't think he could say categorically he was on the betting for two hours. I think it was probably open on the tool bar. It doesn't mean he was actually using it. But I thought 'I'll be very careful. I'll be very, very careful!'
Ed, Data analyst (MC job)	The thing about where I work is that they have a very secure network, so they don't allow you to go on the Wi-Fi there, you have to use your private data. So, I don't do a huge amount of browsing. Everything gets checked and audited and stuff like that, so there's not really a huge amount of incentive to use your work phone for anything other than work.

As compared to other participants in MC jobs, Ed (above) is unusually limited. Although he is free to use his own phone and data, Ed (who works for a government agency) cannot use workplace computers for PIUW owing to network security.

For some participants, an absence of PIUW is explained in terms of work-life boundary preference. Individuals like Kenneth (in Table 6.3) choose a strict 'separation' between home

and work domains, in contrast with those who prefer 'integration' between domains (Nippert-Eng, 1996). Therefore, Kenneth's lack of PIUW is his own choice.

Table 6.3 Theoretically Constructed Position: Absent- Boundary	
Position description	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk (for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response). Individuals are able to exercise preferences in PIUW that match their work-life boundary preference e.g., separation or integration.
Participant	Example
Kenneth, Advanced Practitioner (MC job)	I do like to draw a line between home and work […] [Now] I'm better at compartmentalising I suppose, which makes it easier to concentrate on work while I'm at work, and other stuff – internet access included – when I'm not. It's not the case that I *need* to connect with leisure interests during work time. As I mentioned earlier, I'm good at compartmentalising. That said, my job allows me to listen to my iPod whilst working and I will read a book during my lunch break. Both of these are achieved without any need for accessing the internet.

Like Melissa in the first comparison, Claudia, Lenore, and Nicole also occupy the position Actual-Temporal (see Table 6.4 below) meaning that they can appropriate naturally occurring gaps in the workday for non-work.

Table 6.4 Theoretically Constructed Position: Actual-Temporal	
Position description	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). PIUW is enabled. It is either unlimited or not limited. Organisational conditions (for example style of work) confer temporal flexibility, for example, through flexitime.
Participant	Example
Claudia, Counsellor (MC job)	I had a client that didn't show up, she just failed to attend. So, I just did all the admin that goes along with someone who doesn't show up and then I had fifteen minutes to spare. I wasn't going to start any major tasks. So, I just had a look at my [personal] emails [--]. I just did that really. As a way … So that feels to me like a way of winding down from what I'm doing and just having a bit of a break, clearing my head between one client and another.

Lenore, Teacher (MC job)	The time that I spend on the internet [at work] is time that I don't spend doing housework [at home] … I mean, in terms of just trying to keep organised in the week. It maybe isn't linked to anything online or digital, just keeping on top of what I've got to do feels like quite a lot. And I haven't got kids and I haven't got a high standard of cleanliness.
Nicole, Trainee clinical psychologist (MC job)	So, I'm part of a rowing club down in [place] and pretty much everything to do with rowing is communicated using a Google Doc spreadsheet. And, I do access that quite a lot, daily, whether I am in work or not, on my phone. So, that communicates the programme for that week and the crews that might be set for that day. Also, like monitoring of fitness scores and things like that. So, rotas for events and responsibilities as well as all of the race fees and things like that all sort of localise on this one spread sheet. So, that's something that I have frequently used.

The excerpts in Table 6.4 are typical of those who are not subject to rules about PIUW. Occupants of the Actual-Temporal position all have MC jobs with examples illustrating how temporal flexibility enables PIUW for those in MC jobs.

Like Melissa, those in Table 6.5 occupy the position Actual-Trust. Trust is intrinsic to social community and is inextricably linked to position obligations (Lawson, 2019, p. 16). Along with trustworthiness, trust is considered fundamental to everything that community participants do (Pratten, 2017; Lawson, 2019).

Table 6.5 Theoretically Constructed Position: Actual-Trust	
Position description	PIUW is enabled through the lack of an organisational rule about smartphone use. Relationships with managers are more often characterised by trust with the result that organisational power is diminished. Relative autonomy confers relative freedom in relation to PIUW.
Participant	Example
Nicole, Trainee clinical psychologist (MC job)	That's pretty accepted that most people do have their phone out and I guess, in my office, there's no sort of superior managers or anything like that, so I guess we're all on a level playing field. Whereas I think if I was in a room with my manager, I'd be more conscious of it. I don't know whether it would change how much I use it, but I'd definitely be more aware of using time during work for personal use.

Mary Kay, Medical secretary (WC job)	I don't very often check my personal email [on the work PC]. Because I can see it on my own phone, and I have my phone on my desk.
Andreas, Illustrator (MC job)	Apart from using the internet on my computer, I also have a smart phone, so I use that a fair bit to check my own personal emails. On my phone, not checking them on the work computer. Not for any other reason, but I've got my email accounts on my phone. So, I can just look at them quite quickly. Then I just put my phone down and get on with my work.
Joshua, Software developer (MC job)	There are some managers do see it as a bad thing like if they walk by and see you on your phone a lot. My manager luckily isn't like that. So, my particular team group, they don't usually have that issue too much. As long as you're not spending a half an hour on your phone. If you need to check your phone occasionally that's fine. If you step away to take a call, that's fine, or message, that's fine.

Apart from Mary Kay (in a WC job), the excerpts above demonstrate the greater freedom enjoyed by those in MC jobs, through norms that enable smartphone use.

Next, class rather than gender is the basis for a contrast that takes caring responsibility into consideration where an individual with significant caring responsibilities has a WC job.

6.2 Actual-Overt, Actual-Trust, Absent-Sanction and Absent-Mistrust

In this vignette, the experiences of Camille and Melanie are compared. This contrast explores the relationship between social rules and occupational class illustrating how these interact to result in differential flexibility outcomes.

> Camille is in a MC job. She is a 33-year-old finance officer working full-time in an education setting. Camille lives with her partner. They do not have children.
>
> Camille works in a small office, where relationships with team members and her line manager are characterised by "a really strong level of trust". She and her office colleagues are free to use their smartphones in work time:

Yes, we all just have them on our desk, I think. But uhm… no one uses them. No one's really on them that much. But… for example, if I get a call during the day, and it's not work-related, it's on my personal phone, it wouldn't be unacceptable to answer the call to see what it was. Just in case it was important. And even if it wasn't. It would be… 'What was that about? Oh, that's fine.' You know, so… So, there is a good balance. And there's a lot of freedom. (Camille)

Listening to music on headphones is also acceptable: "there's this stigma that you're not working if you are doing something that you would consider leisure. But that's not the case here." Camille was asked if she streams music at work: "Yes. YouTube, not so much, because I don't want to be seen just… watching videos. Because that takes up more of your attention. But I would stream on Spotify. And get on with work. Yeah."

Camille is conscious of the impression she is giving: "I don't go on Facebook at work. That's one thing… it doesn't look very nice, just having Facebook open. […] you can go on WhatsApp on the web but, again […] I would try to avoid that throughout the day, because it's not essential." Camille could, if she wanted, communicate with family more in work time but avoids this: "I don't want a chat open. Because it looks like I'm just online chatting." Camille has webmail open on her desktop computer. She prefers this to the potential distraction of checking email on her phone and actively avoids looking at social media in work time.

I think I'm in a very fortunate position, where I do manage… I pretty much manage my entire life at work, while I'm… at work. Uhm… but because it's… because technology is so good, these days everything I do is online. All my bills are online, gas and energy, that's online. I look after that and can top up online. […]. If I had to do them outside of work, it would… it would have to be done in, say, an hour or two, in one session. You know, a couple times a week… whereas now it's just a couple of minutes here and there at work.

It's so much easier and so much more manageable. And it makes… I enjoy work more as a result of it, because I have that freedom and I feel like I'm trusted to do things. (Camille)

Camille describes her experience of autonomy in terms of social relations:

And there's a really strong level of trust between myself, my line manager in particular, and my team. So, I'm very much left to… I'm trusted to get on with my job. And do everything I need to do throughout the day. And, however I do that… in whichever way I choose to manage my workload, is entirely up to me. (Camille)

Camille listed briefer domestic tasks that she does in work time including searching for insurance quotes. In the case of more time-intensive tasks such as online food shopping, she does these during her lunchbreak. Some of Camille's PIUW examples included buying tickets "if they go on sale at ten o'clock", booking gym classes and GP appointments "I basically manage my entire life online". When asked about DDL, Camille said:

I recently got a dog. And leading up to that, I spent a bit of time finding a dog walker, for example. In between doing other tasks at work. And, perhaps, researching [dog] food, or behavioural things. So, I do spend some time looking at that, because now I don't have the time when I get home to do any of that, because I have a dog, so I don't have time to do anything else. So, that's been invaluable, having the freedom to do that at work. Uhm… has been really, really important. And in this role in particular, it hasn't been monitored, necessarily. So, no-one's over my shoulder saying 'What are you doing? What are you looking at? You know, you need to get your work done.' Because my work is being done, alongside that. (Camille)

A couple of times during the day Camille uses a home security app to check on her dog: "just to know that she's not crying, or she's happy. That kind of thing." Camille gave more examples of domestic tasks she does in worktime:

> The other stuff I do are like… a few minutes here and there. [--] And searching for… car insurance quotes, or contents insurance quotes, or… what else do I do? I've got a… personal budget, and I've got an outgoing spreadsheet for our household, that… my boyfriend and I both edit. It's a Google Doc that we both share. We can see… if anything changes, I'll let him know if I've added anything. It's basically just incomings and outgoings. So, I'll monitor that occasionally. It doesn't take a lot of work, but if I do need to update something, I can do that. (Camille)

When Camille is asked about how visible she is in her office, she says: "I've got two screens, and they open up to the rest of the office. So, I won't… necessarily just have things left open on it, or anything. That's particularly unprofessional. But I'm not constantly hiding things, if that makes sense. It's like a middle ground."

Camille's experience can be contrasted with that of Melanie.

Melanie is in a WC job. She is a 32-year-old office worker at a call centre. Her work involves processing invoices. Melanie has two children under five and has recently returned to work after a maternity leave. She estimated spending most of her free time on childcare (shared with her partner).

Melanie works in a large open-plan office where everyone including supervisors can see each other. Asked about the office layout, she says:

> Our programme is 45 people. There's four teams within that. We're all open plan and all the team leaders and operations managers sit on the same floor. It's quite a small tightly packed space. (Melanie)

Social media and webmail are blocked. Melanie can only use her phone at break times. She is required to store her phone in a locker.

Melanie was asked what level of flexibility she has around breaks:

We are timed for all time away from our desk. It's logged as a code in our phones. We are allowed seven minutes a day for unscheduled breaks, toilet breaks, phone checks. We get two 15-minute breaks, unpaid and a half hour lunch, unpaid. If someone needs to contact you in the day, you have to give the office phone number of your team leader. (Melanie)

Melanie's job is poorly paid. Working antisocial hours are an expectation of the role: "Everyone works until at least 10:30pm one week out of every three or four. Other teams work later and weekends." Morale is low:

Massive turnover of staff, people generally don't last very long. They endlessly try to combat that, but [managers] always get it wrong. Recently they gave two teams with the worst staff retention a pay rise then they lost loads of people from the other two teams. (Melanie)

Melanie is subject to several workplace rules:

We work with sensitive data, bank details, client information. As part of our contract with the company we work for we're not allowed any method of getting that data out of the office. We're not allowed pens or paper either. [--] We look after the sensitive data of the very rich and famous which is why we have a high level of data security. (Melanie)

Melanie was asked if managers are subject to the same rules:

Team leaders and senior managers do as they please. They use phones, pens, the internet and everyone can see each other. The rules shouldn't be different as contractually no one on the floor should have pens or paper but it's one rule for them and one for us. (Melanie)

Compared to the rule on smartphones, less notice is taken of the internet-use policy:

Our office policy forbids web browsing for anything other than work reasons, for data protection. Absolutely no one in the office follows this. I check the news and weather before I start my shift. We use it to answer trivia that comes up in conversation throughout the day. I browse for restaurants and hotels, browse shops. I don't check my emails and

social media is restricted. I don't purchase anything; I do that on my phone on my breaks. (Melanie)

Melanie was asked about the office culture regarding WLB:

Well-being and work-life balance don't seem to be a factor. While I was pregnant it took seven months to get a desk assessment. In the meantime, I was given a broken back rest and a box to rest my feet on... (Melanie)

When asked how housework is shared with her partner, Melanie says:

We have some set jobs we have always done. I hate doing the dishes so [partner] does that, he hates cleaning the bathroom, so I do that. Then it's just who's available at any moment to do the rest. Having kids, it's not so organised so we just do stuff as it comes up. We also think it's really important our boys see us both doing all things. So, [partner] will cook sometimes. I'm quite handy so I fix things. We just want the kids to grow up not thinking of men's jobs and women's jobs. (Melanie)

In this vignette the experience of a woman in a WC job is compared with the experience of a woman in a MC job. To understand their experience, the contrast is assessed in terms of [1] Labour process [2] Housework [3] Rules and [4] Expectations.

[1] Whereas Camille describes a high level of "autonomy" and "freedom" at work, Melanie is monitored for any time that she is away from her desk. In Melanie's case, her individual freedom is diminished through organisational systems of surveillance and control (Al-Amoudi, 2019). As a result, Melanie is denied access to a resource for work-life articulation.

[2] For Camille, being able to spread domestic tasks over the working week means her home life is free from extended admin sessions which she values. However, for Melanie, DDL is not acceptable at work. As a woman with children, Melanie occupies a disadvantaged position at the intersection of gender and occupational class and faces additional challenges fitting into organisational life (Cockburn, 1991). However, at home she and her partner have a gender

equal approach to domestic work reflecting the lived egalitarianism of their generation (Hall and MacDermid, 2009; Roberts, 2018). With Melanie's example, we see how domestic and care tasks may be regendered and the same social norms that confine women to reproductive and domestic roles may be reshaped to open up opportunities for men to assume caring and domestic responsibilities (Ferrant;Pesando and Nowacka, 2014; Boyer *et al.*, 2017a; Boyer *et al.*, 2017b; Longhurst, 2017).

[3] Camille works in an office where everyone has their smartphone on their desk. This is one of several conditions that shape Camille's experience of freedom for DDL. However, in Melanie's case, smartphone use in worktime is completely restricted with 'data security' given as the reason. The result is that she cannot manage domestic tasks and cannot be contacted by family members in worktime. The restriction on smartphones appears to be justified by the nature of the work. Yet, the fact that team leaders in the same office are not subject to the rule leaves this open to question. Such rules are symptomatic of oppressive social relations where practices are shaped by positional powers (Lawson, 2019). This comparison illustrates the normative outcomes of rule-based collective practices (Lawson, 2019 [2012]).

[4] In Camille's case, the relation between norms (Porpora, 2015), expectations and managerial practice is clear. Indeed, she says: "I feel like I'm trusted". Camille's manager, Rosalind, also took part in an interview. Later (in Section 6.2.1) supervision of the labour process is considered through Rosalind's managerial practice in relation to DDL. In stark contrast to Camille, Melanie experiences significant limitations on PIUW. Melanie's experience is echoed in other interviews with participants in WC jobs who are already disadvantaged in work that attracts lower wages (Ferrant *et. al*, 2014; ONS, 2017). Arguably, workers like Melanie, would benefit greatly from access to the level of trust enjoyed by workers like Camille.

Whereas Camille occupies the Actual-Overt and Actual-Trust positions, Melanie occupies the Absent-Sanction and Absent-Mistrust positions. For Camille, this means that DDL does not need to be hidden because managers find it acceptable (Actual-Overt). In addition, Camille is not subject to rules about smartphones, in a job that is associated with greater autonomy (Actual-Trust). In Melanie's case, PIUW is absent owing to perceived risk of sanction (Absent-Sanction) and work-life articulation opportunities are limited by a lack of access to smartphones and relatively limited autonomy (Absent-Mistrust).

To further consider the positions occupied by Camille and Melanie, the tables below illustrate which other participants occupy each TCP. Like Camille, participants in Table 6.6 also occupy the Actual-Overt position.

Table 6.6 Theoretically Constructed Position: Actual-Overt	
Participant	Example
Position description	Individuals do not hide PIUW so domestic tasks can be managed openly in worktime. Most forms of PIUW are acceptable. PIUW is visible to managers but does not attract sanction (for example, because of a workplace culture that views PIUW as problematic).
Jim, Library Assistant (WC job)	Yeah, all sorts of things. Like ringing the plumber. In fact, I did ring the plumber the other day at work. I know that's not on a computer. But I looked him up first on the computer, then rang him.
Joshua, Software developer (MC job)	There are certain specialised tasks that are one-off, or are recurring, we'll put on a reminder app. And you would assign it to one or the other. So, we try to organise like that. So, for example, the meter reading. We need to submit it every month for the electricity and gas. (…) If there's something that she wants me to remember to do online, I ask her to put a reminder on the app and I'll take a look at it, when it reminds me.
Marc, IT business partner (MC job)	Well, I bought a Dyson Robo Hoover this year. So, I have that running three times a week. I have it running because I've got asthma and I've got a dust mite allergy. We do have a normal vacuum, but we didn't use it as often as we should. I sold my old car earlier this year and I used the proceeds to buy this. I have it programmed to run three times a week. So, when we're away at work, I've got it set to run at 9 o'clock.

Except for Jim (in a WC job), the excerpts in the table above show that those in MC jobs are more likely to experience the possibility of PIUW. In this study, Jim is considered exceptional given the level of freedom he enjoys because only two of 14 participants in WC jobs reported this level of freedom in relation to PIUW.

Like Melanie, Nancy (in Table 6.7) occupies the Absent-Mistrust position.

Table 6.7 Theoretically Constructed Position: Absent-Mistrust	
Position description	Smartphone use for PIUW is constrained through an organisational rule that prohibits PIUW. Those with caring responsibilities are negatively impacted when work time work-life navigation is limited. Relative autonomy confers relative freedom in relation to PIUW.
Participant	Example
Nancy, Street Warden (WC job)	No, not on works mobile as we [have] restrictions placed on work mobile. And on some sites via works PC. While on a break, I will if I need to, do the likes of meter reading or online banking. Hair and doctors also on personal mobile, now and then I order from a catalogue or Boots, which is mainly every few months. My favourite apps on my personal mobile would have to Amazon-Boots-Wayfair, but only at home. I have ordered items from Argos via the works PC.

Of the participants in this study, Melanie describes the greatest burden of care (estimated at approximately 80 hours per week). Melanie was referred for interview by another participant who had taken part in a face-to-face interview the same month. The interview with Melanie (number 25 of 44) marked a turning point. It took place in February 2019 and was the third asynchronous interview over email. With Melanie's comment "it's one rule for them and one for us" the relevance of rules for this study of workplace social relations began to be clear. Asking Melanie about differences in rules at her office, came about because of reviewing interview data in a supervisory team meeting when one supervisor commented 'it would be interesting to know if the rule is the same for managers'. As the interview with Melanie was still in progress, it was straightforward to add in this question. This example underlines

contingencies in qualitative data collection where the opportunity to reflect on participants' answers is a significant advantage of asynchronous interviews. Melanie's interview ran from February until early May 2019. In the last email, Melanie said that she had found a new job with a better employer, and she was "looking forward to a new challenge".

In both pair vignettes considered so far in this chapter, the relative level of worktime access to smartphones has a significant bearing on individuals' experience of PIUW. Taking the first two vignettes together (in each, gender is the basis for comparison) it is possible to reflect on the interaction of caring responsibility and class. With the first two comparisons, we begin to get a sense of how structures such as gender and class interact with social rules and expectations to produce highly variable outcomes with respect to work-life articulation.

6.3 Actual-Surveillance, Absent-Mistrust, Actual-Space and Actual-Trust

In this vignette, the experience of Walter (in a WC job) is compared with that of Wallace (in a MC job). This contrast illustrates how labour process conditions (for example, workers' relative privacy) impact individual freedoms.

Walter is in a WC job. He is a 57-year-old customer services worker, in a busy public-facing setting. He is divorced and lives with his mother who has early-stage dementia.

> I mean a lot of my holidays are taking my mother to somewhere. Like for example, the week before last I took her to the diabetic clinic, [using] a day's holiday. Because both of my brothers also work full time as well, and I'm there, so It's easier for me just to do it. (Walter)

Whichever service point he is stationed at - sometimes standing, sometimes seated - he has access to the internet via a desktop PC. Walter works in a large Service Centre that has different service areas spread across several floors. He receives in-person enquiries from members of the public which involves accessing online information sources. The

complexity of an enquiry can vary widely and can involve helping with applications for Council services. At times Walter is less busy. He was asked whether the service location makes any difference to how likely he is to engage in PIUW:

> No, it's purely how busy I am with customers. If I'm sitting there twiddling my thumbs and there's nobody waiting to get served, I'll just stare out the window. So, I'll just go on the internet. So, it doesn't matter where I am, it's all just how busy I am at work because work obviously comes first. I'm not going to let people wait while I check [the internet]. So, where I work …it doesn't make a bit of a difference. (Walter)

Walter's PIUW examples included looking at sport, the weather, and the BBC.

Walter had been challenged by a manager who had seen him checking his phone in the customer service area:

> Well, the same manager who told me off for using my phone, the following day I walked through her office and she was on the phone to her son. So, I thought 'well, you hypocrite', but, if anybody was to say something that's my argument that somebody has to contact me if it's my mother because she's got dementia. Like the other day I got a phone call… she'd been taken to hospital because she was suffering from chest pains. So, I went straight home. And I got a phone call from the doctor. [Walter's mother] couldn't remember having chest pains. There [was] nothing wrong with her. But this is what it's like because she's got dementia. So, I've got to be able to keep in contact. (Walter)

Walter is his mother's carer. This is why he carries a phone at work, although according to an organisational rule he should not:

> But the reason I have my phone is because I look after my mother and if there's anything happened… for them to try and contact me through the [Council] call centre… you could hang on for 20 minutes. So, I'll always have my phone on me. So, if anybody needs to get in touch with us, that's the reason. I mean we've been told we are not supposed to have our

> phones in our pockets and I'll just ignore that. I mean, my mother's more important and I have told the manager that. (Walter)

Walter's experience can be contrasted with that of Wallace.

> Wallace is in a MC job. He is a 26-year-old translation project manager. Wallace lives alone and does not have children or other caring responsibility. At home, he uses an Amazon Echo for switching lights on and off and for timing cooking. He also uses the 'drop-in' feature that allows him to send a voicemail that connects instantly to (the speaker of) the message recipient (without a ringing preface). Wallace likes the flexibility of booking GP and dentist appointments remotely. He books barbers appointments using messaging on Instagram.
>
> Wallace is one of four people sharing a small open-plan office where desks are arranged to face each other. PIUW is allowed at lunchtimes. Wallace's job involves language translation and overseeing the translation work of others. He was asked about his experience of using the internet at work for home family or any non-work reasons:
>
> > We have restricted access placed upon all members of staff following an incident with one member of staff five, 10 years ago, which is quite unfair and quite often leads to us having lots of problems with accessing web-based files that clients have sent to us that are restricted because of the IT organisation that we're with. Generally, I don't find myself having much time to browse the internet at work. I'm also quite aware of the fact that internet use is monitored or can be monitored. So, generally if I want to do something, I will use my own mobile phone or my own laptop that I will bring to work if I want to do something that's personal because I don't trust my employer at all with any of my internet data. (Wallace)
>
> Wallace is employed in a small business which he describes as old-fashioned: "our employers haven't really embraced the technological or the internet revolution". IT is

outsourced and HR is "non-existent". Wallace described how difficult it is to find well paid work in the linguistics industry and agencies often have a high turnover rate. Morale at his company is low: "our employers are not professional and have no trust in any of their staff". As a result, Wallace and several of his colleagues are planning to leave. However, Wallace describes a level of freedom around PIUW:

> Our office is a bit unusual. Our department is based in a separate room, up the stairs. So, we kind of have our own rules, in there, for what we do. All of the colleagues get on very well and we're all about the same age so we all kind of understand that sometimes you want to check your phone or whatever. We're used to it. My colleagues who work in the downstairs part of our office, are encouraged not to have their phones out but it's not really enforced at all. […] One of my colleagues is our resident DJ and chooses the playlist from Spotify. [--] We have a Bluetooth speaker in the office which she hooks up her phone to and that's how everyone enjoys it. (Wallace)

Wallace avoids using his workplace computer owing to concerns about monitoring:

> Again, as I said, I don't really trust logging into these kinds of things on my employer's computer, so I tend to stay away from doing that and just keep it on my own devices. I know certainly some of my colleagues will access their own social media feeds on their desktops at work. Some of them have unrestricted access because they are a pay grade above me and are considered to be supervisors, so they are deemed to be responsible enough to have unrestricted access at all times. (Wallace)

In this vignette the experience of a man in a WC job is compared with the experience of a man in a MC job. To understand their experience, the contrast is assessed in terms of [1] Labour process [2] Housework [3] Rules and [4] Expectations.

[1] Walter works in a public-facing context with shared access to computers. He is highly visible at times. In contrast, Wallace's PIUW is enabled through relative privacy. As a result, Wallace and his colleagues can stream music via a smartphone.

[2] Despite significant caring responsibilities, Walter (in a WC job) gives no examples of DDL. Wallace, who lives alone, spends relatively less time on housework than would be the case if he had children (Kluwer;Heesink and van de Vliert, 2002; Baxter;Hewitt and Haynes, 2008).

[3] In Walter's case, we see that the impact on work-life articulation when a workplace rule limits smartphone use. Walter and his colleagues are required to follow the rule on smartphones owing to 'obligations' associated with the 'rights' category (Lawson, 2019 [2012], pp. 49-50). Although Walter ignores the rule on carrying a smartphone - and in this respect his individual subjectivity is never fully colonised (Paulsen, 2015) - Walter follows other rules, for example, he doesn't use his phone or office computers for DDL. To be part of a community (in this case, customer service workers) "when appropriate, we are under the obligation to adhere to its norms or collective practices" (Lawson, 2019 [2012], p. 50).

Significantly, Wallace (in a MC job) says "we kind of have our own rules" enabling he and his colleagues to stream music using a smartphone.

[4] Neither Walter nor Wallace expects to engage in DDL in work time. However, the reasons for this are quite differen. Wallace is generally unwilling to use the workplace (fixed) internet because he does not trust his employer. Therefore, Wallace actively chooses not to use workplace internet. He can also choose to use his own smartphone (a choice which is limited in Walter's case).

Whereas Walter occupies the Absent-Mistrust and Actual-Surveillance positions, Wallace occupies the Actual-Space and Actual-Trust positions. This means that for Walter, work-life

articulation opportunities are limited by a lack of access to smartphones and relatively limited autonomy (Absent-Mistrust). In addition, his awareness of monitoring of PIUW causes him to adjust his PIUW behaviour (Actual-Surveillance). In Wallace's case, PIUW is present and enabled by spatial flexibility (Actual-Space) and Wallace is not subject to rules about smartphones, in a job that is associated with greater autonomy (Actual-Trust).

To further consider the positions occupied by Walter and Wallace, the tables below illustrate which other participants occupy each TCP. The examples in table 6.7 are typical of Walter whose awareness of the likelihood of monitoring and sanction impacts PIUW. However, in the following table we see how individuals may be constrained through a range of factors.

Table 6.8 Theoretically Constructed Position: Actual-Surveillance	
Position description	Workers are acutely aware of PIUW being monitored. Individuals may have direct or indirect experience of warnings or sanctions. Knowledge of the likelihood of sanctions relating to PIUW results in individual PIUW behaviour that is adjusted accordingly.
Participant	Example
Julia, Administrative Assistant (WC job)	Somebody complained about him and it was monitored. And then he was called into the office one day and he was reprimanded for it. And they said he couldn't use the internet for six months at work.
Sarah, Library Assistant (WC job)	I wouldn't tend to use it to book, like say, to book a holiday. I never, I wouldn't… which I know some people do. I wouldn't do my banking online, anything like that. I don't tend to do that. Because then you are… you might be alright. But you can't defend yourself, I always think you couldn't defend yourself.
Diana, Customer Services Assistant (WC job)	You're right. So, if I was logged in as me, I might not look at, I don't know, BBC and iPlayer, no, I probably would actually, but I might be naughty or something if I wasn't logged in as me and quickly look at something else. Nothing like shopping or betting or anything like that but I am conscious of who might go, 'oh now she's on her AD [logged in, in an identifiable manner as opposed to generically], why are you looking at that?' [--] because I think it's human nature to want to be just a little bit naughty

	even though it's not really naughty at all. Yeah, but I am conscious when I'm logged in as me or when I'm logged in as generic.
	And I know that in the past, I don't know if anybody else has mentioned this, that the [customer service setting] I think at one point were monitoring what people were sort of looking at. Not in a big degree, but I think in a smaller degree and then things were flagging up what people were doing, I don't know, internet shopping or something when there should be front counter staff or even at the [Council public buildings], I think it was flagged. So yeah, they're monitoring it, I think.
Melanie, Data administrator, (WC job)	Our team leaders are fine as long as we're not busy and it's not something inappropriate, but the Ops manager is very strict, and people have been disciplined for misuse of the internet and work emails.
Jason, Medical secretary (WC job)	There was one incident where a manager requested a report on people accessing websites that weren't related to work. And then that was fed back to us by our team lead. And what it was… we were just told what sites they were, but people weren't told who'd accessed this site. So, it was rather a general… just to let people in the office know that external sites could be monitored, but nobody was actually challenged individually… [--] I suppose it was kind of like a warning to the general office. (Jason)

6.4 Findings

The preceding analysis illustrates how managerial control operates in relation to organisational discipline where negative expectations are shaped by prior experience around sanctions. This analysis leads to two findings that are discussed next.

6.4.1 *Finding 1: There is a striking disparity in PIUW between those in WC and MC jobs*

Internet technology has huge potential to support individuals' work-life articulation, for example, through the remote management of tasks. Although all participants have internet access, there is a marked difference in the volume and quality of PIUW described by those in WC jobs. Most of this group has limited freedom around PIUW, and individuals rarely describe any DDL. Where examples of PIUW are provided, these are of a kind (such as checking news or weather) where no online interaction, or transaction takes place. This group's lack of PIUW is surprising and constitutes a special case (Lawson, 2003).

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In relation to this first finding, important labour process conditions that constrain workers' PIUW include intensity of work (as in Julia's case) and a lack of privacy (as in Walter's case). Furthermore, those in WC jobs are far more likely to be subject to rules prohibiting phone use in work time. For workers (like Melanie) who are not free to access their phones in worktime, staying in touch with friends and family is relatively more challenging.

6.4.2 *Finding 2: The PIUW of those in WC jobs is constrained, limiting their ability to manage life-related tasks on work time*

Individuals may have significant caring responsibilities because of domestic circumstance (like Walter who is a live-in carer for a parent with dementia). However, those in WC jobs are far more likely to know someone who has been reprimanded or sanctioned for PIUW or to have experienced this themselves. As a result, this group shares an expectation around the likelihood of sanction which shapes their experience of work. As a result, those in WC jobs are far less likely to experience work as an environment for personal development (Willis, 1977; Höpfl;Hamilton and Brannan, 2017). Moreover, opportunities to take care of home-related tasks in work time are not anticipated.

6.5 Chapter summary

From this first data analysis chapter, rules - relating either to PIUW or smartphone use in worktime - are present or absent. The importance of rules has become clear. The actualisation of DDL depends partly on the absence of such rules. Rules are structures of power (Lawson, 2020 [1999]). Where workers are subject to rules about PIUW *and* smartphones, their options to manage home-related tasks are doubly limited. Of 14 participants in WC jobs, only three were free to carry smartphones at work. In two of these cases, workers (a Street Warden and a Health & Social Care Officer) have work-provided phones for reasons of personal safety (due to lone working and unsocial hours working).

Of 14 participants in WC jobs, 12 had a similar experience (only Jim and Shelley in WC jobs provided examples of DDL). In Shelley's case, tasks were often carried out surreptitiously and in the knowledge that she could be sanctioned. Wallace cites a lack of trust in his employer as a reason not to use workplace internet. However, Wallace (in a MC job) can use his smartphone freely, so he does not experience any restriction around PIUW. Following Lawson (2020 [1999]) we can understand social position through the "different responsibilities, obligations, and prerogatives (p. 22) that accrue to those in different social positions.

In this chapter we have seen dramatic differences in experience when participants who occupy two Actual and two Absent positions are compared. Once again, distinguishing amongst the reasons for an absence are important to providing an explanation. TCPs support this task, when we see that a worker occupies the Absent-Sanction and Absent-Mistrust positions, meaning that the potential for PIUW-related sanction is real and work-life articulation is constrained through in-work limitations on autonomy. When the two are compared, we see that the experience of the worker occupying two Actual positions (Actual-Overt and Actual-Trust) could not be more different. Moreover, a comparison of those in Absent and Actual positions illustrates the *choices* that are available to individuals. Using this method, we can explore how restriction on choice impacts quality of work-life articulation, and, for example, how much more difficult it is to support a parent with dementia when you are not allowed to carry a smartphone at work.

Comparing women to men, a lack of access to DDL is important because women already bear a disproportionate responsibility for domestic work (ONS, 2016). Therefore, women in WC jobs are relatively more disadvantaged, as compared to women in MC jobs. Gendered differences in PIUW are explored in more detail in Chapter 8.

Whereas the first finding is generalised, later findings (4, 5 and 6) are intersectional.

This chapter has focused on classed causes. In the next two data analysis chapters, a sustained focus on rules leads to an explanation of the relationship between social position, gender and DDL.

Chapter 7. Gender, class, and Digital Domestic Labour

Unpaid work in the home and paid work in the labour market are fundamentally entwined (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2002; Tepe-Belfrage and Steans, 2016). This chapter develops the findings from Chapter 6 which described striking differences in inequality of access to workplace internet. These initial findings are developed by exploring how intersectional forces contribute causally to different experiences of PIUW for work-life articulation. Data analysis is organised as follows. In each of three sections, data is assessed via three pair vignettes with TCPs used to explore workers' differential experiences. Then, through applying these novel categories of analysis explanations are developed. Thus, by understanding labour relationships between both domains, we may better understand gendered social relations under capitalism (Federici, 2017).

In the first half of this chapter, data is assessed via three pair vignettes. In the first vignette, the experiences of a man and woman, both in MC jobs, are compared. In the second, the experiences of a man and woman, both in WC jobs, are compared. In the third, the experiences of two women, one in a MC job and another in a WC job, are compared. Then, in the second half of this chapter, interviews with managers are drawn on. This secondary analysis unpacks the relationship between managerial discourse and the normativity that underpins workplace social relations to further contextualise findings. In the first comparison, gender rather than class is the basis for a contrast that considers PIUW as a means to connect with life outside of work.

7.1 Actual-Space and Actual-Invisible

In this vignette, the experiences of Jeff and Roxann (both in MC jobs) are compared. Neither has any caring responsibility. What is interesting in this comparison is the extent to which both (but Jeff, in particular) are able to pursue leisure and domestic projects using PIUW.

Jeff (in a MC job) is a 44-year-old case manager working in adult social care. He lives with a partner and has no children.

Jeff's working day is divided between time spent in a large open-plan office where computer resources are shared, and time spent visiting clients in the community. Although Jeff is not able to vary his start and finish times, he has considerable discretion in how he manages his work.

Jeff uses workplace Wi-Fi to pursue a personal interest:

> So, for example, you know, I'm trying to develop another part of my working life with photography. And part of that, is the use of social networks. Now, if I'm, you know, because of the photography aspect of it, I can't just wait until I get home on a night until I post work to Instagram because there are particular times in the day that your traffic is at its height and that's what you need to exploit. So, if that's at, you know, if the algorithms tell you that that's at 2pm, then I want to post at 2pm. I don't want to miss out on that opportunity, just because I happen to be sitting in the office at work. And personally, I think that's…, if that lasts less than, I don't know, five minutes, that's acceptable. You know, in my head you should get, like a break from your screen everywhere, every two and a half hours or something, so. To me, although I may not get up and move, that is my break from looking at that screen and doing my work. And that's an acceptable use of that time. (Jeff)

In the following example, Jeff comments on how he uses short gaps in his schedule:

> But again, I think that's absolutely fine and I think we are very capable of multitasking and managing. 'Here's my work, here's the phone call I have to make in ten minutes, in my diary. I've just finished writing up this plan. I have seven minutes between those two things. I can either try and squeeze another piece of work into that. But it'll probably not work very well. So, what else can I do with these seven minutes? I know! I'll manage that. As a 44-year old man, who's done this job for eighteen years now, I will manage that. And

use that time to research something. Or maybe send a message to one of my colleagues. Which is just pleasant. (Jeff)

In Jeff's office, workers have been asked to leave their phones in their lockers. Although there are rules around smart phone use in his office, Jeff isn't constrained by these.

So, for example, I'm in the middle of buying a house at the moment. And I simply could not have done that if I hadn't been afforded time during my working day to make phone calls or to send emails on my phone, to solicitors and builders, and all of that kind of stuff. It would have been impossible. And I think my experience of that would have been so much more stressful, if I hadn't… If I'd been told 'you must wait until four-thirty when your shift finishes before you can have that communication knowing full well that everybody else probably finished at four o'clock who I need to communicate with. So, that's probably what I've used it for the most in the last six months, is just communicating with people. That, I think, is entirely necessary. (Jeff)

Jeff's experience can be contrasted with Roxann, (also in a MC job) who works in a school.

Roxann (in a MC job) is a 53-year-old primary school teacher. She lives alone and has no caring responsibilities.

Roxann has a specialist role which means that she often teaches children on a one-to-one basis. When children are in school (from 9am to 3pm) Roxann is more limited regarding PIUW. She has a 15-minute break in the morning and a 45-minute break for lunch. At these times, she often checks Facebook and webmail. Roxann normally finishes work between 3pm and 5pm.

Roxann describes being less visible than some of her colleagues. For instance, she doesn't leave her classroom door open, so she is less likely to be seen if the head teacher is walking around school. There are rules around staff use of smartphones: "You're not supposed to

use them in school, you're supposed to have them turned off. But I never have mine turned off. I always have mine switched to silent."

Outside of the classroom, teachers have access to a small number of computers in a shared workspace. For Roxann (who does not have a computer in her classroom) this is a source of frustration: "So, I got fed up with that, and it meant that my limited amount of time to do prep or whatever out with my class times, it was quite annoying, that I couldn't get on a computer when I wanted to." Roxann resolved this issue when she discovered a collection of old school laptops, eventually finding one that worked: "And now it sits inside a drawer inside my office. So that whenever I want to use a laptop, either for work, mainly for work, or personal use, I'll just take it out and wire it up to a port wherever I can find a space around school."

On odd occasions, Roxann may have an unexpected gap in teaching:

> Obviously, a certain amount of play is in work. Like, you know, if I've got… very, very occasionally… say I had a child that I was supposed to have between ten and half ten, or something like that. And it's not my normal contact time. And for whatever reason, they are absent… then, very occasionally, I would just hide in my room and could go online on my phone to faff about, do whatever I feel like. That's pretty rare, but very occasionally, I would do that. (Roxann)

Roxann was asked if she ever books GP or gym appointments from work: "Well, I'm not a member of a gym. My fitness stuff is dancing." She often travels to attend dance events, sometimes going straight to the airport after work on a Friday. In this case, she would check arrangements online beforehand (for example, street maps or hotel bookings). Sometimes, the bookings for dance events are time-sensitive:

> If you are a woman going to these dance events, it's more difficult to get a place, because there are more women want to do it. So, there's more demand for women's places at them.

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> So, therefore, if you want to go, and, say, booking's opening at 10am on Monday, or something like that, you have to book within the first five minutes a booking is open, so you can get a place. So that you can definitely get a place. (Roxann)
>
> The level of temporal flexibility Roxann has is explained by the nature of her job:
>
> > If I was a [regular] class teacher, I would have the children there the whole time and I couldn't do that [PIUW]. But, whereas, I have groups of children coming in at different times of the day, so I can easily sneak a five-minute time between taking one child back to the class before I pick up the other child. Uhm… and the [class] teacher probably wouldn't notice that I've been five minutes late, or something like that. Or if they did, they probably wouldn't make anything of it anyway. But, again, that is extremely rare that I would do that. (Roxann)

In this vignette the experience of a woman in a MC job is compared with that of a man in a MC job. To understand their experience, the contrast is assessed in terms of [1] Labour process [2] Housework [3] Rules and [4] Expectations.

[1] Jeff enjoys a degree of freedom in his work schedule which enables PIUW. As part of a plan to develop photography into a career, Jeff posts to social media throughout the day. Other gaps in the workday are used to connect with colleagues. In comparison, Roxann has limited flexibility during school hours. However, she is relatively more free than many of her colleagues and occasionally, a gap is found to connect to leisure interests.

[2] Although neither Jeff nor Roxann has caring responsibilities, both have busy lives beyond work, for example, Jeff provides examples of domestic admin tasks that cannot wait until the end of the working day. When Jeff and Roxann, in MC jobs, use gaps in their workday for PIUW, we see agents transforming social reality as they shape the temporal and spatial conditions that enable their PIUW (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002)

[3] To some extent, both Jeff and Roxann ignore workplace rules on smartphones. Jeff chooses not to leave his phone in his locker and Roxann switches hers to silent rather than switching it off. Significantly, Roxann has successfully addressed computer access by appropriating an unused school laptop. Here, we see Roxann exercising agency and the causal powers of people and technologies become visible (Orlikowski, 2010; Elder-Vass, 2017).

[4] Jeff describes how 'much more stressful' his house buying experience would have been without access to PIUW. From this description, we can see that Jeff expects to be able to complete home tasks in work time. Moreover, from Jeff's perspective such activity is justifiable, and 'entirely necessary'. While Jeff and Roxann both enjoy a level of autonomy associated with MC jobs, both nonetheless encounter limitations linked to the work environment. However, their expectations to connect with life beyond work are stronger than workplace norms. Roxann says she 'got fed up with' not having an assigned computer.

Jeff and Roxann both occupy the Actual-Space and Actual-Invisible positions. This means that PIUW is present and enabled by spatial flexibility (Actual-Space). At the same time, PIUW may be hidden, and escapes organisational surveillance owing to smartphones being used (Actual-Invisible).

To further consider the positions occupied by Jeff and Roxann, the tables below illustrate which other participants occupy each TCP. To achieve this, the tables below show who else occupies each TCP illustrating (in Table 7.1) that Lenore, Nancy and Wayne also occupy the Absent-Agile position.

Table 7.1 Theoretically Constructed Position: Actual-Space	
Position description	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). PIUW is enabled. It is either unlimited or not limited. Organisational conditions (for example style of work) confer spatial flexibility, for example, through agile working (e.g. hot-desking) or travel to meetings.
Participant	Example
Lenore, Schoolteacher (MC job)	If I want to use the internet at work, for anything personal, I would have to use the college's [internet] which isn't great either, it cuts out a lot. But I do have a laptop in the classroom. And, I'm trying to think what sort of things I would use it for. I'd use it for making appointments and bookings in the main. So, if I want to do a gym class. Or if I want to do a repeat prescription, you can do that online now. So, things like that …. Also, if I've got any arrangements, like later on in the day. (Lenore)
Wayne, Customer Services Assistant (WC job)	People [who work on the fourth floor] do it all the time because if you're bored. And if you're on a generic computer, you can't check emails. It's limited what you do. So, if you're just standing there, people will look at things on the internet.
Nancy, Street Warden (WC job)	Our personal mobiles we carry on us in case our work phones die. I get calls from family and I normally don't answer until I'm either in the van or away from the public as it doesn't look good always on your mobile, chatting or texting. If it's serious I will find some place where I can call back. But we haven't been told we can't.

In the example from Sarah (below) it is apparent that spatial conditions both enable and constrain PIUW.

Table 7.2 Theoretically Constructed Position: Absent-Agile	
Position description	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk (for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response). PIUW is limited or not limited according to spatial conditions (for example style of work may confer varying levels of spatial flexibility, positively through agile working, travel to meetings or negatively, lack of privacy limits PIUW.
Participant	Example
Sarah, Library assistant	Well, sometimes I have had messages, but I don't tend to look at my phone, I think because both jobs that I do, I'm on the front desk, and I think that makes a difference.

(WC job)	I think if you've got your own desk, you can have your phone nearer, and you can check it. Whereas I don't really have. If I'm waiting for something that I know is quite important, I might just leave it in an open cupboard and put the phone separate to my bag and check it. But I'm not really… I think when you're on the front desk, it's a bit more difficult, to have your phone out.
Lenore, Teacher (MC job)	Yeah, so we've got a teachers' manager I guess she is. She's a head of education. I guess I would probably be careful about what I was doing around her. And actually, in front of other members of staff that weren't part of our team. So, maybe admin staff, so. I mean not the radio; I would just leave that on. Nobody's kind of questioned that

In the examples below, it is apparent that in Lenore's case, even when she is having lunch, she doesn't want to be seen to be watching iPlayer. Below, Lenore and Roxann also occupy the Actual-Invisible position.

Table 7.3 Theoretically Constructed Position: Actual-Invisible	
Position description	Individuals hide PIUW. The reasons for this may be related to labour process (as in the case of public-facing customer service work) or because rules exist around smartphone use. Other reasons are, for example, impression-management. PIUW escapes organisational surveillance. Labour process factors may mitigate risks, for example when workers are required to use their own phones at work. A significant factor is individual technology literacy.
Participant	Example
Lenore, Teacher (MC job)	I'll tell you what else I do. I sometimes watch the iPlayer when I'm having my lunch, like five minutes while I eat a sandwich. It's just nice not to be watching students out of the window or thinking about work, so. And I think I would feel uncomfortable if I was caught doing that.
Roxann, Teacher (MC job)	If it was… somebody like my deputy head, or the principal teacher, or the head teacher, I wouldn't be doing that in front of them. Uhm… doesn't matter whether that would be on my time or not, I just wouldn't do it. I might do it on my own secretly, on my phone, maybe… But I wouldn't be doing it on the work one where they would be able to see it.

That Lenore occupies all three TCPs discussed above (Actual-Space, Absent-Agile and Actual-Invisible) is initially confounding. However, this is a good example of the way in

which TCPs make it possible to evaluate the complexity and tensions associated with participants' experience. In Lenore's case, she experiences relative autonomy in a MC job. However, the nature of the (teaching) labour process introduces restrictions (for example, where work with children is highly regulated and privacy is limited in classrooms).

Next, gender rather than class is the basis for a contrast that considers social rules as collective practices.

7.2 Absent-Agile, Absent-Mistrust, Actual-Covert, Actual-Attitude and Actual-Surveillance

In this vignette, the experiences of Diana and Wayne (both in WC jobs) are compared. This comparison illustrates how two individuals may share the same (Absent-Sanction and Actual-Surveillance) positions, but their experience differs in respect of gendered causes.

Diana is in a WC job. She is a 56-year-old dental receptionist combining this part-time work with other part-time work. Diana is married with three children. When asked about caring responsibilities, Diana said that, until recently, she had been cooking meals for her mother-in-law twice a week. Otherwise, time spent on caring, and housework fluctuates depending on which of her children are visiting (she estimated spending between 21 and 28 hours a week on this, for example, during the summer University break). She described her 19-year-old son as "bringing home all his washing and expecting to be waited on hand and foot".

At home, Diana favours the internet for some tasks (for example buying insurance): "I love the convenience of internet banking. Because I send money to all of my kids, all over the place and it's just so convenient. My husband hates internet banking."

When Diana was asked if technology is used to share tasks with her husband, she said "I'll send him a text message saying 'please, put the kettle on' or 'please put the washing out' but that's about it really". Diana was asked how housework is shared at home:

> It's shared a little bit. [Husband] does a little bit. He's a man of a certain age, you know. I don't know. He went from his mother to his wife, didn't he? [--] He does gardening. I suppose that's still housework and I don't do much gardening, so I suppose yeah, he's got that element. But if you're on about dusting, cleaning, not a great deal and he doesn't iron and he doesn't cook, but he'll do a little bit, badly. (Diana)

At work, Diana does not feel that using the internet for home tasks is an option:

> Well, if you were sat on your phone on a reception desk, I think they would have something to say about that. So no, you just wouldn't do that. [--] and again, there's no opportunity to do anything like that at the dental practice, it's too busy, but I'm sure they'd have something to say. I don't think any employer wants their staff to be sitting online shopping when they're supposed to be working. (Diana)

At the dental practice where Diana works, neither PIUW nor smartphone use are considered acceptable. However, Diana has observed differences in response to an organisational rule about smartphone use in worktime.

> Yeah, I'll tell you. At the dental practice, one of the dentists, who's a really good competent dentist, in between his appointments, always has his phone. And he's an avid rugby fan, cricket fan and that's basically what it is. He's either watching whatever's going on in the news about whatever's happening in the World Series about whatever it is. And it is an absolute bone of contention with the manager. She goes off it all the time. 'He's on his phone again! Why can't he just get the next patient in?' And he's a nice guy and he's a very good dentist but, yeah. If that phone was taken away from him, I think they would love it at the dental practice. So, he's always in trouble for that and they tell him all the time. (Diana)

Diana says: "It's unbelievable, isn't it? You just think, 'what are you doing?' And he's got three patients and they're all late." According to Diana her dentist colleague has been warned about his PIUW: "He has had warnings. He has. He's had official warnings. 'Get off your phone [name]'. They haven't done anything about it yet because he is a good dentist."

Diana's experience can be contrasted with that of Wayne (also in a WC job) who works for a City Council.

Wayne is in a WC job. He is a 50-year-old customer services assistant. Wayne has worked in a public facing role for some time, combining part-time, zero hours work and self-employed work. He is married and has one adult child and another child still in school. Wayne estimates that he spends 20 hours a week caring (one of his children has additional support needs).

Wayne does not think that technology or internet has affected his, or his partner's housework. He was asked how his housework is organised: "I think, it's pretty well-balanced. We share different tasks. And it just depends on who's got time. When I was part-time, I was doing a lot more of it. Now we share it. But I tend to do all the shopping."

Wayne works in a large open plan setting. At busy times of day, long queues form. Several hours can pass until a natural gap occurs (no one else joins the queue). Then staff might have a chance to take a short break. The total workforce (in Wayne's workplace) numbers over 100. On any given day there might be 25 customer service assistants on duty, with a further 20 managers and service specialists working in back offices.

While discussing PIUW, Wayne mentioned the rules on smartphones:

I do know at work, and this doesn't include the internet, you're not supposed to have your phone, with you at work. And that's more, you know, just a general thing about not using a

personal phone. It's not specific to the internet, it's just not doing it. But this is maybe where I've always had my phone because as a parent of a child with additional needs. Because one child had a lot of illness, a lot of problems at school. I had to be constantly available, sometimes I had to leave work and maybe I had to respond to school quite quickly. And I always had my phone for, more for texts or phone calls. And I still do it because I've got an adult child now with vulnerabilities and support needs. And I always had my phone just in case I got a call. Not using it. (Wayne)

Wayne is an experienced customer service worker. Responding to a wide range of enquiries, such as those relating to local services, involves accessing information systems and securely handling customer data. Wayne and his colleagues share computer resources.

Wayne was asked if he does online shopping:

I've done that, but not at work. I think probably because I worry about security. I've seen other people do it at work. Buying things like tickets for bands, or insurance, or holidays, at work. Putting their credit card details in. But again, I've never done that at work. I might have looked for information but, to be honest if I'm doing something like a big search for insurance, I wouldn't have the time to do that at work. So, I would do that at home. It's never actually ever crossed my mind to buy anything at work. (Wayne)

Wayne described the sorts of PIUW that he thought would be considered acceptable:

Yeah, I think you probably wouldn't get into trouble if you were looking at something to do with information to do with your friends or football results, What's On, or a recipe that you want to cook tonight. But if you started doing, like, buying holidays or banking or looking at porn. Or looking at other things illegal. Or things against the policies of [employer] like gambling. You would get into trouble. (Wayne)

Wayne reflected further on this and characterised his decision-making around PIUW as: "Maybe one way would be to say some of these things involve a transaction [--] If you start

interacting on the internet and carrying out transactions in the workplace. That's a different
level."

In this vignette the experience of a man in a WC job is compared with the experience of a
woman in a WC job. To understand their experience, the contrast is assessed in terms of [1]
Labour process [2] Housework [3] Rules and [4] Expectations.

[1] Diana and Wayne both work in public-facing customer service roles that are associated
with a lack of privacy. In this study, participants in such roles are often subject to rules about
smartphones. Managerial practices relating to the supervision of smartphone use is explored
in section 7.4 (this chapter). Lawson (2012) argues that social identity, such as that associated
with work, is conferred through position and its associated status. Diana has the rights and
obligations of a dental receptionist, for example, she can process patients' data, but she is
required to do this in accordance with data protection regulations.

[2] Although Wayne has a school-age child, he does not give any examples of DDL. In fact, it
hardly occurs to him to do domestic tasks in work time. Rather, he describes PIUW that is
limited to, for example, looking at sports. Diana and Wayne have similar levels of domestic
responsibility, yet neither carries out domestic tasks in work time. It might be tempting to
view the experience of Diana and Wayne as being similar. Both experience similar constraints
that limit PIUW, with similar consequences for work-life articulation. However, whereas
Wayne shares housework with his wife, in Diana's case she does most of the housework.
Diana's unequal housework share (ONS, 2016a; ONS, 2016b), means that constraints on
PIUW are likely to have a differentially negative impact on work-life management. Moreover,
in Diana's description we see the kind of social attitudes, where there is an acceptance of
women assuming most of the unpaid work in the home. Such social attitudes, contribute
directly to an observed slowing down of occupational integration at the level of the labour

market (Hegewisch and Hartmann, 2014). As a woman in a WC job, Diana faces interacting structural disadvantage (Steans and Tepe, 2010; Federici, 2012; Ferrant et al., 2014).

[3] Wayne is aware that he is 'not supposed to' have his phone with him at work. Similarly, Diana is obliged not to engage in PIUW in worktime. Thus, rules serve "to guide individual action" and relationally organise position occupants (Lawson, 2019 [2012], p. 61). By adhering to a rule limiting smartphone use, Diana reflexively reproduces the rule structure. However, in Diana's example, we see that her colleague (a dentist) is not limited by the same rule.

[4] Adherence to a rule can be thought of as a "position obligation" (Lawson, 2019, p. 16) played out in myriad interactions such as those described by Diana and Wayne. Diana's and Wayne's expectations of PIUW have been shaped by processes of social positioning which are in operation everywhere. Diana feels that PIUW (even on her smartphone) would be frowned on. For Wayne, "buying holidays or banking" are among the sorts of things that would get you "into trouble". Diana and Wayne articulate how they should behave (the boundaries of their collective practice in relation to PIUW).

Diana and Wayne both occupy the Absent-Agile, Absent-Mistrust and Actual-Surveillance positions. This means that PIUW is mainly absent, associated with risk, and limited by labour process factors such as a lack of privacy (Absent-Agile). Their work-life articulation opportunities are limited by a lack of access to smartphones and relatively limited autonomy (Absent-Mistrust). Their awareness of monitoring of PIUW causes them to adjust their PIUW behaviour (Actual-Surveillance). In addition, Wayne occupies the Actual-Covert position. Also, Diana occupies the Actual-Attitude position meaning that her experience of an unequal housework share can be linked to gendered social attitudes that have differentially negative consequences for women.

To further consider the positions occupied by Diana and Wayne, the tables below illustrate which other participants occupy each TCP. Like Wayne, Lori occupies the Actual-Covert position.

Table 7.4 Theoretically Constructed Position: Actual-Covert	
Position description	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). Individuals hide PIUW. The reasons for this may be related to labour process (as in the case of public-facing customer service work) or because rules exist around smartphone use. Other reasons are, for example, impression-management.
Participant	Example
Lori, Customer Services Assistant (WC job)	There has always been a certain amount of tolerance when surfing the internet at work. Working in a [workplace] we often need to look at things online for customers. Even social media isn't totally out of bounds as we have links to our social media sites. It depends on how busy we are. If I have a queue obviously my focus is on the customer. If things are quiet, I tend to look at news sites like the BBC or [local news] live. I always try to stick to something educational. Occasionally I might look at estate agents, check a holiday destination or an online shop but I would check that a supervisor wasn't around. I would never buy something during work time although I know people who do. [--] When my children were younger, I would print off the odd thing for their homework, but I tried not to abuse this too much. If the customers are served and tasks are completed first, then I would go online. I always make sure I close the page before I serve a customer too. I may be very naive, but I think if what I look at doesn't breach [employer] guidelines and I don't ignore my work then I will be all right.

Like Diana, Richard (in Table 7.5) occupies the Actual-Attitude position meaning that gendered reasons underpin an unequal distribution of housework at home.

Table 7.5 Theoretically Constructed Position: Actual-Attitude	
Position description	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). Gendered reasons underpin inequality in unpaid work at home. Reasons given include gendered attitudes and generational differences.

Participant	Example
Richard, Social Worker (MC job)	You know, I believe there is pink and blue jobs. I know this is a very old-fashioned way of looking at things. I wouldn't expect my wife to change the tyre on the car, even though I've shown her how to … I'm probably an odd person that way because everyone I know … All the lads in my group. They do a bit of cooking. They do a bit of this, they do a bit of that … I mean, I've never cooked a meal in my life. Isn't that sad? I have this joke with my wife … and I'm not proud of it. I do absolutely nothing. Absolutely nothing. And I always say I'm more of a hunter-gatherer.

Richard's attitude towards specialised gender roles for domestic work is untypical amongst professional and college educated workers (Brewster and Padavic, 2000; Svallfors, 2006). In contrast, Joshua (below) who is a generation younger than Richard, describes an egalitarian sharing of housework albeit with some gendered division of labour (Joshua takes out the trash). However, Joshua describes doing cleaning tasks. Often, the behaviour of partners in dual-earner couples does not accord with the role preferences they describe (Usdansky, 2011).

Table 7.6 Theoretically Constructed Position: Absent-Attitude	
Position description	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response. Gendered reasons underpin inequality in unpaid work at home. Reasons given include gendered attitudes and generational differences.
Participant	Example
Joshua, Software Developer (MC job)	This is more something we've discussed as time goes on. There's certain tasks that I would do, and there's certain tasks that [partner] would do … So, for example, any cleaning of the house, I mostly do. Yes, it's just something I'm happy to do … She mostly deals with the washing of the wares and maybe keeping the kitchen a little bit tidy. … And I take charge of the vacuuming and sweeping and so on. And taking out the garbage, taking out the trash. Yeah. It's something we've spoken about a few times.

Nicole, Trainee clinical psychologist (MC job)	And, definitely my partner does help with that. It's not something that he'd just do. I sort of have to say well, "will you do that today?" And he generally does. So, I guess it's just around … He is more than happy to do it but just needs that sort of prompt, I guess … to do that or if he comes home from work and has noticed that I've cleaned the bathroom or hoovered and dusted, then he will say, "what can I do?" to make that more equal. So, I guess I more intuitively do it, whereas he'll do it if I sort of ask, or if he asks. It feels a bit more shared which is just better for me.
Ed, Data Analyst, (MC job)	Not particularly. I'd say that we have jobs that fit one of us better. Because I cycle to work, the bike's kept in the backyard, I take the recycling and bins out as I'm going through the backyard, that kind of thing. We kind of allocate tasks mostly–it changes–but the ones where it makes sense for one of us to do it, just do it. […] We have a balance where if she cares about it and it's not too irksome for her, she'll just do stuff, and then she asks me to do the other stuff that she doesn't want to do, and we strike a balance that way.

Next, class rather than gender is the basis for a contrast that explores the relationship between caring responsibility and the structures of class and gender.

7.3 Actual-Temporal, Actual-Trust, Actual-Surveillance, Actual-Invisible and Absent-Mistrust

In this vignette, the experience of Marina (in a MC job) is compared with the experience of Shelley (in a WC job). This comparison illustrates the differential work-life articulations that are afforded to different workers.

> Marina is in a MC job. She is a 60-year-old literary events administrator. She works full-time managing projects. Marina lives alone and has some caring responsibility for a parent. The flexitime arrangements Marina has in place allow her to manage aspects of her work like delivering events outside of office hours:

> I can work until nine o'clock at night and then I can take that time back. Something like Open Days, I can be paid for it, if I choose to. Or take it off as flexitime. (Marina)
>
> Otherwise, Marina tends to start work around 9am and work until 5 or 6pm. Some of her co-workers choose to start and finish earlier. In Marina's case, she can use flexitime in various ways, for example taking a Friday off (to avoid using annual leave).
>
> There are eight people in her office. They take turns working at a reception desk (where Marina spends a half day each week). In Marina's office DDL is accepted:
>
> > I think everybody working in [section] feels they are able, or it's okay, to use the internet for doing home-related things, rather than work-related things". (Marina)
>
> Some of Marina's colleagues have small children: "I think something like nurseries now, they keep you updated throughout the day about your child, what they have eaten, how long they have slept, this kind of thing. So, for two, that's very much what's going on there. And then for other colleagues, it's very much social media updates."
>
> Recently, Marina's mother had been in hospital. Access to flexitime meant she could visit her mother every day for a month: "So, that was very, very helpful because there's no [other] way I could go to see mum and spend one hour with her at lunchtime. It just wouldn't happen. She would be very upset if I tried to leave after being there for about half an hour."

Marina's experience can be contrasted with Shelley, who works in a customer service setting.

> Shelley is in a WC job. She is a 46-year-old customer services assistant working for a local authority. Shelley works at a city centre location and neighbourhood branch offices. The total workforce (in Shelley's division) numbers over 100 and is about 80% female.

Shelley's husband also works full-time. Shelley describes doing more of the housework than her husband. Some tasks are shared. 'Click and collect' shopping (where items are ordered and paid for online, then collected in person from a store) supports a shared approach to food shopping.

A few months before the interview, Shelley had begun to use 'Click and Collect' for her supermarket shopping (where items are ordered and paid for online, then collected in person from a store). She describes ordering food items in work time, using her phone: "I'll amend my food shop if I'm at work". Before starting Click and Collect, "it was me doing all the shopping". For Shelley, the move to online ordering is about saving time:

> I'm finding now that my grandson, is getting older. I'll spend more time with him, and I just don't have the time to go and do it so [husband] does it. He finishes earlier on a Friday than me, so he goes and gets it and brings it back. (Shelley)

Shelley has two adult children (who have left home). Shelley spends 30 hours each week looking after her grandson. She describes caring for her grandson "all of my spare time". When she isn't with him, they often use Face Time to chat with each other: "see, it's much better than just talking because you have the visual as well. You can see people's faces that they're happy to see you and you don't get that on a phone call, do you?"

Shelley was asked if she does online banking:

> Yes, I couldn't do it any other way. I haven't got the time. I haven't got the time. Kids ask for a lend and I could be at work and they are at home, so I just pop it straight in their bank, do you know what I mean? It's really convenient. I don't think I could do without it now. (Shelley)

When Shelley was asked whether she can use her smartphone in work time, she answered: "I mean, there are lots of corridors. I'm dipping into the corridors, if I feel my phone

buzzing in my pocket, I'll go into the corridor and I'll answer it." Shelley gave an example of the sort of task that she can do: "I'll amend my food shop if I'm at work [--] I mean, with my phone though but I will amend it [and] check out."

Where Shelley works, the rule is that workers' smartphones are not to be used in the customer-facing side of the service. However, Shelley exercises differential levels of caution around PIUW depending which co-workers she is with on a given day: "I think it all depends on who you work with, isn't it?" Until a few years ago Shelley had worked in a different section of customer services. In her previous role, Shelley was aware of two colleagues who were sacked. Shelley explained:

> Actually, there was two. They came from another department and I think she was looking at wedding dresses. Terrible, you couldn't even blow your nose without them knowing. It's so relaxed where we work now compared to what it was like [previously]. It was horrendous. They used to do checks on your internet usage. (Shelley)

Shelley described her husband's housework: "he doesn't do a great deal of it; he hoovers and washes the dishes, and he irons." When their two children were younger, Shelley said "it used to be me doing the majority of it [--] I never expected [partner] to do it." However, now that their children have left home, the situation has changed "now that it's just me and him and it's just our mess, I think he should clean up his own mess." Although Shelley's husband normally cuts the lawn, they share the responsibility for the car.

In this vignette the experience of a woman in a MC job is compared with the experience of a woman in a WC job. To understand their experience, the contrast is assessed in terms of [1] Labour process [2] Housework [3] Rules and [4] Expectation.

[1] Marina's job (with evenings and weekend working) is associated with temporal flexibility. There is an expectation that she will work flexibly when operational reasons require it (out of

hours events). However, in exchange, she has the freedom to manage her own working day. In comparison, Shelley finds her labour process is closely supervised.

[2] Shelley has significant caring responsibility, but she has few opportunities to include DDL tasks in worktime (her work-life articulation is not supported by in-work flexibility). In Shelley's case, we see some examples of gendered division of domestic labour (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016). Contrary to what might be expected in the division of domestic labour in a WC dual-earner household (Deutsch, 1999) Shelley describes a situation where the housework share is becoming more equal. As Usdansky (2011) has identified, there are paradoxical contradictions between what people say and what they do, in relation to gendered domestic roles. In contrast, worktime flexibility has allowed Marina to visit her mother in hospital during the working day. The fact that Marina lives alone means that there is no division of domestic labour.

[3] Shelley chooses not to follow a workplace rule on smartphones. In this way, she can manage brief home-related tasks, for example, transferring money to one of her children. Shelley describes going into a corridor when her phone buzzes. This literal movement from a public space to a private one (in response to a workplace rule) is an example of a communication practice reconfigured through engagement with a smartphone (Mazmanian;Yates and Orlikowski, 2006; Orlikowski, 2007).

[4] Marina describes a relaxed culture towards PIUW and reasonably expects to do DDL tasks in worktime. However, for Shelley there are real risks associated with PIUW (she is aware of colleagues having been sanctioned).

Whereas Marina occupies the Actual-Temporal and Actual-Trust positions, Shelley occupies the Actual-Surveillance and Actual-Invisible positions. In Marina's case, this means that PIUW is present and enabled by temporal flexibility (Actual-Temporal). In addition, Marina is not subject to rules about smartphones, in a job that is associated with greater autonomy

(Actual-Trust). In Shelley's case, the positions occupied means that Shelley's awareness of monitoring of PIUW causes her to adjust her PIUW behaviour (Actual-Surveillance). Furthermore, Shelley hides PIUW while transgressing organisational rules about smartphones so that PIUW escapes organisational attention (Actual-Invisible). Shelley's work-life articulation opportunities are limited by a lack of access to smartphones and relatively limited autonomy (Absent-Mistrust).

Next, insights into supervision of the labour process and the organisational regime in relation to PIUW are available from interviews with managers. By examining managerial discourse, managerial practices can be connected with the TCPs described.

7.4 Managerial discourse and practice in relation to PIUW

Nine managers - three women and six men - were interviewed for this study (see table 7.7 below). The recruitment of managers was not systematic (snowball sampling and cold-emailing approaches were used). However, in some cases, there is a connection between managers and office workers, for example, Rosalind is Camille's line manager. In another case, Frank is a senior manager of a service where a further five participants are employed. Of the remaining seven managers, none has a direct relationship to participants.

To evaluate differences in discourse, it is useful to know whether those being managed are in WC or MC jobs. Max and Robin in the private sector, for example, both mainly manage high skilled IT workers (in MC jobs) whereas Rosalind and Barry (both office managers) manage mixed groups. Frank and Damian are public sector service managers, meaning that they manage other senior managers (in MC jobs).

Table 7.7 Managers and HR managers				
#	Pseudonym	Sector	Job title	Who is managed
16	Damian	Public sector	Service Manager	Those in MC jobs
20	Robin	Private sector	IT Manager	Those in MC jobs
25	Barry	Education	Programme Support Co-ordinator	Mixed
28	Rosalind	Higher Education	Impact Officer	Mixed
29	Aron	Public sector	HR & OD Director	Those in MC jobs
30	Penny	Third sector	Director	Those in MC jobs
31	Max	Private sector	Company director	Mainly those in MC jobs
37	Frank	Public sector	Service Manager	Those in MC jobs
41	Jennifer	Public sector	Team Manager	Mixed

Valuable insights have been gained from managerial interviews. These are organised in the following sections according to the topics [1] smartphones [2] DDL and [3] discipline. Next, Penny, a director at a large national museum, comments on her experience of two different groups of workers – back-office workers and gallery attendants.

7.4.1 *Discourse in relation to smartphones*

Penny manages more than 150 people in a high-pressure work environment: "I genuinely don't have time in the day, in my working day, to do anything other than work". She has a private office. However, when visiting different sites, she uses shared desk space. About smartphones, Penny gives an example of what is expected of gallery assistants:

> And they are out all day on the floor and they're not allowed to have smartphones on them because they are basically the eyes and ears, the frontline of visitor experience, with, kind of, helping visitors, hopefully ensuring they have a great experience but also, security. So yeah, they don't have smartphones. I think otherwise there would be that risk where people would be on their phones and it wouldn't create a very good impression for a visitor. (Penny)

Frank, a service manager at a local authority, shares an office with one other senior manager. Both have their own desks and computers.

Frank's perspective echoes Penny's:

And I think in the past, I think it still comes from 'Does it give a professional view if someone's on their phone while the customer is potentially waiting, or someone comes in?'

[--] So, I think there's a difference between having the phone on the floor [public facing side]. I can see why we would say that from a data security point of view, but I think that's always been the lesser concern in terms of that. I think it's been more about the perception of appearing professional. (Frank)

Next, Aron offers a holistic inter-organisational perspective. Like Frank, Aron, a corporate Head of HR, works at a City Council. Here, he describes a multiplicity of cultures coexisting within a large organisation:

You see, we don't have a universal written policy on that [rules about smartphones] across the whole Council. But I have no doubt that different managers will probably operate different standards or different expectations around that, in different workplaces. Because as you know, the Council isn't one workplace. It's a thousand different workplaces... because every room has a slightly different culture depending on the prevalent norms and expectations in that room. (Aron)

The interview with Aron took place in March 2019 and was number 29 (of 44). His insight into 'a thousand different workplaces' shed light on the ad-hoc nature of social rules. As compared to workplace policies, rules such as these are rarely written down.

Interviews with managers like Penny, Frank and Aron shed light on the organisational discourse behind workplace rules. In some cases, the nature of the labour process, is cited as the justification for such rules, for example, where workers are customer-facing the impression on customers takes precedence over concerns about data security.

Next, data analysis reveals further insights into managerial thinking and attitudes.

7.4.2 *Discourse in relation to Digital Domestic Labour*

Many of the manager participants in this study express positive attitudes towards PIUW, especially where this is in support of work-life management. In Chapter 6, Camille (who is line managed by Rosalind) described significant freedoms in relation to DDL and characterised her relationship with her manager in terms of "a really strong level of trust". Rosalind describes her approach.

> But for me, you know, if they are spending… if they want to spend an hour or two doing what they want to do, but then making up that time or doing something else… I don't have a problem with that, personally. I just say that… I say, the more flexibility you give people, and the more autonomy you give people, the more you get from them. That's just my sense. I hate micro-managing and I hate being… But, then, I imagine in some cases at work, you know… in other different areas, perhaps, that's a necessary thing. But I feel like the more freedom you give people, the more like… they are less likely to take a liberty. I think. Maybe it's just my… [laughs] attitude to management, but I feel like I don't think that, you know, saying to somebody. What are you doing?' or 'What are you?...' every minute of the day… it doesn't work. I don't think it works. Just my opinion. (Rosalind)

Table 7.8 Theoretically Constructed Position: Actual-Normative	
Position description	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). Managerial discourse frames PIUW positively and practice is supportive of individuals managing domestic tasks in work time.
Participant	Example
Barry, Programme support co-ordinator (HE sector)	I think the philosophy for us is that we know the staff work hard and are conscientious and that there are times where they might want/need a distraction or need to complete something that they wouldn't get time to at home or attend to an urgent matter that might otherwise take them away from work. We're fine with that because we know that they wouldn't take advantage of this, but we would point it out if we did think

	they were taking advantage. I think and hope that we create a relaxed but productive working environment and things like allowing internet use at work add to that culture. Yes, I think other members of staff do take a cue from me as to what is acceptable use of the internet, Wi-Fi on phones and so on. My computer display is visible to most of the office and there are times when they see I am on the internet as I do with them.
Jennifer, Team manager (public sector)	I do support a lot of stuff with work-life balance, because they've got young children or carer responsibilities, and I don't care as long as the work gets done.
Damian, Service manager (public sector)	It does make life a lot easier. I think there's things like, you know, if you haven't got access to a good PC or internet access at home, I think it's something that an employer can offer as a bit of an incentive and support to staff. So, you know, I certainly wouldn't then have a problem with staff that I'm working with and staff that I'm responsible for, accessing the internet, as long as it was within the rules that the employer, sort of, sets out.
Max, Company director (private sector)	We tend to turn a blind eye, initially [to PIUW]. But if we thought it was getting out of hand then we would have a conversation with somebody. If that was maybe lined up with performance issues, then that would trigger a conservation. Obviously, something to do with school, stuff like that, we expect people to, if the kid's in school, there does need to be communication. I think that's acceptable kind of communication whereas if someone's just on Facebook, talking crap about whatever they did last night or whatever. That's not acceptable communication.

Examples above illustrate a managerial practice that explains the individual experience of Actual-Trust. Where managers frame their response in terms of trusting workers without the need for close supervision. Looking at Rosalind's statement, we can appreciate the relationship dynamic.

7.4.3 *Discourse in relation to discipline*

Penny's job is very demanding, but her job is varied. Her time is split between meetings and visits to gallery and studio sites. In the museum back offices, Penny has some insight into workers' PIUW:

I mean, every so often I'll go to the printer and I'll find that someone's used the printer to print things off. So, we tend to share printers. And it might be somebody's printed out their tickets for something, a social event, or their airplane tickets, that kind of thing. I mean, when you're walking about you do see people on different sites, BBC News, Guardian, that kind of thing. And, due to the fact that the offices are all open-plan, I think it's hard for somebody to kind of abuse it and be on it for any kind of length of time, or any significant length of time. But yeah, I guess a variety of reasons, Facebook as well. People are on these kind of sites. (Penny)

Penny has been involved in investigating a case relating to workplace technology. She says that she has: "a heightened awareness of it because I've had to be on the other side investigating inappropriate behaviour". This experience has affected her own PIUW. The way in which Penny's PIUW is shaped by involvement in sanctions processes is echoed in Damian's example below.

Table 7.9 Theoretically Constructed Position: Absent-Discipline	
Position description	PIUW is absent. Reasons for its absence are often framed in terms of risk for example, individuals anticipate a negative organisational response. Managerial discourse in relation to PIUW is shaped by inside experience of disciplinary procedures and sanctions. This experience informs managerial practice.
Participant	Example
Damian, Service manager (public sector)	Because one, the role that I'm in, I oversee disciplinary issues. Over the years I've come across disciplinary situations where one of the issues for people has been personal use. Inappropriate personal use. So, you know, excessive amounts of time spent on the internet, while logged in for their job. [--] So, you know, years ago I would have said 'well I did a couple of hours [work] at the weekend, so actually I'm probably just going to wander out, or I'll go online and do this [non-work], because actually I can tell my manager that I spent two hours doing that [work] so my half an hour on the internet here, say, checking the house insurance and things is ok'. So, you know, years ago I probably would have done that without thinking. But over the years, having seen disciplinary processes where the evidence has been presented, which is 'here's your internet usage and here's the fact that you were logged in at work, regardless of your reasons. I'm afraid there's no question that you've abused the system. Therefore, you know'. Significant sanctions have been incurred by people. Quite quickly, I started to readjust my thinking around that. [--]

	I'm one of the signatories that can be involved at the highest level of sanctioning.
Penny, Director (third sector)	If I needed to do anything for personal reasons… I have printed a few things out occasionally at work. I'll do it early in the morning or at the end of the day, so it doesn't interfere with my day-to-day but also, I don't want to be seen to be doing anything that is personal in worktime and be observed by any of my team. I think that sends a very negative message. I don't expect them to be doing these things in worktime either. So, I wouldn't want to set that kind of example. [--] Very conscious of the IT policy. And a former head of IT in a previous organisation used to actively run reports and things. So, I've probably become aware of the Big Brother effect. And I haven't had any really negative examples of people being charged with inappropriate behaviour in the workplace because of the use of technology. I'm just very conscious of it. And maybe I'm a rules player, so I don't like to merge the two things. But if I'm walking between meetings and I've got my phone in my hand and it beeps and it's the family WhatsApp, I will look at it. [--] I mean all I'm aware of from IT discussions is that there'll be certain websites that will send alerts to the IT department so they can set it up so… and obviously they can set-up, so they've blocked a lot of things as well or it's been somebody who's been reported. I've had one person in my team reported for misuse during the work time and that was because they started to watch Wimbledon on their computer screen, in the office, in a shared office because most people are in open-plan offices. I mean, in the case of somebody watching sports they were given an informal warning. And in the case that… where I was Investigating Officer, it was because then the HR department wanted to establish whether or not there was a case to answer, and my recommendation was that that should be a formal warning.

Like Damian, Robin manages individuals in MC jobs (computer programmers). It is notable that what Robin categorises as 'normal internet usage' would, in other settings, be considered the sort of activity that could result in sanction:

> So, for me personally, news sites, current events entertainment, looking at possibly hotels to stay in, holiday destinations, shopping, anything like that, any of the sort of what you'd class as normal internet usage and so it wouldn't be like forms of entertainment. I wouldn't be streaming media, TV, music. Not because it's in any way unacceptable but it has a certain impact on bandwidth. So, if everybody is watching Netflix at lunchtime that would effectively drag the service down for everybody else. (Robin, IT Manager)

Like Robin, Aron identifies bandwidth as a concern:

> And I know from our head of IT at [organisation]... that was becoming a real operational
> problem for us. And they were getting to the point where they were considering removing the
> ability for staff to put their own devices onto the Wi-Fi. Because the volume of usage was
> slowing everything down. Because lots of people have got apps on constant refresh. Without,
> perhaps, without even realising it. And that just means, everything else runs slow. The thing is
> people now people think of Wi-Fi as a utility. (Aron, Head of Human Resources and
> Organisational Development)

Frank oversees a City Council customer services department where council tenants can access
information about services such as housing.

> Wi-Fi access and devices is a huge one. But I think ultimately, a lot of it comes down to is
> whether it stems partly down to resource, but from our side the [service] ethos are things we
> don't want to monitor what people do. We're working on the assumption that people are doing
> their job. And it only becomes an issue if that's by exception rather than we assume you're
> doing something wrong so, we need to monitor. We assume you are not, so we're not going to
> monitor it. (Frank)

Frank expands on the theme that staff internet use is not routinely monitored:

> No one's routinely, as far as I'm aware, monitoring people's access. It's only if you hit a trigger
> that potentially input indicates your access… And, you know, if you're doing something
> legitimate, if you're not accessing something that is blocked by the network, then the only time
> it would really come up would be if someone reported it happening, or something happened
> that led someone to investigate, that then turned these things up either. No one's looking over
> people's shoulders. (Frank)

In the table below examples illustrate some of the main concerns about PIUW from an
organisational perspective.

Table 7.10 Theoretically constructed position: Actual-Risk	
Position description	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). Managerial discourse in relation to PIUW is shaped by business concerns. Managers higher level technology literacy informs their understanding of organisation-side impacts of technology which in turn informs managerial practice.
Participant	Example
Robin, IT manager (private sector)	I think there's a significant disconnect between the two environments. One is very much a personal thing. Whatever you choose to download onto your device at work could potentially corrupt your own device or cause yourself a security concern. Whereas, if that's done on a networked business system, it could potentially impact other people or the business itself, whether that be in malicious software or data that could bring down the reputation of the business.
Max, Company Director (private sector)	It's not an easy thing to track because most programmers have just got a black screen of code and you can't tell. Unless you go up and actually look at exactly what they're writing, you can't really tell. You just see a black screen and code on there. [--] We can put in systems to monitor what people are doing, either monitoring internet traffic or monitoring everything they do on the machine, just about. [--] we're a small company and we don't want to do that, really. I think it would be an uncomfortable feeling to think that you're being monitored 24/7.

In the first example above, Robin describes issues relating to PIUW that could have costly impacts for a business. For Max, the director of a small design agency, one issue is when programmers using company resources to do work for other employers. Robin mentioned a similar issue related to programmers who take on additional contracts (that ought to be completed on their own time). We can now see how positions such as Actual-Surveillance can map to managerial practices such as Absent-Discipline and Actual-Risk.

The most interesting idea to emerge from this focus on managerial discourse is that those in MC jobs are managed differently, for example, with Rosalind's management of Camille (in a MC job), Rosalind says 'the more autonomy you give people, the more you get from them'. Similarly, Robin (who manages IT specialists) characterises as 'normal internet usage' a list

of activities including 'looking at possibly hotels to stay in, holiday destinations, shopping, anything like that'.

The preceding analysis uncovers causal relationships between class, labour process conditions and PIUW/DDL. Whereas gender was the basis for comparison in the first two vignettes, class was the basis for comparison in a third vignette. Conditions that enable office workers to manage home responsibilities across the work-life boundary result in individual freedoms that are relational. Awareness of personal obligations around PIUW have been conceptualised in Lawson's terms where these are a "position obligation" (Lawson, 2019, p. 16) playing out through myriad interactions. Whereas Diana (this chapter) reflexively *reproduces* a rule about smartphones, Shelley (this chapter) reflexively *transforms* a rule structure that limits smartphone use amongst customer service workers. These are examples where "people reflexively decide to reproduce or transform [structures] through their constellation of concerns" (Martinez Dy, 2020, p. 127).

The analysis in this chapter leads to two findings that are discussed next.

7.5.1 *Finding 3: The PIUW of those in MC jobs is not limited, enabling them to manage life-related tasks on work time.*

Those in MC jobs gave examples that were more numerous, in wider range and more time consuming. In Chapter 6, we saw that many participants in MC jobs (including Melissa, Lenore, Louis, Ed, Joshua, and Claudia) have work-provided laptops and phones affording wider choice regarding PIUW. Those who enjoy both temporal and spatial flexibility are the most able to manage tasks across the work-life boundary. Of 21 participants in MC jobs (not including managers), 16 had a similar experience to that of Jeff, Roxann and Marina.

The next finding is intersectional.

7.5.2 *Finding 4: Women in MC jobs are more likely than women in WC jobs to use PIUW instrumentally, to manage domestic tasks on work time*.

From the comparison with Marina and Shelley (this chapter) and from those with Julia and Melissa, and Camille and Melanie (in Chapter 6), women in MC jobs experience considerable freedom for PIUW as compared to women in WC jobs. Camille is typical of women participants in MC jobs. She feels free to take care of home tasks in work time. Of nine women participants in MC jobs, seven had a similar experience to Camille. In the case of the two women in MC jobs (Lenore and Roxann) who reported relative constraints on their PIUW, this was partly owing to labour process (both are teachers) and partly owing to norms around technology behaviour in teaching settings.

7.6 Chapter summary

In this chapter, data analysis comprises three pair vignettes. In the first of these, the experiences of a man and woman, both in MC jobs, are compared. In the second, the experiences of a man and a woman, both in WC jobs, are compared. In the third, the experiences of two women, one in a MC job and another in a WC job, are compared. Following these vignettes, interviews with managers are drawn on to further contextualise findings. For example, interviews with managers highlight the contingent nature and variability of workplace rules. This comparative analysis adds detail to the headline findings (in Chapter 6) of stark differences between those in different occupational classes. For example, we see that even Jeff and Roxann (in MC jobs) are constrained to some extent by rules. In this case, analysis using TCPs makes it possible to identify forms of temporal flexibility as being most relevant (such as the level of choice that workers have in relation to naturally occurring gaps in worktime). However, both Jeff and Roxann push back against the rules. When we compare Diana and Wayne (in WC jobs) who are also constrained by rules

both believe that sanction is a possibility. The prospect of sanction does not concern Jeff and Roxann.

In the first two vignettes, participants occupy the same occupational class position. In the third vignette, Marina and Shelley occupy different occupational class positions and we see stark differences in their experience. Although Shelley pushes back against rules to a limited extent, Shelley is obviously constrained by rules (about smartphones *and* PIUW) Marina is constrained by neither. What is most striking about the comparison between Marina and Shelley, is the extent of the difference in their experience.

The value of the TCPs method is increasingly apparent when it facilitates the comparison of multiple conditions simultaneously. In fact, analysis can be built by adding in different factors. In this way, having considered who is most impacted by workplace rules, the relative impact of individual's caring responsibilities is considered next. Although neither Jeff nor Roxann has caring responsibilities, moderate access to PIUW means that both can manage aspects of home and life in worktime. In comparison, Diana, and Wayne both have caring responsibilities (shared equitably and less equitably) with their partners. Arguably, Shelley, who has significant caring responsibilities, has the most to gain – in terms of work-life management – from PIUW access in worktime.

In this chapter, when managerial discourse and practice is accessed, a further layer is added to the analysis. Moreover, we see how managerial perspectives vary according to the occupational class of those they manage. Here, examining managerial discourse in terms of organisational rules allows us to understand relationships between social structure and managerial agency. For Frank and Penny who manage workers in public-facing, customer-service (WC) jobs, rules about phones are justified mainly for reasons to do with customer experience. In Robin's case the workers he manages (in MC jobs) are completely free to do PIUW (and DDL) on the understanding that company bandwidth is not negatively impacted. Overall, managers express positive attitudes towards DDL. Barry's managerial style echoes

that of Rosalind, where employees are generally trusted to manage their PIUW so long as they remain productive. This secondary analysis unpacks the relationship between managerial discourse and normativity in workplace social relations.

This chapter has focused on classed and gendered causes. This focus continues in the next data analysis chapter which explores relationships between labour process, technology, and gender.

Chapter 8. Technology and work-life articulation

In previous data analysis chapters (Chapters 6 and 7), we have seen how the likelihood of PIUW is moderated by expectations around the likelihood of being monitored or sanctioned. In particular, an exploration of workers' experience of sanctions in Chapter 6 was followed by more detailed analysis in Chapter 7 drawing on managerial discourse and practice. Eight of the 44 interviews for this study are from people in four partner relationships. This makes it possible to read aspects of one partner's experience against that of the other. This chapter draws on three such 'partner' interviews to explore DDL in the context of the division of paid and unpaid labour at the household level. Later in this chapter, relative risk in relation to individual technology skill is considered further through the experience of seven participants who have a high level of IT literacy.

In the first half of this chapter, data analysis is organised as follows. First, the focus is on workers' engagement with PIUW to achieve a range of work-life articulations. In each of three sections, TCPs support analysis. Then, through applying these novel categories of analysis (TCPs) explanations are developed. Data is assessed via three pair vignettes. In the first and second vignettes, the experiences of a man and woman, both in MC jobs, are compared. In the third, the experiences of two men, one in a MC job and another in a WC job, are compared.

In the first comparison, gender rather than class is the basis for a contrast that reveals the importance of labour process freedoms that are temporally and spatially mediated.

8.1 Actual-Space, Actual-Temporal and Actual-Trust

In this vignette, the experiences of Louis and Claudia (both in MC jobs) are compared. This contrast explores some of the conditions that enable enhanced levels of freedom in relation to PIUW.

Louis is in a MC job. He is a 51-year-old social worker, employed in a health context. Louis lives alone and does not have children. His parents live several hundred miles away. Louis had previously taken carer's leave in order to provide support to them when they had been ill.

Louis was asked whether he uses internet for household admin:

> No. Bills normally reside behind the front door. And I certainly don't have internet banking or anything like that. I think I've set it up about three times but then I constantly lose all my details, so that's not something I would utilise that kind of thing for. (Louis)

Louis has some choice over when he starts and finishes his working day:

> It's Monday to Friday. I've never been great in the morning. Sometimes you have to get in early but ideally, I don't like to start until about quarter to ten. But then I'll work late. We hot desk. It's very busy, very noisy. And I've always found anyway that my mind works better at night. So, I'd much rather work 'til seven, or half seven. Because the office is emptier then. And it gives you a chance perhaps to catch up with work. And to reflect on things a bit without the constant bustle and the noise of people crammed into a very small location. [---] It's good to be able to build up hours. And take additional time off. Yeah, I really do like [flexitime]. (Louis)

Louis frames PIUW in terms of frustration with his work situation: "it's almost like, as a reaction to the general bullshit, work, and the general conditions of work. [--] And sometimes when I come into work, I literally can't be arsed to do it." He is openly critical of organisational factors that limit the time available to spend with clients: "In the job that I do there's been a phenomenal amount of ongoing changes over the course of the last couple of years that I really think are very negative. There's been a reduction in workforces. There's been an increase in the workload."

PIUW allows Louis to connect to an interest in travel.

There are things that are important to me, in my life, like travel. There's always more things to see, or things to do, than sometimes, getting stuck into work. And it can be almost a bit distracting I think, sometimes, when you've got work coming out of your ears. … But it's quite easy to be distracted by things. And follow that path to look at faraway places. Think about faraway places. Or whatever it may be that is going through your head. And it's perhaps easier to get stuck into that, than perhaps getting stuck into the daily grind. (Louis)

Hot-desking is one area of conflict. Difficult working conditions have been exacerbated by frequent office moves: "this is the third place that we've been into in the last year". Louis compared his current office with a previous one:

As I say, perhaps for me personally, and recently, [PIUW has] been something that I've done more, rather than less. Because setting up every day, on a different desk. Assuming that you can actually get one, and that isn't guaranteed, is quite discombobulating. Linked to an increasingly corporate experience. Work, and something that's very much process driven. Perhaps you switch off a bit more, as opposed to, a bit less. And maybe then subsequently has an effect, and an increase in, where you might look at the internet for non-work purposes more, because of those reasons. (Louis)

Louis spends much of his time away from the office:

In terms of the work that I do, I have to go and see people in a lot of different locations. So yeah, you probably get more of a sense of autonomy. There are certain aspects of the work that might tunnel you to one place. But also, there is the flexibility. And a very necessary flexibility to you needing to get out and about. [--] I might have to walk to the bus stop. Wait at the bus stop. And then get a bus to wherever I'm going. Then I may need to walk somewhere after that. So, there's, by design and default, there's a bit of decompression time in that. And that probably does then lend itself, psychologically, to feelings of greater autonomy. (Louis)

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The peripatetic nature of his work means that Louis has to be contactable via smartphone, so it is normal for Louis and his colleagues to have their smartphones on the desk at work: "Oh yeah. I mean, we probably have … probably most people have two smart phones on the desk. One's their personal one and one is the work one." Louis was asked if he communicates with friends and family in work time: "If I want to speak to somebody, then I would do so, whether it would be a friend or a family member. If there was a need to speak to somebody, then I would communicate with them without any concern about it being during the work time."

When looking at eBay, he usually uses his smartphone. For Louis, choices around whether to use the work PC or his own smartphone are made according to different factors: "One of the things is that you have a bigger screen obviously, and that could be, attractive, and also you might not have a lot of data left, or none at all in fact."

Louis's experience can be contrasted with that of Claudia.

Claudia is in a MC job. She is a 53-year-old counsellor working in a busy healthcare setting. Claudia lives with her partner who also works full-time. Her partner's children stay over at weekends.

Claudia estimates that, on average, she spends two-thirds of her work time in face-to-face contact with clients (seeing a maximum of five clients each day for sessions lasting up to one hour). The remainder of her time is accounted for by admin tasks.

Claudia's working week is split between two office bases that are completely different. One, is an open-plan office where staff at all levels of the organisation share the same space. At a second community location, Claudia has a private office where she is sometimes alone: "So, that's when I tend to do more of that sort of [DDL] stuff because it

takes longer. And because I'm not constantly moving in and out of rooms, I have a bit more time, there".

Claudia was asked how smart phone use is regarded in her office:

> Everyone's got their smartphone out. […] So, I actually sit in very close proximity to my manager's manager and her manager. And my manager's manager sits with her phone out and openly will be … making it quite clear that she's texting about her son, or some childcare issue, or something like that. And I don't feel that if she walked past me and I happened to, well I'm doing it today, I've texted [partner] shortly before I came out and she was sat opposite me. I don't feel like there's any rules about 'you can't do that'. Everyone seems to do it. But not take a lend, do you know. There's a level of trust which I think is quite mature. (Claudia)

A rule relating to workplace printing had been raised in an informal way:

> [M]y manager has said to us as a team, 'oh, just so everybody realises', that her manager can look at anything that you print out, you know because I had printed out a couple of tickets that I got via something on the internet, you had to print them out and I'd ran out of ink at home. And she wasn't making a point particularly to me. But she was just letting us know. [--] So, I kind of know that I shouldn't do it. But I don't do it a lot. But I wouldn't not do it if I needed to. (Claudia)

Claudia was asked whether she ever did online banking at work:

> I have done but only once because I've got a thing that I need, with a key thing. So, I can only do that if I've brought that in. And it was, when I'd got this credit card, I then the next day took in my stuff so that I could do all the other business. So, I have done that. I've done maybe a bit of research. When I wrote my car off, I did a bit of research about looking for second-hand cars, on What Car. I didn't do any sort of, particularly browsing.

> Did I? Oh yeah, because that was in the summer actually. But I did that on my phone. But I did some research about it on the computer … on the work computer. (Claudia)

Sometimes Claudia has an unanticipated gap in her schedule, for example, when a client fails to show up. This time might then be used for PIUW:

> Actually, when you said about childcare. What I have done recently is … Because you know that [partner's] daughter has got [a medical condition]. So, I was researching that online. So, the reason I was researching it was for my own domestic, family use. (Claudia)

Between appointments, Claudia is also free to engage in PIUW:

> So, then I might go on eBay or look at my own personal emails. I might look at … one of those sort of email lists I'm signed up to. Or look at news channels. That's mainly what I look at. So, I mainly do internet shopping or looking at lefty politics stuff, in work time. And I sometimes do that on my mobile phone in this job. Because in this job, we can connect to the Wi-Fi … so I can use my phone for all of that. Or occasionally I'll browse through the work… I've got a laptop; I've got a work laptop which is designated for my use. And I do, like today I did, I connected to my Gmail. (Claudia)

In this vignette the experience of a man in a MC job is compared with the experience of a woman in a MC job. To understand their experience, the contrast is assessed in terms of [1] Labour process [2] Housework [3] Rules and [4] Expectations.

[1] Louis is subject to working conditions that he finds oppressive, yet the autonomy he enjoys in a professional job means that he can shape these. Often, he adjusts his schedule to fit his own preferences. By travelling on public transport to appointments, 'decompression time' is built in. This temporal flexibility makes Louis's work tolerable. Whereas, for other participants in this study work intensity constrains PIUW, for Louis, intensive work conditions are rather a justification for PIUW that is viewed as necessary in the context of a

labour process that is sometimes overwhelming (Al-Amoudi, 2019). Claudia has varying levels of freedom that link to temporal and spatial conditions.

[2] Neither Louis nor Claudia has children. However, Claudia shares her partner's childcare responsibilities. The fact that she has relative privacy at one work location but not the other means she has more opportunities to engage in DDL. Louis is single. He describes himself as someone who does not use internet to manage household tasks, for example, he has not set up online banking. Both Louis and Claudia can remain connected with their social networks in worktime. This is especially the case for Louis. Comparing the content of their PIUW, Louis's is more leisure focused. Louis, who lives alone, spends relatively less time on housework than would be the case if he had children (Kluwer;Heesink and van de Vliert, 2002; Baxter;Hewitt and Haynes, 2008).

[3] Louis is not subject to rules about phone use in work time. In fact, he always has a smartphone with him. Likewise, Claudia, doesn't 'feel like' there are rules about smartphones although she is aware of a rule about non-work use of the office printer. Although Claudia is aware that her use of the office printer may be monitored, this does not prevent her using the printer.

[4] For Louis, PIUW is a response to an intensive work regime and is recognisably resistance (Paulsen, 2014). When workers like Louis resist organisational norms (for example, those about productivity) we see how collective practice has the potential to transform such norms (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002). In Claudia's case, it is apparent that she expects to do home tasks at work, for example, when she brings a device to access online banking. Claudia links her experience of PIUW to managerial practices that define office norms, shaping an environment where PIUW is acceptable. That Claudia and Louis have such expectations is explained by the rights associated with the position they occupy (Lawson, 2019).

Claudia and Louis both occupy the Actual-Space, Actual-Flexible and Actual-Trust positions. This means that PIUW is present and enabled by spatial flexibility (Actual-Space) and temporal flexibility (Actual-Temporal). In addition, both occupy the Actual-Trust position meaning that they are not subject to rules about smartphones, in jobs associated with greater autonomy.

Next, we can consider Claudia's work-life challenges in the context of household structure because Claudia's partner Andreas also took part in an interview.

8.1.1 Household structure and DDL

Andreas works full-time in a MC job. He has shared caring responsibilities for his school-age children. When asked how much time he spends on average caring for his children, Andreas estimated 50 hours per week.

Both Claudia and Andreas (interviewed separately) estimated how their housework is shared. Andreas puts it like this: "There's no real strict structure to housework. It's just one of those things that … It's pretty much shared but there's no strict rules and structure to it. But yeah, it's a nice fifty-fifty split." Claudia more or less agrees: "We kind of share it…. Although I think I do more than him. But I think he might not say that. Washing. Laundry. That tends to be fairly even although, I do … Cooking, we share that. And shopping we tend to share."

Regarding DDL tasks in general, Claudia gave more examples than Andreas of tasks requiring preparation. For example, when she made a credit card application online, she needed to bring certain paperwork with her. Their examples of PIUW and DDL (mentioned in their interviews) are included in the table below.

By looking at a shared domestic situation it is possible to consider relevant dynamics that generate shared patterns of domestic activity.

Table 8.1 Claudia and Andreas: Personal internet use at work		
Claudia	DDL	PIUW
	Dog food shopping	eBay
	Looking for cars	Webmail
	Researching a child's health condition	News
	Sign up for credit card	Work email used socially (colleague)
	Online banking	Read articles online
Andreas	Paying bills	eBay
	Renewing car insurance	Wikipedia
	Buying household items	Old TV programmes
	Social media (communicate with a child)	News
		Webmail
		Searching job websites
		Applying for jobs

8.2 Absent-Low, Actual-Overt and Actual-High

In this vignette, the experience of a woman in a MC job is contrasted with that of a man in a MC job. The contrast reveals that both enjoy considerable freedoms with regards to PIUW. Yet, both avoid using workplace internet with differential levels of technology literacy explaining why this is the case.

Martin is in a MC job. He is a 42-year-old lab technician, working full-time in an education setting. Martin lives with his partner and two children. He described unpaid care at a level of approximately 26 hours per week (including six hours spent caring for his mother).

Martin has his own desk in a large open-plan office but spends much of his time visiting onsite settings using a work-provided tablet when he is away from the office.

Martin has flexibility in his working time, preferring to start at 8am. Through negotiation, his team members are able to choose their start and finish times with some starting at 10am.

Martin describes a work culture that is relaxed around PIUW and DDL, for example, he often listens to YouTube videos on headphones while working on his desktop computer. Using his own smartphone at work is permitted:

> For example, if I got a phone call from let's say like a telephone company saying that there is an issue with your broadband […] and they decide to phone you up at a random time on my mobile phone, then yes, I won't just ignore the call and say 'well can you call back like later on today'. I can take the actual call and if it is something that I can deal with right then and there, I can actually deal with it. If it's a two-minute thing. (Martin)

Martin was asked whether DDL is acceptable in his office:

> If my partner phones up and says, 'we've got this thing blah-blah-blah-blah', and I can go, 'hang on a second' tap-tap-tap-tap. 'There it is there. It's this one, you can get it from this site', and it's kind of done. It's a two-second thing. I'm obviously not like spending three hours scrolling through something stupid on Facebook when I've got better things to actually do. (Martin)

Martin made it clear that he would save longer tasks for break times.

> Because a lot of my jobs can be very time sensitive. So, my performance is based on how soon I can get jobs done with the least amount of friction. So, if I was to spend all my time media searching or watching YouTube videos when I should be working, it will be noticeable within my workload. (Martin)

When asked whether internet is useful to manage domestic projects, Martin gave an example of monitoring solar panels installed at his mother's house:

> There's an app. So, I can check on the app, if I want to. I can go onto the website and then ... 'Solar Edge' - you can go on and you can see the energy usage, how much is actually saved, how much is being gained from the sun. And then that way you can calculate up how much money the electricity company owe us, as it were. (Martin)

During the interview, Martin displayed an in-depth knowledge of the risks associated with internet technology. He describes considerable confidence in relation to computers:

> I'm considered computer-savvy. I can build a computer off the top of my head. I grew up from a young age when I first started building computers, I would solder on the microchips, that's how old…Yeah? 486s, 286s, Commodore Machines. My first ever machine was an Atari console. (Martin)

Martin's experience can be contrasted with that of Caitlin.

Caitlin is in a MC job. She is a 35-year-old finance business partner. She has worked at several international companies in the private sector, including in banking and currently works for a large UK non-profit. She lives with her partner. They have no children.

There are few rules governing Caitlin's smartphone use. She works in a large office where wearing headphones is acceptable (sometimes she listens to an audio book online). Caitlin describes her use of PIUW:

> I use internet but I don't use it on the computer or laptop at work. I use it on my other devices that are with me. And, depending on the workload and depending on how motivated, or engaged I am, I use it from none at all, to sitting there pretty much all day!
>
> [--] I can have my smartphone on my desk, and I think it is a privilege of my position. The majority of people are not allowed to have smartphones on their desks. (Caitlin)

In comparison to some of her colleagues, Caitlin has a great deal of freedom in how she manages her working day. When asked about breaks, she says:

> I take a regular tea, coffee, fag break. And toilet break. Just because I get bored at the screen. [--] And some of my colleagues can't. So, it's quite unfair that, for example, colleagues that are in the call centre, they have to request permission to go off. (Caitlin)

However, Caitlin is not completely free of managerial scrutiny:

> So, currently I work in a very open-plan space and I have people more senior, more junior behind me. I have my manager in front of me. She's got quite a stride, I can hear her coming, so! (Caitlin)

Here, Caitlin describes the sorts of home-related activities she routinely carries out in work time:

> I'm trying to think what I do … technology does help me because I can order pet food online and that's what I do. And I load my pre-loadable card, so I can budget. I check my balance. In a sense, yes, it's very helpful … (Caitlin)

The company Caitlin works for has blocked social media on workplace computers: "I think we're a dinosaur because everywhere else is unblocked". Caitlin is cautious regarding internet to the extent that she avoids using employer data:

> I'm just on my own data. At the previous place … So, [company name] had employer Wi-Fi for devices. And again, I didn't use it because I just don't know whether the usage is tracked. And quite frankly I'm very technologically challenged but I don't know whether there is any reports generating in the back of it, saying 'oh naughty, naughty, toot-toot'. (Caitlin)

Caitlin explains her reasoning further:

> It's simply because you wouldn't want something so miniscule to be just another justification for reprimanding you. Part of it is because I know that … The truth could be told in many ways. And I know that my version of the truth may not always be heard. Or, I may not be given an opportunity to present my version of the truth. I have had quite a few run-ins with HR over my career. (Caitlin)

Caitlin's cautious attitude towards workplace internet is partly shaped by an experience with a previous employer where she received a warning and a colleague was sacked for inappropriate use of workplace email:

> I'm usually compliant. I'm fairly senior. So, you just don't do anything that you possibly could be reprimanded for. So, it's … I'm trying to think where … I think it was [a previous employer] had a very strict policy with regards to email. So, you couldn't communicate externally from your work email. And also, you … Especially sending files. Not allowed. And you couldn't receive anything from external email because it was blocked. I don't know whether it's the entire financial sector or whether it was quite specific to that organisation. But I did actually receive a warning. I sent a booking confirmation to my personal email. […] And I received an email saying, 'you have checked communication outside of the organisation, don't do that again.' (Caitlin)

In this vignette the experience of a woman in a MC job is compared with that of a man in a MC job. To understand their experience, the contrast is assessed in terms of [1] Labour process [2] Housework [3] Rules and [4] Expectations.

[1] For both Caitlin and Martin, PIUW is permissible. Caitlin has a senior position. She describes times when she would engage in PIUW extensively if she felt like it. Martin, on the other hand, generally keeps more time-consuming PIUW for break times but is comfortable with completing briefer tasks in work time. Both are careful about workplace internet. In Martin's case, in-depth knowledge of internet and computer systems, mean that he also does not use workplace Wi-Fi (except where data security is not a concern). As a man in the UK, Martin is significantly more likely to occupy a technical job as women are under-represented in IT in the UK where only one in six specialists is female (Peacock and Irons, 2017; TechNation, 2017; Kenny and Donnelly, 2019; Krchová and Höesová, 2021). This issue is explored in more detail later in this chapter.

[2] Although Caitlin actively avoids using workplace internet, this does not prevent her from managing home-related tasks in worktime. Like most of the participants in MC jobs (in this study) she has the option to use her own smartphone and data. Unlike Martin, Caitlin does not have children, so whereas Martin estimated 26 hours per week spent caring, Caitlin has no caring responsibility. However, she describes the convenience of being able to manage home-related tasks (such as buying pet food, and online banking tasks). Martin gave DDL examples (dealing with a broadband issue, ordering something for the household and monitoring his mother's solar panels).

[3] Although Caitlin cannot access social media on a workplace computer (because it is blocked) neither Caitlin nor Martin is subject to rules around smartphone use. However, Caitlin's experience is shaped by a prior experience working for an organisation that had very strict rules about workplace email.

[4] Both Caitlin and Martin identify risks related to PIUW. However, Martin describes himself as "computer savvy" whereas Caitlin describes herself as "very technologically challenged". In Caitlin's case, this perceived lack of capability is a reason not to use workplace Wi-Fi. Martin also doesn't use workplace internet for the same reason. His practice is informed by a detailed understanding of how the technology works.

Whereas Caitlin occupies the Absent-Low position, Martin occupies the Actual-High position. This means that Caitlin's technology behaviour is informed by a belief in the likelihood of sanction combined with a lack of technology knowledge (Absent-Low). Martin, on the other hand, does not anticipate organisational sanction because of his higher-level appreciation of IT systems (Actual-High). Both occupy the Actual-Overt position meaning that PIUW is not hidden and is thus visible to managers.

To further consider the positions occupied by Martin and Caitlin, the tables below illustrate which other participants occupy each TCP. In Table 8.2 Louis and Lenore both share the same position as Caitlin. Even though all enjoy considerable freedom at work regarding internet, all wish to avoid being monitored.

Table 8.2 Theoretically Constructed Position: Absent-Low	
Position description	Organisational power is stronger when a belief in the likelihood of sanction is present. PIUW is constrained through a lack of knowledge of technologies that can protect against employer surveillance such as virtual private network (VPN).
Participant	Example
Louis, Social Worker (MC job)	But there's stuff like that, I only ever use my phone for those kind of messages. I would never go on Facebook or anything like that using a work computer. But I have been on my email account via them. But I would never go on social media using a work computer.
Lenore, Teacher (MC job)	In terms of the email, I don't use that socially just because I just don't trust that people won't look at it. When I used to work at […], it was always suggested that there was a possibility that they could look in at what you were emailing so I think that's probably just always stayed with me. I do use Gmail. I've got two Gmail accounts. So, I've got a one for friends and I've got, like a one that I would have used for when I was self-employed. I use those both regularly at work just to keep on top of everything.
Nancy, Street Warden, (WC job)	Our [work] smartphones are also, I believe, tracked, and monitored. So, myself, I use them with caution, as Big Brother is watching [--]. I would like to learn more about the web and technology as I am not really that clever when it comes to technology.

Like Martin in Table 8.3, other participants occupy a position where PIUW behaviour is affected by higher skill. All are men in MC jobs. Of seven people working in IT and tech jobs (16% of participants in this study) none were women. This outcome reflects both an (unrepresentative) non-probability sampling approach, and the gendered nature of technology occupations. Therefore, we should be cautious in what we concluded here. Nonetheless, this subset of seven men in MC jobs clearly enjoy an advantage.

Table 8.3 Theoretically Constructed Position: Actual-High	
Position description	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). PIUW is enabled through a higher level appreciation of how internet infrastructure works. Individuals whose work involves programming and IT systems management have a considerable advantage associated with insights into the employers' surveillance capability.
Participant	Example
Joshua, Software developer, (MC job)	Yes. So, just because I know that anything on my work laptop can be tracked or like, it could be scrutinised more heavily. So, if it was inspected, I just try to avoid using it for those … for personal use. That's why I try to keep to my personal … my mobile mostly, yeah, for any communication or anything that I need to do that is personally related. If I need to look up something on Google that isn't too obviously personal, I'll probably use my [work] laptop. Most people are more relaxed at work than I am, about it. But I just try to make a work and Twitter life distinction more hard line, yes. Yeah. I think I might have also used like… Sometimes when I'm using social media on my phone I might just put on a VPN [virtual private network]. So, I have a VPN that I use […] It's encrypted between my device and the VPN that I'm using so that my employer might not necessarily see everything, yeah? But like maybe I'm looking at a job advertisement [laughs], I'll probably throw that on. I'm not using it much, but I know it's an option, if I need to do that.
Ed, Data Analyst, (MC job)	So generally speaking, I'm really hesitant to use any work appliance for anything other than work. My area of work is data analysis and statistics, so a lot of it requires transferring information across, which is very problematic where I work. It would cause such an uproar if some information got leaked. So, you have to be really careful. So, I don't have any non-work contacts on that [work] phone, I don't know if it's possible to install Facebook or any other social media but even if it was, I wouldn't. There's just little to gain and lots to risk.
Alexander, IT Development & Operations, (MC job)	I work in IT. I'm very familiar with ... I've worked in the operations and the infrastructure side for the last… certainly the last ten years including in [country]… I have a wide interest in how this technology works, and… I mean, I guess, I have a really clear understanding of how much information is recorded and how intrusive this technology can be. I really have always tried to keep my personal communication off… systems not owned by me. […] My general philosophy is… to keep my personal and private communications on equipment that I own. And do work on company… on company equipment. It's kind of like oil and water, you know, never… never the two shall they meet!

| Marc | I did work for [name of] Council and one of the little things I did was to find |
| IT Business Partner, (MC job) | vulnerabilities in their network printing systems, so it was in its Pre Go-Live state and I was there to look at vulnerabilities and effectively, one of their project managers asked me to try and break it. And I found quite a few. So, I naturally just do that anywhere I go. And internet usage is one of those things where I'll just attempt to go and try and find if there's any vulnerabilities anything that will allow me to access something that really, I shouldn't be able to access. |

In these examples, a common theme is the separation of work and personal devices where PIUW is concerned. Furthermore, specialists in IT have insights that clearly influence their technology behaviour. In relation to PIUW, the issue of technology literacy is especially important because of the risk of sanction. In this chapter, participants who received informal warnings around technology norms include Jim (a library assistant) and Caitlin (a finance business partner).

Next, we can consider Caitlin's work-life challenges in the context of household structure.

8.2.1 Household structure and DDL

Caitlin's partner Marc also took part in an interview. Marc is a 32-year-old IT business partner. They are two of the highest paid participants in this study. Here, Caitlin describes how domestic tasks are shared at home:

> I think that we have a fairly fair split between who's cooking, in the house. Mostly it's 'fend for yourself' and find what's in the fridge. We take turns in cooking depending on who is available, when, and fit in with life outside of work as well. So, I think it's fairly balanced. Cleaning … cleaning and general upkeep. I would say I probably take 70% of that. But that's usually because I notice that before he does. Or I get more annoyed by it than he does. Ironing is everyone for themselves [laughs]. Yes! (Caitlin)

In academic studies of housework, cooking is often considered as one of three core housework tasks (along with cleaning and clothes care) which are both the most disliked and

traditionally feminine of tasks (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016). Yet many people consider cooking an enjoyable leisure activity. However, for Caitlin, cooking is "definitely housework".

In this household Caitlin takes responsibility for all of the household admin: "So if something needs to be done. If something needs to be arranged, that'll be me. It's probably quite specific to me, because I'm the house owner, so I'm on all the leases, and all the documents." Of the housework overall, Caitlin says: "I don't feel like either of us overworks at home".

Looking at Table 8.2, Caitlin typically buys pet food online and monitors home finances while at work.

Table 8.4 Caitlin and Mark: Personal internet use at work		
	DDL	PIUW
Caitlin	Order pet food	Listen to an eBook
	Personal finance	Web chat
Marc	Robo Hoovering	News
	Tracking deliveries	eBay sales

When Marc was asked 'how is your housework organised?' he answered:

> Housework. Well, I bought a Dyson Robo Hoover this year. So, I have that running three times a week. I have it running because I've got asthma and I've got a dust mite allergy. We do have a normal vacuum, but we didn't use it as often as we should. I sold my old car earlier this year and I used the proceeds to buy this. I have it programmed to run three times a week. So, when we're away at work, I've got it set to run at 9 o'clock. (Marc)

Marc explains the Robo Hoover app: "I can check the progress of it just now because it ran today. [--] There! You can tell it when to go. 'Clean complete'. It got stuck earlier, so I unstuck it and it finished its cycle:

> We keep the second bathroom open for [cat] to go in and do his toilet. [The Robo Hoover] will go in there, hoover that up which is great because it will hoover up the little crystals as well, off his litter tray. So, it cleans that up, comes back out and just continues so you can see

exactly what it's done. Those lines, that's the pattern it's done. It takes a while to do, but if you're not actually doing it, it doesn't matter. (Marc)

Next, class rather than gender is the basis for a contrast that considers the relationship between relative technology skill and individual autonomy.

8.3 Actual-Space, Actual-Slack, Actual-Invisible and Actual-High

In this vignette, the experiences of Jim (in a WC job) and Prentis (in a MC job) are compared.

Jim is in a WC job. He is a 28-year-old library assistant, working part-time. He lives with his partner, and they do not have children.

There are times at work when Jim has few customer enquiries to deal with. Where Jim works, using the internet freely is the norm: "it's kind of an unspoken rule, as far as I'm aware, that basically you can within reason, go on what you want to". Jim has sufficient freedom at work that he has done an online food shop from start to finish:

So, basically the entire time I work, I use the internet all the time to do whatever I want to do on the internet. So that would be … I've done shopping on there before. Like a Sainsbury's food shop. (Jim)

Jim engages in PIUW for much of his working day:

I mean there are days where I've basically read the Guardian back to front, like every single thing online or whatever. And then I get bored […] And I think this applies to everyone that works there, certainly at my level. There's just very little to do. So, you know basically anything that you could think of, that you might do on the internet, I pretty much would do at work. Like research a new toaster. Or message people on Facebook. Just anything really, yeah. (Jim)

Some of Jim's time is spent at a service desk where there is a shared computer. In the remainder of the time, Jim and his library assistant colleagues work flexibly:

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I'm moving around because I hot-desk and stuff. It's kind of annoying because all the managers obviously have their desk, but we all have to hot desk which I find a little bit annoying. But yeah, all different spaces. Some spaces are more overlooked, so I tend to be a bit more careful. There's one super space which is right in the corner but basically, people just forget about that. And sometimes we're at the front desk, dealing with customers. (Jim)

He spends much of his working day on PIUW and relates this to the lack of duties that he has in his job. Jim describes this situation as being partly a result of an 'accommodation' with supervisors and managers.

You know, if a manager comes over, I might flick back to a screen that looks more like work. But they know that there's not enough work. They know that … I think that to make their lives easier, they just look the other way. That they… for them to have a go at us, it would come back … to say well there's nothing to do. I've done everything I've been asked to do. A lot of our work is predicated on people coming to us and asking us questions. (Jim)

Here. Jim describes the role of managers:

Managers like to look the other way because they know it would find its way back on them basically. The reason why I'm looking at the Guardian today is because I don't have enough duties and so therefore … It would eventually find its way back to the management. It would then look bad on them. So, it's in everyone's interests, in a way, to just let it go. (Jim)

Jim articulated the idea of non-work tasks that *should* be done in work time, meaning a non-work job that ought to be done at work:

There are times when I work there that I view that as … before I go to work … I view that as time where I can actually get ahead with whatever it is. Like a shop, or, I was doing a Master's course, so I was able to do lots of my reading and writing for that Masters course

> at work with no surreptitiousness whatsoever, just completely open. Yeah, all sorts of things. (Jim)

Where Jim works, customers of the library can leave feedback on the library's website. Jim had been reprimanded in relation to this. He had used this to leave his own evaluation of the library catalogue, which he did not anticipate would be traceable to him, as a member of staff.

> So, anyway I wrote this comment, and it was … I did use a few swear words but I wrote it anonymously, I said 'oh this is fucking shit' I didn't actually swear *at* anyone, but I did swear, obviously annoyed at the situation. Anyway, about a week later, my supervisor came and said, 'can I have a word?' Took me aside and she was like 'well IT have tracked a message down and you know it was quite rude and we know it's either you or this other lass'… Then she said, 'oh they got very upset'. But anyway, the point of it is, they did actually track me down for that. So, they obviously do have the capacity to watch what you're looking at. But yeah, we log in as ourselves so they must have been able to track it back to me. And I ended up just apologising. But I actually didn't feel that bad about it. (Jim)

Jim's experience can be contrasted with that of Prentis.

Prentis is a 30-year-old IT support manager in a medium size science and technology company in the private sector. He lives with his wife and young child and works full-time. He does not have line management responsibilities.

Prentis works in a small open-plan office alongside several computer programmers. He and his colleagues are not physically overlooked: "The way my desk is positioned you can't actually see my screens, the guys next to my… screens are invisible, the guy across from him… screens are invisible." When asked about his PIUW, Prentis said:

> The first thing I do when I get in, in the morning is open WhatsApp so I can talk to my wife all day. Facebook Messenger, they're all open throughout the day so, notifications are turned on and I wear headphones. So, I spend a lot of time browsing through Amazon. You start off looking for something for work but then you start looking at stuff for the house. [--] There's virtually nothing I won't do. (Prentis)

Prentis estimated his time spent on PIUW at "probably about 90%". The volume of work that he has on any given day is variable: "some days I'll sit watching YouTube all day". At the time of interview, Prentis had been in post for eight months and had spent six months trying to understand how some of the IT systems had been set up: "it was just a mess". This depiction of an IT system is unexpected: "Yeah, it's controlled panic, I guess, most days". Prentis has insights into his organisation's surveillance capability that none of his co-workers has:

> Our monitoring system doesn't work. Of course, I know that. Nobody else does. So, they're all very careful with what they look up on the internet. I don't care because I know fine well that it's not getting logged anywhere. So, I guess it's kind of an insider knowledge that lets me do what I do. I know that nobody can check the logs, check the firewall. If anybody does, it's me so, I'm not going to report myself. (Prentis)

The company manager is the only person who is more senior to Prentis. The company manager is a programmer however "he doesn't understand networking".

Prentis and his wife had recently started using a virtual assistant, a standard app that came free of charge with a new smartphone:

> We've got Google Assistants. Both of us have Google phones. So, for instance, she can tell it to tell me to pick up milk on the way home and I'll get a notification. So, when I leave work, I say the catchphrase to activate the assistant 'let's go home.' It turns on the Bluetooth and pairs it to the car, starts my playlist for driving home. It turns on Google

> Maps to show me the traffic. And then announces to my wife at home on speaker that I'm on my way and then she can reply to that saying, 'oh, get milk' and it'll adjust Google Maps to the Tesco nearest my house. So, it'll drop me off at Tesco. [--] So, she can sit and make a list throughout the day verbally. She doesn't actually have to touch it. And I'll get that list as I drive home. And it even gives you a total because it connects to the Tesco website. (Prentis)

In this vignette the experience of a man in a WC job is compared with that of a man in a MC job. To understand their experience, the contrast is assessed in terms of [1] Labour process [2] Housework [3] Rules and [4] Expectations.

[1] Both Jim and Prentis enjoy a high degree of freedom for PIUW associated with relative autonomy. However, they work in very different contexts. Although Jim has a WC job, temporal and spatial flexibility means he can spend much of his time on PIUW. In addition to keeping on top of domestic tasks, he describes connecting with a range of leisure and study activities. Of 14 participants in WC jobs, Jim was the only one who described this level of freedom. Jim has very little work to do. Arguably, he occupies Paulsen's (2015) 'enduring' category of non-work (which is *involuntary*). In Paulsen's typology the notion of the individual worker as the only agent of empty labour is challenged. In Jim's case, loose supervision of the labour process is a factor.

[2] The flexibility that Jim has, means his work-life articulation is demonstrably improved through PIUW that is enabled. He provides examples of DDL (such as completing a supermarket shop) which would require time and concentration. With internet technology,

Unlike Jim who has no children, Prentis has a preschool-age child. Therefore, he and his wife have more housework to do that those without children (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016).

Prentis can be available to his family in work time (using communication apps), for example, virtual assistant technology supports domestic life. Such technology allows Prentis's wife (at

home with a toddler) to delegate tasks to Prentis. Therefore, it contributes to regendering of care (Boyer *et al.*, 2017a; Boyer *et al.*, 2017b; Longhurst, 2017). Here, we can see the potential of internet technologies to address inequalities associated with gender difference (Wajcman, 2006).

[3] Jim describes his freedom in relation to PIUW in term of an 'unspoken rule' (that PIUW is the norm).

[4] Both Jim and Prentis expect to spend some of their work time engaged in DDL. Jim believes there are home-related tasks that ought to be done at work: "There are times when I work there … I view that as time where I can actually get ahead with whatever it is".

Whereas Jim occupies the Actual-Space and Actual-Slack positions, Prentis occupies the Actual-Invisible and Actual-High positions. This means that for Jim PIUW is present and enabled by spatial flexibility (Actual-Space) and variable levels of labour process intensity (Actual-Slack). For Prentis, this means that DDL does not need to be hidden because he has a high level of technology skill (Actual-Invisible). In his case, organisational power is weak owing to his understanding of workplace IT systems (Actual-High).

To further consider the positions occupied by Jim and Prentis, the tables below illustrate which other participants occupy each TCP.

Table 8.5 Theoretically Constructed Position: Actual-Slack	
Position description	PIUW is present. Aspects of the labour process might support this (such as periods of time when individuals have screen privacy). Individuals whose labour process is temporally variable (rhythm of intensity differs at different times of the month or year) have times when they are less busy. At such times, PIUW may be more prevalent.
Participant	Example
Andreas, Illustrator (MC job)	In the past, I have found myself, when work's been quiet. When I've had more time on my hands to use the internet for my own personal entertainment and personal activities such as paying Council Tax bills, electricity bills. And a bit of internet shopping as well, mainly eBay.
Claudia, Counsellor, (MC job)	Particularly in the summer. Like, over the summer, I'm full-time, full year. And over the summer we do get a lot less demand on the service. Like at the minute, the waiting list is massive. So, as soon as you have a cancellation a new client's booked in. So, generally speaking I'm seeing five clients a day, and that's five days a week. So, I don't have much time to do other stuff. But in the summer, that's quite different. You know, we probably wouldn't even probably have all our sessions booked, let alone fill a last-minute cancellation. So, then there's definitely time. You know, and sometimes I might be doing something which is... would be a crossover between 'is it work-related or is it not?' Because I might do some reading. You know, I might take in an actual book and read a book. But equally I might read articles online that are, you could call it Continuing Professional Development, which would be legitimately, sort of, something I could do in my work time. But it might be something, not quite, like you know I might equally decide to read an article about politics, or economics or something like that.
Melanie, Data administrator, (WC job)	Yep, we can't use work email for anything other than work and all social media is blocked on our computer. [--] Definite lulls, we have six weeks out of sale season in the summer where there is almost nothing to do.
Marc, IT Business Partner, (MC job)	So, there will be a lot of flexibility for managers as to how you use your, shall we say, any free time you might have or any dead air, shall we say, that you've got during your day. Because they know that there will be times where you can be getting absolutely hammered for say six months and at a particular point you might find that, maybe for one month, it might be a little bit quieter. So, they understand that, certainly the department I was working in, I was working within the finance department … there were times of the year where there's particular projects going on that we would be very, very busy and there'd be absolutely no time for us to do anything other than just

	keep doing … just working on that project. Or working on a particular problem. But during quieter times if we didn't have much … and we were maybe, kind of, trying to maybe eke out certain admin tasks until our next big project came up. Or something else popped up there'd be a bit it more leniency on. Well, ok we know that they've done quite a lot during the year but it's a bit dead for them they are going to be finding other things to do but ok at the moment it's a bit quiet, so we have to let them do some more personal things. Because again, the mangers do that as well whether it's family-related or something else they'll be looking at that as well so a lot of flexibility in that respect.

Like Prentis, Marc occupies the Actual-Invisible position.

Table 8.6 Theoretically Constructed Position: Actual-Invisible	
Position description	Individuals do not hide PIUW so domestic tasks can be managed openly in worktime. PIUW escapes organisational surveillance. Labour process factors may mitigate risks, for example when workers are required to use their own phones at work. A significant factor is individual technology literacy.
Participant	Example
Marc, IT Business Partner, (MC job)	I would tend to make a distinction with the smartphone and the actual computer at work. So, for smartphone it would be more personal things. So, if I'm speaking to say my partner or friends about anything that we've got arranged then I would use the smartphone only. Same with checking the actual deliveries or looking at what … I would get that off the smartphone. I might keep an eye on it on the desktop, but I'd take information off my smartphone to then go and pick it up. Similarly, if someone is asking questions about something about something I've put on eBay, I would chat with them through the smartphone to answer any questions as well rather than have it up on the desktop. So, the distinction would be anything where I'd have to do any form of communication, I would do that on the smartphone and keeping information, let's say static information… So, news or … keeping the, say, Amazon or eBay up. I'd keep that there on the desktop. But that would be it. Communication is the main distinction between smartphone usage and the actual work computer usage for any personal internet.

Next, we can consider Claudia's work-life challenges in the context of household structure.

8.3.1 Household structure and DDL

Jim's partner (Lenore) also took part in an interview. Therefore, we can examine Jim's PIUW in the context of household structure. Lenore (in a MC job) is a teacher at a college. Jim has sufficient discretion at work that he has done an online food shop from start to finish. Jim was asked how he and Lenore share housework:

> Well. I have a lot more time than my partner. She works more than I do. […] I tend to do all the cooking because I'm better! And also, because I enjoy it a lot more, than my partner. But we kind of share [housework] out fairly equally, I think. I'm trying to think … My partner cleans the bathroom a lot more than I do, I think. I should probably do more. I probably tend to hoover a bit more. But we both … We've got a dishwasher, so we both load the dishwasher. We both … try to keep it as tidy as possible. … We have a dog-walker, so that's quite helpful. We try and share it equally. I tend to do all the evening walks, like last thing. [Partner] tends to do all of the morning walks. That just suits us better. We both feed the dog. If the dog needs to go to the vet, whoever's free to go. And the walk, we try and split equally. … It's all fairly even, like. Maybe I do a bit more but only because I've got more time. (Jim)

In table 8.7, we see all the PIUW and DDL examples that were mentioned during both interviews.

Table 8.7 Jim and Lenore: Personal internet use at work		
	DDL	PIUW
Lenore	Appointments (e.g., medical)	Booking gym classes
	Repeat prescription	Social media (to communicate)
	Tracking deliveries	Work email (print walking maps)
		Stream radio
		Webmail
		BBC iPlayer (during lunch break)
Jim	Food shopping	News
	Research kitchen item	Blogs
	Look for a plumber	Read an eBook
		Read lecture transcript
		Social media (communication)
		MA course work
		Window shopping for books

Unique patterns of domestic activity exist in every household. Comparing Lenore's experience of housework that is shared equally, this was not the experience of many women in this study (for example, Diana and Shelley). Such differences may be related to age and class (Jim is 28). Melanie (who also described housework shared equally) is 32, whereas Diana and Shelley both have adult children and are older.

Several factors are salient to this discussion of patterns of domestic activity. Firstly, whether an individual lives with others determines if domestic labour may be shared, and in the case of those with caring responsibility, the potential for relatively time-consuming activity. Secondly, some participants live with partners whose occupational class is different to theirs. Undoubtedly, living with a higher-earning partner impacts on the choices available to those in WC jobs (including, the ability to work part-time as opposed to full-time), for example, it is likely significant in Jim's case that his partner has a MC job. In Jim's case, neither he or his partner has caring responsibilities.

8.4 Findings

In the preceding analysis, insights are offered into the possibility to absorb unpaid domestic work into worktime. Contrasts have looked mainly at gendered differences between participants in MC jobs. Except for Louis, all participants in this chapter lives in a couple. In the pair comparisons, half (Claudia, Martin, and Prentis) have childcare responsibilities. All nine participants discussed (six in vignettes, and a further three in partnerships) enjoy a high level of autonomy in relation to PIUW. This includes Jim who is the only participant in a WC job to experience significant freedom to take care of home tasks in work time.

The analysis in this chapter leads to two findings that are discussed next. These findings are intersectional.

8.4.1 *Finding 5: Men in MC jobs are more likely than men in WC jobs to use PIUW instrumentally, to manage domestic tasks on work time*

Division of participants' domestic labour has been considered in each of the vignettes (throughout this thesis) where this information has been available. In this chapter, it has been possible to further consider how housework is shared. Where interviews with both partners in a couple was available, it has been possible to highlight patterns of domestic labour that are unique to individual households. Insights such as these complement the earlier analysis of how division of domestic labour at home might condition DDL. Thus, it has been possible to discern variance in levels of freedom through examining individuals' occupation of combinations of positions. For example, where individuals occupy sets of positions such as Actual-Space, Actual-Temporal and Actual-Trust the tendency is that individuals can engage in PIUW and DDL in ways that lead to meaningful work-life articulations. Of twelve male participants in MC jobs, nine have a similar experience to Prentis.

8.4.2 *Finding 6: Technology literacy is a significant factor that interacts with gender and class to constrain the PIUW of those in WC jobs and to enable the PIUW of those in MC jobs.*

No women participants expressed a high level of confidence in assessing and managing risks around internet use as those (male) participants working in technology sector jobs. From Prentis's example, who occupies the Actual-Invisible and Actual-High positions, the powers of technology as a relational social structure become visible. Furthermore, we see how technology behaviour is conditioned by expectations that are informed by an understanding of risk associated with technology. This finding is empirically substantiated with reference to the Actual-High position which is intersectional (all the examples are from men in MC jobs).

8.6 Chapter summary

The findings in this chapter provide considerable insight into how class shapes the structural manifestations of gender systems (Martinez Dy;Martin and Marlow, 2014). Data analysis in Chapters 6 and 7 demonstrate starkly different quality of work-life articulations between those in different labour market positions. In contrast, the preceding analysis illustrates work-life articulations that are empowered and enabled through a range of in-work freedoms. For example, Claudia, Martin, and Prentis can all absorb caring responsibilities into worktime. When insights from the partners of Claudia, Caitlin and Jim are included, we see impacts of relative freedoms at the level of the household.

Three interviews with male parents in MC jobs (Andreas, Martin, and Prentis) show a range of attitudes towards DDL. Andreas, Martin, and Prentis all work full-time. Prentis (age 30) embraces virtual assistant technology that supports work-life articulation. In comparison, Martin (age 42) and Andreas (age 52) are far less likely to engage in DDL. However, like Prentis, Martin benefits from a higher level of technology literacy. The analysis here illustrates the relationship between higher levels of technology skill and the kinds of technologies used for DDL. For example, Prentis (an IT support manager) uses a virtual assistant and Marc (an IT business partner) uses a Robot Hoover.

Everyone considered in this chapter, all but one of whom is in a MC job, has considerable in-work autonomy which translates to differential levels of freedom in relation to PIUW. This is observable when TCPs are considered almost all of which are Actual. The only Absent position (Absent-Low) reveals differences in technology literacy that are gendered. Of seven people working in IT and tech jobs (of 44 participants in this study) none were women. Levels of technology literacy in the population will be connected to many factors, for example, the quality of careers advice, the availability of women role models and social norms resulting from the differential gendered socialisation of boys and girls. However, when

women occupy tech jobs at a significantly lower rate than men, we can postulate a relationship between gender and lower levels of technology literacy. Furthermore, with an FPE lens focused on household economy, we can postulate interactions between lower levels of technology literacy and access to DDL in worktime for women in WC jobs.

In the next discussion chapter, analysis begun in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 is drawn together.

Chapter 9. Social relations and positional powers

In this discussion chapter, findings have been drawn together to further develop an explanation of classed and gendered causes for observed inequalities. Using realist and applied theoretical explanation, PIUW (and DDL) has been redescribed "under a new scheme of concepts designating the structures mechanisms or agents that are, to some degree, responsible for it" (Lawson, 2009, p. 409). Using a novel TCPs model, an abductive process, here, redescribes observable events (associated with PIUW and DDL) "in an abstracted and more general sense in order to describe the sequence of causation that gives rise to observed regularities in the pattern of events" (O'Mahoney and Vincent, 2014, p. 17). In the sequence of causation, at the macro level, are slow moving historical processes. Whereas we might feel that we are moving away from occupational segregation and towards gender integration and gender parity, some researchers argue that the 'gender revolution' (England, 2010) has stalled (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016). In the US, work on gendered trends in the division of domestic labour by Hegewisch and Hartmann (2014) shows a complex picture where rapid progress in the 1980s was followed by a more modest progress in the 1990s with little improvement during the 2000s. The stagnation of occupational integration during the 2000s follows slowing occupational integration that is linked to a slowing of improvements to women's earnings relative to men's (Hegewisch and Hartmann, 2014). Where macro-economic factors are stagnant - in the context of the stalling of progress – technology has the potential to improve the work-life articulation of women in working-class jobs. This is because technology can help to address quality of work-life and work-life articulation. Any social project to regender care might take several generations. It is a broad historical process influenced by many factors (such as gendered pay gaps).

Across three data analysis chapters, a significant and surprising absence of PIUW amongst participants in WC jobs has been uncovered. This absence constitutes a special case (Lawson,

2003). Where effects are visible in one case but not another, "the difference in effect points back to a difference that locates the cause" (Tsang and Ellsaesser, 2011, p. 405) and a separation of causal relationships reveals how organisational power operates with respect to PIUW (and DDL) resulting in intersectional inequality. This comparative intersectional analysis has shown how individuals, differentially positioned in an occupational hierarchy, navigate social relationships with different outcomes. Interactions among labour process flexibility, attitudes toward rules and individual levels of caring responsibility are some of the unobservable underlying mechanisms shaping surface level events such as PIUW.

This discussion chapter is structured according to sequence of causation in order to draw together important themes from the preceding data analysis and findings. Ideas are developed throughout with reference to Lawson's (2012) positioning theory.

9.1 Social rules as collective practices

Of 14 participants in WC jobs (in this study) only three were free to carry smartphones at work. In contrast, it was relatively difficult to find someone in a MC job whose access to workplace internet was restricted, with one exception, Ed who works for a government agency is constrained because of network security. There were many more examples of workers in MC jobs who elected not to use workplace internet for their own reasons (for example, they do not wish their online activity to be trackable). Where outcomes are the same (workers elect not to use workplace internet) but the reasons are different, it is important to differentiate amongst reasons and to separate relevant causes. In the case of those in WC jobs, labour process reasons explain why two workers were able to carry smartphones at work (due to lone working and unsocial hours working). In the case of two schoolteachers (in MC jobs) who face restrictions on phone use, reasons are connected to the nature of work with children (their work is highly regulated, and they have little free time during school hours.

In Chapter 6, we saw that Walter mistakenly believes that he and his manager are both subject to the same rule on smartphones. However, with Lawson's (2012) theory we understand that while Walter is in 'group X', his manager is actually in 'group Y'. This can be understood through a 'framework of acceptances' where, "within any community, it is accepted that one set of practices constitutes an accepted way of proceeding for group X, and a second set, perhaps constituted in relation/orientation to the first, is an accepted way of going on for group Y" (Lawson, 2019 [2012], p. 55). In this way, we see that Walter and his manager are subject to different collective practices. Furthermore, there are accepted processes of allocating individuals to different occupational groups (for example, recruitment and selection) and what appears as an inconsistency of rules may be explained when two groups of co-located workers follow two different collective (rule-following) practices (Lawson, 2019).

In Table 9.1, participants describe a range of experiences in relation to workplace rules. Broadly speaking, those in WC jobs are significantly more likely to be subject to rules prohibiting smartphone use (as is the case for Melanie). In contrast, both Claudia and Melissa (in MC jobs) are unaware of any restrictions on phone use in worktime. Wallace (in a MC job) describes how he and three office colleagues make their own rules. This means that they can stream music throughout the day using a smartphone. Jim is unusual amongst those in WC jobs in that he enjoys a high level of in-work autonomy. Of participants in WC jobs, Jim is by far the freest in relation to PIUW with his relative freedom linked to a number of factors, the key one being a lack of work activities.

By adhering to rules that limit smartphone use, workers such as Diana (in a WC job) reflexively reproduce the rule structure they are subject to. Thus, conformity, observable in collective practice, is achieved when members of a community (e.g., workers in a particular office) adhere to an accepted way of proceeding (Lawson, 2019, pp. 47-48).

Table 9.1 The differential experience of rules		
Pseudonym	Rules in relation to smartphones and PIUW	Occ. class
Wallace, Translation Project Manager	"Our department is based in a separate room, up the stairs. So, we kind of have our own rules […] One of my colleagues is our resident DJ and chooses the playlist from Spotify"	MC job
Claudia, Counsellor,	Everyone's got their smartphone out. […] So, I actually sit in very close proximity to my manager's manager and her manager. And my manager's manager sits with her phone out and openly will be … making it quite clear that she's texting about her son, or some childcare issue, or something like that.	MC job
Melissa, Social worker	"Nobody's mentioned it" [Melissa was asked if she is free to have her phone on her desk]	MC job
Louis, Social worker	"If I want to speak to somebody, then I would do so, whether it would be a friend or a family member. If there was a need to speak to somebody, then I would communicate with them without any concern about it being during the work time."	MC job
Jeff, Health & Social Care Coordinator	"So, for example, I'm in the middle of buying a house at the moment. And I simply could not have done that if I hadn't been afforded time during my working day to make phone calls or to send emails on my phone, to solicitors and builders, and all of that kind of stuff. It would have been impossible."	MC job
Roxann, Teacher	"You're not supposed to use [smartphones] in school, you're supposed to have them turned off. But I never have mine turned off. I always have mine switched to silent."	MC job
Jim, Library Assistant	"It's kind of an unspoken rule, as far as I'm aware, that basically you can within reason, go on what you want to"	WC job
Shelley, Customer Services Assistant	"I mean, there are lots of corridors. I'm dipping into the corridors, if I feel my phone buzzing in my pocket, I'll go into the corridor and I'll answer it."	WC job
Diana, Dental Receptionist	"I don't think any employer wants their staff to be sitting online shopping when they're supposed to be working"	WC job
Melanie, Data administrator	"The rules shouldn't be different as contractually no one on the floor should have pens or paper but it's one rule for them and one for us" [Melanie was asked whether managers are bound by the rules about phone use in worktime]	WC job
Walter, Customer Service Assistant	"Well, the same manager who told me off for using my phone, the following day I walked through her office, and she was on the phone to her son. So, I thought 'well, you hypocrite'"	WC job
Wayne, Customer Service Assistant	"I do know at work, and this doesn't include the internet, you're not supposed to have your phone, with you at work. And that's more, you know, just a general thing about not using a personal phone."	WC job

Data analysis here demonstrates how rules serve to relationally organise position occupants (Lawson, 2019 [2012]). To develop this analysis, collective practices can be unpacked in terms of their components and subpractices (Lawson, 2019). Therefore, in relation to PIUW (and DDL), it is worthwhile to explore individual (and collective) behaviours around a practice. Moreover, the relative stability of a practice can be evaluated, when we consider the extent to which PIUW (and DDL) is causally governed by a rule mechanism, for example, Shelley (in a WC job) disobeys a rule limiting smartphone use amongst customer service workers. In contrast, Jeff and Roxann (in MC jobs) ignore a similar rule. Both carry their phones at work with Roxann switching hers to silent. In general, we see that when those in MC jobs are subject to such rules, they are more likely either to ignore a rule, or to find workarounds (in Roxann's case). With Shelley, Jeff and Roxann, we see agents transforming social reality as they shape temporal and spatial conditions to enable PIUW and DDL (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002). Moreover, we see how collective practices that resist organisational norms have the potential to transform rule structures.

9.2 Regendering care – agents transforming social reality

Social norms are malleable. Therefore, norms that confine women to reproductive and domestic roles may be reshaped to open up opportunities for men to assume caring and domestic responsibilities (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014; Boyer *et al.*, 2017a; Boyer *et al.*, 2017b; Longhurst, 2017). For example. when Prentis receives a request from his partner, in worktime, via a virtual assistant, he is redirected to a supermarket during his drive home. Thus, Prentis's partner is freed from the task of buying milk and we see how virtual assistant technology can be used to support the sharing of household tasks. Another example where social norms can be reshaped is where participants (in this study, dual earners in couples) adopt a gender equal approach to domestic work. As with Melanie's example (Chapter 6) we see the potential for domestic and care tasks to be regendered.

Analyses of structural causes of inequalities may be neglected when economic contexts are overlooked in mainstream work-life discourses, which typically emphasise the temporal aspects of work-life articulation and MC experiences (Warren, 2015). Here, a multilevel framework in relation to access to workplace internet, allows us to identify the many ways in which inequalities intersect. Neoliberal economic policies are more likely to affect the quality of work-life navigation for WC people, with UK-based survey data revealing working time constraints for WC men, in particular (Warren, 2015). In this context, when we consider the experience of women in WC jobs in context, we can see that their unequal access to workplace internet compounds multiple levels of disadvantage including economic penalties related to, for example, over ten years of austerity in the UK context.

Alongside a slowing of occupational segregation (and gender equality), there is also evidence to suggest a slowing down of the convergence towards gender parity in the division of domestic labour (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016). In this study, considering those participants living in couples (68%), younger participants were more likely to describe gender equal approaches to housework (for example, Ed, Nicole, Jim, Prentis, and Melanie). With some exceptions, older participants more often described gender unequal housework arrangements (for example, Shelley and Diana) reflecting findings described in the literature (Roberts, 2018).

9.3 Caring responsibility and the structures of class and gender

Because snowball sampling was used (as discussed in Chapter 4) this sample includes participants who have a relationship to each other, for example, eight participants are in (four) couples (see Table 9.2 below). Although recruiting couples was unintentional, this couple data provides rich insights into the experience of partners living in the same household. Access to couple data in this study has prompted questions about, for example, the interaction amongst the class positions of partners in a dual earner couple, where these differ.

Table 9.2 Participants whose partner also took part in interview				
#	Pseudonym	Job	Age	Salary
7	Claudia	Counsellor	53	£30-40k
11	Andreas	Illustrator	52	£20-30k
12	Caitlin	Business Partner	35	£50-60k
13	Lenore	Teacher	49	£20-30k
14	Jim	Library Assistant	28	£00-10k
17	Ed	Data Analyst	27	£30-40k
27	Nicole	Trainee Clinical Psychologist	29	£20-30k
34	Marc	IT Business Partner	32	£50-60k

This study has described how some women (mostly in MC jobs) appropriate worktime and work internet to carry out DDL. These women describe significant WLB benefits that accrue from being able to pause the working day to carry out DDL. For workers like Melissa (in Chapter 6) who has a school age child, being able to 'flex out' means she can avoid risks associated with the non-work use of worktime. Beyond this study's broader findings about occupational class and gender are several findings that are intersectional, for example, our fourth finding illustrates a dramatic difference in the volume of DDL between women in WC and MC jobs. We see how inequalities interact in complex ways. Data demonstrates that via a process of habituation, the decisions, and actions of those in WC jobs are constrained. This can be considered a 'demi-regularity' when one event *sometimes, but not always* follows another event (Lawson, 1997). Those in WC jobs are already disadvantaged in work that attracts lower wages (Ferrant *et. al*, 2014; ONS, 2017). Because women in WC jobs are generally poorer than women in MC jobs, they occupy a disadvantaged position at the intersection of gender and occupational class, for example, workers like Melanie face additional challenges fitting into organisational life (Cockburn, 1991).

9.4 Relationships amongst managerial practice and worker expectations

The dataset from which this thesis is developed includes invaluable interviews with managers that have made it possible to examine managerial discourse and practice. Nine managers were

interviewed for this study. These interviews shed light on what managers think. Although managers are mainly positive about supporting workers with work-life challenges, it is important to consider the drivers behind organisational perspectives. Several factors (such as sector, size, and nature of the business) influenced their concerns about PIUW. To some extent, these factors determine whether productivity, data security or customer-impression is the main justification for workplace rules about smartphones or PIUW. Comparing small and large business, the impact of PIUW (for example, on relative profitability) is likely to differ. Where public sector organisations are concerned, profitability is rarely considered in the way it is in private sector, for-profit businesses.

How we behave at work is shaped subjectively by our expectations, with individual expectations informed by workplace norms and prior experiences. Individual beliefs are complex, microstructural, and subjective. It is possible to examine the inner composition of such social phenomena, analysing social structures in any area and at all levels (Danermark et al., 2005). The expectations of those in WC jobs can be viewed as pre-existing mechanisms that are reproduced through agents. In this study, those in WC jobs seem to expect less in relation to work-life articulation, for example, when Wayne is asked about DDL, he says, "it's never actually ever crossed my mind to buy anything at work". Those in MC jobs seem to have much higher expectations in relation to quality of work-life articulation.

The theme of 'trust' was mentioned in many interviews, and it is important to the overall explanation of PIUW. Therefore, trust (and its absence) can be linked to workers expectations in relation to PIUW. In this study, those in WC jobs were far more likely to experience close supervision. In Chapter 7, Shelley recounted how two colleagues had been sanctioned for PIUW. She described the level of scrutiny in these terms: "you couldn't even blow your nose without them [the managers] knowing". Contrast Shelley's experience with that of Camille who works in an office where her line manager (Rosalind) has made it clear that it is acceptable for DDL to be integrated in worktime, so long as work tasks are completed. As a

result, in Camille's office, there is no stigma about DDL. In the relationship between Camille and Rosalind, we see the "capacities of trusting and being trustworthy" which for Lawson, are "the glue of social reality, the adhesive that enables the organisational structure to achieve a degree of binding" (Lawson, 2019, p. 50). Positioned agency is strongly associated with trust. In this study, only participants in MC jobs (such as Claudia and Camille) explicitly describe feeling trusted.

9.5 Positionality understood through theoretically constructed positions

Compared to identifying and describing *present* phenomena, identifying, and describing *absent* phenomena (when PIUW is not actualised) is relatively more difficult. However, the novel TCPs method described here enables the identification of causes where PIUW is not actualised (for example, because of fear of sanction). Where there are a group of participants who are ostensibly similar, in terms of occupational class, in-work autonomy and domestic responsibility, this novel analytic framework of TCPs, makes it possible to produce detailed differentiations.

Often TCPs can be considered to be pairs, for example, in the case of Absent-Intensity and Actual-Intensity which describe temporal labour process conditions. This pair of TCPs makes it possible to explain a differential positionality that is classed. For example, earlier we saw how access to PIUW is constrained for occupants of the Absent-Intensity position (like Julia and Mary Kay in WC jobs). In contrast, Louis (in a MC job) occupies the Actual-Intensity position. He justifies PIUW as necessary in the context of intensive work conditions. Furthermore, we see how particular advantages (such as freedoms to use a smartphone in worktime) accrue mainly to those in MC jobs, translating directly as opportunities for the mediation of work-life. This fine-grained analysis means that we can postulate that occupational class is the primary mechanism responsible for the differential outcomes described. Moreover, Using Lawson's (2012) positioning theory, smartphones can be viewed

as occupying an object position. All objects take on social being and identity through positioning: "when inanimate objects are so socially positioned, the capacities or powers most closely associated with their (system) positioning take the form not of rights and obligations but of (system) functions" (Lawson, 2012, p. 368). For such objects "it is their uses that are subject to the rights and obligations of positioned human individuals in a relevant community" (Lawson and Morgan, 2021, p. 208). Therefore, where access to PIUW (and DDL) is concerned, differential levels of access to a smartphone in worktime is explained by considering the smartphone as a relational component within a particular social relation. Thus, the causal powers of people and technologies can be known (Orlikowski, 2010; Elder-Vass, 2017).

In Chapter 8, a comparison of the experiences of two people in MC jobs (Caitlin and Martin) illustrated interactions between differential levels of technology literacy. At a macro level, this can be linked to the gender structure in technology careers where women are under-represented in IT in the UK where only one in six specialists is female (Peacock and Irons, 2017; TechNation, 2017; Kenny and Donnelly, 2019; Krchová and Höesová, 2021). In the comparison featuring Caitlin and Martin, the same outcome is observed (both avoid using workplace internet). Yet, on closer inspection, individuals' reasons for doing so are quite different. Both identify risks related to PIUW. However, Martin is "computer savvy" whereas Caitlin is "very technologically challenged". The CE analytical approach demonstrates that although occupational class is relevant, differences in this case are explained by a skill differential that is more likely to be gendered.

9.6 A conjuncture of positions associated with enabled work-life articulations

In his theory of social positioning, Lawson identifies three important features of the relational constitution of positions. To some extent, all three are addressed in this study. Firstly, through a contrastive evaluation of interview data, insights are offered into the relational nature of

positions. Secondly, through a novel TCPs method, this thesis provides an extended analysis of the differential experience of position occupancy. Thus, the nature of positions is comprehensively described. Thirdly, feminist intersectional theory underpins an explanation of processes of allocation to positions. In this way, individual positionality has a direct relationship on access to opportunities (Lawson and Morgan, 2021) which in our example of PIUW is a resource that can be used for DDL, which in turn can significantly improve individual work-life articulation.

At the micro level, individual levels of technological literacy have proven to be especially salient in relation to findings which are gendered. By focusing on the absence or presence of powers and mechanisms that help to explain the differential outcomes that have been observed, a complex picture has emerged. This snapshot reveals "a multitude of interrelating multicomponent collective practices, processes and events constituting or grounding a complex (clearly equally emergent) structure of positional powers, comprising rights and obligations, in process" (Lawson, 2012, p. 368).

During data analysis, close attention has been paid to labour process, and its role in the use of workplace internet and smartphones. In the process, causal relationships are uncovered between PIUW, class and social rules. In this way, analysis is empirically substantiated. Moreover, intersectional positions which are otherwise always combined in empirical reality have been theoretically separated.

In the next chapter, conclusions are presented.

Chapter 10. Conclusion

10.1 Summary of the thesis

This study deliberately goes beyond the productive sphere (of paid work), to consider how causal mechanisms associated with social reproduction (i.e., unpaid domestic and care work) interact to produce variations in experience of PIUW. Inequality effects are caused by classed and gendered systems, actualised as the structure of patriarchy which positions women as inferior to men, excluding certain individuals from positions of power (Wright, 2010; Umney, 2018). Broadly, this study finds that class conditions the direct experience of PIUW more than gender does - meaning that at work, we do not see such strong gendered differences.

Prior to this study, the gendered and classed nature of the housework that takes place across the work-life boundary was unknown.

This account of gendered and classed relations in the UK office context clearly demonstrates how intersectional forces contribute causally to differential experiences of work-life articulation and we see the exclusion of those in WC jobs from the means to achieve WLB. It therefore fills in a gap in understanding about the classed nature of differences in a WLB literature that largely focuses on challenges faced by those in MC jobs (Warren, 2015). Although both women and men in WC jobs are relatively disadvantaged in relation to PIUW, women in WC jobs are already subject to multiple levels of inequality in the labour market (Ferrant;Pesando and Nowacka, 2014; ONS, 2016b; ONS, 2017), thus any additional negative impacts are disproportionate for this group.

Theoretically, this thesis develops CR theory of intersectional positionality (Martinez Dy;Martin and Marlow, 2014; Mader, 2016) to explore gendered and classed dynamics within the labour process, and how these affect DDL and employees work-life articulations. Methodologically, this thesis develops Lawson's contrastive method. Significant insights

result from conceptualising rule-following as a collective practice with rules understood through Lawson's (2019) theory of social positioning. Analysis has focused on the causal properties of social rules and expectations where rules are "community-relative collective practices carrying rights and obligations that serve to organise social life" (Lawson, 2019, p. 53). The majority of participants who are subject to a rule about smartphones have WC jobs (those in MC jobs are mainly not subject to rules associated with PIUW). Overall, the preceding analysis demonstrates that inequality results when advantage is conferred to certain groups over others.

In a class analysis informed by a Bourdieusian capital perspective, we might view this as a difference in the granting of advantages. However, from an LPT perspective, the conflicting interests of capital and labour become visible (Umney, 2018). From this perspective, the negotiation of working relations rest on an unequal relationship characterised by antagonism (Wright, 2010; Umney, 2018).

To understand inequalities between different groups, explanations require the investigation of deeper structures and mechanisms (Fleetwood, 2014). The preceding analysis reveals a great deal about the differential operation of organisational power through interacting mechanisms (Baldry, 1999). This analysis makes it possible to separate instances where causes originate in a particular labour process (as opposed to, for example, structures of gender and class). Here examples illustrate a dynamic interplay between individual agency and organisational temporal and spatial forms where structures, both shape (and are shaped by) workers' recurrent practices (Orlikowski and Yates, 2002).

Internet technology has great emancipatory potential, for example, data in this thesis demonstrate that DDL can support the regendering of care (Boyer *et al.*, 2017a; Longhurst, 2017). However, where men in WC jobs experience constraints in relation to internet, the potential for gender equality is negatively impacted. Whereas we can see parents like Melissa

and Prentis (in MC jobs) bringing domestic tasks into the work domain, in the case of Melissa and Walter (in WC jobs) there is an absence of PIUW. It is overwhelmingly clear that those in WC jobs have significantly less (work time) access to the internet technology resources that can enable work-life articulation, an inequality that differentially impacts those who have caring responsibilities. For example, in this study, Wayne (in a WC job) has an adult child who requires support, but Wayne is limited in his ability to manage domestic tasks at work. In contrast, those in MC jobs enjoy far greater freedom.

The theoretical framework supporting the analysis in this thesis is comprised of 32 constructed positions. Lawson's (1997) CE method is applied using vignettes (featuring paired interviews). Together, pair vignettes and thematic positions (built from thematic pairings, derived from thematic analysis) represent a new method for the evaluation of intersectional positions. This novel framework has been created to test Lawson's CE. It is an analytical method with the following functionality. Firstly, positions clearly illustrate the relative similarity (or difference) between two individuals experience. For example, there is a dramatic gulf between the Actual-Trust and Absent-Mistrust positions. Secondly, when combined, sets of positions provide an increasingly nuanced analysis. For example, the set of positions that Shelley occupies (Actual-Surveillance, Actual-Invisible and Absent-Mistrust) make it possible to account for agency in a context of intersecting constraints.

To uncover some of the conditions that account for the irregular flux of events that has been observed, CE (Lawson, 1997) has provided a powerful method with which to explore a surprising event within a category of phenomena (office workers' PIUW). Comparisons across a contrast space of office workers' PIUW has enabled between-group and in-group analysis. This approach can be used to make meaningful comparisons across different employment terrains. At the same time, individual structural causes have been isolated, for example, making it possible to determine where classed outcomes are causally more prominent than gendered outcomes. The method described facilitates access to different

mechanisms, structures, and conditions. Using applied theoretical redescription (O'Mahoney and Vincent, 2014) broad patterns have been identified that relate to labour process, technology and work-life articulation that is classed and gendered. Within these patterns, intersectional positionalities, which are always combined in empirical reality, have been theoretically separated.

10.2 Contribution to literature

Several contributions are made to extant literature. Firstly, this thesis contributes to a body of analysis that combines CR and labour process perspectives on occupational class (see Marks and Baldry, 2009; Marks and Thompson, 2010: Marks and O'Mahoney, 2014). Within LPA, non-work at work has often been framed as resistance (Paulsen, 2015). This thesis addresses a gap in this literature by identifying a type of non-work at work, that is paradoxically both work and non-work, and simultaneously both paid and unpaid labour. Secondly, using a realist approach to intersectionality, this thesis addresses a relative lack of intersectional analysis in the study of work and employment (McBride;Hebson and Holgate, 2014). Thirdly, this thesis contributes to debates around inequality at work and at home (see, for example, Warren and Lyonette, 2018). Fourthly, by comparing the work-life experiences of those in different labour market positions, this thesis contributes to current debates of work-life that are otherwise overly focused on the experience of the MC (Warren, 2015).

That internet technology is so fundamentally implicated in the reproduction of workplace inequality extends the literature on how technology is implicated in the reproduction of social inequality (Visser *et al.*, 2019). Prior research of PIUW has neglected classed outcomes such as differential levels of access to work-life articulations. Whereas prior research has focused on challenges faced by those in MC jobs for example the control of inbound communications at the work-life boundary (Wajcman et al., 2010; Rose, 2015) the current study rather finds that those in WC jobs are relatively limited in their potential to transcend the work-life

boundary in relation to DDL. Finally, this thesis contributes methodologically to a discrete set of research that has applied Lawson's CE (see Hurrell, 2009; Tsang and Ellsaesser, 2011; Kempster and Parry, 2014).

10.3 Policy and organisational implications

How we are treated at work, and our differential experience of workplace norms, contributes to how we feel about work. In this study, those in MC jobs (like Camille in Chapter 6) are demonstrably happier in their jobs when work-life articulation is enabled. This has important consequences for organisations who often invest a great deal of effort into policies relating to work-life balance. Yet, with PIUW/DDL, here is a readily available resource that might be easily extended within organisations. Explicitly providing workers with the requisite temporal flexibility and internet access, to support work-life articulation, could positively impact retention, especially in the case where workers have the kind of skills which allow them to move easily between jobs (Smith, 2010).

Workers choose organisations that have progressive WLB policies. When the same workers are unable to reconcile paid and unpaid responsibilities, many are forced to work part-time or to leave the labour market altogether with negative impacts for the individual and the economy (ONS, 2013; ONS, 2016a). This study finds a lack of fairness between those in different occupational groups (demonstrated most clearly where restrictive rules about smartphones apply mainly for one group of workers). Unpaid caring has equal social importance as paid work. The benefits to work-life articulation associated with PIUW lead to the conclusion that all workers (regardless of employment status) should enjoy the same freedom of access to internet at work with this resource considered a common good. A social legitimacy argument can be deployed to distinguish, 'good' employers from 'less good' employers in areas that impact wellbeing.

In the case where women are relatively more disadvantaged, then gender equality in the workplace is negatively affected with the potential to affect workplace morale. The talents of those who become critically demoralised may be permanently lost to the organisation. Arguably, workers ought to have their caring recognised, possibly through an in-work Care Time allowance where they would automatically be entitled, for example, to 30 minutes added to each breaktime.

10.4 Limitations of the thesis

This study has several limitations. A first limitation is the lack of attention to age-related differences. Age is likely a factor in the adoption of internet technologies that support task management. Connected to this, older age, and generational differences in attitudes towards division of domestic labour are likely to be relevant. A second limitation is a lack of diversity within the sample. Had a larger and more diverse dataset been available, it would have been possible to consider causes relating to a wider range of intersectional positions.

10.5 Opportunities for further research

Mechanisms, conditions, and structures operate at the macro level (e.g., employment law) meso level (e.g., organisational rules) and the micro level (e.g., individual attitudes). The mechanisms, structures and conditions considered here are only a few among many that might interact within the open system of society. Therefore, there is a great deal more that a realist study of PIUW might investigate. For example, future research might study the role of relational class dynamics where partners in a relationship occupy different labour market positions or where participants' differing occupational class and natal class may be relevant.

A further direction for this research lies in methodology with the proliferation of internet-based data generation methods now being developed by researchers. Newer methods are exemplified by mobile data collection apps (Peart;Balsalobre-Fernández and Shaw, 2019;

Beierle *et al.*, 2020), time diary data collection apps (García;Welford and Smith, 2015; Chatzitheochari *et al.*, 2018; Daum *et al.*, 2018) and Zoom for qualitative data collection (Archibald *et al.*, 2019; Lobe;Morgan and Hoffman, 2020).

With a recent explosion in internet technology that enables domestic, reproductive and care labour tasks – for example in the growing uptake of virtual assistants, baby tech and domestic and elder care artificial intelligence – the likelihood is that, as with DDL, the experience of newer technology will be classed and gendered. PIUW (and DDL) might be further explored with a research agenda that emphasises not only social relations in contemporary organisations but also the material nature of organisational technology (Orlikowski, 2007). Research that considered digital divide factors that inhibit uptake of certain technologies would be worthwhile (for example, the cost of a robot hoover puts this technology beyond the reach of most people in low pay work).

Appendix A. Group 1 (office workers) supplementary questions

1. If you have a preferred means of communication, when you're at work, can you say why you prefer it?
2. Can you give an example of how internet enabled technology helps you to manage your home life [or, responsibilities?], whether this is at work, at home, or somewhere else?
3. Can you give me an example of a home task, or personal project task, you have completed whilst at work? [Adapted from Spradley]
4. Are there any domestic tasks, like food shopping online, that you've started doing?
5. How have any other internet technologies changed (affected) your housework?
6. Can you tell me, how domestic work or housework is organised in your house?
7. Many employers sanction workers for PIUW. Have you come across any sanctions or punishments at work for PIUW? Can you tell me what you think about these formal or informal employer actions?
8. How do other people in your workplace, such as colleagues and managers, view the use of communications technologies at work? Are there any significant differences between these groups, or between these groups and you?
9. If you think about the culture at the place where you work… Can you compare that to any previous jobs in terms of whether staff were more or less relaxed about PIUW?
10. Some workers feel justified in using the employer's internet to complete personal tasks because they see that this makes up for times when they've done work without being paid. Is that ever the case for you?
11. When you started your current job, were you made aware of the internet use policy? Or about expectations around internet or smart phone use at work?
12. Thinking about the last time you were at work, can you tell me how you used technology, from the time you got to work until you left? [Adapted from Spradley]
13. An e-break is usually described as a refreshing workplace break using technology for personal use. Could you describe what you do when you take an e-break at work? [Adapted from Spradley]
14. You've probably had some interesting experiences at work. Could you tell me about some experiences you had of using technology at work to regain some personal space or to recuperate? [Adapted from Spradley]
15. Looking back over your own working life… how do you feel about changes to the technologies that we use at work, to communicate with others, or to manage our lives?

Appendix B. Group 2 (managers) interview questions

1. In your experience, or in general, do you think workers manage the challenges (such as distractions) from technology at work?

   A) What more could be done to support employees in using workplace communication technology, in the way that the employer intends?

2. How do you feel about employees' PIUW? Why do you think PIUW exists? Would you distinguish between different levels and types of PIUW?

   A) Why do you think employees might engage in PIUW?

3. It is often said that newer communication technologies blur the boundary between home and work. What are your thoughts on this?

   A) Do you think different people view the separation between home and work differently? (Prompt: Research suggests that some people prefer a strict division, so not taking work home, or checking work emails from home, for example)

   B) What kind of HR approach would you expect to see towards parents or carers using worktime to arrange home-related responsibilities, such as making healthcare appointments for children or elders?

   C) If an employee is required to work evenings or weekends, does that affect how the employer feels about, for example, home-related communication during work time?

4. Can you think of any examples when an employee's use of workplace internet has brought them to the attention of the organisation? For example, where sanctions have been applied?

   A) If so, are there any examples it is OK to discuss, without identifying anyone?

   B) Do you think sanctions are reasonable? What purpose do sanctions serve?

5. What's your opinion of the internet-use policy as a way to guide employee's technology use behaviour?

6. In your opinion, is there a difference between an employee using workplace equipment and internet, for PIUW, versus using their own mobile device?

7. If you have experience of different types of organisations (scale, culture), have you noticed any differences in the HR or managerial response to PIUW?

8. Some research has shown that men and women use the internet for different things. Is that something you have noticed?

   A) Some research has suggested, that the more senior an employee is, the more time they might spend on PIUW. Is that something you have noticed?

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